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# Onondaga and Empire An Iroquoian People in an Imperial Era

**By James W. Bradley** 

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The Northeast, ca. 1680. Cover design by JW and MK Bradley (Heidenreich 1987; Moussette and Waselkov 2013; Gallay 2002:76).

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To all who have come before,

for all who come after.

Niya·węhá? Onųda?gehá?

Thank you, Onondaga People

### Preface

It is probably unwise to start with a confession, but I think it is best to get this out of the way. I am a scholarly mongrel, a mutt. I trained as a historian, became enamored with cultural anthropology, learned rigor from cross-cultural psychologists, and have spent most of my professional life as an archaeologist. As a result, all these disciplines inform my work in general and this project in particular. By this project I mean the story of the Onondaga Iroquois, who they were in 1650, who they had become a century later, and some of what happened in between.

The Onondaga story is a long and complex tale, one that traces an indigenous people, who believed that they lived at the center of the world, through the process of contact with Europeans and its many consequences. One result was a dramatic shift in the scale of their world, learning that it was vastly larger and more perilous than they thought. Ironically, as they began to navigate the complexities of cross-cultural interaction, the Onondaga, along with their Five Nations' brothers—the Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca—found themselves at the center of this new and very different world.

At base this is a story about a community and how it evolved over time. It is a story about the ways in which the people who formed that community defined and redefined themselves as the world changed around them. A portion of this story was explored in my first Onondaga book, although there is much more to be said about those initial stages of cross-cultural contact (1). This book picks up the story in 1650, a century or more after the first arrival of Europeans and shortly before French Jesuits came to live in Onondaga. It continues through the traumatic events of the late seventeenth century as the Five Nations found themselves caught between two imperial powers, Restoration England and France under Louis XIV. In one way, the story ends in 1701 when the Five Nations signed treaties with England and France, treaties that left them allied with both, yet obligated to neither. While this could be a logical place to end this history, the interactions between the Onondaga and their European neighbors, like the personalities that drove them, continued to shape events well into the eighteenth century.

As the central nation of the Five Nations, the Onondaga played a key role in this transition. In the years between 1650 and 1711, the Onondaga found themselves thrust into the dangerous game of imperial politics. How they were able to navigate this transition and find a way to maintain their own identity in the face of these two imperial powers is the heart of the story. An additional theme is how under Onondaga leadership the internal peace-keeping process, known as the League, was transformed into a confederacy that could speak for all Five Nations on external matters. As historian Daniel Richter has argued, this is not just a story about

European colonization from a Native perspective (2). Nor can I tell the story from an Onondaga point of view since I am not Onondaga. I can, however, suggest a reconstruction of how Onondaga people may have perceived the events that shaped their lives between 1650 and 1711.

Chapter One, "The Problem of the Iroquois," explores the feasibility of doing this in two introductory essays. The first addresses who the Iroquois were and why they were so successful. How did the Five Nations manage to survive the disruptions and dislocations brought about by the arrival of Europeans when so many other Native people did not? Many scholars have proposed answers, but perhaps it is time to examine the questions more carefully. The second essay focuses on the four sources of information used to examine events from an Onondaga point of view. These include historical documents, Five Nations' oral tradition, archaeological evidence, and information from comparable cross-cultural studies. All have their strengths and their limitations, but taken together, they provide a reasonable basis for reconstructing how Onondaga people may have seen things.

Chapter Two, "Reconstructing a Past," begins to move us into the Onondaga world. Just as Onondaga people saw their world and how it operated in a way different from European perceptions, we also see things quite differently than the people of the seventeenth century, whether Native or European. How did they believe the world was structured? What was considered essential knowledge? How were people expected to behave? A clearer sense of the way in which Onondaga people saw their world provides a more balanced basis for understanding the decisions they made and the actions they took.

**Chapter Three**, "Material Culture Matters," focuses on the archaeological record and how we interpret the language of material culture. It also brings the archaeological story up to 1650. If Chapter Two introduces us to the conceptual world in which seventeenth-century Onondaga people lived, Chapter Three begins to test those ideas with the material evidence. By 1650 Onondaga people had learned how to integrate iron axes, brass kettles, firearms, and other useful European objects into their culture. As their interactions with Europeans intensified between 1650 and the treaties of 1701, the focus shifted from assimilating material objects to understanding and adapting European concepts and values, as they came to terms with Europeans themselves. Onondaga people accomplished this in several ways. Although many of the results are well known—wampum, diplomacy protocol, and even the creation of the Iroquois Confederacy itself—the processes by which these came into being are not.

After Chapter Three, the book proceeds on two parallel tracks. The even-numbered chapters recount the historical narrative, while the oddnumbered "Material Culture Matters" chapters examine the archaeological evidence from the same period of time. Each of the six narrative chapters examines a particular set of years between 1650 and 1711, emphasizing what happened in and around Onondaga. The division of these sixty-odd years into chapters is based on a combination of events most significant to the Onondaga and on the occupation dates for the five archaeological sites where their primary town was located. Although these periods differ somewhat from those used in conventional colonial history, I believe they would have made sense to the Onondaga.

Beginning with Chapter Four, "Courting the French," the narrative chapters provide the backbone of the story. The focus is on Onondaga efforts to establish an active partnership with the French during the early 1650s and why this relationship was so important. It includes the first visits to Onondaga by French Jesuits and the establishment of a mission church, followed by an attempt to build a substantial French settlement in the heart of Iroquois territory. The reasons why the Ste. Marie de Gannentaha mission failed, the consequences of its collapse for all concerned, and the events that led to the peace treaties of 1665–1666, complete this chapter. In archaeological terms, these events occurred while the Onondaga lived at what are now known as the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites, which are examined in Chapter Five.

Chapter Six, "Ascent of the English," picks up the story with the peace treaties of 1665–1666 and follows the increasingly complex trail of events in Europe and North America until 1682. These were tumultuous times, and political and military upheavals in Europe had far reaching consequences across the Atlantic. The Dutch colony of New Netherland was taken by the English in 1664 and slowly became New York. Meanwhile, England's other North American colonies were rocked by events such as King Philip's War and Bacon's Rebellion. French Jesuits returned to Onondaga in 1667, reestablishing their mission as part of a renewed effort to extend Christian values and French trade across the interior of North America. Most important, France and England were dominated by rulers with aggressive imperial ambitions in Europe and the New World. Iroquois territory lay in the center of these imperial designs, and Onondaga was the center of Iroquoia. During these years, the Onondaga lived at what is now known as the Indian Hill site, which we explore in Chapter Seven.

Chapter Eight, "Between the Hammer and Anvil," begins in 1683 and ends with the burning of the main Onondaga town in 1696. During these years, the Five Nations found themselves in an impossible position, caught between the hammer of French military invasions and the unyielding, yet indifferent, anvil of English ambition. Although the goal was to remain neutral, or at least non-aligned, it became ever more difficult for the Onondaga and the rest of the League not to be dragged into the quarrels of their European neighbors. The location of Onondaga during these years is known as the Weston site, and we explore the archaeology in Chapter Nine.

This was where the Onondaga lived when the French under Governor-General Louis de Buade de Frontenac invaded in 1696 with the resulting destruction of their town.

Chapter Ten, "Rebuilding a Balance," looks at the brief, but crucial, period between the burning of Onondaga and the signing of peace treaties in 1701 with the English as well as with the French and their Indian allies. Although the Treaty of Ryswijck ended the European component of King William's War in 1697, hostilities between the Five Nations and their Native adversaries continued unabated. During these profoundly difficult years, it was Onondaga leadership that guided diplomatic efforts to find an acceptable way to live with their imperial neighbors. The location where Onondaga was rebuilt, and where they lived through at least the first decade of the eighteenth century, is now known as the Jamesville site, and we look at its archaeology in Chapter Eleven.

In the odd-numbered chapters, Material Culture Matters, each begins with the settlement and subsistence pattern of the Onondaga sites related to the period in the preceding narrative chapter. This is followed by a review of the historical context, especially the economic practices and material evidence that characterized each of the major European powers—Dutch, French, and English—and how these are reflected in the archaeological record. The focus then changes to the Native side, beginning with a look at how traditional high-value materials including marine shell, copper and its alloys, and red stone were used during the period. Each chapter concludes with two sections that examine Onondaga material culture in detail. The first follows the structure laid out in Chapter Three, analyzing the ways in which the Onondaga responded to Europeans, their things and ideas, as well as the processes by which they incorporated them into their own culture. The second section explores Onondaga identity—what defined it at the beginning of a period, how it changed, and to what degree we can see evidence in the archaeological record.

Chapter Twelve, "Into a New Century," provides an ending and a beginning. We conclude this story and then summarize events in Onondaga during the first decade or so of the eighteenth century, the remaining years during which the Jamesville site was occupied. This chapter examines how the agreements of 1701, and the Onondaga leaders who negotiated them, fared in the new century.

I close with a brief Chapter Thirteen, "Afterwards," which follows the Onondaga throughout the rest of the eighteenth century, a calamitous time that included two more colonial wars, the American Revolution, and the Onondaga's subsequent loss of their land. While this could, and probably should, be a separate book, I want to follow the trajectory of the policies negotiated in 1701 a little further and bring the story back to where we began in Chapter One, with the arrival of new settlers at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Throughout all these complex events and changes, the story presented in this book focuses around four fundamental questions –

- What were the broad social and cultural contexts in North America and Europe that shaped Onondaga decisions and actions?
- How did these factors affect the Onondaga in a manner different from the rest of the League, particularly the Mohawk to the east and the Seneca to the west?
- How did the increasing availability of European materials, technologies, and ideas influence the Onondaga and their culture?
- How did the changing nature of the Onondaga population, the result of adoption and assimilation, affect the broader definition of who and what was considered Onondaga?

The story that emerges is one of cultural cohesion and how it was maintained, even in the face of overwhelming adversity. In both the narrative and material culture chapters, there are times when a specific idea or topic requires more explanation than can be easily addressed in the text. For this reason, I have included a series of Case Studies. These are brief summaries or sidebars that look at a particular subject in more detail without disrupting the main story. Also, there are a lot of endnotes in this work. They are there for several reasons. In the narrative chapters, they provide citations for direct quotes or make specific acknowledgments. They also provide occasional editorial comment and references to other related sources. In the material culture chapters, they perform these same functions, as well as present supporting data, some that are not available in published sources.

One more comment—I apologize for the length of this book. The Onondaga story is a complex one set in difficult, often catastrophic times, and to tell it in a truncated manner is to short-change the people who lived it. Part of the problem is the sheer quantity of information. The historical documents for this period alone number in the thousands of pages, and so does the secondary literature. In terms of archaeology, if the material culture chapters tend to read like site reports, it is because essentially they are. With some exceptions, the information they contain simply does not exist anywhere else. The result is a big book—okay, a very big book—but hopefully one that is not too cumbersome. I have tried to structure it so that the reader can find and follow whatever portions of the story that interest them most, even approach it from a chosen starting point.

The story of Onondaga people has been told in many ways, and almost always from the outside. This book is no exception. Can we really reconstruct the events of the seventeenth century from an Onondaga point of view? Probably not. Today, whether Native or non-Native, we see the world and our place in it in profoundly different ways than our ancestors did. But by incorporating a range of perspectives, we can provide a more balanced view, and I believe we owe that to our forebears as well as those still to come.



# **Chapter One -** The Problem of the Iroquois



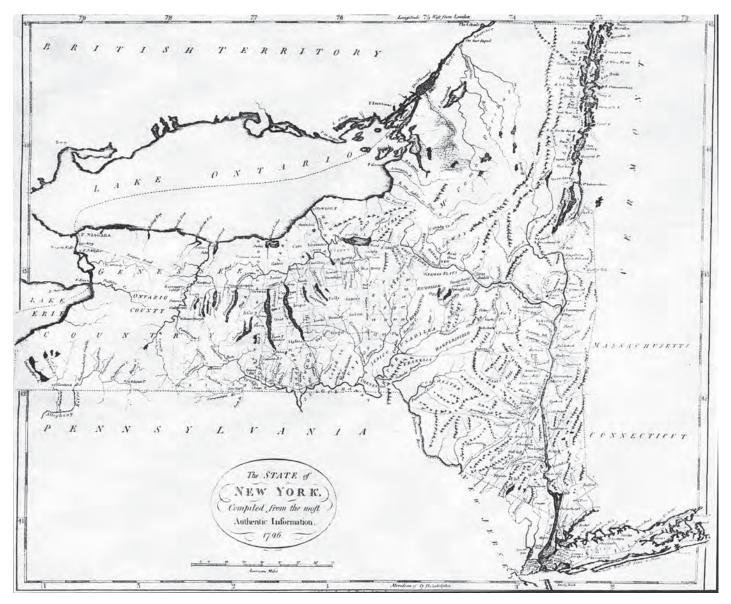


Figure 1.1. Map of the State of New York, 1796.

n the summer of 1810, DeWitt Clinton, the former mayor of New York City, and four other members of the newly appointed Canal Commission, made their way across the wilds of upstate New York. Their goal was to scout out a water route between Albany and Lake Erie. Such a canal had been proposed for decades as an inland route safe from the hostile British. More important, a waterway from the Hudson River to the Great Lakes would help establish what George Washington had called "a new empire" in the west. Clinton would build his political career around the realization of this dream. Although derided by critics as Clinton's Ditch, the Erie Canal would indeed transform New York into The Empire State (1).



#### **The Antiquarians**

Thoughts of empire may have lodged in Clinton's mind for another reason. During his trip, Clinton saw evidence that people had been there before. Indeed, he observed that "such prodigious works" could not be "the work of the Indians." Rather, some nation "further advanced in civilization than the present tribes" must have lived here once. Clinton was especially struck by the remains of what he thought was a large town located not far from Manlius, New York. After walking over the area, he concluded that this

town extended "at least a mile from east to west and three-quarters of a mile from north to south ... covering upwards of 500 acres." He also noted the presence of "three old forts each about eight miles distant from the others, forming a triangle which enclosed the town." Based on the evidence of burning and the presence of scattered human remains, Clinton concluded that this town had been attacked, and "that the Europeans who had settled here were defeated and driven from the country by the Indians" (2).

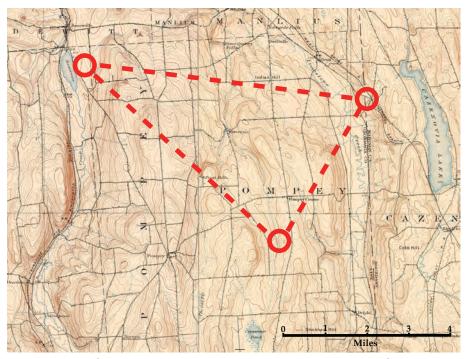


Figure 1.2. The likely location of Clinton's large town and its three forts.

Clinton published his initial thoughts in 1811, and again seven years later in a more detailed form. In his opinion, the evidence indicated "a vast population . . . advanced in civilization" had built these monuments before the Iroquois "migrated to their present country." In so doing, Clinton set out a problem with which scholars would wrestle for decades to come. What was the relationship between these extraordinary sites and the present-day Onondaga who lived on the recently established reservation less than 10 miles away (**3**)?

Clinton was not the only one to notice that there was something unusual about the landscape of central New York. Two decades earlier, as settlers from the Mohawk Valley and New England began to move in, it quickly became apparent that they were not the first inhabitants. This was especially the case in the town of Pompey, where earthworks, abandoned settlements, and "ancient places of interment" seemed to be located everywhere. While DeWitt Clinton was mystified about the builders, most

newcomers were not. Although the exact relationship between these sites and the Onondaga may have been obscure, there was little doubt they were connected in some manner (4).

One particular incident made this clear. While most of the new settlers were busy getting their lives in order, a small group of men, the kind of idle and half-vagrant sort of fellows often found on the borders of new settlements, found another way to make their living by digging up Indian burials and selling the contents. These included brass kettles, usable iron, such as gun barrels and axes, and the occasional silver object. Sometimes the value of the goods exceeded eight or 10 dollars, a huge sum of money at the time. Such desecration did not go unnoticed, but in spite of repeated warnings the "Money Diggers" continued their work.

By August 1798 the Onondaga had had enough. One Saturday night, after a particularly good harvest, a number of barns and haystacks across Pompey caught fire simultaneously. Upon investigation, it was determined that only those who had engaged in, or condoned, the activities of the "Money Diggers" had suffered. Their neighbors, to a man, had not been touched. A delegation was quickly sent to Onondaga to demand an explanation. And they quickly received one. When ancestral burial grounds were treated with the respect they deserved, everyone's property would be safe (5).

Although the "Money Diggers" were soon gone, public interest in these sites and the artifacts they produced continued to grow. Nor was the interest only local. In October 1845 Pompey's historian, Joshua Clark, replied to a request for specimens from the Albany scholar Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. Clark replied, indeed, "almost every variety of Indian relic has been found about here, but so fastidious are the holders of them, that I have not been able to procure any for you, and cannot, except *at a price*" (6).

While Clark provided information to others for their publications, such as Schoolcraft in 1846 and Ephraim G. Squier in 1849, he was an important scholar in his own right. Realizing how quickly sites were being destroyed, Clark did his best to record what was known about them. The result was *Onondaga, or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times,* a two-volume history published in 1849. In these volumes, Clark chronicled everything he could learn from the area's surviving first settlers up through current discoveries. Although appreciated today primarily for these antiquarian accounts, Clark's *Onondaga* remains a valuable and unique source for other reasons. One is archaeological. Clark described the sites and finds for nearly every township in the county. For the town of Pompey, he wrote a special section, "Antiquities," 28 pages of detailed descriptions that are still a basic resource for research.

Clark's work is unusual for another reason. For a man of the midnineteenth century, he had a remarkable interest in and sympathy for the

# The Problem of the Iroquois



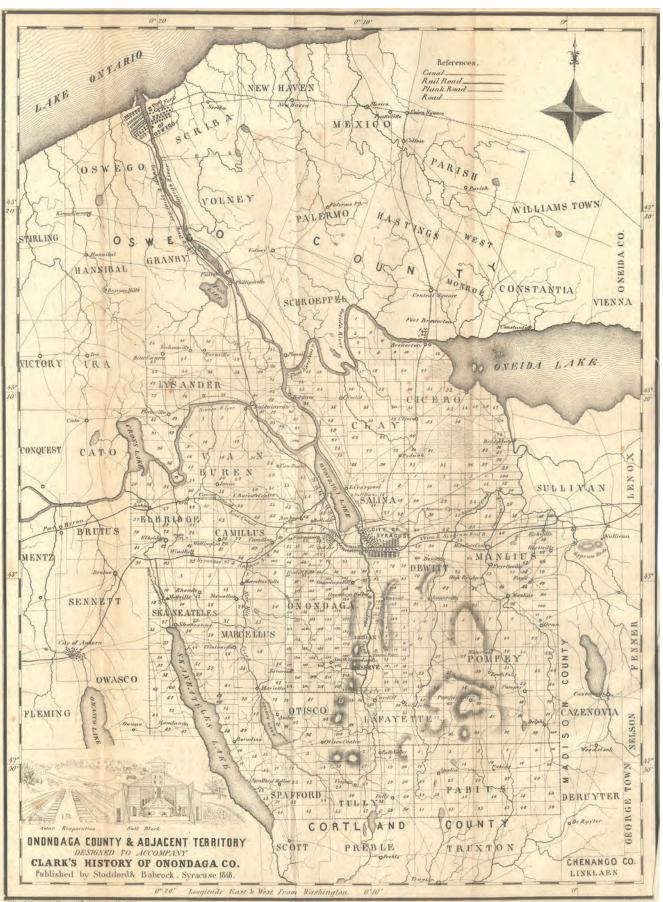
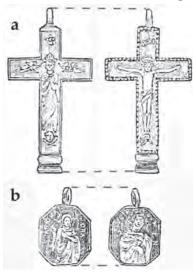


Figure 1.3. Map of Onondaga County, 1849.



**Figure 1.4.** Religious objects found on Isaac Keeler's farm in Pompey, NY—

(a) cross with Mary on the obverse and crucifixion on the reverse,

(b) medal with unknown saint on the obverse and Mary on the reverse.

Onondaga people living in central New York. It was their story he sought to preserve in Onondaga, not just that of the more recent inhabitants. Volume One contains chapters on Onondaga traditions, ceremonies, and distinguished chiefs, as well as historical events that occurred between the arrival of French Jesuits in 1654 and Col. Goose van Schaick's surprise attack on Onondaga in 1779 during the American Revolution. This was not just a romantic attachment to the past. Clark was quite willing to speak out against what he considered the injustices of the present. Professional looters may have been chased off, but the widespread excavation of burials by those "more curious than considerate" certainly continued. By 1849 this practice was so widespread that Clark concluded it would be difficult to find a burying ground where the remains had not been removed "to illustrate science and adorn the cabinets of the curious." "We have robbed them of all else," he wrote, "we should at least spare their places of sepulchre" (7).

By 1850, thanks to the work of Clark and others, it was generally accepted that the sites in Pompey and elsewhere across central New York were those of the Five Nations, not the remains of some mysterious civilization. But this

left other thorny questions. What exactly did these sites, in their prolific numbers and incredible material wealth, represent? If these sites were where the Onondaga had once lived, what had made them so successful in the past? And why were these sites so different from where the Onondaga currently lived? Nearly one hundred years later, historian George Hunt stated this in a slightly different way, "Why did the Iroquois do the things they did?" Hunt called this "The Problem of the Iroquois" (8).

#### **The Historians**

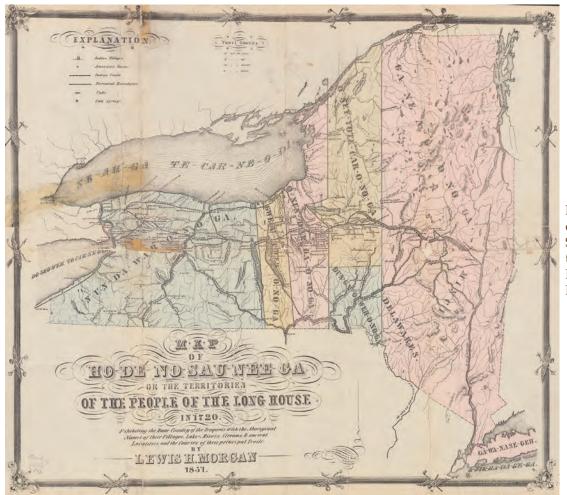
The question of how Onondaga people were related to their ancestral sites was not an easy one to untangle. Nor was it a matter the Onondaga cared to discuss with outsiders. Even Francis Parkman found it difficult to get much information from them. On his way back to Boston in August 1845, after an extensive tour of the Old Northwest, Parkman stopped in the Onondaga Valley. "I got the Indians into an excellent humor by presents of cigars and pipes," he noted in his journal. As a result, he was shown the new council house and provided with an opportunity to talk with "one old fellow who seemed to remember the old council-house that had been described by Bartram" in 1743. Nonetheless, Parkman confided, "They are the worst people in the world to extract information from: the eternal grunted 'yas' of acquiescence follows every question you may ask, without distinction." Undeterred, Parkman returned to Boston and published the first volume of his epic colonial histories *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* in 1851 (9).



Over the next four decades, Parkman wrote many more volumes that, taken together, tell the story of French settlement and their rivalry with the English for control of North America. In all these, the Iroquois would play a starring, if not very attractive, role. They were the bad guys, the incorrigible warriors whose murderous raids and bloody triumphs had prevented the French from civilizing more docile Native people. The result was, Parkman argued, "A virtual Iroquois empire of conquest," one that stretched north and west to Hudson Bay, down the Mississippi to Natchez and across into the Carolinas. Since Parkman wrote during a time when the notion of a Manifest Destiny for the United States was widely accepted, the idea that one empire might replace an earlier one was easy for people to grasp (10).

The year 1851 saw the publication of another book, one that portrayed the Iroquois in a more favorable light. Lewis Henry Morgan's *League of* the Iroquois has been described as the "first scientific account of an Indian tribe" and "the best general treatise on the Iroquois." It certainly changed their public image, catapulting the Iroquois from a historical footnote to international fame. Since Morgan's work was based primarily on his contacts with Seneca people, it was less a history than a new kind of study, an ethnography or description of their culture. Morgan was also interested in why the Iroquois had been successful, had survived when so many other Native peoples did not. *League of the Iroquois* begins with a review of historical events, from "Origins" to the "Present Condition." Even though Parkman and Morgan addressed the same question, their answers were profoundly different. Parkman's works dwelt on the ferocity and military prowess of the Iroquois as the reason for their success. For Morgan, the answer lay in the strength of their kinship relations and the political structure of the League (11).

It was not until 1940, when George Hunt published *The Wars of the Iroquois*, that another, substantially different answer to the question of Iroquois success was proposed. Drawing on a wide range of primary sources, many newly published, Hunt argued that both Parkman and Morgan were wrong. Upon careful examination, Parkman's Iroquois empire was purely imaginary, more a product of eighteenth-century imperial English claims than anything based on fact. As for the League, Hunt agreed that while it certainly existed, its members were more often at odds with one another than united against their enemies. As a result, that could not be the reason for their success. Instead, Hunt's answer was economic. European contact, and more specifically the fur trade, had had a profound effect on all aspects of Native life. Nowhere were these transformations greater than in the aboriginal economy where things "changed, almost overnight." For the Iroquois, he argued, their rise to power coincided with the spread of European trade throughout their region. Turning Parkman's image of the dreaded Iroquois on its head, Hunt concluded that prior to contact with Europeans, the Iroquois were "a small and unobtrusive people . . . on the



**Figure 1.5.** Map of the HO DE NO SAU NEE GA or the Territories of the People of the Long House in 1720.

defensive deep in their own forests." It was "only after and because of the European trade" that they rose to power (12).

#### The Anthropologists

Antiquarians and historians were not the only ones interested in the Iroquois. With the publication of Morgan's *League of the Iroquois*, there was increasing interest in the people themselves, along with their language, oral history, and culture. No one personified this better than William M. Beauchamp and his life-long quest to understand Onondaga people in the past and to support them in the present.

William M. Beauchamp grew up in Skaneateles, New York, where he lived until 1862. Ordained as an Episcopal priest the following year, he became rector of Grace Church in Baldwinsville in July 1865. Here Beauchamp became fascinated with the Indian artifacts local people found in the plowed fields along the Seneca River. Although Beauchamp had a modest interest in collecting, his real passion was in recording what others found. His initial efforts focused on the Baldwinsville area, then throughout Onondaga County, and eventually across New York State. In 1879 Beauchamp began to compile what would become the ten-volume set of manuscript notebooks, *Antiquities of Onondaga*. These volumes contain

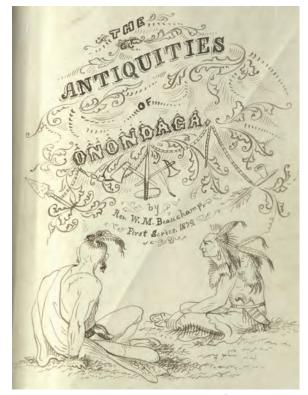


Figure 1.6. Title page of Beauchamp's Antiquities of Onondaga.

## The Problem of the Iroquois

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notes from his reading, site visits, and drawings of more than 15,000 artifacts, and served as the basis for many of his later publications (**13**).

Beauchamp was a man of tireless energy and enthusiasm. Although a full-time rector, he pursued his historical and archaeological interests passionately. He was a founding member of the American Folklore Society in 1882, elected a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1888, and appointed director of the Onondaga Historical Association in 1889. He began his association with the New York State Museum in 1898 and became the first, if unofficial, state archaeologist in 1904. In his association with the museum, Beauchamp published 13 New York State Museum Bulletins on

different aspects of Iroquois history, archaeology, and folklore. All are still considered authoritative. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Beauchamp genuinely liked and respected Onondaga people and was a frequent guest on the reservation. He became close friends with Onondaga chief Albert Cusick among others, learned to speak Onondaga, and was adopted into the Eel Clan. After his retirement in 1900, Beauchamp moved to Syracuse, where he continued to write, publish, and stay active in community affairs until his death in 1925 at 95 years of age (14).

For Beauchamp, it was Onondaga people and the connections between their past and present that was of greatest interest. Even though he never had the opportunity to directly address Hunt's question—why they did things the way that they did—it is likely that he would have said the answer was self-evident. The Onondaga succeeded in the past for the same reasons that they survived into the present. They had the ability and the determination to do so.

Although men like Lewis Henry Morgan and William M. Beauchamp blurred the distinction between amateur and professional work, the late nineteenth century was a time when many new scientific disciplines, including anthropology, were taking shape. By 1882 the American Association for the Advancement of Science had grown so large that it was reorganized into sections. Anthropology became Section H. The first issue of *American Anthropologist*  **Figure 1.7.** Rev. William M. Beauchamp aged 92, a giant of New York archaeology, with Delos Big Kettle (Sai-no-wa), a Seneca chief, 1922.



was published in 1888, and the American Anthropological Association was established in 1902 (15). During these years, anthropology itself changed. The nineteenth-century concern for dividing mankind into races and discovering the origins of each gradually shifted into a new discipline with four specialties—the study of different cultures, which is designated ethnography or cultural anthropology, the study of human origins and evolution, which is known as physical or biological anthropology, the study of material evidence from the past or archaeology, and the study of languages or linguistics.

This was also a time when there was great pressure on Indian people to abandon traditional ways and assimilate into the mainstream of American culture. As the number of Native speakers began to decline, particular emphasis was placed on recording the surviving oral traditions. In terms of Iroquoian languages, these efforts went in two directions. One path focused on folklore, the "tales, legends and myths" that held much of the information defining Iroquoian culture. While many people collected and published such collections, the most substantial was made on the Seneca reservation at Cattaraugus by Jeremiah Curtin during the 1880s and supplemented in 1896 by John N. B. Hewitt. Published in 1918 by the Bureau of American Ethnology, a branch of the Smithsonian Institution, *Seneca Fiction, Legends and Myths* remains an essential source of Seneca culture (**16**).

The second direction emphasized recording ceremonial traditions, especially those related to the founding of the League and its rituals for condoling and requickening chiefs. In 1883 Horatio Hale published a study of these ceremonies, one in Seneca and the other in Onondaga, giving it the title, *The Iroquois Book of Rites*. Other versions were also recorded. The most significant of these was *Concerning the League*, dictated by the Onondaga Chief John Gibson to anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser in 1912. Gibson was a speaker at the Onondaga Longhouse on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, established after the American Revolution. He was well-known for his oratorical skill and had worked with Hale, Hewitt, and others, who considered him to be "the greatest mind of his generation" among his people. The Gibson-Goldenweiser manuscript was recorded in Onondaga and not published in translation until 1991. Like Curtin and Hewitt's work, *Concerning the League* stands as one of the most significant documents on Iroquoian culture (**17**).

One more anthropologist must be mentioned. With deep roots in western New York, William N. Fenton began his long professional relationship with Seneca people as an anthropology graduate student in the early 1930s. Having read the available literature, he decided to go the Allegany Reservation of the Seneca Nation to learn more about ceremonialism in person. After a year and a half, Fenton moved to the Tonawanda Reservation, where he stayed for another two and a half years. In 1939 he



succeeded Hewitt as director at the Bureau of American Ethnology and began a long and productive scholarly career, one that would continue into the present century (18).

Shortly after starting at the Bureau, Fenton contributed an essay to a series of articles in honor of anthropologist John Swanton. He entitled the piece "Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois." Fenton's goal was to summarize what was known about Iroquoian people, block out some of the questions that required further study, and begin to move toward a new synthesis of the cultural history of the Iroquois. Fenton's essay and Hunt's *The Wars of the Iroquois* were both published in 1940. Although each posed "The Problem of the Iroquois" in different ways, their work would define much of the research done on the Five Nations for the reminder of the century (19).

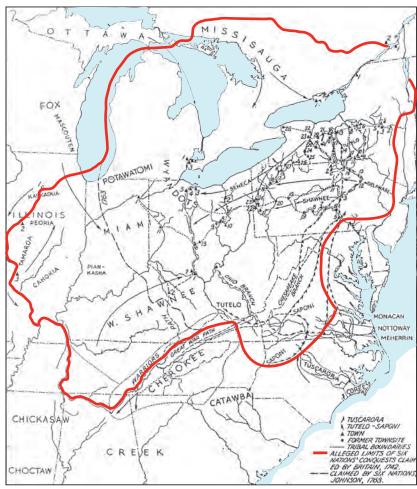


Figure 1.8. Fenton's map of the alleged Iroquois conquests, ca. 1742.

#### **Into the Present**

Much has happened since 1940 in terms of scholarship, public perception, and activism. One of the engines for new study has been the annual Conference on Iroquois Research, first held in 1945. Organized by Fenton and others, and initially held at Red House on the Allegany Reservation, the Iroquois Conference brought together an informal group of scholars and students. The common thread was an interest in the Iroquois, and participants came from a wide range of backgrounds and interests. The result was an unusual mixing of people and the opportunity to exchange information beyond, as well as within, specialties. Not surprisingly, the Iroquois Conference became the seedbed for much of the scholarly work on Iroquois-related topics during the last half of the twentieth century. Although membership has changed over the decades, the Iroquois Conference to the present day and serves as a monument to Fenton's scholarly vision (20).

Another factor helped to drive new scholarship. A huge increase in archaeological excavation and collecting on Iroquois sites took place after World War II. Before the war, archaeology was a small club dominated by a few elite educational institutions. From 1950 on, archaeology became part of the cultural mainstream and a popular, socially acceptable hobby. The result was an exponential growth in knowledge, as both avocational and professional researchers presented their findings at the Iroquois Conference, the meetings of the New York State Archaeological Association, and other venues.

The growing popular interest in Indian history also was fed by a series of new books that brought information on the Iroquois to a much broader audience. One of the first was Paul Wallace's *The White Roots of Peace* in 1946, a retelling of the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy. Ten years later, Wallace played a key role in another volume. Published by the journal *Pennsylvania History* as a single issue, "The Livingston Indian Records, 1666–1723," edited by Lawrence Leder, was a substantial contribution to the publicly available primary documents. What made this volume unique was Wallace's introductory chapter, "The Iroquois: A Brief Outline of Their History," and his invitation to Mohawk artist Ray Fadden to tell the story of the founding of the League with pictographs along the bottom margins of the entire text. A 1958 reprint of Cadwallader Colden's 1727 publication The History of the Five Indian Nations, Edmund Wilson's Apologies to the Iroquois in 1960, Allen Trelease's Indian Affairs in Colonial New York the same year, and Anthony Wallace's *Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* in 1969 all added to the growing body of literature. But with popularity came controversy. Not all the new scholarship was accepted, and, increasingly, disputes were argued in public as well as in scholarly forums. One contentious issue was the role the Iroquois Confederacy may have played in the constitutional design of the United States government. Although this argument has been repeatedly examined and found wanting, it continues to surface (21).

Another strand of scholarly inquiry focused on the issue of empire, and whether the Iroquois ever had one. In March 1984, a conference on the imperial Iroquois was held in Williamsburg, Virginia. Organized around issues raised by Francis Jennings in his 1984 book, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, this conference served as a watershed for evaluating the origins of Five Nations' diplomacy. It also inspired several important follow-up works, including publication of the 1984 conference papers and historian Daniel Richter's masterful book, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, published in 1992. Richter moved the discussion away from the idea of empire and toward an understanding of the Covenant Chain as the basis of Five Nations' diplomatic success (22).

The 1970s and 1980s were marked by Indian activism as well as new scholarship, especially around issues of sovereignty, land claims, and the

# The Problem of the Iroquois



Figure 1.9. Twentiethcentury Onondaga posters—left, *Honor the Treaties*, 1975; right, *Eviction Notice*, 1977.



control of cultural patrimony. Several of the latter disputes focused on specific objects, such as wampum belts and medicine-society masks. One of the most public disputes centered on 12 wampum belts held by the New York State Museum. After prolonged negotiations, these were returned to Onondaga in October 1989. With the passage the following year of a new federal law, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), issues of cultural patrimony and questions over who owns the past became an even more prominent part of the public discussion (23).

Little has changed well into the second decade of a new millennium. If anything, differences of opinion have become less civil and more strident. Now, instead of the Great Law and the Constitution, disputes center on topics such as when the League was established and the origins of wampum, along with the meaning and role of wampum in Five Nations' diplomacy. The details of these disputes may differ, but the fundamental issue remains the same—who decides which version of the past is correct? In his 1940 essay Fenton observed, "more ink had been spilled over the Iroquois" than any other Indian group in North America (24). The flow has certainly not lessened since then, and it is likely that much more will be said before these issues are resolved.

#### Why Another Book?

So, why write yet another book on the Iroquois? The simple answer is because "The Problem of the Iroquois" has not gone away. If anything, it has grown more complex and confused. The most obvious reason is because the problem is not just one thing. It is a series of interrelated issues that do not necessarily have the same answer. At least three different questions are entangled here—

- From the archaeologist's viewpoint What produced the extraordinary complex of archaeological sites in the Pompey hills, and how do they relate to present-day Onondaga people?
- From the historian's viewpoint Why did the Iroquois do the things they did? Or said another way, why were the Iroquois so successful? Why did they survive when so many other indigenous groups did not?
- From a political viewpoint Who has the right to ask, much less attempt, to answer these questions? Are scholars more privileged than others in this regard? Are Indian people? Are some sources more authoritative than others? Is there an equitable way to proceed, or do we leave the general public to sort things out for themselves?

One reason for this book is to provide specific answers to these questions. How do we untangle the issues and not fall back into the same old answers and arguments? I propose the following.

#### Change the unit of analysis

One of the difficulties in addressing Hunt's version of the problem is that it assumes "the Iroquois" is the correct unit of analysis. Just scanning titles—*The League of the Iroquois* (Morgan 1851), *The History of the Iroquois* (Beauchamp 1905), *Wars of the Iroquois* (Hunt 1940), *The Iroquois Restoration* (Aquila 1983), *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (Jennings 1984)—reveals how deeply embedded this monolithic sense of the Iroquois is in our view of the past. There may be times when it is appropriate to talk about the Five Nations as a unit, but there are times when it is not.

Things look very different when we stop talking about the Iroquois and begin to consider the issues and concerns of the individual nations. As we will see, what was important to the Onondaga often differed sharply from what mattered to the Mohawk, especially after the Dutch arrived. We risk losing sight of these differences when we begin with the Iroquois as a single body. It also obscures one of the most important traits shared by the Five Nations—their ability to use the League to resolve internal disputes and, for the most part, to keep peace among its members. To take an analogy from the political system of the United States, there are substantial differences between our federal and state level governments. Each has its functions, some separate and some overlapping. Those relationships have not always been harmonious, nor have they stayed the same over time. The same applies to the League and its member nations during the seventeenth century.

My goal in this book is to focus on the Onondaga and examine how they were able to withstand the cross-cultural pressures and traumas of the last half of the seventeenth century. If we understand the motivations and choices they made, then it may be possible to talk about all of the Five Nations in a more balanced manner.

#### The Problem of the Iroquois



#### Define the terms we use

Language is slippery and never more so than when definitions are assumed. For example, take the words *League* and *Confederacy*. Some scholars use these as equivalent, even interchangeable, terms. Others, like Richter, see a significant distinction. I agree with Richter and use these terms as follows. The League refers to the internal ritual practices that kept peace and maintained continuity among the Five Nations, in particular the Great Law and the Condolence ceremony. The Confederacy refers to the external application of these practices. This included offering kinship to other nations through alliances or treaties, extending the rafters of the Great Longhouse to include foreigners, and using the rituals of the Condolence Council in a diplomatic context. The process by which the League evolved into the Confederacy between 1650 and 1701 is a fundamental part of this story (25).

There are many other slippery words, ones that need definition before being used. Among these are *tribe*, *nation*, *identity*, and *wampum*, to name a few. That is why I have included a glossary to define how these and other terms have been used.

#### Ask more precise questions

Take the issue of warfare and why it occurred. When framed in terms of why the Iroquois went to war, the same unsatisfactory answers are likely to recur. An example is the recent description of the Iroquois as "the first militaristic slaving society" by historian Robbie Ethridge. Although phrased in newer and less racist language, this differs little from Francis Parkman's image of the Iroquois as militant conquerors (**26**). Instead, if we

ask the question in terms of the Onondaga and why they resorted to war at different times between 1650 and 1701, we get answers that make more sense. As we will see, in some cases revenge was the driving force. In others, the reasons for going to war were as diverse as they always are with human beings—for prestige, to bring home captives, and sometimes just to survive.

The need for more precise questions also applies to the League and its purpose. To say the Iroquois were successful because of the League does not explain much. Better to ask, where did the League come from? How did it function? And did those functions remain the same between 1650 and 1701, a period of time when virtually nothing was left unchanged? Generic answers take us in the wrong direction. For example, historian Paul Wallace has argued peace was the concept upon which the League, or the Great Peace, was built (27). The symbol for this was a great white pine, the Tree of Peace, whose branches provided shelter and security



Figure 1.10. Dust jacket from *Indians in Pennsylvania*. Illustration by William Rohrbeck, ca. 1961. 15

and whose roots "stretched to the four quarters of the earth . . . to embrace all mankind." In this view, there were "no wars and no fighting within our territories during this time [of the Great Peace], for over 2,000 years" (28).

Historian Matthew Dennis perpetuates this view of the League. He argues that treaty negotiations "must be seen as part of a larger process to extend the Iroquois domain of peace, one that had begun in earlier times with the formation of each of the five nations and the League itself, and that continued beyond into the seventeenth century." Perhaps he is right, but this is an argument by assertion, not from evidence. This becomes a problem when such assertions are cited as fact. In a recent *Science* article entitled "Life without War," the Iroquois and their Great League of Peace are presented as an active peace system based on Dennis's work. For me, this attempt to explain "The Problem of the Iroquois" by looking at the League exclusively as a means for peace is as unbalanced as making it the enabling mechanism for war (29).

Rather than look at the League from the top down, I suggest we examine it from Onondaga up. We may never know when the League was founded or how it functioned before 1650. We can, however, establish how the League operated after 1650, what kind of issues it addressed, and the role Onondaga played. We can also follow the ways in which League concerns and actions changed over the next 50 years and who led these changes. To move the discussion ahead, we need to leave the generalities behind, to look in greater detail, observe the patterns, and test specific ideas. What changed decade by decade in Onondaga, from site to site? If we can reconstruct how Onondaga people dealt with events, made decisions, and adjusted their strategies, then we will have a better basis for understanding how their actions influenced the Five Nations as a whole.

This still leaves the question of who decides. Who has the right to ask and to answer these questions? My answer is we all do. The past belongs to us all. It is our shared history and no one group's privileged preserve. To me, the more important question is, how do we learn from this history and use it responsibly, not just for public relations or political advantage? One way to do this is to utilize more of the information available and to do so in an open and accountable way.

#### **Means and Methods**

There are reasons why the Onondaga story for the last half of the seventeenth century has not been told previously. It is not an easy story to tell. The historical documents are spotty and uneven. There are detailed accounts for some years, none for others. Another problem is that Europeans seldom distinguished between the activities of the League and its individual member tribes. In this sense, it is difficult to see in the record what was happening in Onondaga, or any of the other nations. Archaeology has begun to make this possible. Over the past five decades, a



chronology and sequence of seventeenth century Onondaga sites has been built through a combination of professional and avocational work. With this information as a scaffold, the documentary evidence can be organized more effectively.

Another reason the Onondaga story is not easy to tell is because there is no single or correct version. It can be told in many ways and from different points of view. This book uses evidence from four different disciplines—history, oral tradition, archaeology, and cross-cultural comparisons. Each of these has its own theoretical frameworks and traditions of scholarship, as well as methods for collecting, describing, and analyzing information. Each also has its strengths and its limitations. Let me explain my approach to each.

#### On history and its writing

We start with history because basically this book is a historical narrative, an account of what happened during a particular period of time. We also start with history because it is so deceptively simple. We all know about history. As the great American historian Carl Becker observed in 1932, we are all historians in that we each have a past and therefore some understanding of how it has shaped who we are. But that familiarity is exactly the problem. Because we think we understand how history works, it is hard to see how subjective and selective all histories are.

There are many kinds of history, the stories we tell ourselves about who we are, where we came from, and what we stand for. We as individuals, as communities, and as nations construct these stories from many sources. These range from our own personal experience to the written records, official or otherwise, of those who have preceded us. This is a pretty untidy inheritance, and the histories that emerge from it are as diverse as the people who create them. Nor are these histories passive or harmless. As British historian Margaret MacMillan has so neatly put it, history is not dead. It does not lie there safely in the past waiting for us to study it when the mood takes us. It is more like an engine, running quietly beneath all our present affairs, silently shaping our institutions, our ways of thinking, our likes and dislikes. History is powerful. If gravity is the great unseen driver in the physical realm, history is an equivalent force in our cultural lives, whether we are conscious of it or not (**30**).

The real issue is how do we use, rather than misuse, this power. One way is to question our sources. In terms of historical documents, there are two kinds. Primary sources are those made during or shortly after the events they describe. Secondary sources are those written later in time, usually as an explanation for why events occurred as they did. Primary sources are of particular importance because they are closest to the events in question, but this does not mean they are always accurate. The *Jesuit Relations* are a good example. The essential question to keep in mind is, who wrote

BRIEVE RELATI DV VOYAGE DELA NOVVELLE FRANCE, Fair au mois d'Auril dernier par le P. Paul le Teune de la Compagnie de IESVS. Enwoyée au R. P. Barthelemy Lacquinis Provincial de la mesme Compagnie " en la Prouince de France paris s. Angel Cash angel PARIS. Chez SEBASTIEN CRAMOISY; ruë S. lacques, aux Cicognes. M. DC. XXXII. Anes Prinilege du Roy.

**Figure 1.11**. Photographic facsimile of the title page of Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1632.

these documents and for what purpose? As a collection of the reports and letters made by Jesuits in North America between 1632 and 1673, the *Jesuit Relations* are an invaluable source of information. First and foremost, they were written as a means to raise public support for the ongoing missionary activities of the Society in New France. Some of the extreme statements found therein, such as descriptions of torture or Claude Dablon's lurid account of mass slaughter during the Erie War, make more sense when one remembers that the *Jesuit Relations* were written for public relations purposes rather than as a chronicle of fact (**31**).

Another fundamental concern about primary sources is the degree to which they have been interpreted. All the words attributed to Iroquoian speakers have been translated at least once and often several times. How good were the translators? To what degree did their ability and biases distort what was said, intentionally or not? It is no understatement to say that a great deal of meaning was often lost in translation, as discussed in more detail below.

In spite of their limitations, primary documents remain one of our most important sources of knowledge. Although previous scholars have

used virtually all the same documentary sources on which I have relied, a surprising amount of new information has remained untapped. Onondaga names are an example. If we want to get beyond the dull recitation of historical fact and find "the texture of human contact," as historian David Preston has observed, it is essential to focus on the people involved. It is difficult to understand the events of the seventeenth century from an Onondaga point of view if we do not know who they were. Although traditional sources such as the *Jesuit Relations* are far from comprehensive, more than one hundred individual Onondaga are mentioned by name, many on several occasions. As a result, I have been able to reconstruct not just a list of who was active between 1650 and 1711, but also a sense of how Onondaga leadership grew and changed during those years (**32**).

Secondary sources are equally tricky and for similar reasons. No matter how much a historian attempts to maintain an independent and objective point of view, it simply is not possible. No one stands outside of history or the times in which they live. Francis Parkman wrote when social



Darwinism, the belief that people who succeed are racially superior to those who do not, was a common, if faulty, point of view. George Hunt's economic analysis reflected a different social and intellectual context, one shaped by the challenges of a Marxist view of the past. Thirty years later, Anthony Wallace's book, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, used a psychological perspective to examine how tradition and ritual kept a community together during traumatic times. Such interpretations may, or may not, fit with our interests or beliefs. Some will not stand up to more careful scrutiny. The point is that there is no correct way to look at the past. The ways in which historians interpret the past will be as diverse as the historical events they are attempting to describe, and our evaluation of their efforts will be equally complex.

Some will object, as American business-magnate Henry Ford did, that history is bunk. Unlike a mystery story or novel, we know what happened, how things turned out, so why go back over all that old stuff again? For me, the answer is simple. The unexpected part of history lies in learning why things happened as they did. Out of all the possible ways things could have turned out, why did the history we take for granted actually occur?

#### Adding oral tradition

Onondaga people did not write their history down, at least not until the early nineteenth century. Like many other cultures around the world, they passed on the essential knowledge about who they were and how they saw the world through oral tradition. These have been recorded as "myths, legends and folktales." Among the actual Iroquoian texts that survive and "combine to make up the Tradition" are songs, preaching genres, narratives, and chants (33).

Unlike documentary history, where interpretations of the past can be built and rebuilt into different configurations with blocks of fact, oral tradition works in a different way. Here the purpose is to pass on essential knowledge and values rather than convey factual details. As a result, oral tradition may have a linear or cyclical structure and often does not make a hard distinction between the past and present. As Beauchamp observed, "In Indian History there is no more uncertain element than time." This kind of history is more fluid and flexible than the written record, since it grows and changes with the people themselves. For this reason, academic historians have usually viewed oral tradition with caution, even skepticism. It is a fundamentally different approach to understanding the past (34).

Oral tradition is an essential historical record in spite of its limitations. This was how the Onondaga themselves conveyed their history, and when those accounts survive they are extremely valuable. This is where the issue of translation becomes important. One of the first things Europeans noticed about Iroquoian people was their skill as speakers. As early as 1636, Fr.



Figure 1.12. The Storyteller. Painting by Ernest Smith, 1939.

Jean de Brébeuf remarked that they "do not stumble in their speeches." They use "an infinity of metaphors, of various circumlocutions, and other rhetorical methods." The Iroquois seemed to have been born orators, he concluded. Coming from a Jesuit formally trained in rhetoric, this was not faint praise. Verbal skill was an essential component of leadership. "All the authority of their chief is in his tongue's end; for he is powerful in so far as he is eloquent," noted Fr. Paul Le Jeune (35).

The point is, when we read translations of Five Nations speakers, especially from council meetings or on other formal occasions, we need to be as mindful of who was interpreting and recording as of who was speaking. Some translators, such as Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot or Hilletje van Olinda, are more reliable than others because they spoke fluent Onondaga or Mohawk. More of the subtlety, irony, and satire that Five Nations speakers could use so skillfully came through in Chaumonot's and Van Olinda's translations. With other interpreters, translations were more perfunctory and often stripped of their expressiveness. As Cadwallader Colden, that good servant of empire, admitted in 1727, "I suspect our Interpreters may not have done Justice to the Indian Eloquence" (36).

The way in which seventeenth-century Iroquoian speech was translated and recorded makes an enormous difference when using historical documents. Native names are a case in point. Although it is critical to know who spoke at council meetings and conferences, this can be difficult to determine. Often the speaker is not identified in the record, either by name or by nation. Even when the participants were recorded, the spelling of names was usually phonetic and seldom standardized. As a result, the same person might be listed several different ways. For example, the important late seventeenth-century Onondaga chief Aqueendaro is also called Aquandarondes and Kaqueendara in the documents. Like many Onondaga, however, he also had more than one name, Sadegenaktie, also spelled Sadegajeidon, Sadekanaktie, and Sudagunachte. Fortunately, in this case the interpreter at one conference noted that the speaker was Aqueendera alias Sadegenaktie, an important clarification (**37**).

#### The Problem of the Iroquois



The quality of the translation is vital. For Five Nations speakers, style was as significant as substance. As Father Le Jeune observed, Indian people frequently used metaphors in their speech, and if one did not recognize this one would not understand what they said (**38**). Over the course of the seventeenth century, words such as *trees* and *chains* came to represent complex social and political relationships just as other seemingly simple words like *kettle*, *ax*, and *dog* became a kind of linguistic shorthand for important actions and responsibilities. Le Jeune's advice still applies when we try to understand seventeenth century Iroquoian speakers. This is why oral tradition is so valuable—it comes from within a culture as opposed to what those outside it may have seen, heard, or written down.

Europeans marveled at Iroquoian rhetorical skill and their phenomenal capacity for memory and recall. "They have very good memories and often take great pains to recount their past affairs. That is why they never forget anything," observed the Frenchman René Cuillerier during his captivity among the Oneida. But by definition, oral tradition is an artifact of memory, and memory is fallible. As historian David Henige has observed, "A retentive memory is [still] weaker than the palest ink." Just how closely the recorded oral traditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries match those of the seventeenth is unclear. This does not change the value that surviving oral tradition has to inform us about the past. Oral tradition may not be the place to look for facts, but as a means to understand a culture and its values there are few better sources (**39**).

#### Using archaeological evidence

Archaeology is the third source of information used in this book. Archaeology is a behavioral science, one that seeks to understand people and their culture by studying the material remains. To most, this means artifacts—that is, the objects people made, used, and left behind. Artifacts are important, but the archaeological record also informs us about other aspects of a culture. How did people organize and use space, in communities and on the landscape? What resources were important and how were they used? How did people define themselves, and how did that identity change over time? These are all essential questions in reconstructing the story of Onondaga people between 1650 and 1711.

Archaeological evidence differs from documentary evidence in at least three ways. First, it is the direct result of what people did. When archaeologists excavate a site, the evidence they recover is the product of what past people did, whether it was to construct a palisade, make a particular style of pottery, or dispose of food waste. Unlike historical documents, there are no translators or editors. This does not mean that archaeological information is risk-free. There are many ways to interpret the past from the material record. We will return to the problems in interpreting archaeological evidence below.

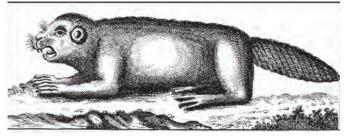
Second, archaeology records a different set of behaviors than historical documents and oral tradition. When people write something down or pass on a story, they do so intentionally. This applies to the archaeological record as well. For example, where a town was built or how the dead were buried. But archaeology also documents less self-conscious behaviors. Things found may have been modified and reused, then forgotten or discarded, actions less likely to have been recorded in historical documents.

Third, the archaeological record can be incredibly detailed, providing a level of information not found elsewhere. For example, the historical record may contain inventories that list trade goods such as glass beads, while the archaeological record provides the specific details. How many glass beads, in what shapes, colors, style of manufacture? This degree of information can be overwhelming and may even be dismissed as trivial. Who really cares whether those beads are drawn tubes, wire wound, or molded? Yet it is precisely because of these details that archaeologists are able to address the larger questions of spatial organization, technology, and identity in ways the historical record cannot. Indeed, when properly excavated and analyzed, the archaeological record is likely to contain far more information than we can currently process or understand.

For all these reasons, archaeological evidence, or what archaeologist Neal Ferris has called "archaeological history," provides not only an independent source of information about the past, but an independent basis for evaluating the information from historical documents and oral tradition (40). For example, one of the standard historical answers to "The Problem of the Iroquois" is the Beaver Wars. This is the longstanding belief that the Iroquois went to war because they did not have enough beaver to trade and therefore had to get their furs from someone else. This argument is based on a few contemporary reports, such as the 1671 observation by the French governor that, "It is well known that the Iroquois nations, especially the four upper ones, do not hunt any Beaver or Elk. They absolutely exhausted the side of Ontario which they inhabit . . . a long time ago." Although recent historians have questioned this assumption, no one has looked at the archaeological evidence. As it turns out, the material culture record tells quite a different story. The beaver did not disappear. Faunal assemblages from seventeenth-century Onondaga sites, at least into the 1680s, contain a significant amount of beaver bone. This does not

change until after 1687, when the Onondaga and all the Five Nations became so mired in the imperial wars of their European neighbors that all trading virtually ceased. Just because a contemporary source said the beaver in Iroquois territory were gone did not mean that they were (**41**).

**Figure 1.13**. A beaver. Drawing from Louis-Armand, Baron de Lahontan, 1703.



#### The Problem of the Iroquois

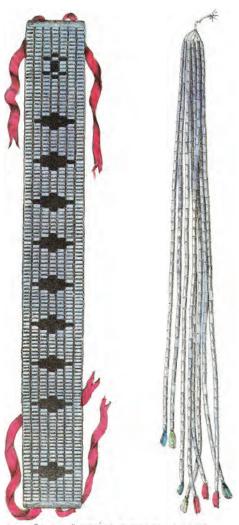
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Wampum is another example. Questions of what wampum is, where it came from, and how it was used all provide an example of the lack of fit between Iroquoian oral tradition and archaeological evidence. From the perspective of oral tradition, wampum is deeply interconnected with the founding of the League and the Great Law, events that occurred at some time in the distant past. From an archaeological point of view, wampum is defined as the set of small tubular beads made from white (*Busycon* whelk) and purple (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) marine shell, and the latter do not occur until early in the seventeenth century. Here the issue is not which view is correct, but whether we are using the same definition for wampum. Things become even more complex when oral tradition becomes embedded in specific material forms, such as wampum belts. We will look at wampum and its many uses in subsequent chapters (42).

Interpreting what artifacts mean is perhaps the greatest challenge in archaeology. It requires moving across boundaries of space and time. What did a copper kettle or string of shell beads mean to an Onondaga in the early seventeenth century? Certainly not the same thing they meant to a Dutchman, nor would either have viewed these objects in the same way 50 years later. This is a story in which meaning changes across cultural boundaries as well as over time.

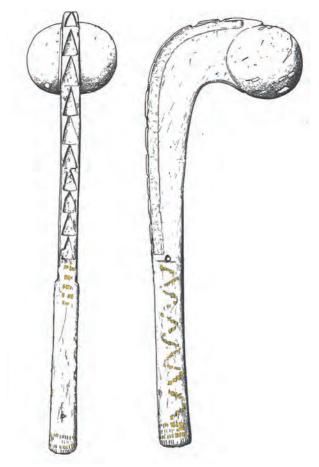
Archaeology is equal parts imagination and rigor. It is the ability to imagine how people lived lives very different from our own and the willingness to test our ideas in a scientific and rigorous manner. The last part is particularly important because archaeological evidence does not speak for itself. This is very much the case when objects come from a culture different than ours. We can learn a great deal about the Onondaga based on the things they left behind, but what those things meant to the people who made and used them may be beyond our ability to discern. This is why archaeologists place such a strong emphasis on testing their ideas in as many ways as possible. Learning to interpret archaeological evidence is like learning a new language, one with its own vocabulary and rules of grammar. Archaeologists commonly use a set of conceptual tools when looking for patterns in the information they have collected. These are the equivalent of asking who wrote a historical document and why. We will use several of these tools when we speak the language of archaeology –

**Figure 1.14**. Wampum belt and strings of wampum. Drawing by Lewis Henry Morgan, 1851.



LEFT - GA - SWEH-TA OTE-KO-A OR BELT OF WAMPUM

- Visibility How much of the evidence do we really see?
- Context How reliable is a piece of information? How reliable is its source?
- Sample Do we have enough information to answer our question?
- Scale Are we asking the question at an appropriate level? Is the information too specific or too general?



**Figure 1.15**. A wooden ball-headed war club inlaid with brass and shell, collected before 1656.

One example of archaeological visibility is a wooden ball-headed war club inlaid with brass and shell. It was collected before 1656 and was preserved mostly intact. If this object had been found in an archaeological context after more than 300 years in the ground, how much of it would have remained? Could it be recognized as a wooden war club, or would it only be scraps of brass and shell?

It is a big step from analyzing the particulars of the archaeological record to understanding the behaviors that produced it. Humans are pattern-making and patternmatching creatures. Recognizing patterns allows us to make the connections that are the focus of this story. Archaeological analysis gives us another advantage. It allows us to examine similar patterns in other places and times.

#### Crossing cultural boundaries

One of the greatest differences between Onondaga people and Europeans during the seventeenth century was how they saw themselves and their place in the world. Among these differences were such

fundamental issues as the nature of authority, ownership of property, and spiritual expression. One of the goals of this book is to examine how these culturally defined values, not just their material manifestations, changed during the last half of the seventeenth century. Only when we step outside our own comfortable and familiar cultural realm do we begin to understand how pervasive it is. This was certainly true for Europeans during the seventeenth century as they tried to adapt to the unexpectedly harsh environment of eastern North America and understand its profoundly different inhabitants. Since we live in a different world than either the Onondaga or the Europeans of the seventeenth century, this applies to us as well. Therefore, before going further, we need to define some terms.

#### The Problem of the Iroquois



The most fundamental term is *culture*. Since this book is a study of Onondaga culture and how it changed during the seventeenth century, how can we define culture? What does it mean? Culture is the combination of knowledge, values, and beliefs shared by a group of people. It defines what is considered important, right, and acceptable. Culture also includes the ability to communicate these elements through language, visual symbols, and other means. An important and complementary term is *identity*. Basically, identity is culture viewed from the inside. It is the historically, or traditionally, understood sense of self and community, the way a person or group expresses their participation in a culture. Identity is what differentiates Us from Them (**43**).

Although this book is primarily about one culture, that of Onondaga people, it is not a story told in isolation. If the seventeenth century was about anything, it was the interactions among many cultures, Native and European. This is where the language gets complicated. Traditionally archaeologists have used two terms—*contact* and *acculturation*—to discuss these interactions. Although both have been critiqued in recent professional literature, they are still valuable analytical tools when properly defined.

*Contact* is a shorthand phrase for cross-cultural contact, or what happens when two different cultures meet. While this may seem self-explanatory, it is important to specify the details. Which cultures were involved? What kind of contact occurred? Are we talking about encounters that lasted for hours, days, a year, or much longer? And what exactly crossed cultural boundaries—material objects, people, germs, ideas? (44). In terms of the Onondaga, contact with Europeans may have occurred in four distinct phases.

*First report*. Word arrives in a community that something new or unexpected has happened, but there is no physical evidence. In Onondaga, this may explain the extraordinary elaboration in Native material culture at the Barnes site, which appears to date to the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

*First physical evidence*. This might be the arrival of a strip of brass made into a ring or a piece of iron, a physical object that confirms the report. In Onondaga, this occurs on two contemporary sites, Temperance House and Atwell, which both appear to date from the early to mid-sixteenth century.

*First face-to-face encounter*. Someone reliable actually sees one of these strange pale man-beings and can verify their existence. In the Onondaga case, it could have occurred at any point during the sixteenth century and at any number of locations between the mouth of the St. Lawrence River and the mid-Atlantic coast. Samuel de Champlain's participation in a 1615 Huron raid on Onondaga may have been the first opportunity for many Onondaga to see one of these exotic beings for themselves (**45**).



**Figure 1.16**. Englishmen giving Indians beads and knives, ca. 1612. Engraving by Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, ca. 1627.

*Sustained relations*. The arrival of resident French Jesuits in the mid-1650s meant that everyone in Onondaga could now see these new people for themselves. This is where the historical narrative in this book begins.

In these four phases, the process of cross-cultural contact extended over more than a century, ca. 1525 to 1650. While we may not know exactly what happened at each of these stages or how they translate into archaeological evidence, they provide a basis for building testable hypotheses (46).

Acculturation is the other term archaeologists have used to discuss crosscultural interactions. Acculturation is the process of reciprocal interaction that occurs when two cultures come into contact with one another and the changes that occur in each as a result (47). In recent years the term acculturation has taken a beating. It has been criticized as "passive and directional in outcome . . . and totally inadequate for considering multidimensional changes in multiethnic social environments." Some critics have gone even further and argued that the "concept of acculturation is flawed," since "it implies that change is impersonal and mainly unidirectional, that it takes place in cultures as a whole. It denies or ignores agency, the fact that individuals make changes" (48).

It is true that the concept of acculturation has not always been used well, theoretically or methodologically. However, the flawed use of a framework does not mean that the framework itself is flawed. Anthropologist James Cusick reached the same, if often overlooked, conclusion in his reassessment of acculturation and its applications in archaeology. "If there is one flaw in recent critiques of acculturation" Cusick wrote, "it is that they tend to condemn an enormous literature by focusing on one or two formulations" (49). In contemporary archaeological practice, acculturation has remained too tempting a target to ignore. Recent critiques have argued that acculturation implicitly encourages predefined notions of culture and is bogged down in old models with their donor and recipient interactions. Therefore the critics claim that these models "cannot provide analytical access to the unequal relations of power, labor, economy, gender, sex and politics that wrapped up colonizers and colonized alike." Actually, this is



exactly what contemporary acculturation models do best. (50).

For non-archaeologists, this is a lot of technical discussion on what may seem a minor point. But there is a fundamental question here, if we want to examine the Onondaga story or make an attempt to understand the past. How do we talk about cultures that are fundamentally different from our own? This is a difficult question, and so is any attempt to answer it. Still, have we as behavioral scientists become so intellectually impoverished that only by deconstructing our previous work can we save ourselves from the negative master narratives of dependency, colonialism, and other tropes of decline? Folks, it is just not that bad. Of course, we need to be selfcritical, individually and as a discipline, but let us not spend our energy on creating another set of tropes and making up new names for welldocumented phenomena (51).

Recent acculturative terms and frameworks provide a strong basis for discussing cross-cultural interactions and are well suited to archaeological inquiry. For example, two concerns have driven much of the recent work on acculturation—how can behavioral scientists "understand people *in their own terms*," and how do people born in one cultural context learn to live in a different one? To address these questions, analytical frameworks are built around key concepts such as the nature of contact between different cultures, reciprocal influence, and change as both a process and an outcome (52). All of this is familiar territory for most archaeologists and quite compatible with current models of agency and practice.

I see these recent acculturation models functioning as formulas, ones that aim to define the attributes of each culture and the nature of the interactions between them. These interactions can be defined in a variety of ways. For instance, the relationship may be symmetrical or asymmetrical, as Ferris suggests. They can be characterized by varying degrees of entanglement, creolization, *métissage*, or hybridity (53).

What is important is that these models can be designed and tested in a number of ways—

- Multidirectional Interactions can occur in either direction.
- Multidimensional Current cross-cultural models can utilize several variables, including diversity, equality, conformity, wealth, space, and time (54).
- Multiscalar Analysis can be done at the level of the individual, family or kin group, community, nation, or state.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, models of acculturation are nonjudgmental. There is no presumption of value, no predefined notion of dominant or subordinate, better or worse, unless one writes it into the formula. This is one reason why I value an acculturative approach. It is a

good way to keep our own analysis in perspective. We do not conduct our research or write from some lofty and dispassionate plane. Our theories and analyses, no matter how sophisticated, still rest on one side of a cultural divide across from whomever we study. Perhaps we can never fully escape from our own view of the world, but using an acculturative framework at least keeps us mindful of where we stand.



**Figure 1.17**. First Contact. A group of Chimbu men photographed by Michael Leahy on his 1933 expedition into the Wahgi Valley, New Guinea.

If Onondaga people saw themselves and their world in fundamentally different ways than European peoples did, how did they react to European things, ideas, and ultimately Europeans themselves? When, how, and to what degree were these new influences integrated into their lives, communities, and culture? Or, to what degree were they rejected, and in what ways? Was it through active resistance, by marginalizing them, or by simply ignoring them? Most important, how did Onondaga strategies for dealing with Europeans

change over time? Although the years between 1650 and 1711 were ones of transformation for both Native and European peoples, many things remained the same, or what Neal Ferris has appropriately called "changing continuities" (55). The primary issue for the telling of this story is one of identity, or more specifically as the century progressed, the question of how did the definition of who and what was Onondaga change? These are questions we will explore in the chapters to come.

# Chapter Two. Reconstructing a Past

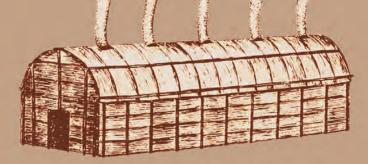




Figure 2.1. An Iroquoian cosmology. Painting by Ian Wallace, © 2015.

o understand the Onondaga of the seventeenth century and the choices they made, we must leave behind our familiar world of technology and Western thinking and enter a fundamentally different time and place. This conceptual world is an active, animate place, one in which the physical and spiritual realms are not separate, but fundamentally linked together. This is a social world, not a natural one, a place where everything is related and kept in

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balance through appropriate ritual and shared responsibility. It is a world of cycles and symmetries, one where life and death are present in the rising and setting of the sun, the waxing and waning of the moon, and the turn of the seasons. It is a world without beginning or end, one in which time flows through an ongoing turning of events, seasons, and lives in a spiraling manner, frequently similar but never the same. It is a world without inherited privilege, a Last Judgment, or a bottom line (1).

#### Entering an Onondaga World

Two key beliefs structure this conceptual world, *orenda* and *balance*. Orenda is the Iroquois word for the intrinsic potency that exists in all things—the power to make, renew, transform, or destroy. This potential not only exists, but can be transferred or directed in different ways. This is not a familiar concept in the contemporary Western world, where things are just things and their purpose is to suit our needs. Nor, as anthropologist John N. B. Hewitt observed, do common English words, such as mystery, magic, or wonder, convey the nature or extent of these powers. One appropriate way to think about orenda is in terms of its ability to animate, to imbue with spirit, to shape or reshape one's self and surroundings. For example, the orenda of medicinal plants lies in their ability to heal or to make themselves invisible if they are being sought for an improper purpose. Orenda itself is neither good nor bad. It is power than can be used for either purpose.

In practice, the term orenda is most often used to describe its positive or socially constructive uses. These might include an individual's success in hunting, war, and marriage, or the maintenance of good social relationships within a family or a community. Orenda is also the power to give a gift. On the other side, when this potential is used for negative or socially destructive purposes it is called *otkon* by the Iroquois, or *oki* by the Huron. This term means poisonous or evil power and is used to describe witches and their unwholesome activities (2).

Although its linguistic origins remain unclear, the word orenda may derive from a northern Iroquoian term related to song, music, or prayer. In this sense, orenda refers to a person's inherent potency, or medicine, as expressed through their personal song or chant. This connection is supported by Fr. Julien Garnier's seventeenth-century French-Seneca dictionary. There he translates orenda as equivalent to "song, dance, ceremony, fate, feast, prayer, [and] medicine." Most linguists translate orenda and otkon as nouns. What is important to remember is that these are active, not passive terms. As archaeologist George Hamell has observed, "to sing is to en-chant" or to make something happen through intent and willfulness. In other words, the birds do not sing because it is spring, they cause spring to happen by their singing. Said another way, it is "Bluebird's spring song that frightens off the ice and thereby breaks up Flint's winter" (3).

In our world, singing is usually considered entertainment, although it is used for devotional purposes as well. In the Onondaga world, singing plays many roles. As the Jesuit Pierre Millet observed in 1669 while living in Onondaga, it was their custom to sing, not only "while preparing their feasts," but on almost any occasion, including formal presentations at council meetings. In 1693 the Onondaga chief Aqueendaro, in addressing "the whole house," spoke "to the four nations in a Song saying . . . We Onondages sing a Song that others may sing after us, for it is our old custome." Even today, songs are an important component of the many Iroquoian texts that survive and "combine to make up the Tradition" (4).

The second key concept in an Onondaga world is balance. Balance is maintaining equilibrium between opposing forces. It is the actions, alliances, and conflicts of these powers that create the world in which we live. These forces are evident in the fundamental dualities of the natural and social order—birth and death, male and female, health and disease. Unlike Christianity, this view of the world is not a battle between good and evil. It is the perpetual struggle between balance and imbalance, order and chaos. The importance of maintaining balance between opposing forces underlies everything, from the epic struggle of Sapling and Flint, which is reenacted every year at Mid-Winter through the Bowl Game and other ceremonies, to the structure of Iroquoian society. To better understand the world in which the Onondaga lived, let us explore further how it is structured and meet some of its inhabitants.

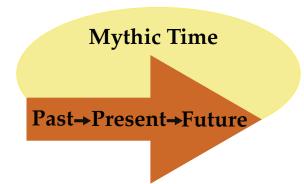


Figure 2.2. A linear sense of time compared to mythic time.

#### Time

Just as we break time down in particular ways, so do the Onondaga, who make fundamental distinctions between mythic time and time past and present.

*Mythic time.* This is time beyond the boundaries of human existence and understanding. It is the time before and that always is, or as one might say, "As it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be." This is time in the realm of the Sky

World, the original home of the spirit forces and other-than-human manbeings who now inhabit the World Above and the World Below. Through the proper rituals and ceremonies, it is possible for humans to experience briefly this sense of the eternal and unchanging (5).

*Time past and present*. Just as we divide the past into centuries, millennia, and eras, Onondaga people also divide up the past in a linear way, especially as it relates to the creation and events of this world. The Time of Creation includes three events—Sky Woman's fall through a hole in the Sky Dome, her landing on this world created for her on the back of a Great

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Turtle, and her bearing two sons, the Light Twin and the Dark Twin. It was the struggle between these brothers that shaped the world as we know it. In this struggle, the Light Twin, also called Sapling or Sky Holder, made the useful and constructive parts of the world, while the Dark Twin, Flint or Ice, always sought to destroy and subvert them. For example, when Sapling created the streams and rivers for humans to use, Flint filled them with rapids and whirlpools. When Sapling created the growing season, it was Flint who brought it to an end with his club of ice. Yet each spring, Sapling is reborn, vanquishing Ice, bringing light and new life back into the world (6).



**Figure 2.3.** The Light and Dark Twins—(a) Flint with his club of ice, and (b) Sapling vanquishing Flint with strawberry juice. Paintings by Ernest Smith, 1936.

Onondaga people also divide up their history into periods based on the achievements of three great prophets. The first era is that of Sapling, the time when the essential knowledge for people to survive on the earth was provided. This era included creation of the clans, how to plant and maintain crops, and the introduction of four ceremonies of thanksgiving. In human terms, this is when chiefs learned to serve as *trees*, upholding the law and protecting the people, while shamans learned to use their power to heal and maintain harmony. The second era is that of the Peacemaker, he who ended the Dark Times of factionalism, conflict, and war by establishing the League and the Condolence ceremony. The third era is the time of the prophet Handsome Lake. His teaching of the *Gaiwiio* (Good Word) revitalized Longhouse people during the nineteenth century, and is still practiced today.

Since the arrival of Europeans, past events have been described in other ways. As Onondaga faithkeeper Oren Lyons observed in 1980, they had sat through "five days [centuries] of invasion, five days that our white brothers have been here" (7). In the Onondaga world, human time is also measured in three cycles of activity. These are daily practices, seasonal or yearly

practices, and those that occur on a generational basis. We will look at these cycles, especially the annual and generational ones, in more detail below.

d e f

#### Place

thunderbirds from the Northeast (not to scale)—

Figure 2.4. Images of

(a) petroglyph, Brattleboro, VT,

(b) petroglyph, Safe Harbor, PA,

(c) incised figure on a ceramicpot sherd, Martha's Vineyard, MA,

(d) an incised figure on a fragment of slate, Blue Hill Bay, ME,

(e) an incised figure on a slate gorget, Liverpool, NY,

(f) an incised figure on the ventral surface of a platform pipe, OH. As with time, place in the Onondaga world could refer to several distinct realms. The fundamental divisions are the World Above, the World Below, and this world. Each realm has its own inhabitants and powers. Like the ongoing struggle between opposing forces, this view of a partitioned world was widely shared by Native people across the Eastern Woodlands.

*The World Above.* This is the home of the Sun, other Grandfathers and Grandmothers, and powerful spirit beings such as the Thunderers and the Winds. This is also the abode of the Sky People

who dance around the North Star, their council fire. The World Above includes the Sky Dome, where the movement of the constellations and planets provide structure and timing for the medicine rites, and the Milky Way, which marks out the pathway spirits must follow to reach the Village of the Souls. In many parts of eastern North America, especially among the Algonquian-speaking people of the Great Lakes and New England, the thunderbird was the most powerful spirit being, or *manitou*, in the World Above. Thunderbirds do not appear to have been part of Five Nations' cosmology until after 1650.

*The World Below.* For Five Nations people, the most powerful spirit being dwells in the World Below. This is the abode of the Great Horned Serpent or Fire Dragon. In his many guises, he can enter this world through caves, springs, whirlpools, and lakes. He lives below ground or underwater, otherwise his fire would burn up the world. Occasionally he can be seen as the Meteor Man-Being, or the Fire Dragon of the White Body, flying through the night sky on the way to his lodge

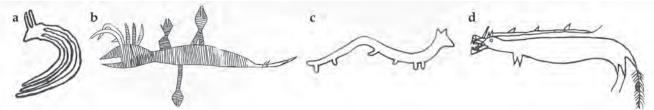


Figure 2.5. Images of horned serpents and panthers from the Northeast (not to scale)—

(a) petroglyph, Little Indian Rock, Safe Harbor, PA,

(b) an incised image on a mica plaque, Brookhaven, NY, (c) petroglyph, Peterborough, Ontario,

(d) an incised image on a stone pipe, Pearson Village site, OH.

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#### Reconstructing a Past





beneath Lake Ontario. He guards the Great Tree at the center of the world and is able to transform himself into human or other form. Among these is the Rattlesnake Man-Being who is the prototypical shaman capable of using its great power to kill or to cure. Another is the Underwater Panther or Long Tail, guardian of the life-restoring substances of power, and in his most disruptive form he is the Dragon of Discord. Finally as the Great Horned Serpent, he is also the processer of the dead, reducing them to dry bones so that the dead can begin their journey to the Village of the Souls (8).

*This world*. Between the World Above and the World Below lies this world. Formed on the back of a Great Turtle to provide a home for Sky Woman and her descendants, this is where real people live along with other kinds of beings—animal brothers, ghosts, and monsters. This world is the intersection point between the World Above and the World Below, the place where the great opposing powers meet and where human beings are likely to encounter powerful spirit beings. At the center of this world stands the Great Tree that grows up to the Sky Dome, while its roots reach out in the cardinal directions and into the World Below (9).

For Five Nations people, Onondaga is the center of this world. It was here on the shores of Onondaga Lake where Tadodaho, a powerful and dangerous sorcerer, was healed, the League formed, and where wampum was discovered. This is also where the Great Tree of Peace stands, a white pine that is a living symbol of the League. From here, the smoke from the Council Fire rises up into the World Above, carrying the words of the people with it (**10**).

*From the center to the World's Rim.* The name Onondaga means on, or on top of, the hill or mountain, and the people refer to themselves as people on the hill, or *onotá? ke·kà*. The belief that

**Figure 2.6**. Images of horned serpents and panthers from central New York—

(a) two views of a partial effigy pestle, Seneca River, NY,

(b) effigy club, Phoenix, NY.

b

Onondaga and Empire



Figure 2.7. Major rivers of the Northeast

they live at the center of the world is reinforced by geography. From a Five Nations' point of view, all rivers run downhill. These rivers flow in the four directions. To the east, the Mohawk River and its tributaries flow into the Hudson. To the south, the Delaware and Susquehanna drain into the mid-Atlantic. To the west, the Allegheny is an upper tributary of the Ohio and then the Mississippi River. To the north, the Genesee and Oswego Rivers drain into Lake Ontario and on into the St. Lawrence. In Europe, all roads might lead to

Rome, but in northeastern North America all the rivers seem to flow from Iroquoia (11).

From Onondaga, the world is perceived as a series of concentric circles extending out to the World's Rim. The first circle contains the town of Onondaga, along with its surrounding agricultural fields and cleared land. Within the town, a plaza, platform, or pole might mark the center. Around this, the longhouses of each clan are arranged along with additional structures for meetings, housing guests, storage, and other purposes. In a world of symmetries, a longhouse is circular in cross section, although only the half above ground is visible. The caches, storage pits, and even burials in the below-ground half might be less obvious, but are equally important.

A second circle begins at the Wood's Edge. This is where the town's agricultural fields and cleared land end and marks the threshold into a different realm. The Wood's Edge is the access point to the wild plants and animals needed to make food and medicine for the people of the town. It is also the community's boundary, the place where ritual arrivals and departures take place. Beyond this point, one might encounter anyone or anything—kin, enemies, or other-than-human kinds of people. Such encounters are likely, especially when hunting, picking berries, or straying into places of spiritual power, such as caves or springs. From the Wood's Edge to the World's Rim are increasingly strange and unknown lands inhabited by other kinds of man-beings, monsters, and spirit beings. Many stories are told about warriors and adventurous young men who set out to follow the sun west, toward the end of the earth. Along the way, they are

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met and challenged by a variety of physical obstacles and beings. Some come back with stories of strange places and creatures. Others never return.

The World's Rim is where the Sky Dome meets the world's rocky edge. This is another threshold, a boundary beyond which mortal humans cannot go. Beyond the western edge of the world is a great body of water that must be crossed before one can enter the Spirit World where the Village of the Souls is located (12).

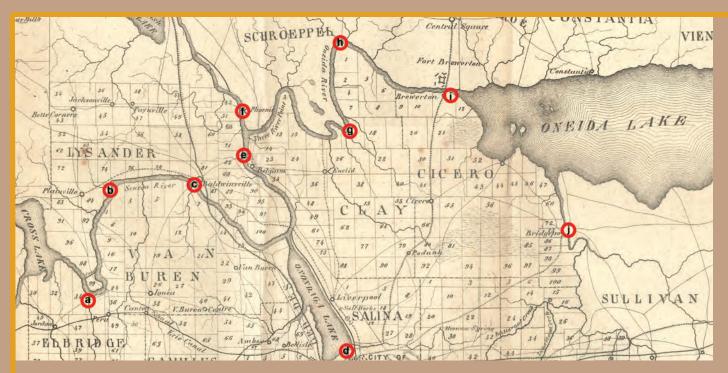
*Onondaga territory.* Onondaga understanding of the relationship between people and land is fundamentally different from our Western thinking. Land, water, and the resources they contain are not something that people can own. They were present long before us and will be here long after we depart. As a result, it is people who belong to the land. Land does not belong to people. From this perspective, a group's territory is defined by their core areas of settlement, the corridors that connect them, and the peripheral areas used for hunting, collecting, and other activities. These peripheral areas might be shared with one or more neighboring groups.

Using these terms, Onondaga territory is an area roughly 65 km (40 mi) across, bounded on the east by Cazenovia Lake and on the west by Cross and Skaneateles Lakes. The fishing settlements located at what we now know as Brewerton and Phoenix and along the Seneca River define the northern boundary, while the Tully Lakes and the headwaters of Limestone Creek serve as the southern boundary. Beyond this core area, Onondaga territory includes a large periphery that extends east along Chittenango Creek, north to the mouth of the Oswego and Salmon Rivers, west to the Montezuma Marshes, south across the eastern Finger Lakes to the Tioughnioga River and its confluence with the Chenango and Susquehanna Rivers.

*Onondaga origins.* The question of origins, or where you come from, is less important in Onondaga than one's commitment to the nation. Since no one owns the land, there is no need to justify being there. From an Onondaga perspective, they are here because they have always been here. However, there are many stories about how Onondaga people came to live in this land. Some say they have lived in the same place since they "came out of the earth." Others tell of living elsewhere and moving into the region from further west. Early in the nineteenth century the Onondaga believed that their clans had different origins. Of the eight clans, some sprang from the ground along the Seneca River, others had originated on the shore of Lake Ontario, while others first came into existence in the hills of Onondaga (13).

#### The Way the World Works

A primary function of any culture is to explain how the world works, what the rules are, and what you need to know to survive. For the Onondaga, this essential knowledge, and the values, kinship, and authority on which



**Figure 2.8.** Onondaga territory and fishing sites—(a) Jack's Rift, (b) Bishop's Rift, (c) McHarie's Rift (Baldwinsville), (d) Kaneenda (Syracuse), (e) Gaston's Rift, (f) Phoenix, (g) the Oak Orchard site, (h) Caughdenoy, (i) Tethiroquen (Brewerton), (j) Kachnawaacharege (Bridgeport).

# Case Study 1. Onondaga fishing sites

Onondaga sites are usually thought of as large palisaded towns located in the hills away from major lakes and rivers. This description, however, misses a whole category of important sites, those related to fishing. Fish were an essential part of the Onondaga diet and catching them was a yearround activity. Beauchamp identified at least 10 locations as traditional Onondaga fishing sites. On the map these include Jack's Rift, Bishop's Rift, McHarie's Rift, and Gaston's Rift, all on the Seneca River. Additional rifts and weirs were located at the Oak Orchard site, Caughdenoy, and Tethiroguen on the Oneida River, Kaneenda at the mouth of Onondaga Creek, Kachnawaacharege on Chittenango Creek, and Phoenix on the Oswego River. These locations appear to have been used for hundreds, if not thousands, of years to catch and process a wide range of fish species. Covering all of central New York including the Finger Lakes, the Seneca-Oneida-Oswego river system was one of

the most important inland fisheries in the Northeast.

These fishing sites are archaeologically multicomponent but most have produced assemblages of seventeenth-century artifacts, both Native and European, indistinguishable from those of the main Onondaga towns located some 35 kilometers (20 mi) southeast in the Pompey Hills. The Jesuits often stayed in these fishing villages as they came and went to Onondaga, and their descriptions tell us much about the diverse ways by which fish were caught. Some were speared at night from canoes with burning torches in the bow. One Jesuit reported that during the summer, "a man can harpoon as many as a thousand [eels] in one night." Fish were also taken with nets and by hook.

What really impressed the Jesuits were the enormous stone weirs, some more than 1,200 feet in length (365.76 m). These were often



**Figure 2.9.** Two views of the stone fish weir at Bishop's Rift—top, drawing of workers in the river, and bottom, digital reconstruction of the stone emplacements, by L. F. Tantillo, 2016.

constructed in a w-shape with sluices and bark boxes at the points so "that they catch at the same time the Eels, that descend, and the Salmon, that always ascend." These monumental structures were still in use by the Onondaga when the first Yankee settlers arrived in the 1790s and were even evident in the 1870s, until they were inundated by the higher water levels required to create the Barge Canal. Although we seldom think of Iroquoian people and monumental stone structures together, these elaborate weirs, built and maintained over centuries, were an essential component of the Onondaga cultural landscape (14).



**Figure 2.10**. A father instructing his son. Painting by Ernest Smith, 1937.

everything they need (15).

it is based, defined their world as well as themselves. *Knowledge* 

For seventeenth-century Europeans, knowledge tended to emphasize technology—that is, what is useful in achieving mastery over people, material things, and the natural world. For the Onondaga, knowledge has a somewhat different basis. In part, it is practical and is based on sophisticated and intimate understanding of their world and its resources. This is knowledge accumulated over generations and essential for people who must find or make

Here are four statements about the world that Onondaga people have assumed to be true—

- Things go by twos and fours—There is light and dark, life and death, war and peace, male and female, each with two moieties, or sides. There are four seasons, four directions, four tests, and four ceremonies.
- There is a proper way to do things—The correct protocol in ceremony and in life is essential.
- Patterns must be respected—There is a rhythm of alternation tied to the cycle of the seasons, to one's life, and to the changing of generations.
- Success is a matter of mind—"Good mind" is a prerequisite to wellbeing in personal, interpersonal, and social terms. It is essential for consensus and indispensable for peace (16).

Equally important is social knowledge, or how to act in an animate and interconnected world. In this world one does not take without giving. One knows and observes the rules of responsibility, respect, and ritual. To do otherwise is to risk one's own health and prosperity, and even to threaten the balance that keeps the world from tumbling into chaos.

*Power and transformation*. In an Onondaga world, everything has orenda or the power to give a gift. The elm tree gives its bark to cover the longhouse. A deer gives its flesh, bone, and hide to feed and clothe the hunter's family. In a world based on balance and reciprocity, however, gifts come with obligations—to give thanks, to be respectful, and to give a gift in



return. The greatest gifts come from the Great Spirit Beings, substances that when consecrated for ritual use convey the power to cure social, physical, and spiritual ills. It is this power to restore life that is celebrated each year at Mid-Winter, when Sky Holder is revived to bring warmth, green plants, and new life back to the earth.

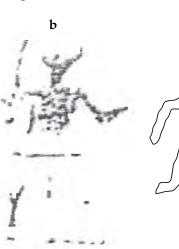
In this world, shamans are human people, men and women who know and control orenda and put it to particular uses. They are the intermediaries between this world and the spirit realm. A shaman can transform his or her form, fly across space and time to predict the future, and communicate with deceased ancestors. A shaman knows how to summon game and how to skin an animal in such a way that it remains animate and animating. For a powerful shaman, his mountain-lion robe, his marten-skin pipe bag, and even the animal effigy on the pipe within, are alive and able to warn of approaching danger.

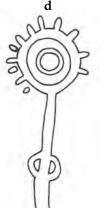
Shamanism is an essential aspect of the world in which Onondaga people live. The archaeological record provides many depictions of shaman and shamanistic activities, some extending back thousands of years. These depictions occur across the Northeast in rock art and are incised on smaller portable objects, such as pipes, gorgets, and pendants. Shamans have been portrayed in several ways, including having horns or rays extending from their heads as an indication of orenda, and an hourglass-shaped body (17).

*Illness and healing*. In the Onondaga world, illness is the result of imbalance and can have a physical, emotional, or spiritual cause. The Huron–Wendat, a closely related Iroquoian people who lived in what is now southern Ontario in Canada, distinguished three kinds of disease—those with natural causes, those brought on by "the desires of the soul" such as desire, jealousy, regret, and revenge, and those caused by sorcery. An illness might also result from an imbalance or affront, such as an

С







**Figure 2.11**. Shamanistic imagery in petroglyphs and pictographs from the Northeast (not to scale)—

(a) figure with horned head (style 1), Machias Bay, ME,

(b) figure with horned head, Nisula site, Québec,

(c) figure with horned head, Big Island Rock, Safe Harbor, PA,

(d) figure with radiating lines, Peterborough, Ontario.

а

b

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unfulfilled obligation to a kinsman or ancestor. In the Onondaga world, the cause of the illness has to be known and understood before an afflicted person can be treated. Only then can the appropriate treatment be found (18).

**Figure 2.12**. Shamanistic imagery on portable objects from the Northeast (not to scale)—

(a) figure with horned head incised on red sandstone, Staten Island, NY,

(b) figure with small triangular head incised on a Middle Woodland Period pipe, Revere, MA,

(c) figure with square head incised on the dorsal surface of a platform pipe, Middlesex County, NJ,

(d) a headless figure incised on a pink sandstone gorget, Sussex County, NY,

(e) a headless figure incised on a red-shale (slate?) gorget, Union County, NJ,

(f) a headless figure incised on the ventral surface of a platform pipe, Oxford site, MD,

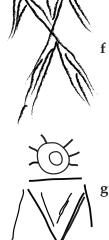
(g) figure with radiating lines incised on a sandstone pendant, Middlesex County, NJ. Healing can occur by several means. One is to observe the proper rituals for reestablishing balance. These might include sweating, dream guessing, dancing, and feasting. There are also medicine societies, or selected groups of healers, who can alleviate certain illness. Medicine might include a wide array of plants as well as the use of charms or other substances of power whose orenda could restore well-being and counteract malevolent otgu'. A powerful shaman might be required if witchcraft is suspected (19).

To Europeans, this approach to healing seemed primitive and fanciful. As a French Jesuit reported from Onondaga in 1656,

The other ceremony that they perform every Winter . . . regards the drugs used in dressing wounds. For this, all the Town Sorcerers or Jugglers, the Physicians of the Country, assemble to give strength to their drugs, and by the ceremony performed, to impart to them a virtue entirely distinct from that derived from the soil.

In spite of their skepticism, Onondaga healing rituals and their frequent success fascinated many of the Jesuits, who often recorded them in detail in their letters (20).

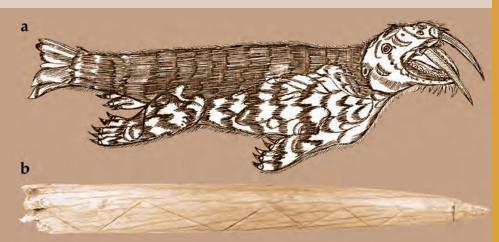
The orenda used for healing often came from other-than-human sources. The story of "The Good Hunter" exemplifies how humans and all the other-than-human kinds of people are mutually dependent and can help one another (Figure 2.14). In this story, the good hunter always set aside some of the flesh from the game he killed for the meat-eating animals of the forest and always carried some corn to leave behind for the others. One day while hunting, a party of enemies surprised the Good Hunter, scalped him, and left him for dead in the middle of the forest. A Wolf Man-Being came upon the body of his friend and howled to convene a council of all of the animal people. Together, they devised a plan to resuscitate the Good Hunter. First, this





# Case Study 2. Gifts from the Grandfathers and charms from monsters

Across northeastern North America, the traditional substances of power marine shell, native copper, and red stone—were often viewed as gifts from the Grandfathers, the Great Spirit Beings, who guarded them jealously. As French Jesuit Fr. Claude-Jean Allouez reported from the Upper Great Lakes in 1665,



**Figure 2.13.** Gifts from the Grandfathers— (a) drawing of a walrus or "mitchi-pichi," or *Mishipizheu*, by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1664-1675, (b) walrus-ivory dagger with an incised zigzag line, Atwell site, NY.

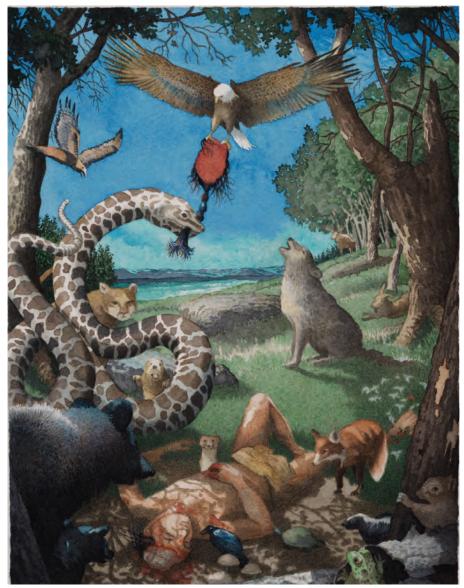
I have several times seen such pieces [of copper] in the Savages' hands . . . They keep them . . . as presents which the gods

dwelling beneath the water have given them, and on which their welfare is to depend. For this reason they preserve these pieces of copper, wrapped up, among their most precious possessions. Some have kept them for more than 50 years; others have had them in their families from time immemorial.

In addition, other substances, such as walrus ivory, sharks teeth, and pieces of sheet mica, were perceived as fragments of the horn, teeth, or scales of the Great Horned Serpent itself, or one of his many manifestations. The objects were frequently kept in special bundles or pouches and used for luck, healing, or protection. These associations appear to extend back thousands of years in the Northeast.

Many other objects could also help to channel spiritual power. As Jesuit missionary Fr. Paul Le Jeune reported, the Huron–Wendat used "Bears' claws, Wolves' teeth, Eagles' talons, certain stones, and Dog sinews" as charms. Among the Five Nations, fossils, quartz crystals, and even ancient projectile points thought to have been made by Stone Giants were kept as hunting or war charms. Teeth and bones were powerful charms. Walrus tusks, often made into daggers, have been found on several Five Nations sites. As late as 1670 Jesuit Louis Nicolas was presented a tooth of this animal by a young Cree hunter, who described its source as a "michi-pichi," *Mishipizheu*, or an "ugly Manitou."

The teeth or bones from mammoths and other Pleistocene megafauna that often were found across central New York were another source of power. Arthur C. Parker's story of The Mammoth Bear provides an example of how important these charms were well into the twentieth century. In this story, a young boy follows a mighty beast-conjurer into a great swamp, where he defeats him. As proof, the boy brings back the bear's tusk, the big tooth that sticks out, to his father and they use this as strong medicine so that they cannot be harmed. Parker's story ends with the observation that huge bones are still found there. Ongoing studies of central New York's paleoenvironment have documented that this is still the case (21).



*Figure 2.14. Resuscitating the Good Hunter. Painting by Ian Wallace,* © 2015.

required retrieving the scalp from the enemy's camp and restoring it to the head of the Good Hunter. Then, a special medicine was prepared, one to which each of his animal friends contributed. All the animals sang, even the rattlesnake, each adding to the music. With this medicine, and his scalp restored, the Good Hunter came back to life. When he returned to his village he took with him this knowledge for treating wounds (22).

The most powerful medicine comes from the Great Spirit Beings, especially the Great Horned Serpent also known as the Rattlesnake Man-Being or the Fire Dragon. He is the prototypical shaman capable of using its great power to disrupt life or to

renew it. He is the keeper of the substances of life-restoring power—shell, crystal, and copper—hidden in the World Below. He can be recognized by his horns or antlers, a mark of his chiefly status and procreative power. To assist him, the Great Horned Serpent has many helpers, a continuum of long-bodied, long-tailed animal man-beings. These range from snakes, salamanders, and lizards to weasels, martins, and otters, with panthers the most powerful. All these animals are closely identified with medicine and medicine societies (23).

To receive a gift of life-restoring orenda from the Great Horned Serpent or one of his helpers is a mark of honor and distinction. But, in a world based on balance and reciprocity, the greater the gift the greater the obligation. The fundamental dynamic is one in which medicine is received through ritual exchange with the powers of the World Below by offering the



appropriate sacrifice in return. Frequently, that sacrifice is a wife, daughter, or sister offered in marriage. The sacrifice can also be more literal, for example, killing a prisoner to resuscitate a slain kinsman, or killing a white dog in order to re-robe the Creator at Mid-Winter.

*Dreams and visions.* If spiritual power can both cause and cure illness, dreams and visions are the way in which this knowledge is often received. In a world where the visible and invisible are often interchangeable, dreams and visions received, especially while smoking tobacco, are as real as waking thought and action. These are the means by which the spirit world communicates with humans, sometimes to give guidance, sometimes to provide a warning. Dreams also have an authority of their own, one that compels fulfillment. Once the desire of the soul is discovered, it must be fulfilled through the appropriate rituals. These might include receiving or giving a gift, dancing, feasting, or gambling. "Dreams are very powerful and merit deep respect," observed Fr. Simon Le Moine, who knew the Onondaga well. Again and again, the Jesuits would complain that dreams were a major obstacle in their efforts at conversion (24).

*Death and beyond.* The taking of captives, heads, and scalps was an established part of Iroquoian warfare long before Europeans arrived. While a living captive was preferred, especially to take the place of a deceased relative, a head could be an acceptable substitute. Since heads were cumbersome, a warrior might prefer to take the scalp instead. Taking a head or a scalp was a form of soul capture, a way to put an enemy under your control. There could be several reasons to do this. Revenge was one. A scalp, in lieu of a living captive, could be given as a gift to a grieving kinswoman to take the place of a deceased family member. Until the scalp was purposefully destroyed, or allowed to naturally disintegrate, the soul embodied in it was bound to this world in a state of servitude and could not enter the Village of Souls (25).

Of course, death could come in more benign ways, and knowledge of proper treatment of the dead is essential. According to Iroquoian tradition, each individual possesses two souls, non-material entities that survive the death of the mortal body. The first soul is the disembodied persona of the individual, the personality or rational soul. Among many Native people in the eastern Woodlands, the soul is conceptually identified with soft tissues of the body, especially the head and hair. After death, this soul is literally bound to its corpse until the latter is reduced to dry bones. Only then can it complete the journey to the West and enter the Village of Souls (26).

The second spiritual entity that survives the death of the physical body is the sensate soul, an id-like force that lives within the larger marrowbearing bones and animates the body in life. After death, this soul is dangerous and can become an entity that will eat the living, literally and figuratively, through consumptive diseases of the mind or body. Stories

about vampire skeletons are common among the Five Nations and serve as a reminder that dry bones must be properly contained until they have been reduced into nothingness. Five Nations people even shunned the plants and animals that lived near cemeteries because of the potential danger of the sensate soul (27).



At death, the first or sensate soul of the deceased takes up the long road to the Spirit World. This is along the Pathway of the Souls, or what we call the Milky Way, and its stars are said to be souls on their journey. Along the way are Guardians of the Pathway, pairs of animal and other man-beings that border the path. Sometimes they help the travelers, sometimes they try to lure or frighten them off the path. In presentday terms, these Guardians are probably the prominent planets, stars, constellations,

Figure 2.15. The Vampire Ghoul. Painting by Ernest Smith, 1936.

or other astronomical phenomena. There are also more benevolent and tangible things along the path between the earth and sky. These include hanging fruits, especially berries. As Tonawanda Seneca Chief, Corbett Sundown, observed, "When you die, you're going to 'eat strawberries,' because strawberries line the road to heaven." Strawberries are also said to be very abundant in the Spirit World, where they grow on tall stalks that conveniently lift them above the surrounding grasses (28).

Figure 2.16. The pathway of souls. Painting by Ernest Smith, 1937.



The deceased are never entirely gone. They might live on in name, as do the original 50 chiefs of the League whose names are not allowed to die. They might live on in the person of an adopted replacement, one who has been remade to take the place of the departed. The adopted replacements are thought to bring the dead "back to life by making the living bear their names," as one Jesuit



observed, even assuming "all the duties of the deceased." In Onondaga the concept of community is one that reaches across generations (29).

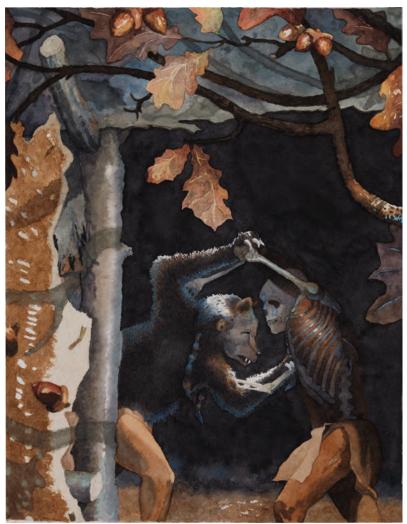
#### Values

While knowledge explains what is important in a culture and the way things work, values define what is right, proper, and acceptable. Essential Onondaga values can be summarized in four words—respect, reciprocity, responsibility, and ritual.

Respect is fundamental, not just for one's family and friends, but for everyone and everything. In a world of transformation and shifting appearances, it is seldom clear with whom one is dealing. Even your neighbor or brother may not be what they appear. This sense of not knowing lies at the heart of a story the Onondaga chief Albert Cusick told William M. Beauchamp in September 1886. It concerns two brothers who went hunting, got separated, and then sought shelter during a storm—

One of them thought of a shanty at the sugar camp where he might find shelter. It grew dark as he reached it and he had been within but a little while when he heard something coming. It was his brother, but he thought it was a bear, which might eat him up. So he kept close to the wall and squatted down as low as he could. As his brother breathed hard while feeling around, he thought it was the bear smelling for him and when his [brother's] cold hands brushed across his face, he thought it was the bear's paws. But the other was just as frightened, for he thought he had put his hands on a dead man's face. So, they clinched and wrestled, without saying a word, but neither could throw the other. They wrestled until they were out of breath and then

Figure 2.17. The two brothers. Painting by Ian Wallace, © 2015.



one said, "Are you a man?" But he could only speak in a frightened whisper. Then the other said, "Are *you* a man?" And then they were more frightened than ever, for each thought the other a ghost. So they wrestled again. Then one whispered, "Are you a live man?" and the other whispered, "Are you a live man?" And then they let go and got back to the wall. Then one got his breath and said, "Who are you? Are you a human being?" But when he spoke so loud, his brother knew his voice and was glad to find him there (**30**).

This is why respect is so important. In this interconnected and everwatchful world, a stranger might be kin, an enemy, a powerful sorcerer, or even a Great Spirit Being in human form.

Reciprocity defines the etiquette for receiving and giving gifts. Receiving a gift requires an equal exchange or sacrifice in return. Giving a gift also creates an obligation. For example, the hunter offers an appropriate gift of tobacco to a deer in exchange for its gifts of food, skin, bone, and sinew. If the hunter does not reciprocate appropriately, his chances of finding another deer are likely to decrease. Reciprocity is an essential component of social relationships, and alliances are dynamic. If ongoing relationships are not kept healthy and balanced, friends might turn into enemies. Therefore, social connections need to be reevaluated constantly, kept fresh, renewed. Reciprocity is the means by which mutual commitment is expressed (**31**).

The greater the gift, the more important that it be returned appropriately. As mentioned above, the greatest gifts come from the most powerful of the Great Spirit Beings. Failure to honor the obligations of respect and reciprocity is an invitation for retribution. The Jesuit Claude-Jean Allouez heard a story that demonstrates this while he was exploring Lake Superior in 1669. Long before the French arrived, four young men stopped to camp on the shore of a floating island. Here they found large pieces of copper with which they loaded their canoe when they set out the next morning. They had not gone far when a powerful voice expressed great wrath at the theft. While there was disagreement over whether this voice was Thunder, a certain spirit they call Mishipizheu, or something else, the outcome remained the same. All four young men died shortly after (32).

Responsibility also operates at several levels. Each person is responsible for his or her actions as well as the overall health of the community. Part of that responsibility is to maintain order, especially by preventing blood feuds. The ideal is to be at peace, to be of "one head, one heart, and one mind." In this dangerous and uncertain world, peace is continually threatened by murder, war, revenge, anger, and grief. This is why humans were created as we are—with eyes and ears to be aware, with voices to give thanks, and with memory to fulfill the rituals that maintain social order and harmony. This is also the reason why social agreements must be renewed, or repolished, periodically. It is the responsibility of both



individuals and groups to correct any imbalance, otherwise things fall apart (33).

Responsibility has particular meaning in Onondaga. As the fire-keepers of the League, they are charged with maintaining the Great Law. Onondaga chiefs sit at the head of the Council Fire of the Five Nations and preside over the consideration of each issue. If divergent opinions emerge and consensus cannot be reached, Onondaga suggest a resolution (34). This responsibility to maintain harmony or balance within the League would be the driving force behind Onondaga decision-making during the seventeenth century and become the catalyst that transformed the League of the Five Nations into a confederacy.

Ritual is the means by which humans fulfill their role in this world. Ceremonies composed of rituals are essential components of life and an ongoing responsibility. It is ritual that structures social relationships and marks the passage of time. As ethnographer Michael Foster wrote, "Ritual keeps the path from the earth to the Sky World clear, and like a forest path it must be constantly

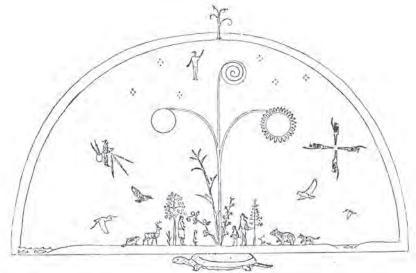


Figure 2.18. The Iroquoian cosmos according to Fenton, ca. 1960.

maintained." To do this successfully, rituals and ceremonies must be done properly and observed at all levels of society, from the individual to the actions of the League itself (35).

Iroquoian ceremonialism is not a subject I intend to discuss in detail in this volume because there are many sources on this subject already (**36**). Instead, I want to highlight two aspects of Onondaga ceremonial practice that are fundamental to understanding the actions and choices they made during the last half of the seventeenth century. The first is Giving Thanks, and second is Renewing Balance. These ritual practices served as the foundation on which Five Nations' diplomatic protocols would be built.

In Onondaga it is always appropriate to give thanks, or *Ganuhv:nyu*. Through continual and repeated greetings and thanks, one remembers the hierarchy of spirit forces in the World Above, the World Below, and here in this world. These forces have been appointed by the Creator to assist us, and all must be remembered, acknowledged, and thanked for fulfilling their appointed tasks. A formal way to do this is through the Thanksgiving



**Figure 2.19**. Worship (giving thanks). Painting by Ernest Smith, 1937.

Address. This recitation of thanksgiving to the Creator is used to open and close virtually every ceremony, excepting those concerned with death. The recitation begins with thanks given to those things of the earth and its water, and proceeds to those beings of the sky and the World Above (37).

Another way to return thanks is through the schedule of ceremonies that mark the different parts of the annual cycle. While the exact number and character of these festivals may have changed over time, the fundamental pattern probably has not. The annual cycle begins at Mid-Winter when The Seven Brothers, or the Pleiades, are at the zenith and continues through a series of festivals tied to the changing seasons. These include Thanks to the Maple, the Strawberry Festival, the Green Corn Festival, and the Harvest Festival. The ceremonies are an expression of thanks for past gifts to the community and a request that they continue.

Ceremonies for renewing balance celebrate the essential patterns of life, whether they are tied to the cycle of the seasons or to personal loss. They are the practices that help to protect the community and its members from blood feuds, witchcraft, disease, and other malevolent forces by reestablishing equilibrium. The Mid-Winter Festival, mentioned above, is the central point of the ceremonial year and often lasts a week or more. It is also the beginning of a new annual cycle. Mid-Winter is a combination of ritual activities to renew the fire as well as cleanse and heal the community. Activities include storytelling, dream guessing, visits from masked medicine societies, and games of divination, such as the "bowl and plum pit game" by which Sky Holder bested his hostile Grandmother for control of the world (38).

The Condolence or Requickening ceremony is the other set of ritual practices by which individuals and the community are protected from the corrosive effects of vengeance, grief, or anger. In general, a Condolence ceremony provides the means to restore a deceased person by adopting another to take their place. Condolence can function in two ways—at a private or family level when a lost member is replaced, and at a public level when a new chief is raised up through a Condolence Council. Although the particulars vary, the essentials remain the same. Those on one side who are mourning are condoled by the other side, the clear-



minded ones. Condolence includes the rituals of bereavement whereby the mourners' tears are wiped away and their ears and throats opened. As the mourners are brought through their grief, the focus shifts to the selection of a candidate who might take the place of the deceased or agreement on another appropriate solution. Through this expression of community support, the Condolence ceremony provides a means to neutralize the destructive potential of vengeance by providing alternatives and continuity. The Condolence ceremony is the essential means by which order is kept, whether a dispute is at a family level or among members of the League (**39**).

### **Kinship**

In Onondaga, no cultural distinction is more important than who is part of the group and who is outside it—Us and Them. One of the keys to understanding the world in which seventeenth-century Onondaga people lived is that everyone was related to some degree. As historian Mary Druke observed, "Alliance was the desired goal of Iroquoian people" in terms of their relationships with everyone else in their universe. In this multidimensional world, humans share the social order with primal spirit beings, other-than-human kinds of people, and animal friends. This social order is maintained through proper thoughts, words, and actions, as well as the exchange of material objects (**40**).

**Primal spirit beings.** Among cosmological kin are the Great Horned Serpent or Fire Dragon in his many guises and other primal spirit beings that can appear in either human or animal form. These include the Grandfathers, such as Turtle, Thunder, and Maple, and the Grandmothers, such as Moon. They also include other Earth shakers, such as our Uncles, the Bigheads (**41**).

For Onondaga people, the signs of these primal beings are everywhere, if one chooses to see them. The landscape was shaped and made habitable by their actions and struggles. Among these was the man-being who, with his white stone canoe and magic paddle, destroyed the enormous serpents that blocked the Oswego River, thereby allowing salmon and eel to reach Onondaga fishing camps and weirs along the Oneida and Seneca Rivers. This powerful being also opened the outlet of Onondaga Lake and killed the "two monstrous red feathered animals" in the Seneca River, who ate passersby and left their skeletons to float downstream swimming aimlessly around Cross Lake. The churned-up sand hills north of today's town of Salina and many of the deep cracks and fissures in the land were the result of these monsters' death throes. This is a world of weather, animals, and rocks, but also of Flying Heads, Monster Bears, and Stone Giants (42).

*Other-than-human kinds of people.* This world is alive with many kinds of man-beings. Other-than-human kinds of people can take the form of what we know as plants, animals, and natural phenomena, including flint, ice,

wind, lightning, thunder, the sun, the moon, meteors, and comets. These sentient beings are also capable of taking on human form, male or female, at will and interacting directly with humans in kin-based relationships. When the first Europeans appeared, they might have been perceived as other-than-human kinds of people. Only later did it become apparent that Europeans were just another kind of human, and not very nice ones at that (43).

*Animal brothers.* Kinship relations extend into the realm of animals. These range from a personal guardian obtained through a vision quest or dream to the animate medicine pouches and animal skin robes used by shamans and healers. Pouches are often made from one of the long-bodied long-tailed animals closely identified with medicine, while robes reflect intent and purpose, with panthers for magic, bears for healing, and wolves for war and hunting. These pouches and robes require special care because they are literally the substance of ritual. Another indication of respect is that certain kinds of animal bones must be disposed of in an appropriate manner, since disrespectful treatment could jeopardize future hunting. Perhaps the clearest indication of the depth of human and animal kinship lies in the names of the Onondaga clans—Turtle, Bear, Wolf, Snipe, Beaver, Hawk, Deer, and Eel (44).

*Humans.* While there are many kinds of humans in the world, those that matter most are one's close kin. This begins with the fireside family of a husband and wife and then extends to the maternal lineage. Onondaga society, like that of all the Five Nations, is matrilineal, which means that lineage and ancestry are traced through the female line. When a man marries, he moves in with his wife's clan and their children are raised

there. Inheritance and success are passed down the female line. Exogamy has been another fundamental rule and requires individuals to marry outside their own clan. This marriage pattern is one reason why so much communication occurs among the Five Nations and is a key part of the social framework that ties them together to this day.

**Figure 2.20.** The story of the Red Ear (braiding corn). Painting by Ernest Smith, 1935.





In a culture where men are frequently away, women provide the continuity. As a result, "it is us women that count," and paternity comes second. Women also play an essential, if not always visible, role in making policy. In council meetings at home and as members of diplomatic delegations that travel, women are important participants even if they seldom have been acknowledged in documentary accounts (**45**).

Two or more extended maternal families or lineages form a clan, which is the primary social and political unit in Onondaga. Each clan would have occupied several longhouses and presided over by the senior living woman or clan mother. The number and names of clans vary among the Five Nations. In recent years, Onondaga has had nine. One or more clans constitute a moiety, or a side, that acts together as if their members were actually siblings. Although a moiety's function is primarily ceremonial, especially in terms of consoling and burying each other's dead, they also serve as sides for games and other rituals. Beyond moieties is the nation, at least in Onondaga where there is only one large town. In some of the other nations, such as Seneca, where more than one town exists at the same time, each town comprises a side (46). The essential point is that kinship—family, clan, moiety, and nation—is the glue that holds the community together, that makes Onondaga society resilient and adaptive. This chain of kinship connects all the members of society from deceased ancestors to the smallest child, and even the unborn (47).

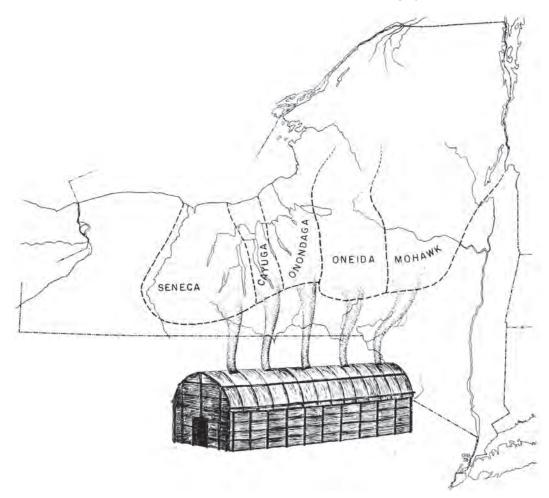
*Tribes and nations.* A distinction needs to be made between two terms that are often used interchangeably but have very different meanings. *Tribe* is an anthropological term that describes a particular social structure in which the community is bound together through kin-based relationships. *Nation*, on the other hand, refers to the way in which a community sees itself as a sovereign entity, one that controls its own affairs and has jurisdiction over a defined area. In other words, while Onondaga may have been tribal in terms of social organization, Onondaga people and their leaders consider themselves a sovereign nation. In this sense, each of the Five Nations is responsible for maintaining its own stability and balance. This, in turn, provides a foundation on which larger alliances can be built (**48**).

A qualification needs to be added when using the words *sovereign* and *nation*. Prior to the mid-seventeenth century, these terms would have made little sense to Onondaga people because they are fundamentally tied to European conceptions of land ownership and authority. As archaeologist Kurt Jordan has suggested, *autonomous* is a more accurate term for how Five Nations people saw themselves. As their interactions with the French and English intensified during the last half of the century, the concepts of nation and sovereignty would become as much a part of Onondaga culture as brass kettles and firearms. A French observer noted, they consider themselves as "Sovereigns," only accountable to God (49).

There is another essential component in Five Nations' kinship—the League. This is the extended house where the Haudenosaunee, the People of the Longhouse, live as one family. Given the shape of the land, Five Nations' towns are arranged east to west across what is now central New York, just as the hearths or families are down the center of a great longhouse. Together, the Five Nations form one house supported by its 50 League chiefs, or *trees* with tall trunks of equal size whose linked arms form a protective circle around the people. Within this great longhouse, each nation has specific responsibilities, especially the three Elder Brothers. On one end of the longhouse, the Mohawk guard the Eastern Door, while the Seneca are the keepers of the Western Door. In the middle, the Onondaga tend the Council Fire and are responsible for maintaining the Great Law, as well as safeguarding the wampum belts that embody it (**50**).

This east–west axis is the backbone of Five Nations' interactions, the paths along which social and ceremonial activities take place. These include the routes of the traders, war parties, and council delegations that maintain communication among the League's members. While this east–west axis is of fundamental importance to Onondaga, there is another essential axis of movement that runs north–south. This connects the fishing sites near







Lake Ontario and routes to the St. Lawrence River with the way south, especially along the upper tributaries of the Susquehanna River. During the seventeenth century, both axes were essential to Onondaga.

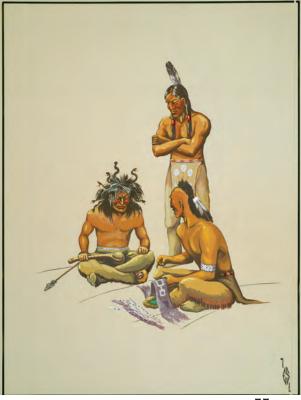
*League and Confederacy.* Frequently these two terms are used to describe the relationship that linked the Five Nations. While some scholars have argued that these terms are synonymous, I believe they stand for different, though related, functions. I describe the League as the internal structure as defined by the Great Law and the Condolence ceremony. This structure kept peace, maintained continuity among the Five Nations, and bound them together. Anthropologist William Fenton observed that "based on these traditions the League required consensus, that its members to be of one voice, one mind, and one heart before a decision was made or an action taken" (51).

I define the Confederacy as the application of these ceremonial practices to the external world—extending the white roots of Peace to other nations through alliances or treaties, extending the rafters of the Great Longhouse to include foreigners, and using the rituals of Condolence in a diplomatic context. During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Five Nations faced new challenges from their increasingly aggressive European neighbors. In response, the Five Nations began to use the forum of League council meetings to discuss the external threats and the potential for

acting in a concerted manner, especially in diplomatic, economic, and military matters. The Confederacy became the means by which the Five Nations of the League dealt with the outside world. One of the basic themes of this book is tracing the process by which the Confederacy evolved and the role that Onondaga leaders played in this process (52).

### Authority

In the world of seventeenth century Europeans, power, and the authority to use it, was concentrated at the top of the social pyramid. In both the secular and sacred realms, this is where decisions were made. They were then transferred down through an administrative structure to be implemented. In the world of Iroquoian people, authority functioned in a fundamentally different way. There, authority was horizontal as well as vertical. Horizontally, authority was spread broadly through the clans and moieties in each **Figure 2.22**. The Council with Tadodaho when the League was formed. Painting by Ernest Smith, 1936.



nation. Vertically, decision-making often started at the bottom and worked its way up through a process that was as important as the decision itself.

*Decision-making*. In the fall of 1661 René Cuillerier, a young Frenchman, was captured by a Five Nations' war party and taken to Oneida for possible adoption. He escaped after living there for nearly two years and subsequently wrote a remarkable account of his experiences. Among the subjects that interested him was, "Of the Manner in which they hold their Councils" and the process by which decisions were made. He observed that the Oneida had several types of councils, depending on the kind of decisions began by making a proposition to the assembled elders of one's clan. If accepted, the proposition was taken to the other clans and then on to the other nations and the League (53).

A comparable process was followed in League council meetings. Here too, proposals were offered, considered at length, and discussed in detail. The objective was to build broad alliances, "to join their words to ours," as the historian Mary Druke wrote, in order to reach an agreement among all the parties concerned. Decisions did not come easily, and differences of opinion were expected. Factions were considered an inherent part of the process. Nor were decisions made quickly, except in emergencies. As René Cuillerier noted, ca. 1664, "All these formalities are done in a very seemly manner" (54). Following League council protocol, the Mohawk consider an issue first and then pass it on to their moiety brothers, the Seneca. If they agree, it is passed across the fire to the Oneida, who then pass it back to their moiety brothers, the Cayuga. Finally, the Onondaga consider the issue, along with the opinions of the other nations, and confirm a final decision. As one Onondaga speaker observed, holding councils in this manner "is our order and method on all occasions." In other words, it is the practice that mattered, not just the result. The Western expression, "the ends justify the means," would make no sense in Onondaga, since everyone knows that the means determine the ends (55).

*Leadership*. Leaders are chosen to guide these processes. Unlike Europeans, where leadership is often determined by inheritance or assigned status in a hierarchy, leadership in Iroquoia was and is based solely upon a person's ability and experience. There are several kinds of leaders, but all require the capacity to communicate effectively, to inspire, and to build consensus.

The clan mothers are the most fundamental group of leaders. They speak on behalf of their clans and are the keepers of each clan's hereditary titles. They are the ones who appoint the 50 chiefs who are given titles established at the formation of the League. These chiefs are entitled to wear the antlers of office to indicate their status. The use of antlers, or horns, to denote the status of a chief probably extends back several thousand years. It is the responsibility of a chief to maintain the Great Law that unites



the Five Nations through the Good Message, the Power, and the Peace. Although these chiefs enjoy great prestige, they have little actual authority. As faithkeeper Oren Lyons recently described, the "first duty of the chiefs is to see that we conduct our ceremonies precisely . . . Only after that do we sit in council for the welfare of our people." This involves looking ahead so that "every decision that we make relate[s] to the welfare and well-being of the seventh generation to come" (56). In addition to League chiefs, there are two other kinds of leaders, Pine Tree chiefs and war chiefs. Pine Tree chiefs are individuals who, based on merit or community need, are appointed to assist the League chiefs. These appointments are for life, but they are not passed on to their descendants. War chiefs, on the other hand, are chosen as needed for their ability to organize a war party, to bring back captives, and win prestige (57).

Regardless of how they are chosen, leaders are expected to behave in certain ways. Since they are responsible for maintaining the social order, they must set a proper example by encouraging others and by giving thanks. They must be able to communicate—to speak, to listen, and to remember. Finally, leadership requires patience and the ability to withstand criticism and disagreement. One of the charges to a new chief is to develop a skin "seven inches thick . . . when you work for the Good Message, the Peace and the Great Law." In the end, the charge to all leaders is very simple, "Take care of your people, not yourself, your people" (58).

Europeans viewed authority and leadership in a very different way, especially when it came to giving orders, administering justice, and assigning punishment. Given the differences, it is not surprising that Europeans had trouble knowing who was in charge among the Iroquois and distinguishing the leaders from the followers. This was certainly the case when it came to giving orders. European administrators and military commanders simply could not understand why chiefs did not order their men to do what was required. This was a constant source of misunderstanding since Europeans were convinced that Five Nations people were either undisciplined or duplicitous. At the same time, European attempts to order them around confirmed to Five Nations people that Europeans were arrogant and rude (59). European leaders also did not understand why those who did not follow orders were not punished. For imperial administrators, justice was retributive or designed to punish, whereas the Native view of punishment was redemptive or designed to restore balance. The need to bridge these different views of authority and power helps to explain how diplomacy between the Five Nations and their European neighbors evolved as it did between 1650 and 1711.

### Summing Up

Before moving on to Europeans and their gradual recognition that Onondaga was one of Five Nations, I want to summarize some of the traits I believe made it possible for Onondaga people to cope successfully with

their imperial neighbors. These elements of Onondaga culture would be relentlessly tested during the last half of the seventeenth century –

- Resilience The Onondaga had a firmly grounded sense of who they were. Their identity was based on tradition, inherited knowledge, and an intimate relationship with where they lived.
- Adaptiveness The Onondaga had the ability to innovate and to be flexible. In material terms, it meant the ability to work with whatever was available. In social terms, it meant the willingness to be inclusive, to adapt and adjust when things did not work out.
- Respect and Responsibility These social values provided a structure with internal strength and cohesion. In terms of this story, these values gave the Onondaga the means to develop a diplomatic approach to external problems.
- Balance The Onondaga placed a high value on the ability to reconcile differences, whether internal or external. This allowed them to absorb into their society diverse materials, ideas, and people, and incorporate them into their own culture (60).

## **Recognizing Onondaga**

This chapter has examined Onondaga culture and how Onondaga people may have understood themselves and their world during the seventeenth century. The goal has been to look at their world from the inside in order to better understand the decisions they made and the actions they took. Cultures can also be defined from the outside through a process of gradual recognition. It is not easy to recognize a culture from the outside. Just as it took Onondaga people time to understand that all Europeans were not the same, Europeans were slow to realize that the Iroquois were five separate nations. By 1650 the Dutch and the French began to comprehend that each of the Five Nations had its own priorities and concerns.

*The Dutch.* From when they first settled in the upper Hudson Valley in 1624, the Dutch found themselves wedged between the Mahican people of the Hudson Valley and the Mohawk to the west. They had their hands full trying to not become involved in tribal politics. The rest of the Five Nations who lived farther west were lumped together by the Dutch as "Sinnekens." Better information about them was not obtained until Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert visited the Mohawk and Oneida during the winter of 1634–1635. While staying with the Onneyuttehage (Oneida) in January 1635, Van den Bogaert also met a delegation of Onnedaeges (Onondaga) who had come from "the castle next to them" (61). By 1643 the Dutch certainly knew who the Mohawk were, having just signed a treaty of friendship and brotherhood with them, but their knowledge of who lived beyond Mohawk territory remained much less certain. Things were still confused a decade later. In January 1654 Petrus Stuyvesant, director-general of New Netherland, reported to the directors of the West India Company that the Mohawk had asked him "to mediate



the difficulties which have arisen between them and the Sinnekens." Apparently, one of the Sinneken leaders had been killed by the Mohawk, and while war existed between them the trade would be at a standstill. As a matter of clarification, Petrus Stuyvesant noted that the slain chief was of the "Sinnekens of Onnedaego [Onondaga]" (62).

Two years later, the problem had not been resolved. In another report, Stuyvesant wrote that "Some savages, named Sinnekes . . . from a section situated behind the country of the Maquaas, about NWN, brought about 4,000 beaver, exchanging the same for firelocks and ammunitions of war." Stuyvesant continued, "They say they want to change the trade through the Mohawk country . . . and come to the Manhattens by traveling south of the land of the Mohawks." Although intrigued, Stuyvesant thought these Sinnekens were too dangerous to be allowed near New Amsterdam and suggested instead that a trading house be established further inland. While most historians have interpreted these Sinnekens as Seneca, Stuyvesant's comment that "a Jesuit with about fifty Frenchmen" had recently settled in their country, clearly indicates that these Sinnekens were Onondaga (63).

*The French.* The French were a little quicker than the Dutch to realize that the Iroquois were actually different nations, and that even though they were allied together, the nations had diverse and even conflicting priorities. Samuel de Champlain provided the earliest description of the Onondaga when he joined a Huron–Wendat expedition against their Entouhonoron [Onondaga] enemies in August 1615. Good geographer that he was, Champlain recorded the route the war party took around the eastern end of Lake Ontario, or Le Grand Lac des Entouhonorons, to the mouth of the Salmon River, and then cross-country into enemy territory. Here they besieged a palisaded fishing village at the head of Onondaga Lake (64).

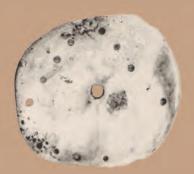
French traders were active in Onondaga territory by the 1630s, but there is no evidence that they made any distinction among the nations until the end of the decade. By 1640, however, it had become clear the Mohawk, self-declared enemies of the French, were not the same as the upper nations who wished not "to irritate the French." Many of the French still used the name Hiroquois to describe the Mohawk as well as all the Five Nations. Five years later, Fr. Jérôme Lalemant, the newly appointed father superior of the Jesuits in Canada, observed that "Under the name of 'Iroquois' we have hitherto included several confederated Nations, all enemies of the savages who are allied to us." This marked a major change in French policy. "These Nations have their separate names—the Annierronnons [Mohawk], the Oniontcheronons [Oneida], the Onontagueronons [Onondaga], the Sonontwaeronons [Seneca], and others." Lalemant continued, "We have as yet no peace, in a proper sense, except with the Annierronnons, who are nearest our settlements and who were giving us most trouble. Henceforth, we will distinguish them by their proper and special name so as to avoid confusion" (65).



**Figure 2.23**. The Northeast depicting the Upper Iroquois (Sinnekens), and the Lower Iroquois (Annierronnons), ca. 1650.

It would not be quite so simple. True, the Mohawk did negotiate a peace treaty with the French in 1645, as they had with the Dutch two years earlier, but this did not resolve internal tensions among the Five Nations. To the contrary, it was the complex political currents within the League, rather than the actions of Europeans, that shaped key events during the mid-seventeenth century. By 1650 these tensions, especially between the Mohawk and Onondaga, had become the greatest problem that faced the League. This internal feud and its resolution over the next several decades, and the concurrent development of the Confederacy as an effective way to deal with external problems, is the story we will follow (66).

## Chapter Three. Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650







ust as historical documents and oral tradition help us understand the conceptual world in which Onondaga people lived, archaeology shows us how that world was expressed in material terms. This includes where the Onondaga lived, what kind of structures they built, the resources on which they depended, and how they used them. Material culture also can tell us a great deal about Onondaga relationships with neighboring people, whether they were Native or European. This material evidence provides a basis for examining how the Onondaga responded to European materials, objects and ideas, and the ways in which they processed them into their own cultural framework. In methodological terms, this is where we begin to test the ideas presented in the last chapter about how Onondaga people saw themselves and their world.

#### From the Edge to the Center

The Onondaga saw themselves at the center of the world during the sixteenth century. This was the place where the League had been founded, where the Great Tree of Peace grew on the Turtle's back with its roots extending in the four cardinal directions. From an external perspective, however, things looked quite different. In terms of population size and access to the important materials exchanged across the Eastern Woodlands, especially marine shell and native copper, Onondaga was small and peripheral. Within 150 years, the cultural landscape of eastern North America would change radically. In fact, by 1650 Onondaga would arguably be at its center.

It is hard to overstate how much the world as Onondaga people understood it changed between 1500 and 1650. By the mid-sixteenth century that world included much of eastern North America—from the mouth of the St. Lawrence River to the Great Lakes, from the Ohio River valley and other portions of the upper Mississippi drainage basin across the Appalachians to Chesapeake Bay, and perhaps farther south. We know little about the extent to which Onondaga people travelled at this scale, but it is likely that small parties of men went to hunt, raid, and trade in all these directions. They might be gone for months, a year or longer, and during that time they might cover substantial distances. As a result, there was a general awareness of what was taking place beyond the boundaries of Iroquoia. By 1650 European exploration and settlement, as well as disease and material goods, would transform their world in unimaginable ways (1).

#### Vacant Quarters, Middle Ground, and Shatter Zones

Several recent studies have examined how a combination of factors profoundly reshaped the social and cultural landscape of eastern North America. Initially, the most dramatic transformations occurred far from Iroquoia. In the central Mississippi Valley, a process of decentralization began centuries before European contact, when large urban centers like

## Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



Cahokia were abandoned. Archaeologist Stephen Williams first described the result as the Vacant Quarter, a large area where Native people no longer seemed to be present. Other archaeologists have applied this concept to adjacent portions of the mid-continent. Whatever the causes, by 1650 virtually all the large settlements in the upper Mississippi drainage and along its tributaries, including the Tennessee, Cumberland, and Ohio Rivers, were gone. This did not mean that Native people no longer lived there, rather that they had chosen different, and archaeologically less visible, ways of life (2).

In 1991 historian Richard White used the phrase "Middle Ground" in his study of cultural disruption and population movement between 1650 and 1815 in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi River valley, or what the French called the *Pays d'en Haut*. Here too, these processes started well before Europeans arrived. By 1650 the cultural map of the midcontinent bore little similarity to that of a century earlier. Although White acknowledged the disruption that resulted from European contact, his focus was on the new social and cultural entities that grew out of these interactions, even as older ones disappeared (**3**).

Recently, anthropologist Robbie Ethridge has popularized the term "Shatter Zone" to describe areas of the Southeast, where the indigenous Mississippian chiefdoms were dismantled and reorganized into "new social and cultural forms." As she has pointed out, this instability had effects far beyond the local and regional circumstances that produced it, and often sent out shock waves whose impact was felt hundreds of miles away (4).

All three models—Vacant Quarters, Middle Ground, and Shatter Zones present factors that may have caused large-scale changes. These range from environmental shifts, such as widespread drought and the effects of the Little Ice Age to social factors, such as the collapse of leadership systems in the large complex chiefdoms. Whatever the impact of these indigenous factors, European contact in all its diverse forms—novel materials, violent encounters, and devastating diseases—was probably the single greatest agent of change. Long before permanent European settlements were established along the mid-Atlantic coast and in the St. Lawrence River valley, European expeditions had reached deep into the interior of the continent. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, European material goods had found their way onto Native sites across most of North America east of the Mississippi. A combination of these internal and external factors transformed the Native cultures of eastern North America by 1650.

In this regard, the Onondaga and their Five Nations' kin were fortunate. Compared with the large chiefdoms of the mid-continent and the Southeast, the Five Nations were small in population and at the edge of the most important exchange networks. As a result, they were largely

buffered from the effects of European disease and had more time to absorb European materials on their own terms. Securely located within their homeland, the Five Nations were able to adjust to the increasing scale of European intrusion without being overwhelmed by it.

By 1650 substantial French, English, Dutch, and Spanish settlements had been established along the Atlantic coast. Some, like Québec and Fort Orange, had been built on major-river corridors that penetrated well into the interior. In the Northeast, what had begun as a search for a route to the Indies for a new source of gold, had stabilized into a trade system centered primarily on furs, one shaped as much by Native consumer preferences as by European commercial interests. In this new landscape the Five Nations, and Onondaga in particular, occupied a prominent place. Their territory was located on or adjacent to the two most direct water routes connecting the Atlantic coast with the interior—the Hudson-Mohawk corridor and the St. Lawrence River. In addition, the Five Nations' territory included the headwaters of several important rivers. The Delaware and Susquehanna Rivers served as the major north-south corridors to the mid-Atlantic coast, while the Allegheny River, one of the upper tributaries of the Ohio, flowed into the Mississippi drainage basin. From what had been a peripheral location prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Five Nations now occupied a central point on the map.

#### Creating commodities

Just as it took time for Native people to understand who Europeans were and what they wanted, Europeans slowly learned about the inhabitants of the New World. Exchange was one of the common threads around which mutual understanding began to emerge. Initially these were random events, often where fresh water and food were exchanged for whatever material items appealed to Native people. By the mid- to late sixteenth century, such exchanges had settled into a more predictable pattern as an increasingly defined set of European goods, including iron axes, knives, and copper or brass kettles, were exchanged for furs and needed supplies. At first, trading was considered to be of secondary importance. Fishing and whaling brought Europeans across the Atlantic, but by the beginning of the seventeenth century priorities had changed, as the demand for furs increased in Europe and corporations were established specifically to acquire them.

By the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, two groups dominated trading activities along the northern Atlantic coast. The French merchants were first, primarily from the channel ports of Normandy and Brittany. The Dutch entrepreneurs were second, especially from Amsterdam. In many cases, the trading ventures sent to North America were sponsored by joint partnerships of these groups. These were businessmen and ever attentive to what made their voyages profitable. One result was a keen interest in what material objects Native people wanted in



Figure 3.1. Native people in the Eastern Woodlands and European exploration in eastern North America, ca. 1550.

exchange for furs. Increasingly, these items were produced in Europe and sent back for use in commercial, not political, transactions. The first treaties between Europeans and Native people would not occur for decades (5).

Early in the seventeenth century, the French and Dutch began to establish permanent settlements to anchor their territorial and economic ambitions.

These outposts quickly became fixed points on a new landscape, ones in which trade rather than exchange began to redefine social and political as well as commercial relationships. The French focused their activities along the Acadian coast of the Gulf of Maine and around Tadoussac in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, ca. 1600. With the establishment of Québec in 1608, Trois-Rivières in 1634, and Montréal in 1642, attention began to shift into the interior, especially toward the lakes at the head of the St. Lawrence River (Figure 3.4). In archaeological terms, French trading activities are visible as a distinct assemblage of trade goods. These include the usual brass kettles, iron axes and knives, but also distinctive styles of glass beads, Roman Catholic religious medals and rings, and specialized ironwork, such as scrapers, projectile points, and harpoons.

By the 1630s, the French were also exploring Five Nations' country and making friends. While these were primarily traders, an occasional missionary or lay brother may have visited as well. During these years, Jesuit concerns were centered on the new missions among the Huron– Wendat and other nations another 1,000 km farther west. Conversion efforts directed toward the Mohawk and the rest of Five Nations would come a decade or two later. Although focused on spiritual matters, the Jesuits were also savvy about earthly affairs, especially how to make themselves welcome. In 1637, as part of their instructions for traveling among Native people, Fr. Paul Le Jeune advised "Each one should be provided with a half a gross of awls, two or three dozen small knives called jabettes, a hundred fishhooks, and some beads." These would serve as "the money with which they [missionaries] will buy their food, wood, bark house, and other necessaries" (6).

Initially, the Dutch focused their trading interests farther south, from Long Island Sound to the Delaware River. However, the upper Hudson River valley quickly emerged as the center of their operations. Of three distinct Dutch trade assemblages, independent traders developed the first between 1600 and 1620. Elaborate multicolored glass beads made in the Venetian style, but produced in Amsterdam, are a hallmark of this assemblage. With the establishment of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) in 1621, a slightly different and less expensive inventory of trade goods was produced for outposts such as Fort Orange, established in 1624. A third and major refinement of the Dutch West India Company assemblage occurred after 1639, when free trade was permitted in New Netherland. Under the direction of Kiliaen van Rensselaer, patroon of Rensselaerswijck, and his business agent Arent van Curler, the established stock of trade goods was upgraded to include woolen blankets and cloth, as well as the new items Indian people had seen the Dutch use. Included was a wide range of tools and consumer items, such as pewter spoons, mouth harps, whiteclay pipes, and firearms. Many of these products were made specifically for the trade. By 1650 material goods from both French and Dutch sources were available to Onondaga people and are well represented in the



Figure 3.2. Native people in the Eastern Woodlands and European exploration, ca. 1600.

archaeological record from their sites (7).

The processes by which traditional networks of exchange morphed into systems of trade were complex and took place on both sides of the cultural divide. Just as Europeans created commodities for the North American market, Native people sought to provide European traders with what

they wanted. What they wanted was beaver, particularly *castor gras*, the worn pelts from which the coarser guard hairs had been removed. By recognizing this European preference, Native people began to shift away from a pattern of exchange toward a commodity-based trade. This shift toward viewing beaver as a commodity had profound consequences. It changed the traditional balance between hunters and hunted, humans and animal brothers. With this, the fur trade altered both Native subsistence patterns and cosmology in fundamental and unforeseen ways. We will examine these changes in subsequent chapters (8).



Figure 3.3. Glass-bead horizons on

Although the establishment of trading systems came at a high price, one that altered and even destroyed traditional social, economic, and spiritual relationships, it also provided opportunities to create solutions. Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, both Europeans and Native people looked for ways in which their increasingly commercial transactions could be handled successfully. The effort to find cross-cultural solutions would produce some of the seventeenth century's most renowned successes, including wampum belts, diplomatic protocol, and even the Confederacy itself.

## Onondaga in 1650

By 1650 Onondaga people had had more than a century of exposure to European materials and, to some degree, Europeans themselves. Even so, significant changes are not evident in the way Onondaga people lived. They appear to have remained a self-reliant and largely self-sufficient people, at home in a landscape that provided them with virtually all they needed. In terms of settlement and subsistence patterns, little change is evident. The Onondaga continued to live in one large town that contained a series of longhouses, smaller storage buildings, and other structures enclosed within a palisade. Large areas of cleared land surrounded the town and were used for growing corn, beans, squash, and other plants. Beyond the land cleared for crops, the surrounding woodlands and marshes provided nearly all the plant and animal resources the Onondaga needed. While hunting was an essential component of Onondaga life, especially for men, fishing was equally important and was practiced year-round by the whole community.

Undoubtedly, some Onondaga had seen European buildings and eaten European foods during visits to



Figure 3.4. Native people in the Eastern Woodlands and European settlement, ca. 1645.

Fort Orange or Québec, but these aspects of cross-cultural contact appear to have had little impact on traditional Onondaga practices before 1650. While a few European traders had certainly visited Onondaga, the intense, faceto-face interactions that had occurred between Europeans and other Native people, such as with the Mohawk and Huron–Wendat, had yet to occur. This was about to change.

#### **Material Expressions**

By 1650 the influence of Europeans on the Onondaga was most pronounced in the material realm. We know a considerable amount about what Onondaga material culture looked like before European contact and after, thanks to the work of William M. Beauchamp, archaeologist James Tuck, and others. This includes the kinds of tools and utensils they made, what materials they preferred, and some of the distinctive stylistic and representational forms that defined their culture. Just as the conceptual world of Onondaga people differed substantially from our way of thinking, so did their sense of the material world. Before shifting to the archaeological record and how Onondaga material culture changed prior to 1650, we will stay in their world a little longer.

For Onondaga people, the material world is a reflection of the spirit world. Making and using things is more than just a matter of production and consumption. These practices reflect the interrelationships of the maker, the user, and the material—relationships in which balance and reciprocity need to be maintained. Carving, for example, is more than just a skill. It is the process of removing the excess material to reveal the form within. From this perspective, the creation of an object, whether a ceramic pot from a lump of clay or a war club from a piece of wood, is an act of transformation. Intention is of critical importance. If an object is made for a specific ritual purpose, it might require special handling and proper disposal when its purpose is finished. This may be why the animal and human faces on effigy pipes were often detached before they were discarded, a phenomenon frequently noticed by archaeologists. In this sense, what we think of as artistic expression, from an Onondaga perspective might be considered technology, an effective means for getting something done especially with regard to the spirit realm. Objects, such as effigy pipes and medicine-society masks, are not just things. They have an animacy of their own and are able to interact with humans and spirit forces (9).

In the world of Onondaga, an object's meaning can be defined in several ways. Function comes first. The context in which an object is used, or intended for use, is essential in defining its significance. For example, two identical shell beads may have very different meanings if one is sewn onto a garment for decorative purposes, while another is consecrated for a ritual purpose such as healing or divination. Form is another significant component of what an object can mean. An object expresses cultural preference and style by its shape and the degree to which it is embellished. As art historian Ruth Phillips has observed, embellishment is one of four visual strategies used by Native people in northeastern North America to convey their sense of the world and of cultural values. Archaeologist Robert Hall and others have demonstrated, for example, that there is a remarkable congruence in the forms of smoking pipes and weapons, one that bespeaks not only their shared origins, but their closely related

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**Figure 3.5.** Congruent forms of smoking pipes and war clubs (not to scale)—

(a) open-mouthed zoomorphic smoking pipe, Seneca, ca. 1645-1660,

(b) ball-headed war club, southern New England, before 1676,

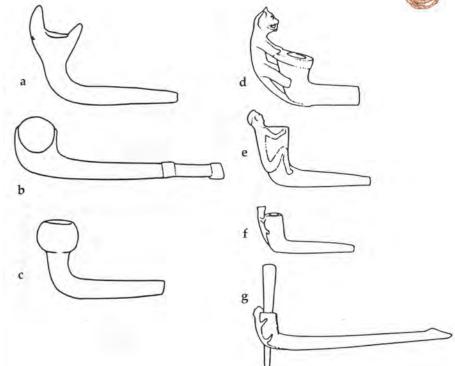
(c) bulbous-bowl smoking pipe, Cayuga, ca. 1675-1700,

(d) wooden zoomorphic smoking pipe with copper inserts, Eastern Woodlands, ca. 1625,

(e) anthropomorphic smoking pipe, Ontario Iroquoian, ca. 1635-1645,

(f) zoomorphic smoking pipe, northeastern North America, before 1690,

(g) iron blade set in a wooden zoomorphic haft, early nineteenthcentury Siouan.



purposes. As a result, the choice of a form might have a specific meaning, or it may be an aesthetic choice, something "to please the Creator." In a world where transformation is commonplace, form is not fixed (10).

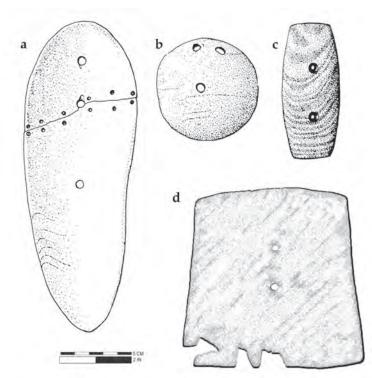
However we approach the question of meaning, it is important to remember that our attempts to understand the conceptual world of seventeenth-century Onondaga people are, at best, an informed guess. As Arthur C. Parker, himself a Seneca and an anthropologist, observed in 1912, "Many, if not most, of the modern descendants of the old-time Indians who copy these old designs have forgotten their meanings." If that was the case a century ago, it is unlikely contemporary scholars are going to do much better. In truth, we will never fully understand the objects Onondaga people made and used in the ways they did. Nonetheless, we can use the rich and detailed information of the archaeological record to test specific ideas about that world, how it worked, and what roles these objects may have played in it (11).

One way to understand Native material culture is to use the insights of present-day Indian people along with the analytical tools of archaeology. These different perspectives can complement one another and enhance our understanding of the material record. We can see the value of this approach by looking specifically at form separately from material, and by examining the semantics of color and direction as well as the use of mnemonics and metaphor (**12**).

#### Separating material from form

In cultures where visual cues are a primary means for transmitting information, material qualities such as form and place of origin play a

special role. In an Onondaga world, the choice of material could be used to direct or reinforce an object's meaning. Similarly, from an archaeological point of view, each material has inherent physical qualities and requires a specific technology to shape it. For example, while copper may have been valued for its red color, specific skills, such as annealing, were required to make objects from it. Native people developed several copperworking traditions prior to European contact. Tracking these indigenous technologies through the Contact horizon is one of the threads we will follow.



**Figure 3.6**. Drawings of gorget forms from the Eastern Woodlands—

(a) sandal-sole gorget of marine shell from the Glacial Kame period, Hind site, Ontario,

(b) circular gorget of marine shell from the Glacial Kame period, Hind site, Ontario,

(c) rectangular biconvex gorget of banded slate from the Glacial Kame period, Hind site, Ontario,

(d) trapezoidal gorget of Taconic (?) slate from the Meadowood period, Wray site, NY.

We know, because objects of the same form were often made from different materials, that Native people in the Eastern Woodlands drew a distinction between material and form. Gorgets, for example, are a hallmark form found on the Glacial Kame sites, a mortuary complex that extended across the lower Great Lakes region roughly 3,000 years ago. Gorgets are flat geometrical forms that were perforated, possibly to be worn. Although often identified by archaeologists as ornaments, their actual function is not known. Glacial Kame gorgets often occur in two forms-what have been called a sandal-sole shape and an elongated-rectangular shape with convex sides. The former were made primarily of marine shell (*Busycon* whelk), although banded-slate and coal examples are known. Rectangular gorgets were also made from whelk shell and native copper, although banded slate was the

preferred material. Clearly, the object's form did not mandate the material from which it was made (13).

## Semantics of color

Color provides an example of how traditional knowledge and archaeological evidence complement one another. In Onondaga, as in many cultures, white, black, and red are the primary colors of ritual and

## Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



meaning, meanings grounded in our shared human biological and social experience. From this perspective, white is associated with light, life, and well-being, while black is associated with darkness, death, and mourning. Red is associated with animacy or activating energy, which can be either positive or negative depending on its context and use. As historian Anthony Wonderley observed, as the stalks of red osier dogwood turn from green to blood red over the winter, they provide a sure sign that the rebirth of the natural world is underway. Red indicates restorative power as in healing and renewal, especially when paired with white. When paired with black, red represents antisocial states such as anger, revenge, and war. These color preferences are deeply embedded in Onondaga culture and help explain why certain materials, such as white shell, black stone, and red copper, were sought out and used before, during, and well after Europeans appeared (14).

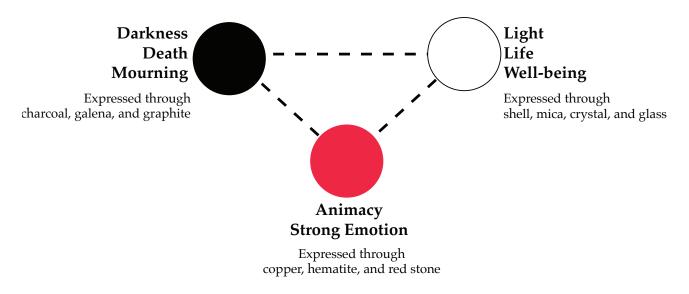


Figure 3.7. The semantics of white, black, and red.

Wampum demonstrates how these semantics of color played a key role in Five Nations' ritual practices and material culture. Here, white, black, and red are each identified with the different states-of-being through which individuals and groups communicate with one another. White is the color of positive social relationships within which expressions of peace, friendship, and alliance are made. Black is identified with asocial states-ofbeing, such as mourning and death, in which the individual is not bound by conventional behavior. Black or purple beads, or a belt of beads, would be appropriate for condolence. Red is identified with antisocial states-ofbeing, especially those highly charged with anger or other emotion. A war belt is one that has been painted red.

One strength of archaeological analysis is that it allows us to examine patterns of color preference over a long span of time. Evidence indicates these preferences existed on sites in central New York for at least four



**Figure 3.8.** White, purple, and black marine shell—left, white dextral *Busycon carica* columella from Orient Point, NY; center, purple waterworn piece of *Mercenaria mercanaria* from Cape Cod, MA; right, black sinistral *Busycon carica* columella from Chesapeake Bay.

millennia. Materials of particular color were sought out, not only to make objects, but as pigments. Among these were hematite and pyrite for red, and graphite and galena for black (15).

#### Semantics of direction

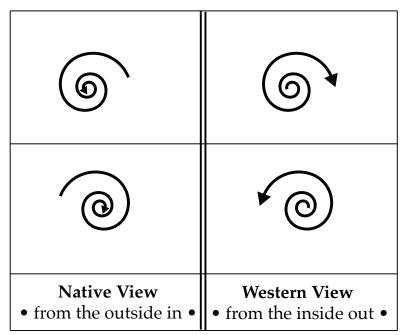
Directionality is also significant. This is most obvious in the division between the World Above and the World Below, but also evident in more general terms of motion. The current of life runs from East to West, as does the path of the sun. One dips water with the current and not against it. In scraping the bark off a medicine plant, one scrapes in an upward motion to make an emetic and in a downward motion to make a purgative (16). In material cultural terms, this is reflected in what Ruth Phillips calls

spatial zoning. This is the tradition of dividing up compositional spaces into clearly separated zones, ones that reflect the fundamental values of balance, opposition, and complementarities that animate the cosmos. As Phillips argues, these patterns frequently are visible in objects made from organic materials, such as clothing, baskets, and woven bags. While these rarely survive in the archaeological record, we will look at the use of spatial zoning in objects that do survive, such as pottery and antler combs (17).

Spiral patterns and spiraling motion are another aspect of directionality, one that often characterizes ritual practice. In Onondaga spirals start from the outside and move toward the center. By contrast, European culture usually describes spirals as starting from the center and moving outwards. There is also a clockwise spiral movement and its mirror image, a counterclockwise movement. Among the Onondaga and Seneca, counterclockwise motions, such as dance circuits, are associated with the



living, while clockwise movement is reserved for the dead. At feasts for the living, food is passed to the right in a counterclockwise manner. At feasts for the dead it is passed clockwise, to the left (18).



**Figure 3.9.** A comparison of Native and European semantics of spiraling motion.

The counterclockwise rotation of the waters in rapids and whirlpools is ascribed to the movement of the Underwater Grandfathers, the **Great Spirit Beings** who dwell below. Known by different names—Mishipizheu of the upper Great Lakes Algonquians, Underwater Panther of the Huron–Wendat, and the Great Horned Serpent of the Five Nations—these are the traditional guardians of the life-restoring

substances of power kept in the World Below. While marine shell was valued for its whiteness, it was also valued for its spiraling form. This was especially the case with the large marine gastropods (*Busycon* whelk) whose central columella and whorls were used to make a variety of beads, pendants, and other objects. This association between marine shell and spiraling motifs is evident in the archaeological record for at least three thousand years (19).

# Mnemonics and metaphors

In cultures without written records, information is transmitted visually in other ways. In addition to color and direction, a visual vocabulary of signs, symbols, and mnemonic devices is one of the most common ways to convey information and indicate identity. Signs and symbols could be painted or tattooed on one's body, incorporated into material objects, or used to mark the landscape. The Five Nations used mnemonic devices as an aid to memory, to "prop up their minds." For example, a string of wampum beads could serve as the visual reminder of a particular message, such as a summons to a council meeting (**20**).

*Metaphor* is the word that Europeans used frequently in describing Native language. As Fr. Paul Le Jeune observed in 1636, "Metaphor is largely in use among these Peoples; unless you accustom yourself to it, you will understand nothing in their councils, where they speak almost entirely in

metaphors." But the use of metaphor extends beyond language and can be applied to objects and actions as well. A metaphor uses one thing to represent another, often providing a visual connection or linkage between the commonplace and what is difficult to understand. In Onondaga, for example, a pipe and its smoke are a metaphor for a connection with the spirit realm. The column of smoke that rises from the Council Fire is more than just smoke. It is the great Tree of Peace that shelters the Five Nations, the thoughts and desires of the people, and the connection between the World Below and the World Above. Le Jeune's advice is still relevant. If we do not understand this use of metaphor in verbal and material terms, it is easy to misinterpret what Native people said and did (21).

#### **Fundamental forms**

By the middle of the seventeenth century Onondaga people had developed a sophisticated visual vocabulary, one they used to identify themselves and their possessions. These visual symbols reflected both deep ancestral ties to their traditional land in central New York and a history of broad connections with other Native cultures across the Northeast. Much of the visual vocabulary used by the Onondaga was based on a set of geometrical

# Case Study 3. Marking the land

Just as fish weirs served as cultural landmarks, Indian people marked the land in other ways. Some locations were considered sacred by their very nature. As Fr. Paul Le Jeune observed in 1636, when the Hurons went to Québec to trade, there were "some Rocks that they particularly reverence and to which they never fail . . . to offer Tobacco." Such locations were often marked either with pictographs, motifs painted on the rock, or with petroglyphs pecked into the rock.

**Figure 3.10.** "North American Indian engraving his portrait on a tree and writing what he wishes to make known." Portion of a drawing, ca. 1712-1717, from Joseph-François Lafitau, 1724.



**Figure 3.11.** A sample of significant petroglyphs and key motifs from the Northeast—

(a) turtle, Peterborough, Ontario,

(b) a long-bodiedcreature, Parker City, PA(c) spiral, Safe Harbor, PA,

(d) thunderbird, Brattleboro, VT.

It remains unclear whether Iroquoian people carved petroglyphs, or if this was primarily an Algonquian tradition, as several scholars have argued. Iroquoian peoples are better known for making pictographs, especially on trees whose bark had been removed, although pictographs did not necessarily make a site sacred. They were used to communicate information, provide directions, and even to boast of accomplishments. In 1637 a party of Frenchmen came across the site of a recent fight. Here they found a plank fastened to a tree on which the Mohawk "had painted the heads of thirty Hurons, whom they had captured . . . so that passers-by could readily see it." Pierre-Esprit Radisson

observed comparable pictographs on his way to Onondaga in 1657. Similar exploits were observed painted on peeled trees more than a century later during the American Revolution.

Since the limestone of central New York is less conducive to rock art and readily eroded by water, little of the work of Five Nations or earlier peoples would have survived. Even if they did not make petroglyphs, Five Nations people were certainly aware of them, and they probably did paint pictographs on rock faces. In all directions, the landscape around Iroquoia was marked, and Five Nations people incorporated many of those motifs into their own material culture (22).

forms. Circular forms were found in the shape of ceramic vessels, the most common styles of smoking pipes, and in an array of beads, pendants, and gaming discs. Square forms were present in collars of pots and pipes, and as a design element that framed the motifs used to embellish surfaces. Lines were the most fundamental design element and carried their own set of meanings. Straight lines could be used to indicate beauty and truthfulness, while crooked lines meant treachery and deceit. Diagonal lines could be incised, carved, or woven into a variety of objects, whether they occurred as a row of parallel lines, combined to form an X, or in more complex patterns (23).

Although these design elements may seem simple, they could be used in complex ways. Oblique lines were used to create triangles, often in a row of opposing forms. A row of opposed triangles filled with parallel diagonal lines was the most common motif used to embellish the

collars of Onondaga pots. A series of opposed triangles could also be doubled to create a row of diamond shapes, a form particularly well suited to woven or embroidered objects. In turn, a row of diamonds could be converted into an alternating set of hourglass figures, important elements in this visual vocabulary. An hourglass figure is basically two triangles with one inverted above the other. Hourglasses are closely related to hocker figures, or stylized representations of humans with the legs partially extended and elbows on the knees. These motifs occur widely in Onondaga archaeological material assemblages prior to 1650, and probably were also used in ways that we cannot see, such as on embroidered clothing and as body tattoos. Understanding what these motifs meant is another matter (24).

One possibility is that these visual symbols were used to represent the kinship, lineage, and community relationships that were the core of Onondaga society. Diagonal lines might represent the props that held up the community, whether they were the chiefs who served as trees or the actual wooden supports of a longhouse. A series of crossed lines might represent the linked arms that tied a community together, whether at the level of individuals, clan, moiety, or nation. A vertical set of crossed lines might also be, as archaeologist Kent Reilly has suggested, a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional form, a twist of smoke or mist depicting the fundamental **Figure 3.12**. Building a visual vocabulary with a row of

(a) opposed triangles,

(b) filled opposed triangles,

(c) diamonds,

(d) diamonds with a central hourglass figure (red),

(e) diamonds with a central hocker figure (red).

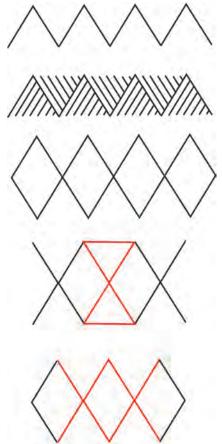








Figure 3.13. Incised and painted objects from Late Archaic sites in central New York-left, antler pendants and pendant-like artifacts, Lamoka Lake site, NY; right, antler comb embellished with complex incised lines, Frontenac Island, NY.

power, or orenda, which flows from the World Below to the World Above, animating life. While these are reasonable guesses, we do well to remember Ruth Phillips's caution encouraging a deeper kind of looking, a "preparedness for revelations of spiritual presence in the everyday" (25).

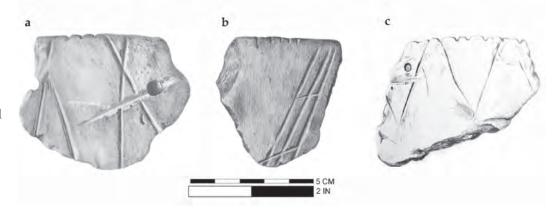
Whatever these motifs meant, it is clear Native people in the Northeast had used them for millennia. Two examples from central New York demonstrate how deeply embedded these motifs were in Native material culture. First, there are bone and antler objects embellished with patterns of diagonal lines and triangles, both incised and painted, from sites such as Lamoka Lake in central New York and Frontenac Island on Cayuga Lake. These objects are at least four thousand years old (26).

Figure 3.14. Incised motifs on soapstonebowl fragments-

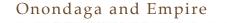
(a) rim with crossed lines, Baldwinsville area,

(b) rim with diagonal lines, Baldwinsville area,

(c) rim with opposed triangles, Seneca River.



The second example is a set of similar motifs on preceramic soapstone cooking vessels. Although stone vessels were usually not decorated, a number of examples have been found in Brewerton and along the Seneca





**Figure 3.15.** Visual ambiguity in complex motifs, such as the anthropomorphic figures on two stone smoking pipes from central New York—

(a) incised anthropomorphic figures on a stone pipe shown in a profile view and in a view of the side facing the smoker, O'Neil site, NY,

(b) anthropomorphic image on a stone pipe, Cato, NY.

River with incised motifs of crossed lines and opposed triangles (27). Many of these same motifs would be used on the ceramic vessels made by Onondaga people and their antecedents over several thousand years.

Complex motifs were constructed from these simple design elements. The shamanistic images based on hourglass forms described in Chapter Two are a good example. Similar anthropomorphic figures incised on stone pipes have been found in central New York. While the meaning of these images remains unclear, they were part of the iconographic tradition from which Onondaga people drew their visual vocabulary (28).

While two-dimensional abstract forms such as hourglasses and hockers were used to represent humans and other kinds of man-beings, Onondaga carvers and potters also made sophisticated three-dimensional representations of human figures, animal friends, and guardian spirits. These would be examples of Ruth Phillips's fourth visual strategy animacy, or the depiction of a spiritual presence in the materiality of an object. Archaeologically, examples were made from bone, antler, clay, stone, and shell. If the surviving ethnographic examples from elsewhere in the Eastern Woodlands are any guide, animacy was also characterized in a wide array of carved clubs, bowls, ladles, wooden smoking pipes, and other wooden objects (29).

One place where these representations survive is on ceramic smoking pipes, which allows us to track the styles and motifs used by the Onondaga over time. Unlike pottery, which ceased to be a major component of Onondaga material culture after 1650, Native-made clay pipes remained essential well into the eighteenth century. Anthropomorphic- and zoomorphic- effigy pipes coming from Onondaga sites date from the fifteenth to the late sixteenth century. Since smoking tobacco was considered a ritual as well as recreational activity, the ongoing use of effigy



pipes gives us a view into the cosmological world of Onondaga people as it evolved and changed (**30**).

Effigy figures and hair combs are another group of representational objects that sometimes survive in the archaeological record. Small figurative carvings in bone, antler, stone, and shell probably served to ensure good health and protect against



**Figure 3.16**. Anthropomorphic smoking-pipe fragments from Onondagarelated sites, before 1600—

(a) large portrait-style face effigy, Barnes site,

(b) double-face effigy on a ring-bowl trumpet pipe, Christopher site,

(c) small detached head with a mask above the brow, Christopher site,

(d) an anthropomorphic head with a snake across the brow, Baldwinsville, NY.

witchcraft. Like smoking pipes, combs were made in a variety of styles, from plain to elaborate, often with a geometric shape or effigy depicted above the teeth. Combs were important social markers in Five Nations' culture and could be used to signify relationships such as kinship, a personal trait, or title. As archaeologist William Engelbrecht has observed, combs were more than just visual symbols. They were instruments of transformation, capable of clarifying one's thoughts and removing the sources of discord. It was the Peacemaker's actions combing the tangled snakes from Tadodaho's hair, which transformed this cannibal sorcerer into a right-minded leader (**31**).

It is difficult to know how far into the past such representational forms were used, since most were made from organic materials that have not survived in the archaeological record. Nonetheless, enough examples have been found to indicate that, as with incised and painted motifs, Native people across the Northeast had used similar representational forms for at least four thousand years.



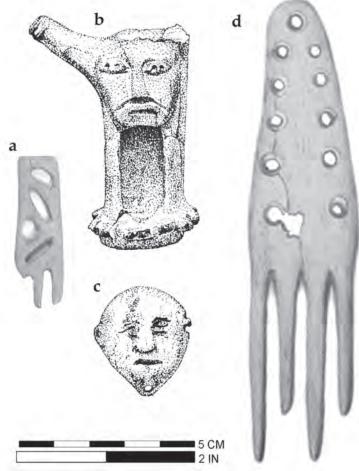
**Figure 3.17**. Zoomorphic smoking-pipe effigies from Onondaga-related sites from before 1600—

(a) early style trumpet with a raised-turtle effigy on the back of the bowl, Bloody Hill site,

(b) owl-effigy pipe bowl, Christopher site,

(c) wolf effigy from a pipe, Pompey,

(d) open-mouthed bird (gull?) on a pipe-bowl fragment, Atwell site.



**Figure 3.18**. Drawings of bone and antler objects from Onondaga-related sites before 1600—

(a) bone comb, McNab site,

(b) antler tube, Temperance House site,

(c) face-effigy bone pendant, Atwell site,

(d) antler comb, Atwell site.

### The Trouble with Taxonomy

One of the greatest challenges in archaeology is deciding what to call things. This is especially the case in dividing up the past and giving those subdivisions names. The archaeological record in eastern North America goes back a long way, at least twelve thousand years and possibly much farther. Over that length of time, many things happened—people lived in different places, used different kinds of tools, spoke different languages. How do we divide this complex process into more manageable bits in order to better understand how and why changes took place?

The most frequent answer has been devising a structure that provides names and a rationale for the different subdivisions we choose to impose on the past. During the twentieth century, the most commonly used approach was the Midwestern Taxonomic Method, which brought terms such as *site* and *component* into common use. This system was modified two decades later to

Figure 3.19. Representational forms from ca. 4,000 years ago-

(a) profile and front views of an anthropomorphic marine-shell pendant, Picton site, Ontario,

(b) mirror-image bird-effigy comb, Frontenac Island, NY,

(c) bear-effigy pestle, Bent site, NY.





include several new terms—*phase, culture, tradition, horizon,* and *stage.* These terms were then used to create culture histories, or a summary of how the human presence within a particular area changed, or remained the same, over time based on the available archaeological evidence. One of the best examples is archaeologist William Ritchie's table, "A Cultural Sequence and Chronology of New York State," first published in 1965 and revised several times since (Figure 3.20). However, culture histories are designed to be provisional, that is, assumptions to test against new information. While there have been several recent critiques of this approach, Ritchie's work remains the commonly understood version of New York's archaeological past (32).

In spite of their utility, culture history *taxa* can create as many problems as they solve. What exactly do these taxonomic units mean? In addition to time depth, are we describing sites with similar characteristics, geographic proximity, comparable artifact assemblages, or cultural practices? Equally important, to what degree are these material traits an adequate basis for assumptions about the people who left this evidence? Taxonomies based on culture history make it easy to put a complex and largely unknown past into neatly labeled boxes and then mistake those boxes for historical reality rather than ideas to test.

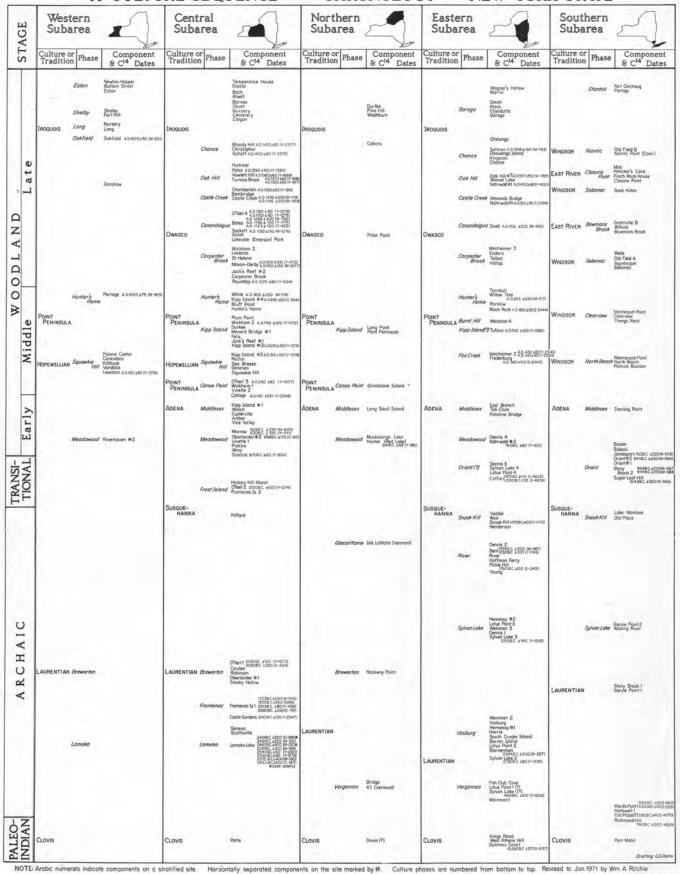
This leaves the question—How do we talk about a long and complex past in a way that is comprehensible to nonspecialists yet rigorous enough to be acceptable to professional colleagues? I cannot answer that question in this book. However, I do explain the terms I use and the reasons for those choices in the notes, glossaries, and appendices (33).

#### Native Materials - Local and Exotic

Prior to European contact most of the archaeological material found on Onondaga sites came from local sources. Of course, we only see what has survived, which means stone tools, fragments of ceramic pots and pipes, and animal bone made into objects or discarded as food refuse. Rarely, if the conditions have been right, objects of wood, fiber, or other organic materials may survive as well. While these assemblages may not seem impressive, they tell us a great deal about the richness and diversity of resources available to the Onondaga within their territory.

Located at the intersection of two distinct environmental zones, the Great Lakes Plain to the north and the Allegheny Plateau to the south, Onondaga country contained a wealth of resources. The Onondaga limestone escarpment marked the boundary between these zones. The escarpment served as a prominent feature of the landscape and the source for highgrade chert from which tools were made. Running along the escarpment, and occasionally cutting through it, a series of glacially carved channels made other resources available, especially clay for pottery vessels and pipes, and cobbles for other kinds of tools. In addition to a location that

## A CULTURE SEQUENCE AND CHRONOLOGY OF NEW YORK STATE



**Figure 3.20.** A proposed culture sequence and chronology of New York State by William A. Ritchie, 1971.



permitted travel in several directions, the landscape of central New York was characterized by a variety of biomes. These ranged from large lakes and rivers to vast cattail marshes and upland bogs, from open grasslands to mature hardwood and coniferous forests. Each biome had its own array of plants and animals. Taken together, this was a rich and diverse landscape, one that could and did support a substantial human population for thousands of years before Europeans arrived.

## Networks of exchange to 1500

While the Onondaga made extensive use of local resources, they also sought out more exotic substances. Three classes of non-local material had particular value—marine shell, native copper, and red stone. Marine shell, primarily in the form of pendants and beads made from *Busycon* whelks, came from the mid-Atlantic coast. Small amounts of native copper appear to have come from the upper Great Lakes, although some may have originated from other sources. Two varieties of red stone were of particular importance. One was pipestone, also known as catlinite, a fine-grained argillite that occurs in several locations west of the Great Lakes. The other was the red slate found along the eastern edge of the Taconic Mountains. Each of these high-value materials had a long history of use by the Native people of the Eastern Woodlands.

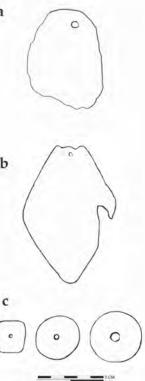
*Marine shell*. Perhaps the most highly valued exotic material was marine shell. The earliest examples reported in central New York are from sites that date from at least 4,000 years ago, such as Lamoka Lake and Frontenac Island. These are simple geometrical pendants made primarily from the whorls of *Busycon* whelks that originated from the a mid-Atlantic coast (34). Although a few marine-shell objects have been recovered from occupation contexts, they occur primarily in burials, a clear indication of the high regard in which they were held. Over the next 3,500 years marine shell continued to move through increasingly well-defined exchange networks in pulses, sometimes in large quantities, sometimes barely visible. For sites in central New York, the primary exchange routes ran along the Susquehanna and b Delaware River valleys.

The first large assemblage of shell objects occurred between 3,000 and 2,800 years ago on sites assigned to the Glacial Kame mortuary tradition. These objects included geometric pendants and new forms, such as gorgets, along with the first evidence of marineshell beads. Although not common, several forms of shell beads have been recovered on Glacial Kame sites from **Figure 3.21.** Drawings of shell pendants from Frontenac Island, NY—

(a) perforated oyster shell,

(b) diamond-shaped *Busycon* pendant,

(c) one square- and two circular-shaped *Busycon* pendants.



southwest Ontario to Lake Champlain. These were mostly discoidal in shape and occurred in large and small sizes. A few tubular beads made from whelk columella have been reported, plus the first example of a modified *Marginella* shell. In general, these beads were used as necklaces and bracelets, and they also may have been sewn onto clothing (35). Shell beads continued to occur on sites of the subsequent Meadowood mortuary tradition between 2,800 to 2,400 years ago, although in much smaller numbers (36).

The next major pulse of marine shell took place between 2,500 and 1,500 years ago on sites related to the Adena tradition. This broadly distributed mortuary complex was centered in the upper Ohio Valley and extended across the southern Great Lakes, east to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and south to Chesapeake Bay. Unprecedented quantities of marine-shell items moved through these networks, including *Busycon* beads, pendants, and drinking vessels, site. VTcomplete *Busycon* whelk shells, and beads made from modified Olivella and Marginella beads, shells. These objects occur on sites across central New York from the Genesee River to the lower beads, Mohawk River valleys (37).

Recently, archaeologist Darrin Lowery has documented the source for many of these shell objects. Most appear to come from sites on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay. Lowery recovered evidence there for the production of tubular beads from a *Busycon* columella, as well as tools such as the micro-drills specifically designed for bead making. While beads were certainly made on these Eastern Shore sites, both beads and unfinished columella were exchanged north. Several sites in eastern New York have also produced micro-drills, partially drilled pieces of shell, and caches of *Busycon* columella. Additional confirmation on the source of this shell comes from stable isotopic data. Recent analysis by Lowery and others demonstrates these *Busycon* shells originated from the mid-Atlantic coast between Delaware Bay and the mouth of Chesapeake Bay (38).

About 1,000 years ago, a gradual decline in marine-shell objects took place on sites across the Northeast, although this varied by region. Figure 3.22. Adena-related marine-shell objects from the Boucher

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(a) discoidal

(b) columella

(c) modified Marginella shells,

(d) modified Olivella shells,

(e) disc-shaped Busycon pendant.

d



In central New York shell beads are barely visible on sites such as Sackett, Bates, and Nahrwold. In other culture areas, such as the Shenks Ferry and Monongahela sites in Pennsylvania, marine-shell beads and pendants remain common. In both cases, these shell objects came from the mid-Atlantic coast. The pattern is different in the Ohio River valley. As archaeologist Penelope Drooker and others have shown, a large amount of marine shell occurs on Fort Ancient sites prior to roughly 600 years ago, especially those located in the western portion of the Ohio Valley. The shell from these sites probably came via the Mississippian exchange networks that dominated the Southeast and the Mississippi Valley, and originated in the Gulf of Mexico. By 500 years ago this pattern reversed and the majority of marine shell on later Fort Ancient sites occurs primarily in the eastern part of their territory. This shell almost certainly came from the mid-Atlantic coast (**39**).

About this time, the networks that brought marine shell north from the Chesapeake region were reactivated. A scattering of shell objects occurs on Five Nations and on late

St. Lawrence Iroquois sites in northern New York and Ontario. The forms are familiar and include Busycon discoidal-, tubular-, and barrel-shaped columella beads, and modified Marginella shells. Along with the revival of marine shell, simple beads and pendants made from freshwater snail and mussel shell also occur. The use of freshwater material may be an indication of the shell's high cultural value, especially when access to the source of marine shell was limited (40). Whether Native people living in what is now central New York actually travelled south to obtain these shell

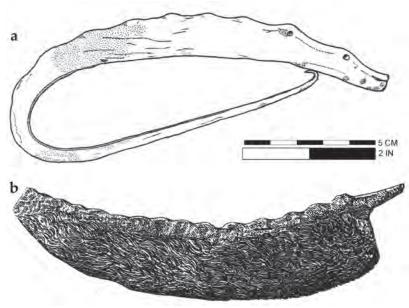
**Figure 3.23**. Eastern North American sources and major exchange routes for marine shell and native copper, ca. 1500.



objects or received them through interregional exchange remains uncertain. What is clear is that once revived, activity along these exchange networks continued through the Contact horizon and well into the Historic period.

*Native copper.* The arrival of Europeans did not initiate metalworking among North America's Native people. Copper working in the Eastern Woodlands extended back several thousand years and developed through three different traditions—the Old Copper Complex, the Hopewellian tradition, and the Mississippian tradition. The earliest is the Old Copper Complex, based on the extensive native copper deposits around Lake Superior. Beginning 5,000 years ago, this tradition produced an array of implements, such as spear points, knives, celts, and fishhooks, plus a few beads and bracelets. Objects were made by hammering nuggets of copper into the desired shape with periodic annealing to soften the work-hardened metal. Given the abundance of pure native copper, the technology for smelting metal from ore did not evolve in North America. As a result, there is no indication that techniques for casting copper were developed. Central New York is seldom included within the boundaries of this tradition. However, the presence of numerous Old Copper Complex objects, such as large gouges, celts, and tanged points, suggests that the borders could be extended farther east (41). Although the Old Copper Complex is considered to have ended 2,000 years ago, the tradition of making nativecopper awls, fishing gorges, or other implements continued across the Northeast up to and after European contact (42). This was more than a matter of making utilitarian objects. As archaeologist William Fox has argued, some of these implements, especially tanged-knife blades with a crenelated dorsal edge, were closely tied to the most powerful cosmological

Figure 3.24. Native-copper knives from southern Ontario—(a) Mishipizheu-figure knife, Buckingham ossuary,(b) knife with a crenelated dorsal edge, Midland City ossuary.



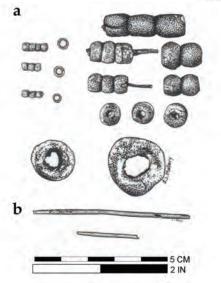
forces, such as the Algonquian Mishipizheu and the Underwater Panther of the Huron–Wendat. The inclusion of such objects in burials and their use as gifts, especially by Jacques Cartier in 1536, indicates these knives were more than just cutting tools (43).

An important aspect of this copper-working tradition was the production of forms used primarily in ritual and mortuary contexts. This includes the first widespread use of copper beads. As with marine shell, these occur on Glacial Kame sites from

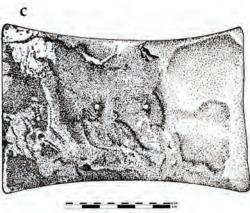


3,000 to 2,800 years ago, such as Picton, usually in bracelets and necklaces or sewn onto clothing. The most common bead form was a thin strip of copper rolled into a thick barrel shape. Less common were the first known tubular beads made from a piece of sheet metal. Beads in these styles continued to be made by Adena-related copper workers from 2,500 to 1,500 years ago, who added new forms such as large rectangular gorgets. The source of native copper during Adena times, what Ritchie called Middlesex in New York, appears to have changed. As archaeologist Gregory Lattanzi has demonstrated, much of the native copper found at the Rosenkrans site in New Jersey came from nearby regional sources rather than the traditional ones in the upper Great Lakes (44).

Between 2,150 and 1,550 years ago, Hopewellian people in the Ohio and Illinois River valleys developed a second copper-working tradition, one that refined and expanded earlier Adenarelated techniques. Although the copper they used came from the same sources, the metal was handled in fundamentally different ways. While a few utilitarian forms were still made, as well as a variety of beads, bracelets, and gorgets, the focus shifted to the production of sophisticated composite objects. These included geometric and zoomorphic forms cut from sheet copper and mounted on a wood or fabric backing, and threedimensional objects such as ear spools, panpipes, and elaborate headdresses. New and innovative



**Figure 3.25.** Examples of Adenarelated copper work—a) rolled beads, Boucher site, VT, (b) tubular beads, Boucher site, VT, (c) a large rectangular gorget, Natrium Mound, W.Va.



techniques characterized Hopewellian metalworking. One was the use of repoussé, or embossing, techniques to enhance design motifs. Another was the use of cylindrical rivets made from rolled sheet to piece together or repair larger objects (45).

The third copper-working tradition was practiced among the Mississippian people of the Southeast. Building on the earlier Hopewellian technology, this copper-working tradition extended from ca. 1,100 years ago up through the arrival of Europeans in the sixteenth century. While much of the copper probably came from the Great Lakes, it is likely that regional sources in the Appalachian Mountains were also used. Like its Hopewellian antecedents, Mississippian metalworking was a highly specialized craft skill, one focused on producing ritual regalia for the elite groups. These included elaborate hair and ear ornaments, and intricately executed, repoussé headdress plates that were fabricated using

sophisticated shaping techniques and metal-to-metal jointing with tubular rivets. Refining earlier techniques, Mississippian metalworkers perfected the ability to reduce sheet copper into a foil often no more than 0.5 mm thick. This foil was used to clad finely carved items of wood and bone, producing ritual objects such as elaborate rattles, effigies, and masks (46).

While native copper was an important material in Mississippian cultures and remained in use by the Algonquian and Iroquoian people around the Great Lakes prior to 1500, little is found on the sites of Five Nations people or their predecessors. The exchange networks that would have brought native copper into central New York in the centuries prior to 1500, like those from marine shell, appear to have been largely inactive.

*Red stone*. Prior to 1500 red stone in central New York meant slate from what is today the eastern edge of the state, the Taconic region along the Vermont border. The red variety originates in the Middle Ordovician Indian River formation, while the green and purple varieties are from the Lower Cambrian-Granville formation (47). This hard and durable material was first used in the Northeast about 5,000 years ago to produce

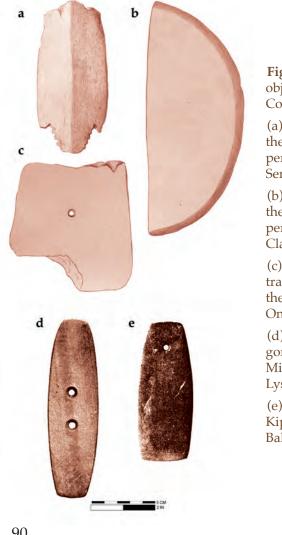


Figure 3.26. Red-slate objects from Onondaga County-

(a) spear or knife from the Laurentian Archaic period, Jack's Reef on the Seneca River,

(b) semilunar knife from the Laurentian Archaic period, Oak Orchard site, Clay,

(c) fragmentary trapezoidal gorget from the Meadowood period, Onondaga Lake,

(d) elongated biconvex gorget from the Adena/ Middlesex period, Lysander,

(e) pendant from the Kipp Island period, Baldwinsville.

edged tools such as ground-stone points and semilunar-shaped knives. Beauchamp described these slate points as "most abundant on both sides of Lake Ontario" and observed that they came in a variety of sizes, shapes, and colors. He also noted that about 100 examples had been reported in New York and that "two thirds come from a territory of forty miles square" focused around Oneida Lake and the Seneca and Oswego Rivers. While groundslate points were made of several colors of slatered, purple, green, and gray—there appears to have been a preference for red slate when making semilunar knives. Beauchamp recorded at least six examples from



central New York (48).

The first evidence for ritual use of red slate occurred roughly 2,500 years ago, when this material was selected to make Meadowood-style gorgets. These occur most often in two forms—rectangular with two horizontally oriented holes, a form developed during the preceding Glacial Kame times, and a new trapezoidal form with two or more vertical perforations. Although archaeologist Karine Taché describes Huron banded slate, or argillite, as the preferred material for gorgets, the Taconic slates are also well represented, especially in central and eastern New York. While all varieties of these colored slates were used to make gorgets, there again appears to have been a slight preference for red. Beauchamp reported at least three examples from central New York.

The choice of Taconic slate for gorgets is not surprising. Aside from their unique colors, the Taconic slates have a fine grain, parallel cleavage, and are relatively easy to shape. They finish to a smooth surface, one easily embellished with incised motifs. Over the next 2,000 years, people who participated in the Adena-related mortuary tradition and its successors continued to use Taconic slate, red in particular, for a variety of gorget and pendant forms (49).

About 500 years ago, red slate began to occur in a new form—small chipped and ground discs usually between 1 and 2 cm in diameter. Sometimes they were centrally perforated and have been referred to as beads. Other discs were not perforated and have often been called gaming pieces. The actual function of these objects is not known. While these discs, along with an occasional pendant, occur across central New York, they are concentrated in the St. Lawrence Iroquois and Onondaga sites (50).

Elsewhere in North America, red stone meant something quite different, especially to Native people who lived in the Mississippi valley and farther west. There red stone meant pipestone, the best-known variety of which comes from the famous quarry in southwest Minnesota. Since several varieties of this reddish argillite are found in locations ranging from Wisconsin to Illinois, a separate specific name, catlinite, is now reserved for the material from the Minnesota quarry (51). According to archaeologist Dale Henning, Oneota people began to collect pipestone from the glacial till in what is now Iowa around 650 years ago. Shortly after, they began to quarry it directly. The production of large disc pipes and incised tablets was the focus over the next 200 years. This work was centered in large multiethnic sites such as Blood Run on the Big Sioux River and in Oneota communities like the Dixon and Bastian sites in the Little Sioux River valley. Finished objects appear to have been distributed in two directions. The first was east across northern Iowa to the La Crosse locality, then toward Green Bay and into the Great Lakes via the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers. The second was south down the Missouri River to the Sheridan

River region around the Utz site. From here, pipestone objects were exchanged further down the Missouri River to sites in the Mississippi and lower Ohio Valleys. Some traveled even further downriver into Arkansas and Tennessee. Along the way, these objects were often reworked before being exchanged farther east and south. These exchange networks appear to have broken down during the last half of the sixteenth century as largescale population dispersals occurred throughout the mid-continent. Prior to 1500, pipestone objects are rare on sites in the Northeast, with most examples being fragments of disc pipes (52).

#### Networks of exchange, 1500 to 1600

The exchange networks that brought marine shell, native copper, and red stone into Five Nations' territory appear to have been quiescent prior to 1500. There is little material evidence at present that the Onondaga and their forebears traveled long distances to obtain these materials. Sometime around 1500 this situation changed. For whatever reason, there was a dramatic revival in long-distance exchange and suddenly marine shell, native copper, red stone, and other exotic materials such as walrus ivory, began to reoccur on sites in central New York. This revival appears to have taken place across the Five Nations and is evident at sites such as Mohawk Cayadutta, Onondaga Barnes, and Seneca Richmond Mills. *Marine shell.* The renewed presence of marine-shell objects is a hallmark

**Figure 3.27.** Following the Pipestone Trail, ca. 1500-1550—(a) Blood Run site, SD, (b) Utz site, MO, (c) Anker site, IL, (d) Whitefish Island site, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, (e) Parsons site, Ontario, (f) Mann site, IN, (g) Morris (Morse) site, NY, (h) Richmond Mills site, NY.





of sixteenth-century Five Nations sites. Most common are white discoidal beads made from *Busycon* whelk, although a few of these discoidal beads are a lustrous black. A small number of tubular columella beads occur as well. In addition there are a few pendants—disc-shaped pieces of *Busycon* whorl and perforated or grooved columella segments—along with a few modified *Marginella* shells. Early in the century, beads and pendants made from freshwater shells of snail (*Campeloma decisum* and *Goniobasis livescens*) and mussel (*Elliptio complanata*) occur, again suggesting that the demand for marine shell exceeded the supply. As the availability of marine shell increased during the century, the tendency to utilize local freshwater shell diminished (53).

One significant change during this period is the first evidence of objects made from quahog or hard-shell clam (*Mercenaria mercenaria*) on Five Nations sites. This is important because this clam is the source of the purple shell that would be used to make purple wampum beads during the seventeenth century. During the sixteenth century, however, *Mercenaria* shell only occurs on Five Nations sites across central New York as disc-shaped pendants or roughed-out circular discs. There are also a few quahog shells with failed attempts to drill holes in this hard material (54). In addition to the examples from the Onondaga Barnes and Temperance House sites, these efforts are evident at the Mohawk Cayadutta site and suggest that *Mercenaria* shell may have originated from the Atlantic coast along Long Island Sound or just south of the Hudson River. Wherever it came from, hard-shell clam suddenly was in demand early in the sixteenth century (55).

Quahog shell aside, there is little doubt that the Chesapeake was the source of most of the marine shell that reached the Five Nations. That had been the case for several thousand years with comparable shell objects

Figure 3.28. Sixteenth-century marine-shell objects from the Mohawk Cayadutta site—

(a) dextral *Busycon* columella, likely a pendant,

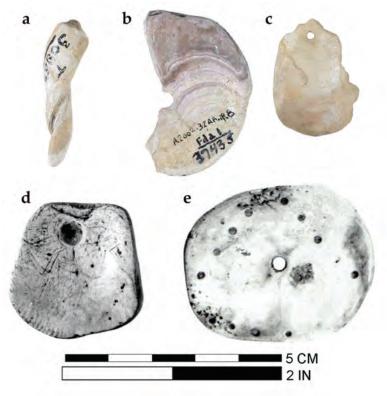
(b) modified *Mercenaria* shell with a taperdrilled hole in the center, broken during an attempt to perforate,

(c) small oyster (*Crassostrea virginica*) shell pendant.

Examples from Onondaga sites-

(d) partially drilled *Mercenaria* pendant from the Temperance House site,

(e) *Busycon* pendant embellished with drilled dots from Brewerton.



occurring on sites along the exchange routes between the Chesapeake and central New York. These include Shenks Ferry sites in the Lancaster, Pennsylvania, area and early Susquehannock sites located upriver along the New York and Pennsylvania border.

Things were more complex south and west of the Chesapeake. For centuries the powerful chiefdoms of the Southeast had dominated the cultural landscape, controlling the distribution of marine shell and dictating its uses. The great chiefdoms such as Coosa and Cofitachequi had begun to lose their authority prior to European contact, and the *entradas* of De Soto in 1540, of Pardo in 1567, and others quickened their demise. By 1600 the political landscape of the Southeast looked very different than it had a century earlier.

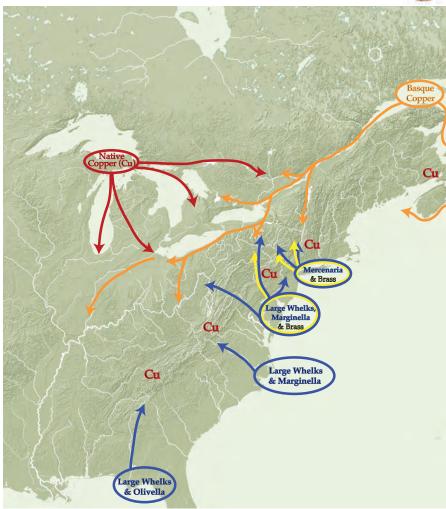
Even with these dramatic changes, Mississippian ideas and iconography still exerted considerable influence. Marine shell provides one material means for tracking these changes within Mississippian core areas and beyond. Gorgets are one of the most sensitive indicators of how variable Mississippian motifs became, especially anthropomorphic masks and rattlesnakes, during the late sixteenth century. The occurrence of shell ear pins is another good way to track the extent of the Mississippian Aura. Although these practices had little direct impact on the Five Nations at the time, they did have a profound effect in areas around the margins of the Mississippian world, especially in the Ohio Valley, the Virginia Piedmont north of the Roanoke River, and around the Chesapeake. In these areas Mississippian forms and motifs continued to be expressed, but often in new and regionally specific ways (56).

*Copper, old and new.* Native copper objects, usually in the form of small tubular beads and disc-shaped pendants, are less prevalent than marine shell on early sixteenth-century Five Nations sites. Iroquoia was at the end of a long exchange network that originated in the upper Great Lakes and came through southern Ontario, and little appears to have made it all the way to central New York. Native-copper objects are difficult to identify for another reason. During this period objects of similar form made of European copper and its alloys occur for the first time on Five Nations sites. Without careful technical analysis, it is easy to mistake native copper for European, and vice versa (57).

Over the course of the sixteenth century, copper underwent a series of three remarkable transformations. The first was in quantity. What had been rare, if not unique, at the beginning of the century became, if not common, then at least familiar by century's end. This does not mean that nativecopper objects became more common, rather that they were supplanted by objects made from European copper and its alloys, especially brass. What made this possible was the second transformation, the transference of high cultural value from native copper to its European counterparts, especially



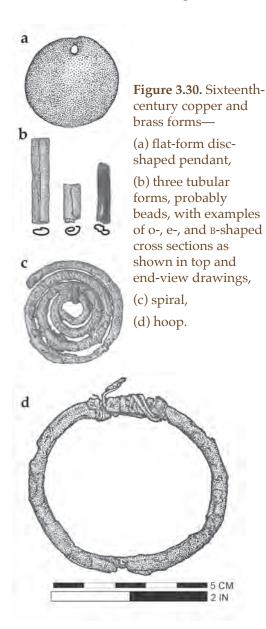
the high-purity, smelted-copper kettles traded by Basque fishermen and whalers. What is surprising is, that to the extent we can see it, this transformation seems to have been seamless. Whether the copper was of North American or European origin, Five Nations people appear to have used it in the same way. This brings us to the third transformation the application of traditional and innovative Nativemetalworking technology to the new medium of European metal. It has often been assumed that the Native use of **European metals** during the sixteenth century was driven by



**Figure 3.29.** Sources and major exchange routes for marine shell, native copper, and European copper and brass, ca. 1600.

Native attempts to copy European forms and techniques. Recent research by Kathleen Ehrhardt and Lisa Anselmi has demonstrated that, to the contrary, most of the forms and techniques that characterize sixteenthcentury metalworking were in use well before any evidence of contact (58).

The ways in which Five Nations people and their Native neighbors utilized European copper and brass were largely those their ancestors had employed. This included shaping the metal into sheets through hammering and annealing, then cutting and grinding it to make a variety of flat forms. Flat forms were primarily rectangular strips often used as preforms for tubes and discs that were perforated for use as pendants. Wrapping rectangular preforms around a mandrel produced tubular forms of varying lengths and diameters. Although these are usually described as beads, they were used in a variety of ways. Some tubes are o-shaped in cross section and could have been strung as beads. Others are e-, B- or s-shaped in cross section and were used as preforms for rings, bracelets, and other more complex forms.



Spirals and hoops are the most recognizable. These distinctive objects were worn as pendants, ear ornaments, or as part of elaborate headdresses. They serve as horizon markers on Five Nations and Susquehannock sites during the last half of the sixteenth century and into the first decades of the seventeenth. It took considerable skill to make these objects, both in the multiple anneals required to keep the metal soft enough to work and in the technical control needed to manipulate the tubing. It is not surprising that previous scholars assumed Europeans had made these objects (59).

Occasionally, European copper and brass were processed into utilitarian forms such as knives and awls. However, most copper objects appear to have been made for ritual purposes. As a result, the majority comes from mortuary contexts, while only a few have been found in occupation areas. Some forms, a large brass gorget from the Seneca Adams site, for example, seem to be a deliberate revival of a much older style. Others, such as conical tinkling cones, may have been new or at least newly popular. At present, it is difficult to see where such changes in copper working occurred during the sixteenth century. In the following century, as more metal became available and the complexity of Native and European interactions increased, some of the centers of innovation would become clearer (60).

*Red stone*. While marine shell and copper became increasingly important components of Onondaga material assemblages during the sixteenth century, red stone appears to have gone in the opposite direction. Although the renewed interest in red stone visible on late fifteenth-century sites continued through the first half of the sixteenth, red-stone objects virtually disappear again from the archaeological record by 1600. Taconic red slate remained the material of choice for what was used to produce the familiar chipped and ground discs, pendants, and even an occasional gorget. These occur on sites across the Five Nations, but the distribution is not uniform. Surprisingly, they are least common on Mohawk sites near the quarries, while the largest number occur in Onondaga at the Atwell site near Cazenovia Lake. As red-slate objects decrease over the course of the sixteenth century, pipestone objects remain virtually unknown. Only two examples have been reported. One is a ritually killed disc pipe from the Seneca Richmond Mills site, and the other is a fragment of a similar disc



pipe from the St. Lawrence Iroquois Morse site (61).

To summarize the revival of these three different exchange networks raises many questions. What caused this reactivation? At present, there are two working hypotheses. One is a response to European contact. As George Hamell and others have observed, there is a strong similarity between the high-value materials

**Figure 3.31.** Sixteenthcentury red-stone objects—

(a) unperforated redslate discs, Onondaga \_b Barnes site,

(b) perforated redslate discs, Onondaga Barnes site,

(c) deeply notched red-slate pendant, Onondaga Barnes site,

(d) pipestone disc pipe, Seneca Richmond Mills site,

(e) disc-pipe fragment, St. Lawrence Iroquois Morris (Morse) site.

of the sixteenth century and those that had been used for millennia by the ancestral people of the Northeast, especially in the ancestor-focused ceremonialism of the Adena and Hopewellian traditions. Europeans may have been viewed initially as powerful spirit beings or returning ancestors, who brought the traditional substances of Life Restoring, Life Renewing power with them. This view is supported by similarities between traditional substances—marine shell, native copper, red stone, and sheet mica—and the objects that Europeans brought for exchange— glass beads, copper ornaments, red cloth, and mirrors. Perhaps most convincing is that these high-value materials, whether of Native or European origin, were used primarily in ritual contexts during the sixteenth century (62).

There is another possible reason for this reactivation. Many scholars have argued that intertribal warfare was the primary social dynamic of the sixteenth century, whether it caused the disappearance of the St. Lawrence Iroquois or initiated the formation of the League. The archaeological evidence for large heavily fortified towns, and the oral tradition that the League was established in response to the Dark Times of warfare and feuding, seem to support this. Recent work on Huron–Wendat sites in southern Ontario has demonstrated that the processes of community coalescence and alliance building were well underway before the first evidence of European contact. In other words, it was the effort to find peaceful solutions for hostility that drove these processes. It is possible that a similar process of coalescence, or revitalization, occurred among the Five Nations. Could the near-simultaneous reactivation of these exchange networks be a material manifestation of the formation of the League? These two hypotheses are not mutually exclusive. The very early phases of

European contact may have taken place concurrently with internal social agreements like establishment of the League. Whatever the cause, the events of the sixteenth century reshaped the social, economic, and political landscape of the Northeast, and provided the template for how these relationships would evolve during the seventeenth century (63).

#### Networks of trade, 1600 to 1650

If the sixteenth century brought massive changes to the Native people of eastern North America, events of the seventeenth century quickly accelerated them into completely new dimensions. Permanent European settlement was the primary driver, first along the coast and then gradually extending into the interior. With Europeans now in fixed points, new economic, social, and political systems began to spread across the landscape. It is hard to grasp the complexity of the cross-cultural interactions and relationships that emerged from these changes. While it may simplify things to talk about how Native people and Europeans interacted, there were no generic Europeans any more than there were generic Native people. The reality was a vast cultural and linguistic diversity on both sides.

When we examine the material evidence from Onondaga sites ca. 1600 to 1650, we are looking at the results of specific choices and interactions that took place between the Onondaga and different groups of Europeans, from Dutch traders to French Jesuits. Equally important, these interactions were shaped by the preexisting relationships the Onondaga had with their Native neighbors. The ways in which the Onondaga responded to European materials, people, and, eventually, ideas had as much do to with influences from other Native cultures as it did from Europeans.

The archaeological evidence allows us to track some of these interactions and to examine what would become the most difficult problem for Native people during the seventeenth century. How were they to maintain cultural integrity and identity in the midst of such chaotic change? In some of these interactions, Onondaga people played a key part. In others, they were the recipients of solutions devised by others. In either case, we will use the same three material classes—marine shell, copper, and red stone—to follow the solutions used by the Onondaga up to 1650, and throughout the remainder of the century in subsequent chapters.

*Marine shell.* The story of marine shell between 1600 and 1650 epitomizes the degree to which things changed while staying the same. What stayed the same was demand, a reflection of the high value placed on marine shell, regardless of form. What changed was the availability of shell, its preferred forms, and its uses.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Chesapeake Bay remained the source for most of the marine shell that reached the Five Nations.



This assemblage consisted of the familiar discoidal and tubular columella beads, as well as the simple pendants that typified late sixteenth century sites. During the first decade of the new century, a series of events would reshape this pattern. The first was the establishment of Jamestown on the west side of Chesapeake Bay in 1607, an act that would disrupt and then destroy the existing social fabric of the region. A year later in 1608, Samuel de Champlain established Québec. With a stable base of operations, Champlain began to explore the upper St. Lawrence River and the lower Great Lakes, altering the political landscape as he went. A third event occurred in 1609, when Henry Hudson discovered that Native people along the upper reaches of what was then known as the North River, or the Hudson River today, were friendly and willing to trade for furs, a discovery that focused Dutch commercial interests on North America. Those interests would reorient the Five Nations away from their traditional north-south St. Lawrence and Chesapeake exchange routes and reinforce the importance of the east–west routes that defined the League. These European incursions would have profound effects on the demand for shell and the forms in which it would appear.

The most striking change in form was the transition from *roanoke* to wampum. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the preferred form for shell beads was discoidal, what the English called *roanoke*. As John Smith observed in 1608, these beads came from the Eastern shore, "where is made so much *Rawranoke* or [the] white beads that occasion as much dissention among the Savages, as gold and silver [do] amongst Christians." Smith also noted that the Nanticoke and related people who produced these beads were traders, in fact "the best Marchants of all other Savages." The archaeological evidence bears this out. Discoidal beads are the most common form of marine shell on early seventeenth-century sites in the Chesapeake, along the major river corridors, and on Five Nations sites. The "great stropes of beads" reported by Hudson's mate, Robert Juet, in his journal were probably discoidal beads from the Chesapeake (64).

All this changed within a few decades as the preferred form for shell beads shifted from discoidal to tubular, in particular the small white and purple beads known as wampum. Given that nothing about wampum is simple, we need to start with a definition. Wampum means the set of small tubular beads made primarily from white *Busycon* and purple *Mercenaria* shell. While white beads that fit the dimensions of wampum had been made for centuries, there is no evidence that tubular purple beads made from *Mercenaria* shell existed prior to the early seventeenth century. Wampum combined two materials, like salt and pepper, with very different histories.

Four factors came together to create wampum. The first is familiar—the long-established Native tradition of making marine-shell beads along with the high-cultural value placed on shell by Native people regardless of ethnic or linguistic affiliation. The second factor was the introduction

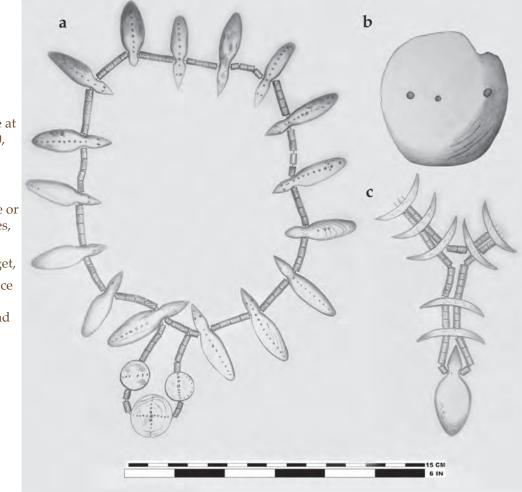
of small tubular white- and blue-glass beads by the French early in the seventeenth century, and their widespread acceptance by Native people. Third was the entrepreneurial combination of Native people, who lived around Long Island Sound who began to make comparable beads from the available shell sometime early in the seventeenth century, together with the Dutch traders, who encouraged them by providing the necessary metal tools and a ready market. Finally, Virginia's disastrous Indian policy and three Powhatan Wars, between 1610 and 1646, disrupted the traditional source of shell beads and created a vacuum that wampum quickly filled. Wampum was a cross-cultural product, a hybrid, something new that did not exist until these four factors made it possible during the first half of the seventeenth century. We will examine wampum's cross-cultural character and the different ways in which it functioned in more detail below (65).

Important as wampum was, marine shell occurred in other significant forms. By 1650 the last of the Powhatan Wars was over, and shell objects from the Chesapeake again occur on Five Nations sites. Some, such as tubular-columella and massive beads as well as traditional pendant forms, had not changed much over the previous two-thousand years. Other shell forms were new, at least in Iroquoia. Some of these exotic objects, including McBee-style gorgets and earplugs, were Mississippian in form. Although not common, they occur most often on Seneca sites such as Power House, and may reflect Seneca interactions with Ontario Iroquoians, Fort Ancient people, and other groups to the west and south (66). We will discuss how they probably reached Onondaga in Chapter Seven.

Another set of novel shell forms came from the mid-Atlantic. These included runtees, or perforated discs of shell with drilled and/or incised motifs on each side. There were also crescent-shaped and claw-shaped beads, as well as zoomorphic shapes such as birds and long-bodied longtailed creatures. Recently, archaeologist Duane Esarey has referred to these as "Standardized Marine Shell" objects and argued that European settlers produced them in a "previously undefined industry" between 1635 and 1700. While I agree with Esarey that these were something new, I interpret them differently. As we have seen, Native people in the Eastern Woodlands had used marine shell in sophisticated ways for nearly 5,000 years. In terms of inspiration, most of these "Standardized" forms have clear antecedents in Mississippian and other Northeast traditions. Claw-shaped beads, which occur in both white and purple shell, are an example. Perforated claws and teeth were used for ritual purposes as far back as we can see in the archaeological record. These forms were also made in copper, stone, and other materials from Hopewellian times on. Native people did not need Europeans to suggest that marine shell could be used as well (67).

Like wampum, these objects were a new commodity, another kind of cross-cultural hybrid created by Native people somewhere between Long Island Sound and the Chesapeake during the second quarter of the





**Figure 3.32.** Marineshell forms from the Onondaga fishing site at Oak Orchard, ca. 1650, drawn by William M. Beauchamp—

(a) necklace of small avian pendants (geese or loons?), simple runtees, and wampum beads,

(b) plain Busycon gorget,

(c) portion of a necklace with a large avian pendant, crescents, and wampum beads.

> seventeenth century. Like wampum, these new marine-shell objects exemplify how Native people used European tools to make a traditional material into derivative forms, ones that fit changing circumstances and markets. Although both wampum and more complex shell objects appear to have been made far from Onondaga, both would become important components of the Onondaga story. We will trace them in more detail in subsequent chapters.

*Copper and its alloys.* While the cross-cultural interactions embedded in marine-shell objects were complex, those involving copper were even more so. With European settlement, copper and brass became available from multiple sources—Dutch, French and English—as well as in a variety of forms, from sheet metal to kettles and other finished objects. Native copper-working technology continued to adapt to these new sources, and even with the massive cultural changes across the Eastern Woodlands some of the traditional exchange networks remained in use, even over long distances (68). As a result, between 1600 and 1650 a wide variety of copper and its alloys circulated among the Indian people of the Eastern Woodlands along with very different views on these materials, their value, and the ways in which they could be used.

For Five Nations people these changes meant a fundamental shift in material, away from copper used by Basque traders in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the brass preferred by Norman and Dutch traders for their kettles. After 1600 these kettles quickly became the primary source of the brass used by Native people in the Northeast. In Onondaga, they were routinely cut up and the resulting sheet metal used to make a wide variety of objects.

The distinction between copper and brass may seem minor, but there were important implications. Copper has a reddish color while brass is yellow, and as we have seen, color mattered to Native people. Brass is also a less-forgiving material to work than copper and requires more frequent annealing. In spite of these differences, the high value ascribed to copper appears to have passed to brass during the first half of the seventeenth century as seamlessly as the transition from native to European copper occurred in the century before. This may not have been the case everywhere. During the 1620s copper appears to have undergone a "process of utter debasement" among the Algonquian people around the Chesapeake Bay. In Iroquoia, copper and brass retained a high-cultural value, even if value was defined in new ways (69).

The increased use of brass for utilitarian purposes, not just ritual ones, was one consequence of its greater availability. In fact, an increasingly large and diverse assemblage of brass and copper objects has been recovered from the Onondaga sites dating between 1600 and 1650. One way to describe the objects made by Onondaga people is *expedient*, as opposed to *patterned*. Expedient objects rarely had a specific form. A piece of sheet metal used for a variety of tasks, such as cutting or scraping, is an example. With patterned objects, the maker had a particular intent, say to make a projectile point. While those points might vary in shape, the objective and usage were the same.

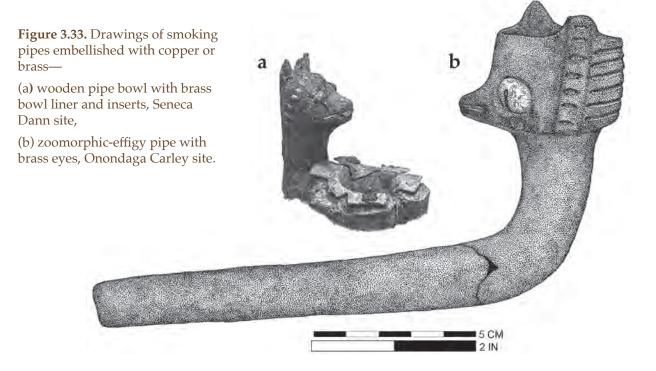
The emergence of new patterned forms was one characteristic of Onondaga metalworking between 1600 and 1650. Most replicated traditional implement forms but in a new material. The simplest were flat forms cut from sheet metal, such as triangular projectile points. On early seventeenth-century Onondaga sites, like Pompey Center, traditional chert points far outnumber those cut from brass. By 1650 triangular brass points are the most common. Other patterned forms included sheet-brass knives and scrapers with more standardized shapes. Another example was the replication of long flat centrally perforated weaving needles traditionally made from deer rib bone. By the mid-seventeenth century brass versions of these bone needles had become part of the Onondaga tool kit (**70**).

*Modal forms*. Brass and copper continued to be used for ritual and decorative purposes. Flat forms include a variety of geometric and zoomorphic pendants and rectangular strips that could be rolled into



beads, finger rings, or bracelets, depending on the diameter. Tubular forms became more common as the century progressed with a larger percentage apparently used as beads rather than as preforms. Some of the more complex forms, such as spirals, continued to be made during the early decades of the seventeenth century, but by 1650 tube preforms had begun to be replaced by a new medium—brass and copper wire. The Onondaga also made two patterned conical forms during this period. Although similar in shape, they served very different purposes. The simplest, often called tinkling cones, appear to have been tied or sewn onto clothing and other regalia. The second form was a conical liner for a wooden smoking pipe. These can usually be distinguished from tinkling cones by their uniformity and the width of the basal opening. By 1650 wooden pipes often had conical-bowl liners and a variety of brass embellishments, including pipe-bowl covers, round or square pieces of sheet metal pinned to the surface of a wooden pipe bowl, and occasionally the addition of metal eyes to effigy pipes (71).

*Technology and distribution.* Sheet metal may have been more available than previously, but it still had to be fashioned into the desired shape. To do this, many of the same techniques used during previous centuries were employed, especially scoring and snapping, abrasion, and hammering, as well as annealing to keep the metal soft. The greater availability of iron knives and awls after 1600, and scissors after 1630, made working copper and brass much easier and encouraged innovation. This innovation can be seen in the development of regional- or ethnic-style preferences, and the first experiments of joining pieces of metal together.



Just as different groups of Native people made distinctive styles of pottery, brass and copper objects began to reflect regional and ethnic preferences between 1600 and 1650. B-shaped tubing is an example. While the majority of tubing on Five Nations sites has an o- or e-shaped profile, B-shaped tubing is an innovative form that occurs primarily on Ontario Iroquoian sites. At the Neutral Christianson site, for example, 15 of the 24 bracelets recovered have a B-shaped profile. On contemporary Onondaga and Seneca sites, only single examples have been reported. Disc-shaped pendants provide another case in point. On Five Nations sites of this period, disc pendants are usually small and perforated near the margin. On the other hand, Susquehannock disc pendants are often twice as large and perforated through a small tab that extends beyond the disc. We may not understand why these preferences existed, but they do appear to serve as useful indicators of identity and chronology (72).



Devising ways to join pieces of metal together was the other innovation. Although the need to repair cracked or damaged kettles is usually cited, the reasons why Native people in the Northeast developed this technology remain unclear. Whatever they were, Five Nations people had begun to experiment with at least three different techniques by 1650 –

- Lacing This joining technique uses either a rolled tube or a thin strip of metal to lace or stitch two pieces of sheet metal together. It seems likely that this technique was adapted from the use of traditional organic materials, such as spruce roots, cordage, or rawhide, to join pieces of wood, bark, or skin together. At least three examples of metal lacing are known from Five Nations sites of the early seventeenth century (73).
- Stapling A strip of flat sheet or rolled tube is used to hold two pieces of metal together by inserting it through two parallel cuts. Like a staple, the ends are then splayed either in or out to secure the connection. Examples of this technique are known from several Five Nations sites as well as sites in Ontario (74).

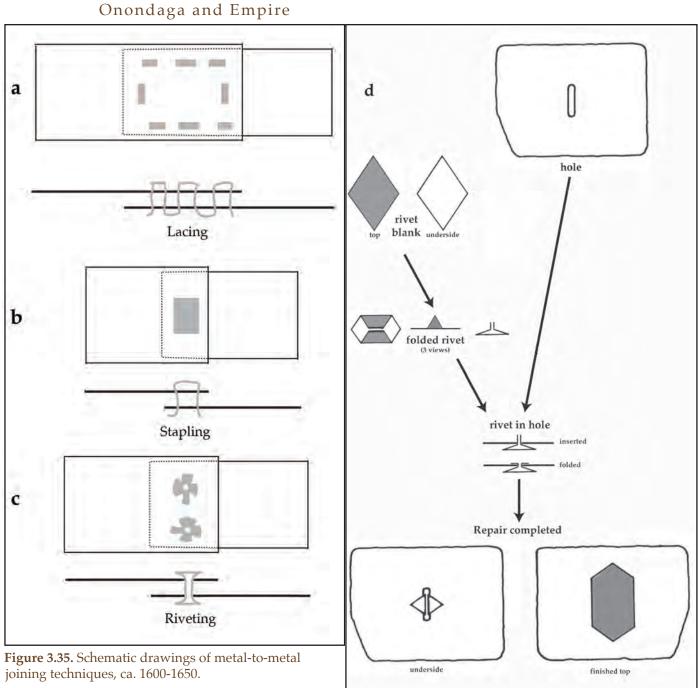


• Tube Riveting – A technique, developed by earlier Hopewellian and Mississippian metalworkers, uses short sections of tubing as rivets to join pieces of sheet metal together. These are inserted through perforations in both pieces and then flattened or upset on each side. Occasionally, small solid-metal pins were used. This joining technique appears to have been used more frequently on Ontario Iroquoian sites than on the Five Nations sites prior to 1650 (75).

The revival of Native metalworking between 1600 and 1650 raises interesting questions, namely, where were these innovations centered, and to what degree did Europeans influence Native metalworking? Though European craftsman were settled near Ontario Iroquoians and the Susquehannock, and copper working among them was especially strong during this period, the degree to which European techniques influenced Native-metalworking practices remains unclear. There are hints though, such as the occasional use of European-style techniques like butterfly and conical rivets and brazing (Figure 3.35). We will track these and other changes in Native metalworking between 1650 and 1701 in subsequent chapters (76).

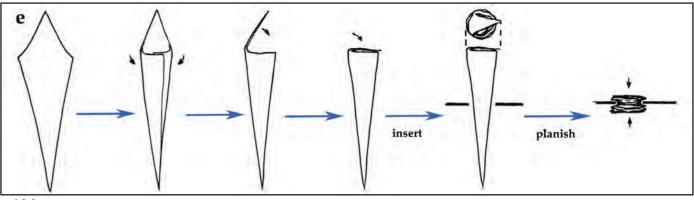
*Red stone*. Like marine shell and copper, red stone also went through phases of popularity or high visibility between 1600 and 1650. Between 1500 and 1550 there was a revival of interest in red slate on Onondaga sites, yet by the end of the century red slate has virtually disappeared from the archaeological record. By 1630, however, obtaining red stone of any kind would become an obsession among Iroquoian people. William Fox has argued that Iroquoian people had a strong preference for the color red, noting that as early as the 1630s Europeans reported an Iroquoian Huron–Wendat desire for red and an Algonquian Nipissing lack of interest in that color. Whatever the reason, red stone was again in demand especially between 1620 and 1650 (77).

During these decades, red stone could mean any of three materials. Two are familiar—red slate from eastern New York and pipestone from sources in the Mississippi Valley and farther west. The third material was a purple to brick-red siltstone found in glacial deposits in Ontario, especially around Manitoulin Island and Huron Bay. Fox has demonstrated that making large tubular beads of this material was a specialty of the Ottawa, an Algonquian-speaking people who made such beads for their Iroquoian Huron–Wendat neighbors. Production of these distinctive beads peaked between 1620 and 1640. The nearby Petun people also produced a significant quantity of red-siltstone beads, pendants, and effigies between 1630 and 1640. These objects are found primarily on Huron–Wendat and Neutral sites, although a few have been reported from contemporaneous Onondaga and Seneca sites. By 1650 the production of siltstone beads had ceased as the Iroquoian people of Ontario dispersed, and the Ottawa moved farther west into the Great Lakes (78).



Native techniques include (a) lacing, (b) stapling, and (c) tube riveting.

European techniques include (d) butterfly riveting and (e) conical riveting.





Small amounts of red stone appear on Five Nations sites during this period with red slate occurring as simple geometrical pendants. The presence of partially shaped pieces suggests that this regionally available material was used as the demand for red stone increased, but the midwestern supply of pipestone remained limited. Pipestone appears primarily in the form of small tubular beads that were either triangular or square in section. They were often embellished with fine notching or incising. Rare as these beads were, they are material evidence of the new exchange networks that formed across the Great Lakes as Native populations reorganized and resettled. These networks would shape events during the last half of the seventeenth century and bring increasing amounts of pipestone back east (79).

### Acculturation

Before continuing the Onondaga story beyond 1650, I want to return to the issue of European contact and its impact. In Chapter One, we talked briefly about the four phases in which contact may have occurred for the Onondaga—first report, first physical evidence, first actual encounter, and ongoing interaction. In this chapter, we have looked at how these phases may have been reflected in the material assemblages of marine shell, copper, and red stone artifacts. In this section, I want to examine what the archaeological evidence suggests about how Onondaga people responded to Europeans and their exotic material wealth, and the processes by which they incorporated those materials into their own cultural framework.

#### Responses

Much of the recent literature on European–Native relationships during the seventeenth century begins with a critique of previous work. Past scholarship frequently has focused on the negative and destructive effects of cross-cultural interaction. In part, this perspective originates from contemporary seventeenth-century accounts. An example is Nicolas Denys's assessment of Micmac people. When Denys arrived in New France sometime before 1635 he found "They had as yet changed their customs little," even though they were already using iron kettles, axes, and knives, and making their arrowheads from iron as well. Thirty-five years later their situation was very different. As Denys observed,

They have abandoned all their own utensils whether because of the trouble they had as well to make as to use them, or because of the facility of obtaining from us, in exchange for skins which cost them almost nothing, the things which seemed to them invaluable, not so much for their novelty as for the convenience they derived there from.

This description of lost skills, the replacement of traditional objects with European ones, and other evidence of cultural decline have become embedded in our understanding of the seventeenth century and are often applied to all Native cultures in the Northeast. Yes, these are some of the

"tropes of decline" and "negative master narratives" from which we are trying to escape (80).

Archaeology has also contributed to the perception that cross-cultural interactions produced largely destructive results. How European colonists adapted to a New World, and became something different than their European antecedents, has long been a focus of archaeological research. Recent critiques have pointed out that this separates European colonial history from that of Indian people, emphasizing the advances of the one with the decline of the other. One response, proposed by archaeologist Patricia Rubertone, is "an archaeology of resistance," one in which we look in the material record for evidence that expresses Native "frustration, dissatisfaction, and even contempt of the systems of inequality being imposed upon them." I agree that careful examination of the archaeological evidence can provide a different perspective on cross-cultural interactions, especially how they changed over time. In the case of Onondaga, opportunity, not resistance, characterized their response to European materials and to Europeans themselves. Resistance requires a threat, and before 1650 Europeans were too distant and too few to be considered one. Instead, Europeans were seen as a new resource, one to be explored and exploited (81).

The Onondaga goal was to find what was useful and explore ways to incorporate it into their culture. As such, I would characterize the Onondaga response to Europeans prior to 1650 in four ways—active, selective, conservative, and creative.

*Active*. The Onondaga response was active, not passive. They did not wait for European materials to arrive, but actively sought them out. As with traditional high-value materials, Onondaga people probably went to the source when possible or obtained these new materials through exchange.

*Selective*. Like all consumers, the Onondaga were selective about what they wanted. They had clear preferences, and when offered an array of objects made specific choices. This is why European trade assemblages took on a fairly uniform character at an early date. Initially the focus was on iron tools, copper or brass kettles, and glass beads. During the first half of the seventeenth century, this inventory expanded to include textiles, especially blankets, and a wider selection of consumer goods. It was the combination of Native demand and savvy European entrepreneurs providing Indian people with what they wanted that made the trade so successful. The result was a standardized set of trade goods, one that with minor adjustments continued in use well into the nineteenth century.

*Conservative*. Onondaga people incorporated European materials and objects into their culture to support traditional practices, not to change them. An example is the transference of value from native to European

copper. The systematic reworking of European objects, such as kettles, into traditional forms to be used in traditional ways, demonstrates this. Onondaga people appear to have repurposed kettles for decades before they started to cook in them.

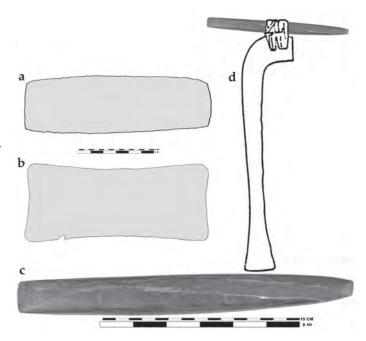
There is another aspect to the conservative quality of this response, revival of forms associated with traditional expressions of authority or spiritual power. Examples include the recurrence of two ancestral forms during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—plaques or gorgets of sheet copper and brass, and bar-celt war clubs with stone or iron blades. This intentional referencing of the past in traditional forms was a significant component of the Onondaga and other Five Nations' response (82).

**Figure 3.36**. The revival of ancestral forms includes large metal gorgets and bar celts for war clubs—

- (a) drawing of a large brass gorget, Seneca Adams site, ca. 1550,
- (b) drawing of a large copper gorget, Peters Creek Mound, PA, from the Adena period, ca. 2,250-1,650 years ago,

(c) photograph of a stone bar celt, Seneca River (separate scale), ca. 1550-1600,

(d) drawing of a war club with a hafted bi-pointed stone bar celt (not to scale).



*Creative*. Vitality and creativity are among the most striking aspects of Onondaga archaeological assemblages between 1600 and 1650. New materials and technologies encouraged experimentation, permitted greater elaboration of traditional materials, and provided new opportunities for expression (83). Between 1650 and 1711, as interactions with Europeans intensified, these responses continued to characterize the ways in which Onondaga people dealt with an increasing array of challenges and threats. In the following section we will look at some of the processes through which creativity was expressed as well as examine a specific example—wampum.

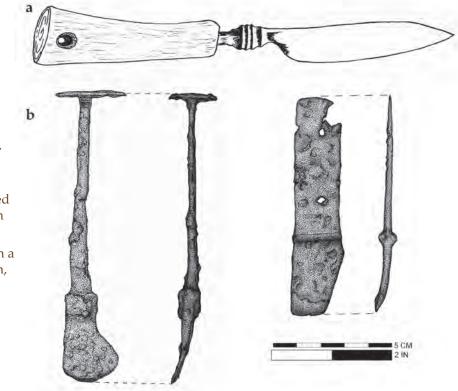
## Processes

The archaeological evidence from Onondaga demonstrates how a culture adapts as circumstances change around it. In Onondaga specifically, what were the processes by which this occurred? How did Onondaga people incorporate European materials and objects into their culture? By 1650 the Onondaga had had more than a century of contact with Europeans, their

exotic material wealth, and strange beliefs. No longer were Europeans regarded as returned ancestors or powerful spirit-beings. They were one more group of resources to be examined and exploited. By midcentury the Onondaga had learned to integrate European materials, objects, and even ideas through direct use, emulation, appropriation, and hybridization (84).

*Direct use*. The most obvious way to incorporate European objects was by using them for their intended purpose. Iron knives for cutting and awls for piercing were objects that could cross cultural boundaries with little trouble or modification. Direct use occurred when an object's intended function was obvious or quickly learned. Other European objects readily incorporated into Onondaga culture included two-sided ivory combs, latten and pewter spoons, and white-clay smoking pipes. Direct use does not imply passivity. Using an object meant maintenance and repair. An iron knife, for example, required frequent resharpening and often a new handle. Direct use could also lead to innovation. When an object broke or wore out it could be used for another purpose. For example, by the early seventeenth century Onondaga people had begun to modify broken or worn-out knives into a new form, the crooked knife (85).

*Emulation*. For objects whose purpose was not obvious, it was necessary to learn how to use them. Emulation is the process of copying a novel object or idea without modifying it. Missionary John Heckewelder's story about the first iron axes given to Indian people is an example. When the Europeans returned the following year, "The whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had been given the year before; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments."



**Figure 3.37**. The use, reuse, and adaptation of an iron knife—

(a) resharpened and rehafted iron knife, Oneida Thurston site,

(b) two crooked knives with a top and profile view of each, Onondaga Pompey Center site.

# Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650

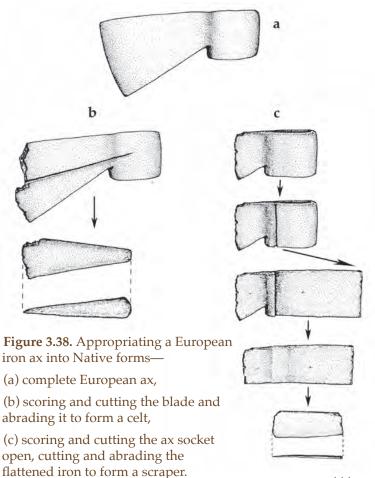


While it is easy to chuckle at this misunderstanding, it underscores how alien some Europeans things were when Native people first encountered them. Emulation cannot occur until you understand an object's purpose (86).

Besides axes, Europeans brought with them a host of other, even more alien, objects, including firearms. Since these were based on concepts and technologies unfamiliar to Native people, copying Europeans was the only way to learn firearm use. Here, too, emulation does not imply passivity. Native people first copied, then modified firearms to better meet their own needs. For example, it did not take long for Indian people to cut musket barrels down, making them more useful in the woods. Emulation also applied to novel technologies. Casting shot and bullets, an essential component of firearm use, was a new concept to Native people who had no casting technology of their own. Once they understood it, however, casting quickly became a means to produce more than bullets. By 1650 Five Nations people cast a variety of small effigy figures as well as fittings for wood and stone smoking pipes.

*Appropriation.* The most common way Onondaga people incorporated European objects was by using them for a new or different purpose. Frequently, appropriation meant dismantling the original form and

using its component parts to fabricate new objects. This was more than just a process of recycling. It transformed these objects into something new. As anthropologist Calvin Martin observed, European objects "assumed a new personality" when they entered Native culture, one that frequently was quite different from what Europeans intended. The iron axes in Heckewelder's story are a good example. One reason why Native people may not have recognized European axes is that they had a similarly purposeful tool of their own made of ground stone, known as a celt. Once Indian people understood what iron axes were for, they could decide how to use them. In many cases, the decision was to take them apart and use the metal to make a



# Case Study 4. Appropriating language and the beginnings of diplomacy



**Figure 3.39.** European material objects that acquired multiple meanings—above, two views of an iron ax or hatchet, and below, a brass kettle.

A series of meetings held in 1645 documented an important set of peace negotiations between the Five Nations and the French. They also recorded something else—the role that language played in a process that would begin to transform council protocol into diplomacy. That summer and early fall Mohawk representatives met with the French and their Indian allies at Trois-Rivières. Although Fr. Barthélemy Vimont lamented that much of the subtlety of the exchange had been lost due to an indifferent interpreter, what has survived is remarkable. It is the first recorded performance of the Requickening rite of the Condolence Council.



At the first meetings held in July a Mohawk spoke on behalf of the Five Nations making 18 proposals accompanied by 18 presents. As Vimont observed, "Words of importance in this country are [each represented by] presents," and these presents were usually beads, furs, or prisoners. While the Huron– Wendat used furs, the Mohawk preferred shell beads. As the Mohawk speaker spoke each word and made each request, "he took a collar of porcelain beads in his hand and commenced to harangue in a loud voice." Two days later, the French governor Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny replied in kind with 14 presents, "all of which had their meanings and carried their own messages." After time for reflection, the Mohawk accepted the governor's words, then left to carry the good news to the rest of the Five Nations.

The final step of ratification occurred in early September at Trois-Rivières. This time with representatives of the Upper Four Nations present, the Mohawk reiterated the terms of their agreement to heal wounds, to hide their weapons, and to foreswear vengeance with the appropriate words and presents. At the conclusion, a chief of the Upper Four Nations "began to dance and sing" with "a Frenchman on one side and a Huron and Algonquian on the other." In reply Montmagny asked his Native allies to respond in kind, and then thanked all the nations present "for the good words they had given." With the proper replies made and thanks given, more than a peace treaty had been achieved. As one of the Huron-Wendat leaders declared, "we are now but one and the same people."

As others have pointed out, this use of ritual language by the Mohawk and the French marks the beginning of recorded Five Nations' diplomacy. The overall protocol for these meetings followed Native rather than European precedents and much of the language used was traditional and metaphorical. Gifts were given to "wipe away the tears" of the relatives, to smooth the rapids, clear the river, and make the road smooth and straight so that prisoners could be exchanged and safe travel resumed. But two new words were also used, words with meanings appropriated from Europeans hatchets and kettles.

Words similar to hatchet and kettle may have been used in Native ritual long before Europeans recorded them. By 1645, however, these words had taken on new meanings hatchets were iron, not stone, and kettles were brass, no longer ceramic. As early as 1636 these words began to be used in metaphorical ways. For example, when an Algonquian explained that, "his body was hatchets," he meant that "the preservation of his person and of his Nation" depended on "the hatchets, the kettles, and all the trade of the French." Jesuit Jean de Brébeuf reported a similar example the same year when he noted that among the Huron–Wendat, their principle mortuary ceremony was that of the kettle. In fact the "feast of the Dead" is hardly mentioned, he continued, except under the name of "the kettle." In this case the kettle served as a metaphor for the community. Therefore when a disagreement arose, it was important "to heal this schism, and to reunite the kettle."

After 1645 hatchets and kettles had become part of the emerging language of diplomacy. For peace to occur, hatchets had to be cast away either "under their feet" or "thrown away . . . so far beyond the Sky" that no arm could reach them. While the kettle could be used in a positive way to denote the health of the community, it could also be used to describe negative aspects. Hostile words or actions threatened to "break the kettle" and lead to warfare. For the rest of the seventeenth century, hatchets and kettles would be used as standard metaphors for declaring intentions about war and peace (87).

variety of other implements, such as iron celts (Figure 3.38). It may not have been until after 1650 that Onondaga people began to use European iron axes primarily as axes rather than as a source of useful material (88).

Appropriation was not limited to material objects. Anything useful was fair game, including iconography. Two kinds of European objects that occur on Five Nations sites by 1650 provide examples of symbols with convergent meanings. The first is a double stuiver or a small silver Dutch coin. The second is a small Rhenish stoneware jug embellished with the Amsterdam coat of arms. Why were these particular objects of interest? I suggest it is because each displayed one or more visual symbols that resonated with those of the Five Nations. The reverse side of a double stuiver depicts a standing lion clasping a bundle of arrows in one paw, a metaphor for the united provinces that formed the Dutch Republic. The bundle of arrows, one from each nation, is also an iconic metaphor for the solidarity of the League. In a similar way, the Amsterdam coat of arms, three vertical St. Andrew's crosses with standing lions on either side, may have looked to Iroquoian eyes like the linked arms of kinship, or a twist of orenda surrounded by panthers. If Five Nations people could appropriate European objects for their own purposes, they could do the same with their symbols (**89**).

As mentioned above, by 1650 there is ample evidence that the Onondaga were using casting for several purposes, including making small lead effigy figures, often identified as turtles. Why turtles? We may never know why this particular form was so popular on mid-seventeenth century Five Nations sites. However, this is where the combination of oral tradition and archaeological evidence provide a better explanation

a

h

**Figure 3.40.** European objects with symbols that could be appropriated—

(a) left, enlarged photo of the Amsterdam coat of arms, and right, the Rhenish stoneware jug on which it appears,

(b) two sides of a Dutch double stuiver.

# Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



together than either does alone. We take casting for granted, so it is hard to imagine how radical a technology it was to Onondaga people. Casting is transformational. It changes one form into another, and as we have seen, transformation is a serious matter in Onondaga culture. One reason why turtles were cast may relate to the tradition that it was Grandfather Turtle who taught Sky Holder the art of making fire. It is not difficult to imagine that the transformation of a piece of bar lead into Turtle, the bringer of fire and the foundation of the world, might have been a powerful expression of belief as well as appropriation (90).

*Hybridization.* If appropriation was the most common way in which new materials and objects were incorporated into Onondaga culture prior to 1650, hybridization would dominate the second half of the century. Hybridization is the process by which something new is created from previously unrelated components. It occurs when traditional and novel materials, forms, and concepts are combined in response to a new situation or an unexpected need (**91**). We have already talked briefly about two examples, brass spirals and wampum. In each case, these material forms did not exist prior to 1500 and were created in response to new situations. Brass spirals combined a European material, Native metalworking techniques, and a traditional form associated with healing. With wampum, it was the need for a physical form of value that could cross cultural boundaries and facilitate communication.

#### Wampum-beads, strings, and belts

The variety of roles wampum could play underscores its origins as a cross-cultural hybrid and invites deeper investigation as an example of the acculturative process. Wampum could be utilized as single beads, in strings of beads, and in more complex objects. For the Onondaga, wampum's ritual purposes were particularly important. A string of wampum, or "the short strands that become our words," served as a summons to council meetings and played a central role in Condolence and other ceremonies. But wampum was also used for personal purposes. It was worn in necklaces and bracelets, tied in the hair, sewn onto garments and equipment, and inlaid into pipes and war clubs. Wampum played a different role for Europeans. It served as a form of currency, officially and unofficially, in the cash-poor Dutch and English colonies. It could be used for the purchase of land, payment of debts, and even for church offerings. More important, wampum was the preferred medium for trade, superseding beaver skins and European-manufactured goods. For Europeans, especially the Dutch, wampum was a commodity, one that provided a standard of value that worked across cultural boundaries.

By 1650 wampum had taken on another role. It was strung into belts by the Iroquoian people as a form of record keeping and documentation, especially in resolving conflicts and marking agreements. When this practice began is not clear and has become a subject of much controversy,

as have wampum's origins altogether (92). It is not surprising that a cross-cultural hybrid with multiple uses and meanings is the subject of different interpretations. Wampum belts played a key role in Five Nations' diplomatic protocol and how it evolved during the last half of the seventeenth century. Here is the story, as I understand it.

The evidence for wampum in historical documents before 1650 is sparse and confusing. In part this is because wampum was known by different names—the Dutch called it *sewant*, the English referred to it as *peag*, while the French termed it *porcelaine*. Some of the confusion over wampum is due to the use of these terms in generic rather than specific ways. Although porcelaine is usually translated as wampum, it was a generic French term for any kind of shell bead. As historian Laurier Turgeon has pointed out, there were several bead makers in sixteenth-century Paris who specialized in making shell beads. These beads were commonly called porcelaine by the French, a term derived from the Italian *porcellana*, the name for cowrie shells. When Champlain used the phrase *carquans de leurs porcelaines* in 1611, it is unlikely he was describing wampum belts, even though that is how Henry P. Biggar translated it in 1929. The problem of equating porcelaine with wampum originated in Reuben Gold Thwaites's translation of the *Jesuit Relations*. When first described by Father Le Jeune in 1632, they were *petits grains blancs de porcelaine*, or little white-shell beads. There is nothing that indicates these were white and purple wampum beads or how they were strung (93).

The other problematic French term is *colliers*, usually translated as belts. Canadian historian Jonathan Lainey has argued that when French speakers talk about *colliers de porcelaine* they mean the same thing as when English speakers say wampum belts. This may be correct after 1650, but prior to that the evidence is equivocal at best. The first Jesuit mention of colliers de porcelaine occurred in 1636 when Fr. Jean de Brébeuf addressed a council of Huron–Wendat elders and presented them with "a collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain." This took place just before the Feast of the Dead, an event that Brébeuf witnessed and described in detail. In his account Brébeuf mentions porcelaine several times, including mentioning "a collar or string of beads" as a competition prize, and most importantly, as offerings for the deceased. Brébeuf describes them as "bracelets of Porcelaine and glass beads" and collars that they put on the bodies. While Brébeuf's account certainly indicates that shell beads were important and were used in many ways, it is not clear whether these beads were necklaces or strung into belts (94). A contemporary Dutch account is equally ambiguous. While explorer and Dutch West India Company employee Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert and his companions were in Oneida in early 1635, "the Indians hung up a belt of sewant and some other strung sewant that the chief had brought back from the French Indians as a token of peace." In 1988 historian Charles Gehring initially translated een bandt *met sewant* as a belt, though he now believes that a string, not a belt, is the

# Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



more likely equivalent. Ethnohistorian Christian Feest has also pointed out the difficulty in distinguishing between belts and bracelets and suggests using the word "bands" instead (95).

The first time shell beads are reported in a diplomatic context occurred 10 years after Van den Bogaert's report, during the same negotiations described in Case Study 4. In July 1645 a Mohawk spokesman addressed the French governor at a meeting in Trois-Rivières, stating that he served as "the mouth for the whole of my



**Figure 3.41.** "An Indian appears in a council speaking with his porcelain collars." The collar he holds in his hand is shown larger at the bottom of the figure. Title and drawing, ca. 1712-1717, from Joseph-François Lafitau, 1724.

country; thou listenest to all the Iroquois, in hearing my words," As the speaker made his points, he accompanied each with what the French called a present.

In the center was a large space . . . in which the Iroquois [Mohawk] caused two poles to be planted, and a cord to be stretched from one to the other on which to hang and tie the words that they were to bring us,—that is to say, the presents they wished to make to us . . . consisted of seventeen collars of porcelain beads, a portion of which were on their bodies; the remainder were enclosed in a small pouch.

As each request was made, the speaker removed one of the colliers from his body and tied it onto the cord to emphasize his point. This is a remarkable description. With its focus on ritual words and presents, it is the first recorded example of what would become Five Nations' diplomatic protocol over the next several decades (96).

In a recent series of works, historian Jon Parmenter has presented a substantially different view of wampum and its role in the evolution of diplomatic relations between the Five Nations and Europeans. He contends that our understanding of these complex subjects is "greatly enriched by the integration of Iroquois oral tradition" along with the usual historical and archaeological sources. This is certainly true, but Parmenter's position goes further. Essentially, he argues that when these sources do not agree,

oral tradition should take precedence. In brief, his argument is that,

present-day Haudenosaunee oral tradition associates the original elaboration of *kaswentha* relations between Iroquois nations and Europeans with a ca. 1613 agreement between Mohawks and a Dutch trader named Jacob (a.k.a., Jaques) Eelckens at Tawagonshi . . . and associated with a Two Row wampum belt (97).

There are several problems here. One is that the Tawagonshi treaty has been thoroughly examined and is now accepted by scholars as a fraud. More important, trading between Indian people and Europeans was informal and opportunistic, especially in the years prior to European settlement. As Dutch historian Jaap Jacobs concluded, "1613 seems an unlikely year for a Dutch-Mohawk treaty. During those years, Dutch traders in North America did not have the authority to make treaties . . . nor did they have any need for such a document" (98).

A different problem with Parmenter's argument is his use of the term kaswentha and his assertion that this concept is depicted in material form by a particular wampum belt. The contemporary Onondaga word for a wampum belt is *gaswenhda'*, which can also be spelled *kaswehta*?. This is an old word, first appearing in a late seventeenth-century French– Onondaga dictionary under *collier* as "gach8enttha," and defined as *collier pour affaires*. In other words, like the French word porcelaine, gaswenhda' is a generic term. It did not refer to any particular belt or usage. Nor does this term appear in any of the treaty-related documents from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. The claim that "kaswentha signifies a separate-but-equal [political] relationship" may reflect modern Haudenosaunee ideals, but that interpretation doesn't have a basis in the historical record. In fact, the term kaswentha does not occur in the scholarly literature until Parmenter introduced it in 2010. Unfortunately, since then other historians have chosen to repeat this story without checking the facts for themselves (99).

There are similar problems with attempting to link a belt of two rows with a specific historical event. As we have seen, the likelihood that any wampum belts were in use by 1613 is remote. However, as Mohawk historian Darren Bonaparte has observed, there are documentary records that suggest the two-row motif was in use by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The problem is that at least four different belts with two parallel rows are known to exist today. Given that each has a complex and often incomplete history, it is not surprising that it is difficult to connect any of these belts with their original historical context. There is no question that as a symbol the two-row belt is of great importance to the present-day Onondaga and other Iroquois people. That significance does not lie in the details of when and where such a belt was first used, but in its message. As Tuscarora historian Rick Hill



Figure 3.42. A two-row wampum belt. 118

# Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



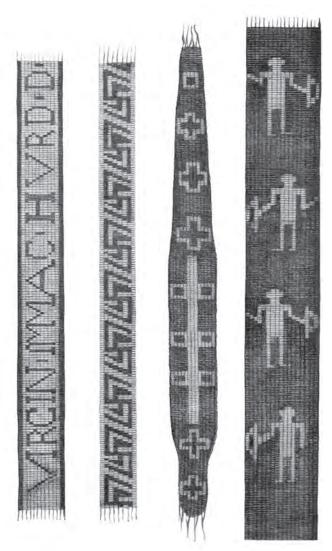
has observed, whatever its origins, "the Two Row Wampum has become the most significant symbol" of the desired relationship between Indian nations and the world—"separate, but equal" (100). Actually by 1701, the Five Nations had developed a diplomatic strategy that embodied this goal. In that year, they signed separate peace treaties with the French and the English, declaring their independence from both. At the time, this would be called the "two-roads solution" because it kept open the roads to both Albany and Montréal. We will follow the development and implementation of this diplomatic strategy in subsequent chapters.

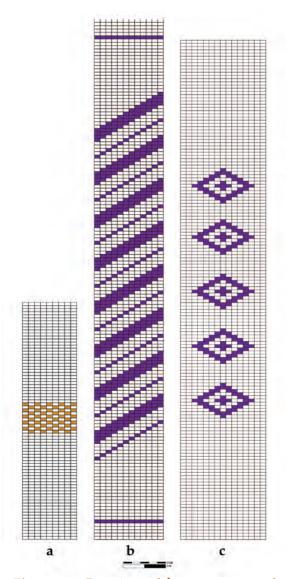
Before leaving the subject of wampum belts and their uses, it is important to point out that a number of historical wampum belts, as well as strings, sashes, and bracelets, survive in museums here and in Europe. Many of these have been documented through ongoing research demonstrating that belts and related forms often have long and complex histories of use,

reuse, and repair over time. Most of the known Haudenosaunee belts previously in museum collections have been repatriated, some to the Grand River Reserve, Ontario, in 1988, and others to Onondaga in 1989. These belts likely date from the nineteenth century although some may be earlier (101).

Wampum belts known to have been made during the seventeenth century are of particular interest here. There is at least one belt fragment collected before 1656 in the Tradescant collection at the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and another small belt with a similar geometrical motif in the nearby Pitt Rivers Museum. Early in the twentieth century, Beauchamp illustrated several other Iroquoian belts from collections in Europe, ones that demonstrate the wide range of forms and motifs used. These belts are now in the Museé du quai Branly in Paris. Not all extant belts have well-documented histories, and misattribution is often a problem. An example is the large belt in the Museé de quai Branly that shows four vertical figures in white on a purple background. Although this belt has

Figure 3.43. Four seventeenth-century wampum belts from museum collections.





**Figure 3.44**. Drawings of three reconstructed early to mid-seventeenth-century Seneca wampum belts—

(a) white-shell and brass beads, Power House site,

(b) 16 purple oblique lines on a white field, Power House,

(c) five purple diamonds on a white field, Steele site.

#### Identity

been attributed to Champlain's 1611 visit to Huronia, it dates from much later in the seventeenth century (102).

One of the most important sources on wampum from the first half of the seventeenth century is an exceptional set of excavated belts from Seneca sites now preserved in the Rock Foundation Collections at the Rochester Museum & Science Center. These provide evidence of what the earliest known belts looked like in terms of their size, shape, and motifs. One example from the Power House site is among the oldest known and may date from the first decades of the seventeenth century. All of the whiteshell beads appear to be made from *Busycon* columellae, and most are faceted in the old style rather than being round in section. Some of the belts from the Steele site have motifs that appear to depict the Five Nations (103).

I have spent some time discussing wampum because it is an important subject. It was one of the most successful cross-cultural hybrids in the seventeenth century, a material form that reshaped economic, social, and ritual relationships across eastern North America. If the test of a hybrid solution is how well it works, then wampum in all of its many forms was a phenomenal success. Wampum also played, and continues to play, a fundamental role in Onondaga identity. Because a goal of this book is to examine how that identity changed during the last half of the seventeenth century, understanding wampum is a key part of the process.

We end this chapter with another look at identity, the traits by which a specific group of people, in this case the Onondaga, defined themselves. In Chapter Two we examined some of the key components of Onondaga culture—kinship, a sense of place, and a set of core beliefs and values. For Onondaga, these were, and still are, the essential components of identity. But "identity is slippery," as English historian Jane Ohlmeyer has cautioned in her study of seventeenth-century Irish culture and English

# Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



attempts to reshape it. Identity is a composite of what has gone before as well as the ongoing responses to contemporary conditions. It is dynamic, fluid, always in process. Perhaps the only time identity is fixed is when we look back on it (104).

The processes by which the Onondaga responded to European materials, technologies, and ideas also apply to the ways in which they dealt with the influences from other Native people. In the subsequent chapters on material culture, the sections on acculturation focus on the Onondaga responses to European influences. Onondaga responses to the influences of other Native people and their traditions are discussed in sections devoted to identity.

#### The Who and the What

How is identity defined, and what does this means in archaeological terms? Are the cultural patterns we see in the material record expressions of identity? Can we connect the *Who* of the historical past with the *What* of archaeological record? This is a controversial subject where issues of identity need to be addressed in both specific and general terms (**105**). Specifically, we can describe a suite of material traits that help to define who and what was Onondaga in 1650. We can also track those specific traits along with new ones over time to determine how the aspects of Onondaga identity changed or remained the same between 1650 and 1711. The more difficult question is whether we can distinguish between traits that help define the identity of a specific group, such as the Onondaga, and those more broadly shared across cultural boundaries.

It is possible to discern specific preferences. Examples in this chapter include the Iroquoian partiality for red necklace beads while Algonquian people preferred white and blue seed beads, the complete lack of European white-clay pipes on Ontario Iroquoian sites, and the Ottawa tendency to use the pottery of their Iroquoian neighbors rather than have a ceramic tradition of their own (106).

Also in this chapter, I have tried to lay some groundwork for addressing the broader influences by looking at three classes of highly valued material—marine shell, copper, and red stone—and how they were utilized by many Native people in the Eastern Woodlands up until 1650. Using these classes of materials, I have tried to identify some of the factors that shaped identity in general terms across large portions of the Eastern Woodlands. For example, I use the term Mississippian Aura to describe the influence of Mississippian material traits in peripheral areas during the sixteenth century. I will use the related term Mississippian Afterglow to describe the retention and reinterpretation of these traits during the seventeenth century (107).

#### Coalescence

There was a particular strategy, one fundamental in defining Onondaga up to 1650, that would continue to shape their choices for the rest of the seventeenth century. This was the policy of maintaining community stability and growth through alliance, adoption, and assimilation, of finding ways to extend kinship, of making Them into Us. In this sense, Onondaga never ceased to be a coalescent community (**108**).

By 1650 Onondaga was one large town, the result of coalescence that took place over several hundred years and occurred in three stages. First was the creation of Onondaga itself. As archaeologists John Hart and William Engelbrecht observed, the familiar ethnic landscape of the seventeenth century with groups defined as Mohawk or Onondaga did not exist in the preceding centuries. These groups evolved from a landscape that was less regionally structured, where most people lived in smaller morelocalized groups. Onondaga is a good example. As we discussed in Chapter Two, Onondaga people were a hybrid from the beginning, formed when clans with different origins joined together. Archaeologist James Tuck reached the same conclusion in 1971. After surveying a number of sites related to the Onondaga and their antecedents, he determined that several communities coexisted in central New York during the fifteenth century, and that at least two of these merged in the Pompey Hills. This, he argued, was the founding of the Onondaga Nation. Tuck also suggested that by following distinctive "micro-traditions," especially house styles and ceramic attributes, this process of community coalescence could be understood in greater detail. Whatever their diverse origins, it was the blending of these micro-traditions that produced a more or less homogeneous Onondaga material culture (109).

If the first stage of coalescence was the formation of Onondaga, the second was formation of the League. There are widely divergent views on this, especially as to when the formation occurred. Oral tradition reports this took place in ancient times, while the historical documents suggest it may have occurred early in the seventeenth century. Unlike the evidence from Huron–Wendat sites, the archaeological information from the Five Nations is too fragmentary to be helpful. Based on the existing evidence, my sense is that the League was formed sometime in-between, probably early in the sixteenth century. While the different lines of evidence may not agree on when the League was established, they do concur on why. Whether it is the Dark Times of warfare and feuding recorded in oral tradition, or the evidence of violence and heavily fortified towns on archaeological sites, the reason why the League was established seems the same. By turning potential enemies into kin and providing ritualized ways to resolve problems, the League transformed the relationships among the Five Nations. This was accomplished by the acceptance of a common morality, one based on the Great Law, the Power, and the Peace. As psychologist Jeremy Greene points out, morality is at base a biological adaptation, one

# Chapter Three Material Culture Matters, Onondaga to 1650



that gives the group a strong survival advantage through cooperation. It allows people to put the welfare of the group ahead of the individual and serves as a device for defining Us versus Them. Such alliances are important because they minimize intra-group tensions. They also serve as the strategic biological device that encourages population growth and diversity. Whatever the events or personalities that drove this stage of coalescence, there can be little doubt that the formation of the League had a profound influence on the Iroquois and their relationships with neighboring Native groups (**110**).

A third stage of coalescence was the continuous effort required to maintain and, whenever possible, increase population through alliance, adoption, and assimilation. The formation of the League provided the initial steps for defining Us and Them. In turn, alliance, adoption, and assimilation served as the basis for making Them into Us. For Onondaga, this stage of coalescence appears to have taken place throughout the sixteenth century and up to 1650. If the first way to make Them into Us through alliance was not possible, they adopted or assimilated other Native people. That process could operate at the individual or group level and could be voluntary or not. For example, on the mid-sixteenth century Onondaga Atwell site, material culture traits associated with St. Lawrence Iroquois from the north are suddenly present. Over the remainder of the sixteenth century, some of these traits disappear while others are assimilated into mainstream Onondaga material culture. This evidence suggests that a sizable group of St. Lawrence Iroquois became part of Onondaga during that period. A similar interaction may have occurred between the Onondaga and the ancestral Susquehannock in the upper Susquehanna River valley (111).

The degree to which adoption and assimilation occurred within Onondaga during the early decades of the seventeenth century is less clear. This was a period of intense social reorganization and relocation across the Eastern Woodlands, a time when many of the Native groups that were important during the sixteenth century, including Shenks Ferry, Monongahela, Fort Ancient, Caborn–Wellborn, and Huber people, disappear from the map. In fact, we do not even know how these people referred to themselves. The names we use are the ones assigned by archaeologists. If their names are unknown, in many cases their fates remain equally unclear. Did any of these people come to Onondaga? Perhaps, but at present there is little evidence. The historical record is largely silent on these events and the current level of archaeological information is too fragmentary to help. For the decades prior to 1650 it is even difficult to say much about the size and health of the Onondaga population. While war and possibly disease had certainly taken their toll, Onondaga appears to have been spared the epidemics that had ravaged other Native people. At present, there is no evidence for significant demographic changes in the decades prior to 1650, contrary to archaeologist Eric Jones's claim of an "unrecorded depopulation event." Whatever its size and health, Onondaga population

appears to have been stable during this period (112).

One reason for this apparent stability may have been the assimilation of Ontario Iroquoians, especially Huron–Wendat people. Although they had been adversaries earlier in the century, by the late 1640s significant attempts had been made between the Onondaga and the Arendaronon, the easternmost group of Huron–Wendat people, to negotiate peace and even form an alliance. The fact that Onondaga already had "a number of their people" living with them may explain this. When the Mohawk and Seneca assaulted Huronia in 1649, the Onondaga encouraged the remaining population to live with them. As archaeologist Conrad Heidenreich observed, by 1653 "the bulk of the surviving Huron, Petun, and Neutral [had] joined the Iroquois and were gradually absorbed." No matter how Ontario Iroquoian people reached Onondaga, as individuals or in groups, their influence soon became a significant component of Onondaga culture and identity (**113**).

By 1650 Onondaga was an amalgam of ethnic backgrounds. These included St. Lawrence Iroquoian, Ontario Iroquoian, and neighboring Algonquian people, together with those who were by tradition and ancestry Onondaga. This process of coalescence and maintaining population stability and growth through the adoption and assimilation of other Native people, would continue to define Onondaga for the remainder of the century. It would also provide the basis for dealing with Europeans. In 1650 European people were still a distant presence for the Onondaga, a resource to be exploited rather than potential allies, much less kin. How quickly that perception would change over the next decade.

# **Chapter Four. Courting the French**, 1650 to 1665



n June 26, 1653, a surprising and unexpected group of visitors appeared before the gates of Montréal. Sixty Onondaga, women and men, had made the long journey "to learn whether the hearts of the French would be inclined towards peace." The French were perplexed. Here was the same enemy who had attacked their settlements, ruined the fur trade, destroyed the mission of Ste. Marie, and scattered their Huron-Wendat allies, now were "advancing unarmed and defenseless" into their hands. Some of the French saw this as an excellent opportunity to rid themselves of these "treacherous and perfidious people." But wiser heads prevailed, and the delegation was admitted and treated well. After an exchange of presents and much public rejoicing on both sides, the Onondaga left for home, vowing to continue this close alliance. They also warned their new friends that a large Mohawk war party was about to attack the neighboring settlement at Trois-Rivières. Though pleased to be warned, the French remained confused by this turn of events. As Jesuit father superior François-Joseph Le Mercier noted in his *Relation* for that year, only a divine miracle could account for this change in "barbarians" who had, until recently, been so "filled with rage and fury" (**1**).

Actually, very little had changed. The Onondaga embassy to Montréal was one more move in a complex diplomatic struggle that involved the Five Nations and the French as well as their Indian allies. It was also a struggle among the Five Nations in terms of who had the right to speak. In this contest, the major players were the Mohawk, keepers of the Eastern Door, and the Onondaga, keepers of the Council Fire at the League's center. Each saw themselves as the rightful party to conduct these negotiations and the other as intruding on their prerogatives. This feud had simmered with increasing hostility for more than a dozen years, but with this Onondaga initiative things were about to get more difficult. By the fall of 1653 the Mohawk would ask their Dutch allies to mediate between them and the "Sinnekens of Onnedaego." In the meantime, the Mohawk had killed an Onondaga leader, threatening war between the two nations (2).

#### **Promises and Threats**

The French, for the most part, were unaware of these complications. Even though they had begun to differentiate among the "several confederated Nations" that were known together as Iroquois, in practice most Frenchmen paid little mind to any difference. To clarify, an Onondaga ambassador patiently explained "that a careful distinction must be made" among the nations and that, unlike the Mohawk, the Onondaga honored their treaty agreements. Still, to French ears the Onondaga and Mohawk requests sounded very much the same—a wish for peaceful relations, access to trade, and above all a desire to adopt the remaining Huron– Wendat refugees now sheltered by the French. This time, however, there was something new—namely, an invitation by the Onondaga to build a



French settlement in Iroquois territory. "The Onondaga invite us of their own accord," Le Mercier remarked, "and solicit our coming by presents." After the loss of their Huron–Wendat mission in 1649 this was a tempting offer for the French, the opportunity to begin again "in the midst of the enemy's country" (3).

On the surface things seemed fine. In spite of a few Mohawk raids, the peace accords made in 1653 still held. As promised, another Onondaga delegation arrived at Québec in February 1654 to renew the agreements. Once again, gifts were exchanged and all seemed well, until the Jesuits learned that on separate occasions their Huron-Wendat wards had promised themselves to both the Mohawk and Onondaga. This revelation had the potential for disaster, since whichever side the Huron-Wendat chose, the other would be offended and seek revenge. But, as the Huron-Wendat spokesman concluded, it did not really matter. They were dead already and had been ever since the Iroquois had destroyed their homeland five years ago.

Not sure what to do, the French and Huron–Wendat refugees decided to accept the Onondaga invitation and asked that a dwelling be built there for the Jesuit missionaries. The French also agreed that, "Whithersoever our Fathers should decide to go, the [Huron–Wendat] colony would follow them." By asking for a one-year delay they hoped some solution would emerge in time to satisfy both the Onondaga and the Mohawk. Things would not turn out so neatly (4).

In June 1654 another Onondaga delegation arrived in Montréal, this time returning a Frenchman recently captured by the Oneida, and bearing 20 porcelaine colliers on behalf of the Upper Four Nations. As usual, many of their presents performed the essential ritual functions—to break the bonds of the captive, to remove the bile and poison caused by his capture, and to replant the Tree of Peace more firmly. Other colliers were presented to the French on behalf of the Oneida, Cayuga, and Seneca. Yet it was the Onondaga spokesman who made the concluding points. He asked the French to send a Jesuit to their country, promised that although war had broken out with the Erie Nation "our young men will wage no more warfare with the French," and declared the French and the Onondaga "are now one, our arms linked together in a bond of love" (5). It would be a long and stormy marriage.

The French were once again left suspended, as the *Jesuit Relation* recounted, "between fear and hope, not knowing what would be the issue of that affair." But now that a commitment had been made, it only remained for the Jesuits to decide who they would send to live among the Onondaga. The man chosen was Fr. Simon Le Moine, who had come to Canada in 1638 and spent many years in the Huron–Wendat missions. On July 2, 1654, Le Moine set out from Québec with a small Onondaga escort. Many

of his colleagues feared they would not see him return (6). Within days of Le Moine's departure, another delegation, this time Mohawk, arrived at Québec with two French hostages and assurances of peaceful intent. But the goodwill quickly faded when the Mohawk learned that Le Moine had already departed for Onondaga. Father Superior Le Mercier quickly realized that the French were now confronted with a difficulty, as the Mohawk spokesman spelled it out for him—

We, the five Iroquois Nations, compose but one cabin; we maintain but one fire . . . Why then, will you not enter by the door? It is with us, the Mohawk that you should begin; whereas you, by beginning with the Onondaga, enter by the roof and through the chimney. Have you no fear that the smoke may blind you . . . and that you may fall from top to the bottom having nothing solid on which to plant your feet?

In response, the governor of New France Jean de Lauson felt obliged to offer some presents and promised that Father Le Moine would visit them soon. But neither the gifts nor the assurances did much to soften Mohawk ill will (7).

#### Greeting at the Woods' Edge

Meanwhile, Le Moine progressed daily into new and unknown territory. In his journal he made observations about the countryside, available game, and the weather. By August 1 they reached Otihatangué, a small fishing camp at the mouth of the Salmon River on Lake Ontario. Here Le Moine was amazed to find a Huron–Wendat captive whom he had previously instructed. In fact, he found the camp occupied primarily by Huron–Wendat women who now fished for the Onondaga. From here, Le Moine and his guides walked overland, arriving at the Oneida River a day and a half later. They canoed across to another fishing hamlet on the south side and then proceeded to yet another village a few miles away. Here Le Moine was entertained with a feast and speeches, but also was questioned. Why did he wear black? Why did he seek to mark the foreheads of sickly children? Encouraged, Le Moine used the occasion "to speak to them concerning our mysteries" and found that they listened very attentively. "I was regarded as a great medicine-man," Le Moine confided in his journal, "although I had, as my sole remedy, only a bit of sugar to give to those feeble creatures." The journey continued with more stops and greetings along the way. "One calls me a brother, another an uncle, another a cousin; never have I had so many kinfolk," Le Moine marveled (8). From an Onondaga point of view, all these stops and starts served a specific purpose. Here was a strange man-being, an unknown and possibly dangerous sorcerer who asked to be admitted into the community. To do this safely, he had to be ritually greeted, purified, and adopted. Only then could he be permitted to enter the town.

On August 5 Le Moine finally reached the outskirts of the main

#### Courting the French, 1650 to 1665





Figure 4.1. Jesuits visiting an Iroquoian village. Drawing by Ivan Kocsis, ca. 1980s.

Onondaga town. Here his years of experience among Indian people paid off. Understanding the importance of protocol, Le Moine began his welcome speech well outside the town, even though he spoke in Huron, not Onondaga. As he progressed, he "called by name all the Captains, families, and persons of importance—speaking slowly—and in the tone of a Captain." His efforts were well rewarded. As he entered the town, "Men, women, and children, all showed me respect and love." Le Moine capped off his successful arrival that evening by inviting all the chiefs to his cabin. Here he presented two gifts—one "to wipe their faces" of any ill favor or sadness and the other to "remove any gall still remaining in their hearts." This gesture was well received, and Le Moine's embassy was off to a good start (9).

For the next few days Le Moine was free to wander through the town. As in the fishing villages, he recognized a large number of Huron–Wendat as well as Petun and Neutral captives. He heard confessions, tended the sick, and baptized whenever possible, although with little success among adults. When the Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida envoys had arrived on August 10, a General Council, a meeting of the League, was held. Le Moine opened the proceedings with a spirited prayer in Huron, then greatly astonished the attendees when he named them all individually by their nation, clan, and family, "all by the help of my written list, which was to them a thing full of charm and novelty." Then it was on to business as Le Moine laid 19 words before them accompanied by 27 presents. These included porcelaine colliers, tubular red beads or "the diamonds of this country," and a moose skin. Le Moine spoke for "fully two hours . . . walking back and forth, as is their custom, like an actor on a stage." Throughout this performance,

he observed all the rituals of welcome, thanksgiving, and condolence. He also indicated French support for the four Iroquois nations present in their newly declared war against the Erie. In return he asked for very little, only that they "harmonize all their thoughts," "become instructed in the truths of our faith," and cease ambushing the Algonquian and Huron–Wendat when they visited French settlements (10).

It was a great performance, and after talking among themselves the council of chiefs recalled Le Moine, placed him in a seat of honor among them, and made their replies. These, too, were elaborate and accompanied by gifts. An unnamed Onondaga chief made the final summary. "Listen," he said, "five whole Nations address thee through my mouth . . . you will tell the Governor Onnontio four things." First, the Five Nations were willing to receive religious instruction, since it was their "wish to acknowledge him . . . who is the master of our lives." Second, future meetings "for all matters of concern to us" should take place at Onondaga, since "the May-tree [of Peace]" was planted there. Third, the French are invited to choose a site and build a settlement "in the heart of our country, since you are to possess our hearts." And finally, while the Iroquois would

# *Case Study 5. Naming the Creator*

One issue with which the Jesuits struggled was whether Iroquoian people actually believed in the Christian God. This problem was made more complex by linguistic differences and serves as an example of how difficult it is to understand fundamental beliefs across cultural boundaries.

To many Europeans, Iroquoian people, like other pagans, were thought to have simple beliefs. As one Frenchman observed, "They do not recognize any other God than the Sun" and address "themselves to the Sky" when in need. Occasionally, specific names like Agriskoué or Ondoutaehté were reported, usually in association with a particular function, such as war. Other assessments were more optimistic and saw within these practices "a secret idea of Divinity . . . whom they invoke . . . without knowing him." By the mid-seventeenth century some of the more experienced Jesuits began to use the term "the Master of Life" in their reports. These included the men who had stayed in Onondaga, Simon Le Moine in 1654 and Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot in 1666. It is unclear, however, whether this term was used to describe Native beliefs or to present Catholic theology in a more comprehensible way.

Perhaps the most revealing comment of what Iroquoian people thought was Fr. Paul Le Jeune's description of the Huron–Wendat creation story recorded in 1636. This was the story of Aataentsic, or Sky Woman, and her twin sons, Tawiscaron and Jouskeha, the latter appearing to be the more important. He had "the horns of a stag" and was responsible for good hunting and teaching humans the use of fire, "which he learned from the Turtle." It was also "he who makes [the corn] grow." This horned *oki* (spirit) was also known as Tehonrressandeen. Le Jeune said less about Tawiscaron, noting only that from his blood sprang up certain



be involved in new wars elsewhere, in terms of the French, "we shall have only thoughts of peace" (11).

There was general feasting and rejoicing over the next several days, and as Le Moine prepared for his return trip, two important events occurred. One was a fire that broke out during the night of August 11. Fanned by a furious wind, the flames consumed more than 20 longhouses and nearly destroyed the entire town. Two days later the astute Le Moine convened a council to condole the town on its loss and to plant the first pole for a new structure, actions that strengthened Onondaga goodwill even further (12). The second event was less public, at least initially. On August 14, a young war chief Achiongeras headed for Erie country to urgently beg Le Moine for baptism. Although Le Moine had been instructing Achiongeras for several days, he had hoped to postpone baptism until a future journey. But the young man was insistent, saying that "Unless you baptize me, I shall be without courage, and shall not dare to face the conflict." Early the next morning just before leaving, Le Moine granted the young man his wish, giving him the Christian name Jean Baptiste and leaving at least one ardent adult convert behind (13).

stones of flint like those used to fire a gun. Fr. Claude Dablon also recorded portions of this story during his 1656–1657 stay in Onondaga. He noted that there this spirit was called Taronhiaouagon, which means "he who holds up the Sky." A decade later, as Fr. Pierre Millet began his residence in Onondaga, he too noted that Taronhiaouagon, "the mightiest of all Spirits, and the Master of our lives," was frequently invoked during curing ceremonies or to obtain success in hunting or war.

It is difficult to know how Onondaga people interpreted Christian teachings about God, Jesus, and as Le Moine described it—"the eternal pleasures and joys" of heaven, and the "horrible **Figure 4.2.** Title page from *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines* (Illustrations of the Gospel Stories) by the Jesuit Jerome Nadal, S. J., 1593.

fires in Hell." Over time, however, it appears that the traditional values of light and dark were supplemented, and to a degree replaced, by the Christian values of good and evil, just as the World Above would become heaven and the World Below hell (14).





Figure 4.3. The great fire in Onondaga, August 11, 1654. Painting by L. F. Tantillo, 2014.

Le Moine's departure on August 15 was, like his arrival, a festive and public event. This time the return route was primarily by water instead of overland. Stopping along the shores of Onondaga Lake, Le Moine discovered a saltwater spring while noting that the lake itself was very rich in fish. From Onondaga Lake the party entered the Seneca River, then proceeded downstream, passing the confluence with the Oneida River. A little further along was a shoal with yet another fishing village. Here they spent the night and Le Moine confessed more Huron Christians, both men and women, while his guides repaired the canoes. The remainder of Le Moine's journal, as recounted in the *Jesuit Relations*, gives a brief account of hardships endured during the three weeks it took to reach Québec (**15**).

By any measure Le Moine's trip to Onondaga was a resounding success for the French. The fact of his safe return, as well as his message, created "a sweet hope in the midst of despair." Indeed, it almost seemed too good to be true. After all the fear and confusion the Onondaga themselves had asked the Jesuits to come and instruct them, urgently requesting that a French settlement be built in their country in order to establish "a firm bond of peace between them." For once, all the French interests—from the governor to the father superior, the merchants, and the missionaries could agree on this unique opportunity. As Le Mercier observed, "Our French on all sides vie with one another in volunteering to join the expedition" (16).

Amidst the euphoria, one troubling incident stands out, one that barely made it into the historical record. Just before Le Moine and his two Onondaga guides reached Montréal, a party of Mohawk ambushed them. One of the Onondaga was killed and Le Moine was captured. The remaining Onondaga, screaming threats and abuse at the Mohawk, insisted that he be treated exactly as they planned to treat the Jesuit. Taken aback by this and fearing reprisals, the Mohawk let their prisoners go, and Le Moine



and his remaining guide continued on. The most astute commentary on this event, and the French hopes it embodied, was made several thousands of miles away by the *Jesuit Relations* editor in Paris. Perhaps, he speculated, this attack was "only some hair-brained young men whose action will be disclaimed by their Nation." But the Mohawk, since they were closest to the Dutch and in control of the trade, did not always treat their Upper Iroquois brothers fairly. He concluded, "perhaps these inconveniences will induce the Onondaga and others of the Upper countries to break with the Mohawk, rather than with the French" (17). Perhaps.

#### Who were these men?

If the French were perplexed by the Iroquois and their intentions, the Five Nations were equally uncertain about the French, and the Jesuits in particular. After decades of dealing with Europeans, they understood traders and even government officials, whether Dutch or French. But as for the Jesuits, who were these strange gaunt men, and what did they want? On one hand, their fortitude and personal bravery inspired admiration, especially among people who valued these traits highly. But there was something unsettling about men who refused to sleep with women, who only wore black, and were possessed by matters of spirit. The simplest explanation was that these "Black Robes" were powerful shamans and quite possibly dangerous witches.

The Jesuits were newcomers, not just in New France, but in the history of the Catholic Church. Unlike the Franciscans and other monastic orders established hundreds of years earlier, the constitution for the Society of Jesus had been approved by Pope Paul III in September 1539. The inspiration for the Jesuits came from the teachings of the Spanish soldier and scholar Ignatius of Loyola, and although the militant side of Jesuit practice is often emphasized, they were teachers at heart. The Jesuits were also a creation of their time, and a troubling time it was. The Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation had split the Christian world, just as the discoveries of Copernicus and Columbus had shaken the belief that Western Europe was the center of the universe. The Jesuits believed that training one's own mind, and then teaching others to do so, was the best way to reestablish Christian order in this dangerously divisive world. It was an effective approach, and by the time Ignatius died in 1556 members of the Society of Jesus had spread across Europe and as far away as China, Japan, and Brazil (18).

Success came at a price, however. As Jesuit influence grew within the Catholic Church, some thought they were too influential and unorthodox. The Dominicans, in particular, questioned Jesuit doctrine on grace and free will, and as the custodians of the Inquisition, Dominican concerns were not to be taken lightly. The Society also had its internal problems. Although established to serve the world, the Society had been founded by a

Spaniard. In an era when loyalty to earthly monarchs was increasingly important, nationality mattered (19). In spite of these problems, the Jesuits had become a powerful force within the Catholic Church and European society by the early decades of the seventeenth century. This was strengthened by the canonization of Ignatius Loyola in 1622 and another early Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, who had served in India and Japan. By 1626 the Society estimated it had more than 16,000 members and had established over 440 colleges, 37 seminaries, and 230 missions (20).

Such success fueled the desire for new challenges, and the Jesuits found a partner and patron in Armand Jean du Plessis, or Cardinal Richelieu, Louis XIII of France's newly appointed first minister. Richelieu, in turn, found the Jesuits a useful tool in his efforts to strengthen the French crown. For 10 years, the Franciscan Récollet Friars had attempted to Christianize the Native population of New France with little success. By 1625 it was clear that the Récollets were simply not up to the job, and three Jesuit priests-Charles Lalemant (brother of Fr. Jérôme Lalemant), Énemond Massé, and Jean de Brébeuf—were invited to provide assistance and scout out this new country. All three had served in missions until the English capture of Québec in 1629. Then under Richelieu's instructions, only the Jesuits were permitted to continue their missionary work when the French returned to Canada in 1632 (21).

Though often portrayed by their adversaries as narrow-minded fanatics, the Jesuits were sophisticated and scholarly men, intensely interested in the intellectual traditions of the Christian and pagan past. With their



**Figure 4.4**. St. Gregory of Nazianzus, orthodoxy triumphant over heresy. Painting by Peter Paul Rubens, 1620.

**Figure 4.5.** Title page from *Le Grand Voyage Du Pays des Hurons* by the Récollect friar Gabriel Sagard, Paris, 1632.



#### Courting the French, 1650 to 1665

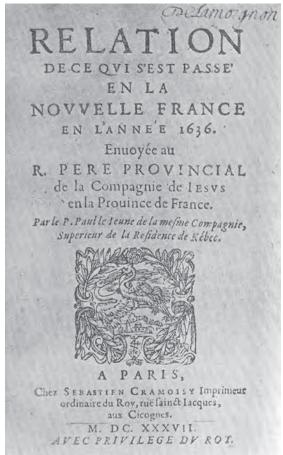
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rigorous and exacting training, the Jesuits were among Europe's educated elite. For example, before coming to New France in 1642, Fr. Francesco Giuseppe Bressani not only taught but held successive chairs of literature, philosophy, and mathematics in European universities. These were men skilled in politics and comfortable with practical matters. They understood the power of art and used religious imagery in their public and private teaching, as well as in their buildings. Among those who came to New France, many were gifted linguists, cartographers, and observers of natural history and social customs (22). They were also men of passion, ready to put their lives on the line for their beliefs and their brothers. By 1650 several had. Some had frozen to death in the bitter Canadian winter. Several had suffered mutilation, while others had become martyrs for the Faith. These included Fr. Isaac Jogues, killed by the Mohawk in 1646, and Fathers Brébeuf and Gabriel Lalemant (nephew of Charles and Jérôme Lalemant), who had been tortured to death by Iroquois raiders in 1649 during the final catastrophic years of the Huron–Wendat mission. These and other deaths renewed a sense of militancy among the Society's members and produced a tendency to demonize the Iroquois in general and the Mohawk in particular. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the *Jesuit Relations* (23).

The Jesuit Relations, the yearly reports submitted

by the father superior in New France to his superiors back home, are the most significant published documents that survive from this period. Fr. Paul Le Jeune's first report sent to France in 1632 served as the prototype for annual reports that would be published in Paris until 1673. Invaluable as the Jesuit *Relations* are as historical documents, it is important to remember that they were first and foremost promotional literature. They were written, edited, and printed for public distribution. Their goal was to inform the court and other well-to-do patrons on the successes of Jesuit missionary events in New France and to encourage continued support for them. The result was often a strange combination of bureaucratic reporting interspersed with testimonials to miraculous faith and horrifying accounts of torture. As an unnamed priest reported in the Jesuit Relations of 1659, "I was delighted with their [our converts'] devotion amid their sufferings . . . I heard them sing the Litany of the Virgin . . . [as] I saw them lift to heaven their mutilated hands, all dripping with blood." If we measure ourselves by

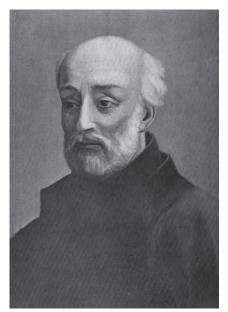
**Figure 4.6**. Title page of Le Jeune's *Relation* for 1636.



our enemies, then in the Iroquois the Jesuits had created a mighty obstacle to overcome (24). It is hard to be neutral about such men, then and now. Not surprisingly, much of the scholarship about this period either admires the Jesuits and their work or condemns them. Judgments aside, if we are to understand their interactions with Native people, it is essential to understand the mental framework that drove these men to the edges of the known world and beyond (25).

The fundamental mission of the Society and its members was straightforward—to spread the "True Faith," and to assist the unconverted in making the correct choice. It was not about coercion. It was about choice and making the personal decision to cooperate with God's grace. This was why Jesuits were so

**Figure 4.8.** Torture of the Jesuit Martyrs. Reduced facsimile of a plate in *Historia Canadensis*, by François du Creux, S. J., 1664.



**Figure 4.7.** Portrait of Paul Le Jeune, S. J., father superior of the Jesuits, 1632-1639. Photoengraving from an oil painting by Donald Guthrie McNab, ca. 1897.



thoroughly trained in the logic of fact as well as of faith. With their mix of rational and mystical knowledge, the Jesuits were skilled at navigating the subtleties of language and its potential for multiple meanings. Yet, while obedient and loyal in the pursuit of their duty, the Jesuits were surprisingly pragmatic. As they came to know the Native people of New France, the Jesuits showed a remarkable willingness to adopt Native practices, such as oratorical style and gift giving, and to use them for their own purposes. Comfortable and confident in their own ability, most Jesuits saw much that was good in Native culture and sought to convert it into a foundation upon which Christianity could be built (26).

For all their knowledge and skill, or perhaps because of it, it is easy to see why Native people often regarded the Jesuits as powerful and potentially dangerous shamans. They looked like sorcerers. This went beyond their wearing black. Many of the objects the Jesuits carried and used would have suggested sorcery. A list of items from the Jesuit Chapel in Québec is instructive. To Native eyes, the cup covered with rock crystal on an alter cloth of white linen, the red soutane and silk scarf worn by the priest, as well as the black damask cloth and ebony staff, all looked like objects of spiritual power, which they were (27).

More important than looks, the Jesuits acted like sorcerers. A clear indication of this was their obsessive concern with the sick and dying. Even if the Latin prayers and specific gestures did not make sense to Indian people, their intent to heal did. For Native people, it was a logical extension of their own cultural experience to see the Jesuits as practitioners of a new kind of medicine. The Jesuits also seemed to possess extraordinary knowledge, such as when eclipses would occur, information that could only have come from the Spirit World. Some of the priests understood that they

were viewed with a mixture of awe and fear and did not hesitate to use technology in magical ways, such as creating a rainbow with a prism or starting a fire with a burning glass. Such tricks could backfire and confirm the idea that the Jesuits were dangerous. Even when they did not try to impress, their actions easily aroused suspicion. In his *Relation* of 1639, Le Jeune noted that at the Huron–Wendat mission the Jesuits had to hide their clock. The Huron–Wendat believed it to be "the Demon of death, and our illuminated pictures represented to them nothing more than what was happening to their sick people. Merely seeing us walking about, they thought we were engaged in some witchcraft." Indeed, the Huron–Wendat survivors in Onondaga were among those most hostile to the Jesuits. There was also the unfortunate fact that new and devastating diseases seemed to





**Figure 4.9**. An embroidered redvelvet chasuble, typical of the liturgical vestments used by the Jesuits during this period.

follow the Jesuits as they established their missions, something that was continually pointed out by many of the surviving Huron–Wendat (28).

So, who were these strange men and what did they want? At best, their medicine might be used to combat the problems of disease, warfare, and social trauma that threatened the existing order. At worst, these were witches whose goal was to steal as many souls as possible and take them to the next world, where the French could torture them forever (29).

#### The Road to Gannentaha

With Le Moine's return to Québec in late summer 1654, a series of events began to unfold quickly. In a letter that October, Father Superior Le Mercier summarized that the peace seemed to be holding with the Upper Four Nations, but the Mohawk continued their usual treacherous ways. "They kill everywhere and everywhere are killed," the father superior observed. Finally, even the Mohawk seem to have had enough, and Father Le Moine was sent to their country to bring back captured French prisoners and secure a peace (30). Meanwhile, a delegation of 18 Onondaga had come to Québec to confirm past agreements and press the French to fulfill their promises. As usual, these requests were phrased in ritual language and accompanied by lavish presents, in this case, 24 porcelaine colliers. The first eight were given to the Algonquian and Huron–Wendat allies of the French, assuring them that if the Mohawk continued to be a problem, the other four nations "will take the war-hatchet out of his hands, and check his fury, for the reign of Peace must be universal." The remaining colliers were for the French and underscored the previous requests for Jesuit priests to teach, for French soldiers to help in defense, and the establishment of a new Ste. Marie in the center of Onondaga territory. Most important was the assurance that "the four Upper Iroquois Nations had but one heart and one mind in their sincere desire for Peace" (31).

Although the French were greatly divided on taking such a risk, especially with Le Moine off in Mohawk country, they could not let such an opportunity pass. This time the blessed lot fell to Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, the experienced veteran of the Huron–Wendat mission and skilled linguist, and to Fr. Claude Dablon, newly arrived from France. On September 19, 1655, the two priests left Québec for Onondaga with the returning Native delegation (32). We know a great deal about this trip and the Jesuits' subsequent stay in Onondaga, since Dablon kept a personal journal that was later published in the *Jesuit Relations* for 1655–1657. It is a remarkable document, in part because for Dablon everything was new and strange. This journal also contains some of Chaumonot's thoughts, coming from a seasoned and skilled observer. Even though Dablon's journal reflects the views and biases of two Frenchmen, it is the earliest detailed account of life in Onondaga that has survived. Le Moine had made important observations during his 10 days' visit, but now Dablon and Chaumonot spent the winter there. Although Dablon would leave in



March, returning to Québec to help organize the Ste. Marie expedition, Chaumonot would remain a resident based in Onondaga for nearly three years (33).

Dablon's account of the trip to Onondaga conveys the sense of excitement and wonder he felt as they struggled up the rapids, foraged for food, and narrowly avoided a band of marauding Mohawk. But it was the people that interested him most, and he made careful notes about them. For instance, one night one of the Onondaga men awoke, suffering from mania and convulsions. Although Dablon smiled at the bizarre methods used to treat the ailments—public ridicule, sweating, and dream guessing—he noted with some admiration that they also worked. By the end of October the party reached Otihatangué, the same fishing camp on the eastern end of Lake Ontario where Le Moine had landed a few months earlier. Once again, they found Huron–Wendat and Petun refugees, several of whom recognized Chaumonot and asked for confession. The next day they left their boats behind and began the overland trek to the main Onondaga town (34). The final stages of Dablon and Chaumonot's journey to Onondaga mirrored Le Moine's experience. They stopped at two more fishing camps along the way, Tethiroguen (Brewerton) at the head of the Oneida River, and another probably on the south shore of Oneida lake. On November 5, as they approached Onondaga itself, they were greeted outside the town by a captain of note who led them to a spot where all the elders of the country were assembled. Here they were given seats, served food, and offered the rituals of welcome. Chaumonot replied in turn, delighting the crowd, who had never heard a Frenchman speak their language before. With the formalities over, the Jesuits were escorted into the town, passing through the rows of people who had come to see them. It was another good beginning (35).

The following days were spent resting, feasting, and preparing for the next round of negotiations. Chaumonot found time to visit some invalids who promised to receive further religious instruction if they recovered. But behind these pleasantries, the serious negotiations had begun. Very late on the evening of the Jesuits' arrival, the Onondaga elders met privately with them, offering additional gifts to strengthen their resolve. Two days later, another "secret Council of fifteen Captains" was called to ensure that the French ambassadors understood the essential points of the negotiations. In particular, nothing should hinder this alliance, not even if the Mohawk abused or happened to kill a few Frenchmen. The Onondaga elders asked that Governor Lauson make the same assurance (**36**).

Amidst all the political jockeying, one important decision was made. Rather than establish the French settlement at Otihatangué on Lake Ontario, a new site was chosen on the east side of Gannentaha (Onondaga Lake). This location was roughly 20 km from the main Onondaga town. Equally important, it was accessible by canoe from the other upper

Iroquois nations. Known for outstanding hunting and fishing, land for farming, as well as timber and stone for building, it was an excellent location for the new French settlement (**37**).

By the 15th of November 1655 Chaumonot was ready to make the French requests, and he did so with typical flair, asking the Onondaga leaders and people to meet him in the center of the town. Here he spoke for more than an hour, walking about and gesturing "in what was really the Italian style" as he made his presentation. Chaumonot offered a total of 34 gifts. Most were ritual presents intended to "wipe away tears" and ensure the peace, although several were specifically designed to appeal to Onondaga emotions. One was a handkerchief that contained the ashes of an Onondaga who had died near Québec along with those of several Frenchmen. By mixing these together, Chaumonot declared that the Iroquois and French "were but one, both before and after death," adding a gift of a porcelaine collier to help restore that Onondaga to life. Chaumonot also condoled two famous chiefs killed in war with the Erie, remembering each with a porcelaine collier. After naming them, Chaumonot assured his listeners that these brave men were not dead, but united in heaven. In this way Chaumonot approached his main point—the great desire of the Jesuits was to instruct the Onondaga, and indeed all the nations, in the "True Faith." He could not prevent them from becoming ill, or even dying, but faith was the great remedy for all earthly afflictions, and he was ready to teach them (38).

It was a masterful performance and well received. "It is past belief how the Father's speech and his engaging ways charmed these people," Dablon noted (39). Nor did it take long for the reviews to come in. That afternoon, when Chaumonot had retired to the woods outside the town, four women approached him for instruction. That evening another group of nine did the same. The men were more circumspect about any public display, although several admitted that before going to war with the Erie, they had promised to embrace the Faith if they were victorious.

The formal reply came the following day. The Onondaga elders, representatives of the other upper nations, and as many people as possible crammed into the longhouse the Jesuits used as their dwelling and chapel. Speaking on behalf of the community, the Onondaga spokesman assured the Jesuits that he and the French governor were "now but one." And since the Huron–Wendat were the governor's adopted children, they must now belong to Onondaga as well. Dablon's account glosses over the problems embedded in this statement, in part because the next reply seemed so much more important. With all the assembled listening, the elder declared that he had become a believer and exhorted the missionaries to continue their efforts and to have patience as the converted learned their prayers. He then took Chaumonot by the hand and led him out before the entire assembly. Here he took a magnificent porcelaine collier "of seven thousand



beads," and wrapped it around Chaumonot's waist pledging himself "before Heaven and earth" to embrace the Faith as he now embraced the priest. There were more speeches, presents, and formalities, but the important business was done. The following day after celebrating Mass, measurements for a new chapel were made, and by the end of the next day the Mission of St. Jean Baptiste had been built in the main Onondaga town (40).

Over the next several months, as things settled into the routine of winter, Chaumonot and Dablon continued their efforts to spread the Christian message. Not knowing what would be most effective, they tried a variety of techniques. In addition to group prayer and formal instruction, the

missionaries brought out "some images to aid the imagination" of their students and frequently gave out small objects as a reward to those who answered correctly. They also used music. Several of the young Onondaga girls were taught to sing hymns aided by Dablon, who had brought some wind instruments with him. These were another source of amazement, and the Jesuits were given credit for making the wood speak, and "duplicate what our children are singing" (41). Winter was also the time for storytelling, and the Jesuits used this opportunity to explain the Creation and other biblical stories to their hosts. In turn, they recorded the earliest known Five Nations' account of Sky Woman and her Twins.

In spite of these successes, however, things ultimately did not go that well. Few of the men were persuaded to accept the Jesuits' teachings, and although they would listen attentively to his explanations, Chaumonot recorded that "most of the Elders turned a deaf ear to God's word." More serious were the accusations made by many of the Huron–Wendat now living in Onondaga. According to them, it was when they had received the Faith IN NOCTE NATALIS DOMINI. Natiuitas Christi. Iuc. ii. Anno i.



**Figure 4.10**. In Nocte Natalis Domini (On the night of the birth of the Lord) from *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines,* by Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1593. One of the religious images that Fr. Claude Dablon may have used during the winter he spent in Onondaga in 1655.

and abandoned their belief in dreams that their ruin had begun. To these individuals it was clear that the Jesuits planned to pursue the same course among the Onondaga. Around such accusations, pro-French and anti-French factions began to develop (42).

There were other problems. Mid-Winter was the most important ceremonial season for the Onondaga, but three days and nights of continuous feasting and dream guessing drove the Jesuits to "an outlying cabin to avoid the riot." It also left them feeling "disgusted with such ridiculous ceremony," an attitude not likely to make friends. Nor was this the only discordant note. In early February, Seneca and Cayuga war parties began to arrive in Onondaga in preparation for their upcoming campaign against the Erie. Several parties of Onondaga also returned, bringing trophies and captives, and by the end of the month another notable council was held. Gone was the flowery language that marked the Jesuits' arrival. This time the message from Onondaga was blunt. As Dablon reported, "They said they had been awaiting the coming of the French for more than three years, but had always been put off from year to year, until at last they were tired of so many postponements, and if the affair could not be settled now . . . they would break with us entirely" (43).

Much perplexed at this state of affairs, Dablon and Chaumonot decided that someone had to get word back to Québec as soon as possible. Dablon agreed to go but could not find a guide since all the young men were leaving either to hunt or go raiding. But then, miraculously, Jean Baptiste Achiongeras appeared. The same young war chief Le Moine had baptized the year before now volunteered to lead the way. Dablon left the next day, and after a difficult late winter trip reached Montréal on March 13, 1656 with the news that the road to a new Ste. Marie was now open (44).

#### Steps and missteps

With Dablon's news the French began to assemble the expedition that would go to Onondaga country in the spring. Meanwhile other forces darkened the long-term prospects for success. In January 1656 a Mohawk war party had attacked a Seneca peace embassy on its way to Québec, killing several members including "one of the leading Captains" of that country. This resulted in open hostilities between the Seneca and Mohawk and deepened the already strong antagonism between the upper and lower Iroquois. Mohawk actions also continued to confound the French. In April, while raiding parties harassed the Huron–Wendat settlement outside Québec, a Mohawk delegation made a remarkable request at Trois-Rivières. "Here is an iron chain," said their ambassador, offering a large porcelaine collier, "which shall bind the Dutch, the French and the Mohawk together." In return, he asked the French "to obey me in one thing: that is to close the doors of his house . . . against the Onondaga, who wish to be my enemy." This resulted in another round of deliberations among the French, but it was too late to change course. The first party of Frenchmen, a force of 50



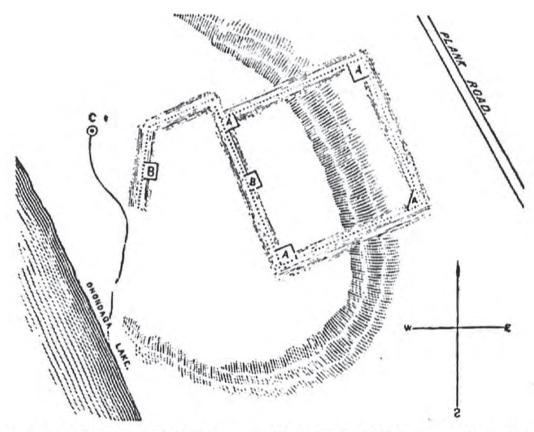
men in two large shallops and several canoes, left Québec for Onondaga on May 17 with an escort of Onondaga, Seneca, and a few Huron–Wendat (45).

There were also problems in Onondaga. Not everyone favored the French. Although Dablon's account of who was for them and who was not is rather muddled, it seemed that "many of the elders were on one side," for the French, "while most of the young warriors were on the other." While it was no surprise that Dablon, a novice who did not speak the language, was confused by the seemingly abrupt change in Onondaga tone, someone as experienced as Chaumonot must have understood the warning implicit in the elders' message. It was increasingly difficult for them to control their young men, whose primary interests were going to war and wanting to rid the country of sorcerers. If the French did not fulfill their commitments very soon, the elders could not be held accountable for the results. It was a warning the Jesuits had heard before (46).

Meanwhile, the French expeditionary force nearly faltered as it got underway. Just upriver from Québec, a large party of Mohawk fell upon some of the canoes, wounding one of the French, seizing the Huron– Wendat, and insulting the Onondaga "by word and deed." Only when the combined French and Onondaga force threatened them in return did the Mohawk insist it was a case of mistaken identity and let them proceed. Arriving at Montréal, the expedition transferred into 20 canoes and continued upriver. Aside from one more incident with a Mohawk party, it was a fairly uneventful trip. The biggest problem was providing enough food for more than 50 people, and by the time they reached the Oswego River the men were subsisting on berries. Fortunately, a welcoming party from Onondaga well stocked with food met them there, and after a few days of rest the "French party reached the lake where their new settlement would be built" (47).

As they entered Onondaga Lake on July 11, 1656 the French were determined to make a memorable impression, and they did. Unloading five small cannons, they fired a salute from the shore and then followed it with a volley of their firearms. As the noise of these discharges "rolled over the water . . . most agreeably," the expedition advanced across the lake under a white-taffeta banner, which bore the name "Jesus" in large painted letters. Upon landing, the French fired a second salvo much to the delight of the assembled crowd. Although a sudden downpour disrupted the speeches, no one seemed to care, and the celebration continued. The next day, after chanting the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for their safe arrival, the French "took possession of the whole country in the name of Jesus Christ." Afterward they met with the Onondaga elders, who offered congratulations and invited them to visit the main town. Instead, that being Sunday, the French celebrated a solemn mass during which they used all their vestments and ritual objects. On July 17 the French went to work in earnest. Most of the party began to build the lodgings and "a good

Redoubt for the soldiers" that would comprise Ste. Marie. These were built in the location chosen the previous November, on a bluff above Onondaga Lake's eastern shore (48).



A A A A-Parapets. B B-Gateways. C-Spring and Well. ....-Palisades. Figure 4.11. The plan of the fort thought to be Ste. Marie, drawn by James Geddes, 1797.

Meanwhile, Le Mercier and 15 of the best soldiers walked the 20 km to Onondaga. Here the French party halted just outside the town, where they were greeted by elders and then escorted in through the crowd. At the entrance the French soldiers fired another fine salvo, delighting the spectators. A short time later, a second squad of French soldiers "in fine attire marched in, with the drum beating" to more acclaim. A reception followed at the house of one of the "most renowned Captains of the country," and 10 days of feasting were declared in honor of the French arrival. The French were overwhelmed by the display of affection and cordiality with which they were greeted. Dablon, not always so effusive, noted in his journal, "If, after all that, they betray and massacre us, I will accuse them, not of dissimulation, but of frivolity and inconstancy." How could such affection and confidence possibly "change into fear, hatred and treachery"? How prophetic Dablon's words would prove to be. But for now, the great experiment of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha was underway (49).



At this point it is worth asking, why the French undertook this hugely expensive and very risky venture. What did they hope to accomplish? This expedition was not just about building a new mission among the Iroquois as a replacement for the one lost in Huronia. While there is no precise statement of intent, the French appear to have had four interconnected goals. The first was, quite simply, to stop the hostilities that threatened to destroy New France. Closely linked to this was a second goal—the hope that they could divide the upper and lower Iroquois by isolating the troublesome Mohawk, while establishing mutually beneficial relations with the Upper Four Nations. The third was to promote Christianity, both as a means of influence and as an end in itself. Finally, the French had been in Canada long enough to know that it was not the hospitable environment they had originally hoped it would be.

The idea of building a permanent French settlement in the richer more-temperate latitudes, currently occupied by the Iroquois, was a very tempting one. It was for this reason that the secular and religious leadership of New France agreed that Ste. Marie would be a *habitation*, a full-fledged French community rather than a *réduction*, a mission settlement closed to other Europeans. One indication of this was Governor Lauson's formal grant of land to the Jesuits of "ten leagues of space in every direction" from wherever they finally chose to settle. Another was the composition of the settlement party. This was a diverse group. In addition to the Jesuits, there were *donnés*, or lay brothers, and *engagées*, or hired laborers, as well as a military detachment under Zacharie Dupuy, commander of the Québec garrison. The French party also included craftsmen, who "worked at all the trades practiced in a city." Within a year they would be joined by others, including traders like Pierre-Esprit Radisson. What the French hoped to accomplish at Ste. Marie was to establish another strong French community, the next in a line of settlements that extended from Québec to Trois-Rivières to Montréal, and to define French territorial ambitions in the lower Great Lakes (Figure 4.12; 50).

Whatever their reasons for coming, the French were now in Onondaga, and it did not take long for the political maneuvering to begin. The first hint of trouble occurred at the initial meeting on July 17, 1656, where the Mohawk representative was deliberately rude and offensive. More important was the great council meeting held a week later. During the ensuing week, envoys from the other four nations had arrived, especially those from Seneca who were still mourning the death of their ambassador who had been killed by the Mohawk. The purpose of this General Council was twofold—to reconcile the Seneca and the Mohawk, and to gain final approval for the French to reside in their country. At the request of all the nations, the first task was placed in the hands of Achiendasé, their name for Father Superior Le Mercier. Suprisingly, this difficult matter was quickly resolved according to Dablon, and the entire assembly moved on to enthusiastically agree that the French be allowed to settle. After a



Figure 4.12. European settlement and the dispersal of Ontario Iroquoians, ca. 1656.

communal prayer by all the French present, Chaumonot rose to explain the gifts he had carefully laid out for display (51).

Once again, Chaumonot showed a keen understanding of his audience. He began by condoling several of the recently deceased, especially some worthy Christians, then went on to offer thanks for the warm welcome they had received, and finally to ask for permission to reside in their country.

### Courting the French, 1650 to 1665



Each statement was accompanied by the appropriate presents. While the coats, kettles, and hatchets were appreciated, the muskets, powder, and lead were received with even more enthusiasm. Having warmed up his listeners, Chaumonot then proceeded to his main point. "Keep your beaver-skins . . . for the Dutch," he exclaimed; they did not come there to trade, but to "aim much higher." Picking up a large porcelaine collier in his hands, he reminded them of their solemn promise to listen to the words of God. "They are in my mouth," he commanded, "listen to them." Chaumonot then explained "the eternal pleasures and joys" of heaven, the "horrible fires in Hell," and concluded with a dire warning—the Five Nations had to choose which way to live, and if they did not choose Jesus, God would cast them all into hell. It was another strong if not very subtle performance, designed to push the situation. In that, it was successful (52).

Chaumonot's presentation marked a significant change in Jesuit strategy. On their previous visits, the Jesuits had come "as Ambassadors rather than as missionaries," and had exercised their Christian zeal with moderation. Now that



**Figure 4.13**. Examples of the kind of images used by the Jesuits to illustrate Christian concepts to the Natives—top, *L'Ame Bienheureuse* (A Blessed Soul); bottom, *Le Purgatoire* (Purgatory). Engravings by Pierre Landry from paintings by Claude François (Frère Luc), ca. 1667.

they were established, it was time for them to "openly declared war against Paganism," not just in Onondaga, but in all the Five Nations (53). Of course, it is impossible to know what the Iroquois who heard these "words full of fire . . . and Christian vehemence" thought of them or what they meant. The assembled delegates departed early the following day, offering polite gifts and extending invitations to visit their own country. Even the Mohawk representative seemed sincere. The French also returned to their new home, Ste. Marie de Gannentaha. The Jesuit Relations of 1656-1657, written by Paul Le Jeune, mentions a follow-up to the General Council meeting of July 24. A few nights later several chief men of Onondaga came to visit Ste. Marie. They offered gifts and asked the French again to unite so closely with them that "we might be thereafter but one people." They also warned the French not to trust the "deceitful and treacherous" Mohawk, and to be sure that the new French settlement would be large enough to receive and shelter them from their enemies should the need arise. The grievance between Seneca and Mohawk may have been resolved, but the Onondaga–Mohawk dispute remained far from settled (54).

For the rest of the summer and well into the fall of 1656, everything seemed to proceed smoothly. The French continued to settle in, planting crops and receiving a quantity of game and fish from their new neighbors. In return, a group of French craftsmen was sent to the main Onondaga town in August to build a European-style building as a chapel for the Jesuits assigned there. With several others now available to take his place, Chaumonot set out with Fr. René Menard and two donnés to establish new missions among the Cayuga and Seneca. Everyone seemed comfortable, and Frenchmen and Onondaga easily moved back and forth between the two communities. As Dablon confided in his journal, "We [now] dwell and eat in entire security with those whose shadow, and very name, filled us with dread but a short time ago" (55).

For those who chose to look, there were problems that were hard to ignore. The most obvious was disease. Just as the apostate Huron–Wendat had predicted, sickness and death followed the Jesuits. There has been "a great mortality in this country since we have been here," Dablon noted, "in which very many children were carried off." The problem was that those who had embraced the Faith were stricken as often as those who did not. While the Jesuits may have rejoiced over the number of souls saved, Onondaga reaction was undoubtedly different (56). A clear indication of those feelings was expressed to Father Chaumonot while he was in Seneca country. Here he was confronted by an angry young man proclaiming that the Faith would kill all who professed it. As Chaumonot reported, when he tried to reply, he was told that he was "a Sorcerer who should be got rid of . . . [since] I gave life or death to whomever I wished." Witchcraft was a serious charge in Iroquois society, and this added more heat to a complex political situation, one that already had strong feelings on all sides (57).

Although disease, witchcraft, and political infighting were all serious problems, another issue overshadowed them all. Who had the right to adopt the remaining Huron–Wendat? If anything had disappointed the Onondaga about the arrival of the French, it was that the promised Huron– Wendat had not come with them. To the Onondaga, this issue had been settled at Québec in February 1654 and reaffirmed through Le Moine's, and later, Chaumonot's embassies. For them, it was simply time for the French to fulfill their promise (58). Others saw this differently. The Mohawk felt they too had a legitimate claim to the remaining Huron–Wendat, and frequently demonstrated this with a show of force. In November 1656 a delegation of Oneida arrived in Québec, making their own request to adopt the refugees. The man most concerned about the Huron–Wendat exiles was Fr. Paul Ragueneau. He had brought his flock back to the safety of Québec in 1650, and was dedicated to their protection. For now Ragueneau was able to put off the Oneida demands, but he had a harder time with the Mohawk, who arrived a month later ready to take the remaining Huron-Wendat with them. The wrangling continued all winter. Realizing that they could stall no longer, the Huron–Wendat reluctantly made a decision. Of

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the three surviving groups, one would go to Onondaga in the spring, while another would go with the Mohawk. The last chose to remain with the French. It seemed like a reasonable decision (59).

The Onondaga, however, were furious. They had been promised all of the Huron– Wendat exiles in Québec on more than one occasion, and they expected the French to honor their commitment. Or, perhaps despite their magical lists and papers, the French did not choose to remember their promises. The



**Figure 4.14**. Christian Natives praying. A detail from *Novae Franciae accurata delineatio*, a map of New France by Fr. Francesco Giuseppe Bressani, 1657.

Onondaga were equally angry with the Mohawk, who had outmaneuvered them, and the Huron–Wendat who had promised themselves to everyone. When news of the decision reached Onondaga, a party of 100 warriors set out to escort the Huron–Wendat back, with their consent or without it. It appears that Father Le Moine was able to defuse this explosive situation, but when the promised group of Christian Huron–Wendat finally set out for Onondaga in July 1657, feelings were still running strong (60).

Of all the missteps that brought about the final demise of Ste. Marie, none had a greater, or more misunderstood, impact than the killing of several of the Huron–Wendat refugees in early August 1657. Nor is it entirely clear what happened. This much is known. On June 27 a party of roughly 50 Christian Huron-Wendat, formerly of the Rock Nation, set out from Montréal for Onondaga with Father Ragueneau and several young Frenchmen who were headed for Ste. Marie. They had an escort of 30 Onondaga and 16 Seneca. According to Ragueneau, there were problems from the start, from baggage left behind to a cold reception on the part of their escort. Late in the afternoon of August 3, one of the Onondaga chiefs killed a Huron–Wendat woman, apparently because she had resisted his advances. This act appears to have sparked a second round of violence during which seven Huron–Wendat men were killed, the women and children taken as captives, and their goods seized. Horrified, Ragueneau warned the French not to interfere. That evening he asked for a council and tried desperately to buy back the captives' freedom, offering his own life and a large amount of wampum in their place. This request was refused, and when Ragueneau pressed the Onondaga chief why this had happened, "He had no answer to make except that I did not know all that he knew." Indeed (**61**).

Whatever the cause of this massacre, as the French saw it the good relations that had begun to develop with the Onondaga were now poisoned. For the French at Ste. Marie, virtually all talk of missionary work ceased, replaced by paranoia and internal arguments about whether to flee or wait things out. Word of the disaster was sent back to Québec by canoe. Shortly after the bad news from Ste. Marie arrived in mid-October, more ill tidings reached Québec. An Oneida war party had attacked Montréal, killing three Frenchmen. Given this evidence of betrayal, the French governor-general ordered the arrest of "all Iroquois that should present themselves," whatever the purpose of their visit. Several Onondaga and Mohawk were immediately seized and put in irons (62).

While we know little about the Onondaga view of these events, their attitudes appeared to have hardened as well. Some in Onondaga remained friendly with the French despite the increased hostility. Ragueneau noted that one captain, "who knew the Elders' secret," quietly informed the French that they were in a very perilous position. In general, the events of August 3 seem to have unleashed a wave of anti-French feeling that was intensified by the retaliatory actions of the acting governor Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge. In an effort to calm the situation, one of the captured Onondaga was released and asked to carry a message back to the elders, but the message delivered was not the one the French had hoped for. The Onondaga reported that the Algonquians were still the principal ally of the French, and that together they planned to make war on the Iroquois. There was another unintended consequence. News that their men had been put in chains was one of the few things that could reconcile the Onondaga and Mohawk, at least for a while. Meanwhile, learning that secret councils were taking place between these two nations did little to calm French fears, especially since negotiations between the French at Ste. Marie and the Onondaga appear to have broken down over the winter. Although the French could only speculate about the "wretched schemes being prepared" for them, they could see the preparations for war. In turn, they made plans to escape (63).

### The Great Escape

Few events in seventeenth-century Iroquoia are as storied as the French escape from Ste. Marie de Gannentaha during the night of March 20, 1658. The secret plan to build boats and hiding them beneath a false floor, the grand feast, all the clever deceptions, and the miraculous escape itself are recounted to varying degrees in the *Jesuit Relations* and by Radisson. It was an amazing accomplishment. Fifty-three Frenchmen plus a fair amount of their gear seemed suddenly to disappear, as though they had

**Figure 4.15.** The Remembrance Belt. Photograph by William M. Beauchamp, ca. 1900.

"walked off on the waters, or flown away through the air." But while impressive, it was hardly miraculous. As Ragueneau himself had to admit, the French were terribly vulnerable, and "a dozen Iroquois could have easily defeated us" at any point along the way. That this did not happen was no accident. Instead of a miracle, the



French departure was a carefully orchestrated way out, one in which both sides showed remarkable restraint (64).

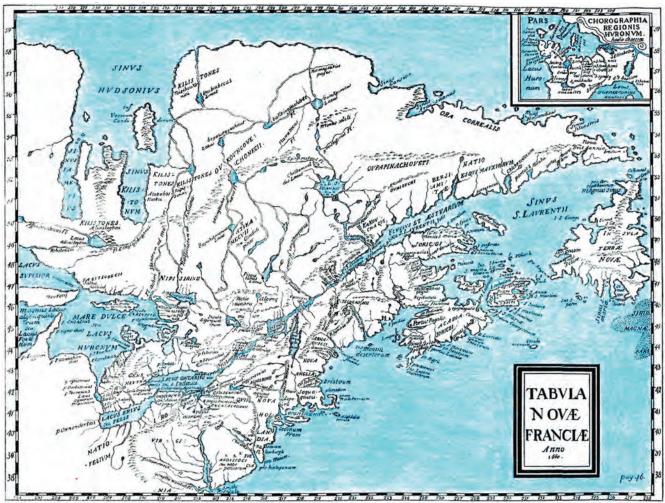
Actually, the abandonment of St. Marie was a win for everyone. The Five Nations were reasonably happy, since by 1657 most of the remnants of Huron–Wendat had been assimilated, leaving one less divisive issue. Meanwhile, the Mohawk had reclaimed their prerogative as the keepers of the Eastern Door, while the Onondaga maintained their status as Fire Keepers at the League's diplomatic center. A face-saving way out had been found for everyone, even for the French who had been allowed to escape. And while the French had left many of their worldly goods behind, their escape was a great piece of publicity. Meanwhile, all that material wealth undoubtedly helped to console the Onondaga on the loss of their erstwhile friends. It was a resolution everyone could live with, for now.

#### **Lessons Learned**

Ste. Marie is perhaps the best-known story to emerge from the historical documents of this period. The whole episode had profound effects on all those involved. While both sides went away bruised and wary, several important lessons were learned. Interestingly, they were the same for the French and the Five Nations. First, each side decided that the other could not be trusted. In part this was because it was not clear who had real authority, and therefore who might be a useful friend rather than a scheming enemy. Still, playing factions against one another was a strategy that worked. Most important was the belief that some way had to be found to move ahead, since the current situation was dangerously unacceptable and foreboded greater chaos.

#### New France

For the French Ste. Marie was one more reversal they suffered at the hands of the Five Nations. This time it had been a very expensive one, and it came at a time when the colony was already in serious financial trouble. The failure of Ste. Marie after just 20 months marked the end of peace initiatives and a return to the warfare that threatened to strangle the colony economically. Yet while the French could wring their hands about the duplicity of the Iroquois in general, and the Onondaga in particular, much of the failure was of their own making. Once the French garrison was back safely in Québec, the blaming began. Within a year there would be a new governor, a new father superior, and a substantial loss of Jesuit influence within New France. Indeed, the kind of miscalculation, if not mismanagement, that characterized the Ste. Marie episode would catch the eye of France's new king and be a factor in his decision to assume personal control of the colony in 1663. For all its failures, however, Ste. Marie left a significant legacy. For the remainder of the seventeenth century, it would serve as a French marker on the board of competing imperial maps, one that represented their claim to lands south of Lake Ontario in the heart of Iroquoia (Figure 4.12; 65).



**Figure 4.16**. François du Creux's map of New France, 1660, with its rich, if bewildering, array of names and places.

#### Inside the League

Ste. Marie was an issue that brought all Five Nations together, if briefly, against a common adversary. This is also the first time we are able to see into the League and hear how it functioned from those who had been present. Two descriptions were made within a decade of Ste. Marie's abandonment. The first was by Chaumonot, who had lived in Onondaga for nearly three years and attended many council meetings. While serving as a witness and interpreter at later peace treaties in 1665 and 1666, he wrote a series of notes on Iroquois customs and practices. These included details on the structure of moieties and clans, and how decisions were made.

When they assemble together for consultation, the first division [moiety] ranges itself on one side of the fire in the cabin, and the other division on the other side. When the matter on which they have met has been discussed on one side and the other, they accompany the decision with much ceremony. The division that decides the matter gives two options, so that the best may be adopted, and offers all possible opposition in proposing its



opinion, in order to show that it has well considered what it says. They adopt usually the first opinion, unless there be some strong motive to the contrary.

A corroborative account of the League's decision-making process was dictated by Onondaga Chief John A. Gibson to anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser in 1912, and generally considered the definitive oral account of the League, its founding, and operation (66).

Le Mercier gave the second description in 1667. He too had addressed council meetings and provided the following depiction of Onondaga—

Onnontaé,—a large Village, and the center of all the Iroquois Nations, where every year the States-general, so to speak, is held, to settle the differences that may have arisen among them in the course of the year.

Their Policy in this is very wise, and has nothing Barbarous in it. For, since their preservation depends upon their union, . . . they hold every year a general assembly at Onnontaé. There all the Deputies from the different Nations are present, to make their complaints and receive the necessary satisfaction in mutual gifts, —by means of which they maintain a good understanding with one another.

When the League began to function in this manner will probably never be known. But if evidence is needed for the League's remarkable ability to defuse internal conflict, it is provided by the swift reconciliation that took place between the Onondaga and Mohawk during the winter of 1657–1658, after 20 years of bitter feuding (67).

Certainly, French missteps had made this reconciliation easier. Whether it was their presumption in claiming land at the League's center, the aggressive behavior of Jesuits, the breaking of promises about Huron– Wendat refugees, or the seizing of Iroquois hostages and putting them in chains, French actions were increasingly at odds with Iroquois standards of acceptable behavior. Vilifying the French had another advantage. An agreed-upon enemy solved the problem of where to focus their war chiefs and eager young warriors. With new external threats, especially from the Susquehannock to the south, it was essential to be as unified as possible. Nonetheless, the tensions between the upper and lower Iroquois were far from resolved. In particular, serious issues of protocol continued to divide the Mohawk and Onondaga. Who had the right to speak for the League? Where were decisions to be made, at the Eastern Door or at the Council Fire? Were the Mohawk entitled to special privileges because of their relationship with the Dutch? These questions would remain persistent fault lines in League affairs for the rest of the century.

Even as the Onondaga and Mohawk agreed to join together against the French, each side continued to probe for advantage. In the spring of 1659 the apparently tireless Le Moine went to visit the Mohawk and returned with a delegation to Québec in July. There the Mohawk asked for the return of their people held by the French and commiserated with them about the Onondaga taking French hostages. Despite such posturing, shared anger and affronted honor continued to push the Onondaga and Mohawk together in the years following the collapse of Ste. Marie. For example, in the spring of 1660 a small party of French, led by recent émigré Adam Dollard des Ormeaux, surprised 200 Onondaga at Long Sault on the St. Lawrence River as they returned south from winter hunting in the lower Ottawa River valley. The intended French ambush soon turned into a siege against them, as Dollard's outnumbered party barricaded themselves in a hastily constructed fort. Unfortunately for the French, a large Mohawk war party joined the siege. Although nearly all of the French perished in the following battle, they quickly became martyrs and heroes in the beleaguered colony. Even though they won, the Onondaga and the Mohawk paid dearly in terms of casualties and pride, and the Dollard affair quickly became another reason for their joint outrage toward the French (68). Such outrage could not last in the face of greater threats, however, and it was not long before issues again began to drive the Mohawk and Onondaga apart. For the Mohawk, the greatest danger lay to the east and north with the Algonquian allies of the French. For the Onondaga and other upper nations, the more serious trouble lay to the south with the Susquehannock. Worse, smallpox continued to ravage their towns, leaving them barely able to maintain, much less defend, themselves. By late 1661 the Onondaga and Seneca wanted a firm peace with the French, while the Mohawk were "absolutely determined upon war" (69).

All these events continued to unsettle the French, who remained deeply suspicious of Onondaga peace overtures. It seemed impossible to know whether they were acting in good faith or not. After all, these seem to be "almost the same proceedings, enacted by the same persons" that had negotiated the previous agreements. As Fr. Jérôme Lalemant concluded in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1663-1664, some thought that the Onondaga desire for peace was sincere, but "others believe they are far from it; and both may be said to be right." One thing was certain. It would be so much easier to deal with the Upper Four Nations if the troublesome Mohawk could just be eliminated. It would take two more years before the Onondaga and other upper nations could successfully negotiate a peace agreement with the French (**70**).

#### Inside Onondaga

The story of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha and its aftermath provides a unique opportunity to look inside Onondaga during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. Rarely would the documentary record be as rich again. For the first time we can actually see some of the internal politics,

#### Courting the French, 1650 to 1665



meet some of the leaders, and get a sense of the shifting alliances that drove Onondaga decision-making and actions. As the Jesuits focused on the mission of St. Jean Baptiste in the Onondaga town and the new settlement of Ste. Marie on the lake, they were careful to note who within Onondaga supported or opposed them. As a result, more than a dozen individuals, men and women, are named and to some degree described. Several other individuals are mentioned specifically, although not named. As a result, it begins to be possible to see where individual leaders stood on issues such as war and peace, and their support or opposition to French plans. Equally important, we are able to see how quickly positions could change during this volatile period, and occasionally, even why.

Factions within Onondaga were not new. The concept of sides and how they interact was, and is, fundamental in Iroquoian culture. This was exemplified in the structure of moieties and clans as well as in the predictable tensions between young and old, war chiefs and peace chiefs, and all the fundamental divisions that can occur within a population. With the arrival of Europeans and their odd ideas, there were even more grounds for differing opinions. Between Le Moine's first visit to Onondaga in 1654 and the establishment of Ste. Marie in the summer of 1656, we get our first glimpses of how the Onondaga viewed these newcomers. Even though these sentiments were filtered through the biases of European writers, we still get hints of the complexity of the Onondaga response. Historian Daniel Richter has introduced the concepts of Francophiles, Anglophiles, and "neutrals" to describe Five Nations' politics during the last half of the seventeenth century, but it was seldom that simple. Looking more carefully, there appear to have been three kinds of Francophile supporters-

- Believers those who saw the French and the powerful medicine of their Christianity as a means to protect themselves. Jean Baptiste Achiongeras, as a Christian convert, is an example.
- **Pragmatists** those who saw the immediate military advantage of French arms and other temporal support. The great Onondaga war chief Aharihon was a pragmatist.
- Strategists those who saw the long-term potential of allying with the French and actively worked to build a relationship. Although he is not named during this period, the Onondaga civil chief Garakontié certainly acted in this capacity (71).

There was opposition to the French as well, even if those voices received less attention in the Jesuit reports. The only one specifically mentioned was Hondiatarase. Described by Claude Dablon as "a man of ability and intrigue," Hondiatarase was considered one of the most eloquent speakers in council and the man responsible for decisions on the community's wellbeing. He was also one of the few who openly opposed the Jesuits and sought to refute their teachings. When Hondiatarase was murdered by an

angry nephew, Dablon piously observed, "God knew how to remove that obstacle to his glory." Although Hondiatarase was the only anti-French Onondaga mentioned by name in the record from this time, there were many who were skeptical of, if not hostile to, the presence of the French, traditionalists who did not like or trust whatever combination of forces the French and Jesuits represented. For the Jesuits, it was all too easy to mistake the Onondaga rituals of welcome and hospitality for enthusiastic acceptance. The reality was quite different (72).

During the Ste. Marie period, from the summer of 1656 through the winter of 1657–1658, politics within Onondaga shifted as the pro-French faction, apparently lead by Garakontié, increasingly represented Christian and pro-peace sentiments. Meanwhile, the anti-French faction became a broad coalition of warriors—the chiefs who favored war and the traditionalists who saw the French and Jesuits as a threat to the nation's health and wellbeing. Likely leaders in this anti-French coalition included the war chief Otreouti and pragmatists such as Aharihon. With the abandonment of Ste. Marie in 1658, the pro-French coalition collapsed as the Onondaga vented their anger and sense of betrayal on the French and their allies.

For the next five years, an anti-French and anti-Christian coalition dominated Onondaga politics. Within months of the French departure from Ste. Marie, war parties began to bring French captives back to Onondaga. While prisoners could be kept for ransom or exchange, they were also tortured and killed. As relations grew worse during the spring of 1660, it became clear that if the French and their Algonquian allies were brothers, then the Onondaga would happily give them equal treatment and burn them together. Otreouti represented a personal example of anti-French sentiment. He was one of the unfortunate Onondaga who had been in Montréal when news of the Huron–Wendat massacre arrived in the fall of 1657. As a result, he was captured, imprisoned, and placed in chains by the French. Although he and eight others managed to escape soon after, the French had made a formidable enemy. In July 1661 Otreouti led a war party of 30 men to Montréal to avenge the insult he had received there. Two months later, an Onondaga peace delegation made its way toward Montréal and met that war party on its successful return. Otreouti was proudly wearing the black robe of the priest he had slain (73).

Despite such hostilities, support for the French and Christianity in Onondaga did not go away entirely. Barely six months after the abandonment of Ste. Marie, Garakontié travelled to Montréal to return two French captives and offer presents inviting the priests to come back to Ste. Marie. It would take several more trips and patient requests, but in July 1661 Le Moine did return to Onondaga, where he spent the winter of 1661–1662 with Garakontié and his family. During his stay, the chapel of St. Jean Baptiste was rebuilt, and Le Moine successfully negotiated the release of nine more French hostages. While Garakontié's prestige as the leader of

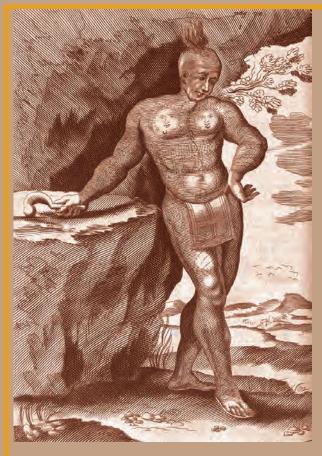


the pro-French faction grew among the French, he and his family were not always loved in Onondaga, where other leaders and families opposed both his plans and his personal success (74).

By 1662 the balance of Onondaga opinion had begun to shift toward the French once more. With honor assuaged and more dangerous enemies to the west and southwest worry about (Figure 4.19), the French looked better as allies than as adversaries. In April a delegation to Québec led by Otreouti and Aharihon conveyed that news from Le Moine, who was still in Onondaga. In August Le Moine and "a score of Onondaga" brought the remaining French hostages to Montréal. Then three years later in December 1665, when the Onondaga made a formal peace treaty with the French in Québec, the three most prominent Onondaga representatives were Garakontié, Otreouti and Aharihon. The politics of survival could produce surprising coalitions. Small wonder the French were often perplexed (75).

*External concerns, 1654 to 1658.* Just as the historical documents provide a view inside Onondaga and a sense of who made decisions about war and peace, they also give us some idea of where Onondaga hostilities were directed. Although warfare was a fundamental part of Iroquoian life, there were many kinds of war. Native people went to war for several reasons, but the most common were revenge, honor, and the need for captives. These reasons were closely tied to other essentially male activities, so that when a party of young warriors set out, it might be to raid, trade, or hunt, depending on whether the quarry had two legs or four. Radisson, as an adopted Mohawk, provides a good description of his war party of 10, when they stopped in Onondaga to resupply for a few days in 1653 before heading west—"Every one [had] a small necklace of porcelaine and a collar made with a thread of nettles to tye the Prisoners. I had a gunne, a hattchett, and a dagger. That was all we had" (76).

Most Iroquois warfare consisted of these "little wars," forays by small parties from one or more of the nations that could serve many purposes. Sometimes these war parties were based on personal vendettas such as the need "to appease . . . the souls" of those killed in previous conflicts, otherwise there would be "no resting-place for them in the other world." War parties were also an opportunity to demonstrate leadership. On occasion, they provided a way to send quarrelsome youth far enough away to not disrupt things at home. Rarely did all Five Nations join their forces in a military campaign. However, the years between 1648 and 1653 had been unusual. During those years the Five Nations in different combinations, had attacked, dispersed, or absorbed virtually all the Iroquoian and Algonquian peoples in southern Ontario. The consequences were enormous. Many refugees moved west, causing additional conflict and displacement throughout the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley. Others sought shelter with the French, creating new communities fiercely opposed to the Five Nations. A large number of Huron–Wendat,



**Figure 4.17.** A tattooed Iroquoian warrior with a ball-headed war club, from *Historiæ Canadensis* by François du Creux, S. J., 1664. A European depiction of a warrior.

**Figure 4.18.** The Warsaw Warrior, a petroglyph in Coshocton County, OH, ca. 1610-1660. A Native depiction of a warrior.



## Case Study 6. Warriors and leaders

Much has been made of the ferocity and bravery of Iroquois warriors, and for good reason. Iroquois men revered war above all else, and these highly prized traits reflected a society where warfare was constant. As French explorer Pierre-Esprit Radisson noted, his adopted Mohawk father was "a great captaine" and had "killed nineteen men with his own hands, whereof he was marked [on] his right thigh for as many [as] he killed." The great Onondaga war chief Aharihon, who had personally killed 60 men and burned 80 more, was also reputed to have kept count by tattooing a mark on his thigh for each victim. Radisson also noted that his father had received "two gun shots, and seaven arrow shotts, and was runne through the shoulders with a lance." These descriptions certainly fit our image of Iroquois warriors as fierce and tough fighters.

However, there was another equally important side to this. Warfare was not just

about killing. As one Jesuit noted, "He who has captured a prisoner in war, often takes only his apparel, and not his life." Radisson also observed that his father could have killed many more but, as a commander, chose not to. If he took prisoners, he would give them to his men, saying that it was "honor enough to command" them. By his example he showed the younger warriors how to practice authority and honor. For the Iroquois, putting the good of the community before personal gain was the essence of leadership. Wars, whether large or small, served as a primary classroom where young men could learn this lesson. Contrary to some historical interpretations, Five Nations people saw no conflict between going to war and negotiating peace. As one of life's fundamental dualities, each had its place. The goal was to maintain a proper balance between them (77).



Petun, and Neutral peoples were also assimilated into the Five Nations, voluntarily or not (78).

Although the years between 1654 and 1658 were peaceful by comparison, it was not a time of peace. West of Iroquoia lay what the French called the *Pay d'en Haut*, the great unknown interior of the continent. This was largely an Algonquian-speaking world, and one that had been profoundly disrupted by warfare as Ontario Iroquoian refugees searched for new homes. For the Onondaga, this was a time when one big war occurred in addition to the ongoing little wars. This was the campaign against the Erie described by Le Moine in the fall of 1654, one that reputedly involved a force of 1,800 warriors, a massive undertaking by Iroquois standards (Figure 4.19). Contrary to Jesuit claims, even these big wars rarely involved large-scale killing as they did in Europe. For the Iroquois, people were too valuable a resource to waste. Most hostilities appear to have been raiding expeditions by small bands of Onondaga warriors. These raids appear to have ranged in all directions with the upper Great Lakes and Midwest as favorite targets. At this level warfare was as much personal choice as it was the result of Onondaga or League policy (79).

Another big war was brewing during these years, one that would consume the Onondaga and drive much of their decision-making for the next two decades. In contrast to Ste. Marie, this equally important story is nearly invisible in the historical documents, and the few records that survive are fragmentary and often confusing. This was the conflict between the Onondaga and the Susquehannock, their Iroquoian neighbors to the south. Relationships between the Onondaga and Susquehannock predate any written accounts. Archaeological evidence indicates that trade in marine shell and possibly European materials may have linked these two Iroquoian neighbors during the sixteenth century. There was certainly a strong Susquehannock influence in Onondaga at the turn of the seventeenth century. By 1647 the Jesuits had become aware of the Andastoeronnon, as they called the Susquehannock, observing that they were "allied with our Hurons" and that the Onondaga either feared them as enemies or wanted them as allies. Fr. Jérôme Lalemant added that the Susquehannock hoped to broker a peace treaty between the Huron-Wendat, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and, if possible the Seneca, to promote "the trade of all these countries." As for the Mohawk, who "refuse to enter into the same treaty of peace," the Susquehannock planned to renew the war they had waged previously. Lalemant also noted that the "allies of the Andastoeronnons are mostly Dutch and English," who "have called that country New Sweden. We had formerly thought that it was part of Virginia" (80).

While the demise of the Huron–Wendat and other Ontario Iroquoians has tended to dominate accounts of the years between 1648 and 1651, important events were happening to the south. Traders from the Swedish



Figure 4.19. Map of Onondaga adversaries, ca. 1650-1657.

settlements near the mouth of the Delaware River built strong relationships with the Susquehannock, both along the Delaware and further west along the Susquehanna River. This encroachment greatly annoyed Petrus Stuyvesant, New Netherland's new director-general, who promptly began a campaign to cut the Swedes off from the trade. It was not until August 1655 that Stuyvesant, with a strong military force behind him, was able to capture the Swedish forts and bring the Delaware Valley back under Dutch control (**81**).

Although it is unclear what kind of relations existed between the Onondaga and Susquehannock during these turbulent years, they may well have been cordial. If there were hostilities, they appear to have been primarily between the Susquehannock and the Mohawk. By 1656, however, relations between the Onondaga and Susquehannock began to deteriorate. As Petrus Stuyvesant observed, "the Sinekes [Onondaga] savages are a very powerful nation," and their attempts to establish direct contact with the Dutch and exert more control over the trade may not have pleased the Susquehannock (82).



*External concerns, 1658 to 1665.* If the years between 1654 and 1658 had been relatively peaceful, those between 1658 and 1665 were not. Onondaga was surrounded by wars, large and small. With the collapse of Ste. Marie, hostilities resumed across the region. Although the French and their allies were the immediate targets, no concerted attacks were launched against them. Instead, the previous pattern of hostilities resumed in which small Onondaga war parties, and occasionally a larger group of warriors, joined with those of the other nations. The Ottawa and Huron-Wendat fur convoys, especially those "goeing down to the French" in Montréal from the Great Lakes, were a favorite target. Several locations along the Ottawa River served as interception points, as Radisson knew from personal experience. Ambushes could be expected at Sault du Calumet, Chaudière Falls, or Long Sault for example. The Onondaga may have hunted and raided along the Ottawa River long before 1658, but after that date this triangular piece of land, bounded on the west by the Rideau and Cataraqui Rivers, on the north by the lower Ottawa, and on the south by the upper St. Lawrence, became increasingly important to them (83).

Angry as the Onondaga were with the French, they had a more pressing problem to the south. The hostilities that had been building with the Susquehannock for some time over access to the Dutch for trade and the networks for marine shell escalated (Figure 4.21). When and how hostilities started may never be known, but by the early 1660s serious "warfare between the Sinnecus [Onondaga] and the Minquas [Susquehannock] was well underway," In April 1662 a force of 800 Onondaga attacked and besieged the main Susquehannock town. With its European-style bastions, they could not take it and what happened next is unclear. According to a Dutch account, the Susquehannock counter-attacked and drove the invaders off with heavy losses. The French version tells a different story. When the attackers found the town impregnable and attempted to parley,

**Figure 4.20**. A returning war party with a prisoner and scalps. Drawing by Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, 1666.

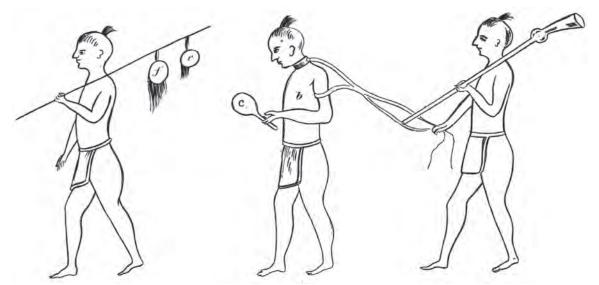




Figure 4.21. Map of Onondaga adversaries, ca. 1658-1665.

their ambassadors were seized and burned publicly on the palisade. By doing this, the Susquehannock declared the "war more hotly than ever," while the Iroquois, "humiliated by this insult . . . disbanded and prepared to adopt the defensive." As Lalemant observed, this was why they then sought peace with the French (84).

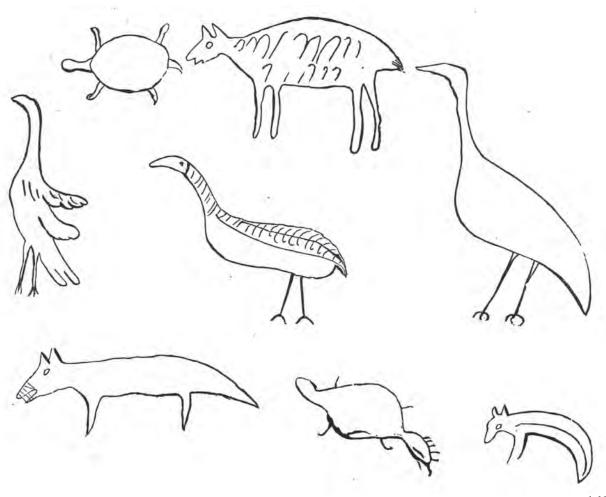
Increasingly, the French looked better as friends than as enemies. In August 1663 a delegation of Onondaga and Seneca led by Garakontié traveled to Montréal to negotiate a peace settlement. They brought with them two Frenchmen captured by the Mohawks and a huge offering of 100 porcelaine colliers as presents. Unfortunately, a large party of Algonquians attacked them on the way. Several of the delegation were killed, the rest fled, and another attempt at peace vanished in smoke. Although the French claimed to have no part in this, "All the Iroquois still believe they arranged it." Against the backdrop of these larger events, the little wars continued. Small parties of Onondaga warriors ranged farther north to raid the Cree, to the west against the Shawnee, Illinois, and the "Ox Nation," and to the south coast toward Virginia (85).



It was a chaotic time of signs and portents. In August 1662 and again in 1664, "Fiery Serpents . . . flying through mid-air, borne on wings of flame [comets]," were seen in the skies above Québec. In 1663 a major earthquake shook "throughout the length and breadth of Canada," with aftershocks continuing for several months. For the Iroquois, earthquakes were the restless stirring of the Great Turtle upon whose back the world lay. Shortly after the comet of 1664, a partial lunar eclipse turned the moon blood red. To the Onondaga these visitations by the Meteor Man-Being, the Dragon of Discord himself, were clearly warnings. Perhaps it was time for peace (**86**).

Attempts at peace, 1665 to 1666. For the Onondaga, the peace agreement finalized in Québec in December 1665 with the new royal governor-general, Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle, must have been a vindication, the reward for years of patiently courting the French. The six Onondaga ambassadors who signed for three of the upper nations were led by Garakontié. Garakontié also made clear that they had come, not to make a new peace treaty with the French, but to confirm the one they had made a decade earlier. He assured Courcelle that the Seneca would also come to ratify the treaty

**Figure 4.22**. Signatures on the 1666 peace treaty between the Five Nations and the French—top five are Seneca, and bottom three are Oneida.



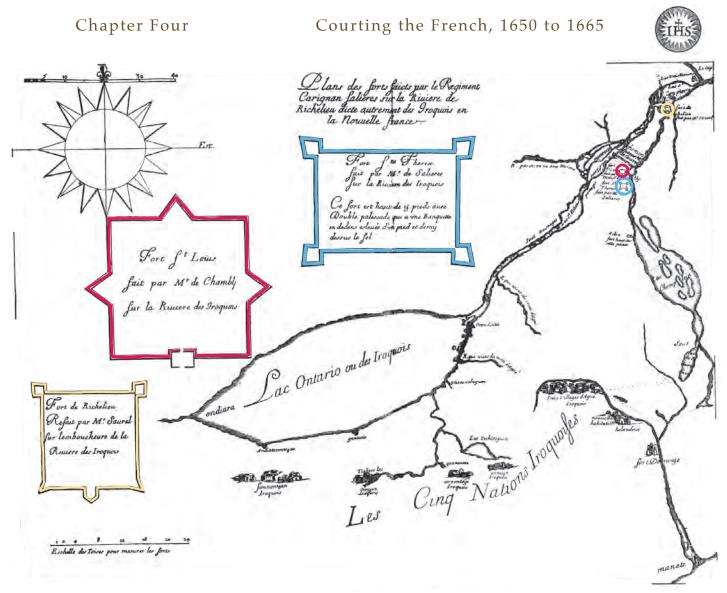
and that, while the Oneida and Mohawk were not present, they would "do nothing to disturb the peace." The following May 1666, the promised Seneca delegation did arrive in Québec to sign the agreement, as did the Oneida who came two months later "in their own name, as in that of the Mohawk." However they had managed it, the Onondaga had engineered an agreement on behalf of all the Five Nations. Equally important, the Onondaga delegation itself represented the major interest groups within the nation—the pro-war, pro-peace, traditional, and Christian factions. For now at least, they were all of one mind. If only the French would deal with them in good faith. The French, however, were on a very different track and were more interested in subjugating the Five Nations than making peace with them (87).

Under France's young and ambitious king, Louis XIV, New France was now expected to be productive. In June 1665 before the treaty negotiations, a new enforcer of the king's will, his lieutenant-general Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy, had arrived with four companies of regular soldiers to begin to fortify the existing French settlements. Then in September 1665 Governor-General Courcelle arrived with additional troops, "breathing nothing but war" towards the Iroquois. Before the end of the year, a series of new forts had been built along the Richelieu River, formerly the River of the Iroquois, to protect French territorial claims and to serve as advance bases for military action against the Mohawk, if necessary (**88**).

In spite of the peace treaty made with the Onondaga in December 1665, Courcelle attempted a raid on the troublesome Mohawk in January 1666. Unprepared for Canadian winter weather and unfamiliar with the terrain, the governor was fortunate to get most of his party back safely. A followup invasion against the Mohawk led by Lieutenant-General de Tracy in September 1666 was a very different affair. Well planned and executed, the French systematically destroyed the four main Mohawk towns and much of their corn without any significant casualties of their own. When the Mohawk finally signed the peace treaty with the French in July 1667, it was probably not because of pressure from Onondaga, but in recognition of French military power (**89**).

#### **Replenishing the People**

Of the many reasons Onondaga warriors went out, bringing captives back was the most important. The reason was simple. While the Five Nations had been successful in their wars, that success had come at a frightful cost. As Claude Dablon observed in 1656, these "victories cause almost as much loss to them as to their enemies, and they have depopulated their own towns to such an extent, that they now contain more Foreigners than natives of the country." Even after their successful campaign against the Erie in 1654, the victors "were forced to remain two months in the enemy's country, burying the dead and caring for their wounded." With the dramatic increase in hostilities after 1658, the casualty rate grew



**Figure 4.23**. "The Iroquois Country, and Plans of Forts on River Richelieu," from the *Jesuit Relations* of 1664-1665. The shape of Fort de Richelieu is outlined in yellow, Fort St. Louis is outlined in red, and Fort Ste. Therese is outlined in blue. Their locations on the river are circled at the upper right.

proportionally. There was no question that these wars, large and small, cost the Onondaga many lives. In the summer of 1660, when an Onondaga raiding party of 100 attempted an attack on an Ottawa convoy on the way to Montréal, they had to retreat because they were too weak to sustain hostilities (90).

War was not the only problem. As the Huron had warned, disease and death soon followed wherever the Jesuits went. During the winter of 1656, a great mortality swept through Onondaga carrying away a large number of people, especially children. It was particularly frightening that those who put their faith in Christianity fared no better than those who stayed with traditional ways. Jean Baptiste Achiongeras, hero of the Erie war who had been baptized by Le Moine, disappears from the historical record after the spring of 1656. While his fate remains unknown, those of his sister, Madeleine Teotonharason, and other family members were recorded. First described as a proud and haughty woman, she converted to Christianity in

1656, along with her mother, uncles, and aunts. When she became ill later that year, she refused the traditional curing ceremonies and went instead to Québec where she "died a saintly death." Apparently her mother, uncles, and aunts all died as well. Five years later another devastating wave of illness, this time smallpox, overwhelmed Onondaga and allowed the Jesuits to gather "a rich harvest of souls." By 1663 smallpox had caused such havoc and "carried off many men, besides great numbers of women and children . . . [that] their towns are nearly deserted, and their fields only half tilled" (**91**). It is difficult to know what the actual numbers were, either of the population in general or of those who died. Yet, in spite of the losses from disease and war, Onondaga population did not shrink during the 1650s and early 1660s. If anything, the size of the main town, as indicated by the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites, grew during this period, probably owing to the Onondaga tradition of adoption. (**92**).

Onondaga had always been willing to adopt or assimilate outsiders who could strengthen the nation. The difference was that by the mid-seventeenth century Jesuits were present to record these events. "Onondaga counts seven different nations who have come to settle in it," Dablon observed in 1656. Five years later, people from "eight or ten . . . conquered nations" now called Onondaga home. There were two ways in which this could happen. One was through formal adoption. When an individual had been killed, the family could adopt a captive to take his or her place. An adoptee's promise to be "faithful to the Nation" and the family that adopted them was more important than where they came from. The other means of adoption was less structured. Many of those who came to Onondaga as captives, and if not formally adopted, remained in a limbo-like status working in the fields or fishing camps. The French usually referred to them as slaves and frequently commented on their mistreatment, however, it is likely that many were eventually assimilated into Onondaga and became full members of the community (93).

Who were these new people, these "aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered" who now formed "the largest and the best part of the Iroquois"? During the 1650s the vast majority appear to have been Ontario Iroquoians, remnants of the Huron–Wendat, Petun, and Neutral people who had been dispersed and scattered by the Five Nations between 1648 and 1652. While large numbers of these refugees had gone to the other nations, many ended up in Onondaga (94). Before 1658 there is little mention of Algonquians being adopted. After that, the composition of the Onondaga population appears to change. Algonquian speakers appear to be the majority of new people brought back as captives and assimilated into the population. Perhaps this was because, with the exception of the recalcitrant Susquehannock, there were no more Iroquoian people to absorb. References to "Algonquian Iroquois" begin to appear in the record even though, as Lalemant observed in 1663, there was a natural enmity between Algonquian and the Five Nations people. Whatever the reason,



by the early 1660s Onondaga was willing to take in a very broad spectrum of people, from Siouan-speaking captives to the French themselves. As Garakontié reminded the French in October 1661, they too should come to Onondaga and dwell there "in great numbers in order to form but one people" (95). Through all this, one thing was clear—With the absorption of large numbers of captives, refugees, and other outsiders, the definition of *who* and *what* was considered Onondaga was changing.

#### Summing Up

As evident from the events of 1650 and on into 1666, the fundamental cultural and political differences between the French and the Five Nations remained largely unchanged. Who had authority to make decisions and the responsibility for enforcing them? The French and the Five Nations answered these questions in very different ways. For the French, things were hierarchical in both the secular and sacred realms. There were clear lines of authority in the court and in the church. The rules dictating proper behavior were to be enforced and offenders punished. For the Onondaga, things were more egalitarian and consensual. Decisions were made through discussion and persuasion, not out of deference to authority. The standards for acceptable behavior were broad, and offenders were usually shamed into behaving through teasing and mockery. For the French, the problem with the Iroquois was they never knew who was in charge and on whom they could rely for help in enforcing decisions. With few exceptions, the French did not understand the internal complexity of Iroquoian politics, the fluidity of coalitions, and the need to build and maintain consensus. Worse, few of the French could speak the Five Nations languages and most could not even distinguish among the different nations. As one observer lamented, "Because they are all so alike . . . we must make peace with all the Iroquois or with none." Although this blunt approach was not likely to succeed, it would remain French policy for a long time (96).

For the Onondaga the challenge was quite different. They understood the French well enough, even if they did not particularly like them and their inconsistent actions. The challenge was getting the French to recognize them and their concerns, while they held their own coalitions together. This was increasingly difficult, and not just from the point of view of maintaining balance within the League. Things were changing externally and internally for Onondaga. As the intensity and scale of their interactions with Europeans increased, so did external influences on Onondaga culture. Some of the results could be seen in material terms and in the behaviors of men such as Otreouti and Garakontié. But it would not be long before outside pressures forced adjustments at a much deeper level. Internally, the wars and epidemics of the 1650s and 1660s resulted in significant population loss and replacement. First came other Iroquoian peoples, then neighboring Algonquians, and finally even more ethnically and linguistically diverse people. This shift in composition would have significant consequences. While the customs and practices of

adopted Iroquoian people were not that different from those of Onondaga, Algonquians and more distant peoples brought very different traditions and beliefs. As a result, replenishing population meant an ongoing process of redefining Onondaga identity. Over the next few decades this process would accelerate.

## Chapter Five. Material Culture Matters, 1650 to 1665







ven with its gaps and biases, the documentary record provides a strong basis for understanding how quickly things changed in Onondaga between Fr. Simon Le Moine's first visit there in 1654 and the peace treaties of 1665–1666. How does the archaeological evidence complement this? More important, how does it allow us to refine and test our ideas about the Onondaga and their actions?

As events took place, there was a keen awareness of how profoundly French and Iroquoian cultures differed. This was a source of ongoing interest to the Jesuits who resided in Onondaga. The *Jesuit Relations* of 1657–1658 devote an entire chapter to observations on preferences in food, clothing, and behavior, as well as what constituted beauty and what they referred to as the "temperament of our senses," comparing the French with the "Savages." These accounts provide unique insights into the values and beliefs of both cultures, information that otherwise would have been lost. In turn, these seemingly small details help us build a better context for understanding the tumultuous events that occurred in and around Onondaga between 1650 and 1665 (1).

The archaeological evidence does much the same thing by allowing us to see how these events were expressed in material terms. During this period as many as a hundred Europeans may have lived, off and on, in Onondaga. Most were French, and they included priests, traders, and captives. Whatever their status, their face-to-face interactions exerted a profound influence on Onondaga people. Europeans were no longer an abstraction, a strange people who lived somewhere else. For better or worse, they had become part of the Onondaga world. The Ste. Marie episode, although brief, provided an intense exposure to Europeans and their way of life. The question is, did these initial interactions have any lasting effects?

#### Settlement

During the 1650 to 1665 period the main town of Onondaga moved successively to three different locations. Today, they are known as the Lot 18 site, ca. 1650 to 1655, the Indian Castle site, ca. 1655 to 1663, and the Indian Hill site, ca. 1663 to 1682. All are in the Pompey Hills south of present-day Syracuse, New York. Recent research has also shed a very different light on the meaning of the word *Iroquois*. Rather than "killer people," as some scholars have suggested, this name is derived from the Basque words for "walled-town people" (2).

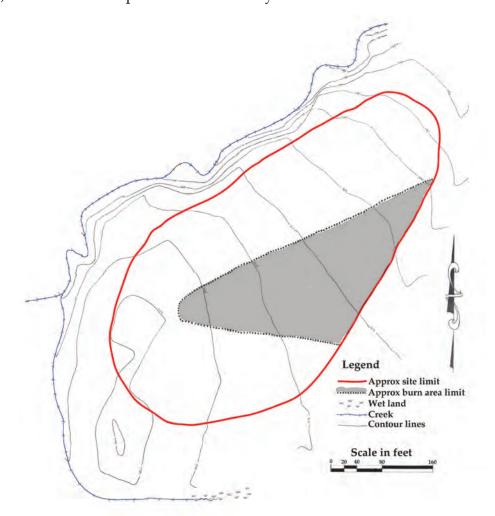
#### The Lot 18 site

The setting of the Lot 18 site is similar to most of the earlier Onondaga towns. It is on a low knoll between two streams, with higher ground to the west protecting it from the prevailing northwest winds. This is where Onondaga was located when a young Pierre-Esprit Radisson stopped in what he called "Nontageya" as a member of a Mohawk war party in the

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summer of 1653. It is almost certainly the settlement Le Moine visited a year later, and where he witnessed a fire that nearly consumed the town. That fire destroyed "more than 20 houses," each between 15 to 18 meters in length. As his description indicates, Onondaga people still lived in traditional-style longhouses. No excavation of the settlement pattern has been done on this site. However, based on visible evidence and natural boundaries, A. Gregory Sohrweide estimates it covers about 4.5 acres (1.8 ha). Sohrweide also plotted out the likely burn area and determined it

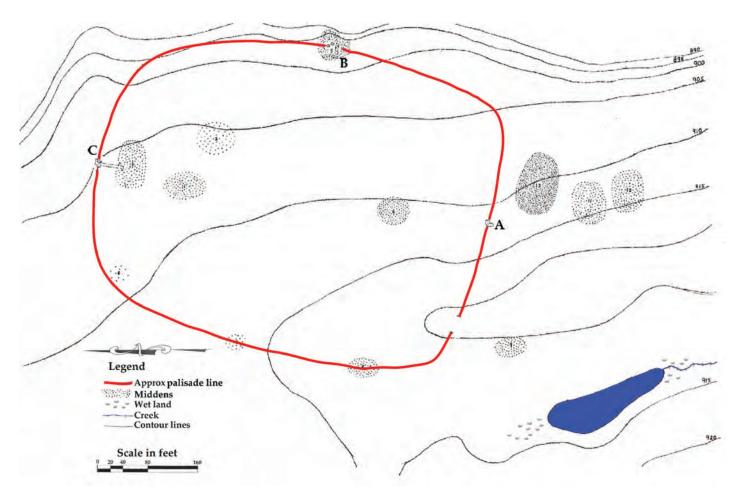


**Figure 5.1**. The Lot 18 site with the estimated palisade outlined in red. Plan by A. Gregory Sohrweide.

covered roughly one third of the site area. This suggests that the town may have contained as many as 50 to 60 longhouses, as Le Moine indicated. The fire may have prompted the move to a new location, where Le Moine planted "the first stake for a new cabin" (3).

#### The Indian Castle site

The likely location of the new town is the Indian Castle site, roughly 1.6 km east of Lot 18 and located on a high flat terrace west of Limestone Creek. This site was well known to the first European settlers in central New York.



**Figure 5.2.** The Indian Castle site with the estimated palisade line outlined in red and three excavation areas marked A, B, and C. Plan by A. Gregory Sohrweide. Note that north is to the left.

As early as 1815, large quantities of artifacts were found, especially during spring plowing. One mid-nineteenth-century account noted that "the regular appearance of four laid out streets . . . was once very discernable." This is probably where the Jesuits Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot and Claude Dablon established the mission of St. Jean Baptiste in November 1655. It is also where the Onondaga lived during the Ste. Marie episode and the subsequent epidemics and wars. Although they did not fully describe the town, Chaumonot and Dablon did mention important details. They observed, "the streets of which were carefully cleaned and the cabinroofs crowded with children." They also noted that a large cabin had been prepared for them, one that had several fireplaces, clearly a reference to a longhouse. A decade later Chaumonot recalled, "Each tribe [clan] has, in the gable of its cabin [longhouse], the animal of its tribe painted; some black, others red." He addressed the Onondaga after baptizing a child during his first visit, and "all the Elders and the people assembled in a public place." This suggests there was some sort of open area or plaza (4).

If this was where Onondaga was located during the Ste. Marie episode, it would be a likely place to look for European influence in building

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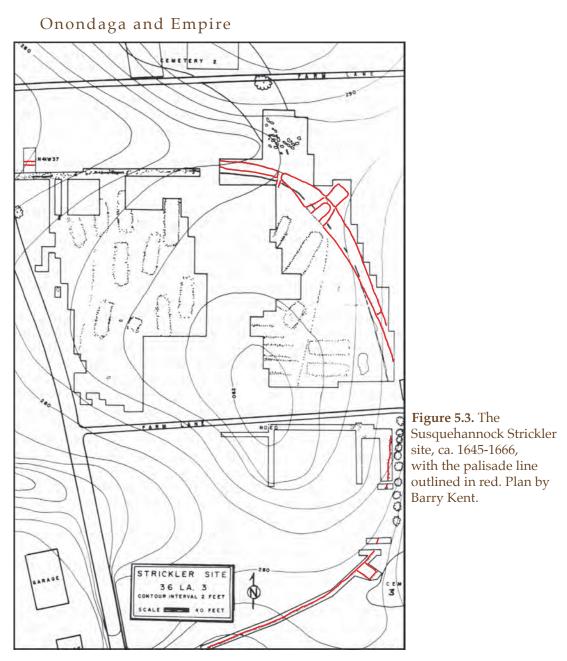
techniques. The Onondaga certainly had seen such elements while watching the construction of Ste. Marie and when the Europeans erected buildings within the Onondaga town itself. The documents suggest such construction occurred on two occasions—in 1656, when the French "built a Chapel at Onontaghe," and again in 1664, when "a French house for lodging the missionaries" was constructed (5).

During the 1970s and 1980s, Sohrweide undertook extensive testing to determine Indian Castle's size and to map its palisade. Based on his work, the site appears to be slightly larger than the one at Lot 18, with roughly 6 acres (2.4 ha) enclosed within the palisade. The palisade itself was rectangular in shape with rounded corners, and the main gate was at the south end. It was constructed of posts that were 3.5 to 4.0 inches (8.9-10.0 cm) in diameter, and organized into two rows in some places, three in others. Sohrweide also conducted an experimental study using replica posts, determining that they required repair after five years, and depending on the wood, collapsed by seven. Because the site was occupied for between eight and nine years, it is likely that some repair of the palisade was required. Although limited, the settlement-pattern data indicate that the size, shape, and construction of longhouses and the palisade were very much in line with those on the earlier sites.

The lack of European influence on the site's fortifications is revealing. Onondaga people certainly knew how Europeans protected their towns, whether it was at Beverwijck or Montréal. There is even some evidence that they considered using these techniques themselves. In April 1661, after a humiliating defeat by the Susquehannock, a request was made that the French help fortify their town, including "flanking them with bastions" in case the Susquehannock should attack them. As it turned out, the opposite happened. In April 1662 a large Onondaga force attacked and besieged the main Susquehannock town, now known as the Strickler site (Figure 5.3). With its European-style bastions, however, the town proved too well fortified to be taken and the Onondaga were forced to retreat. Even in the midst of a difficult and protracted war, the Onondaga did not choose to incorporate European ideas of defense into their own town (6).

#### Fishing villages and outlying settlements

Although Onondaga had one large town, whether at the Lot 18 or Indian Castle sites, there were also smaller, outlying contemporaneous settlements. Most were fishing villages along the Seneca, Oneida, and Oswego Rivers, several of which were noted by the Jesuits as they traveled to and from the main towns in the Pompey Hills. Some of the villages appear to have been occupied year-round, while others were used seasonally. Although none of these sites has been investigated in a systematic manner, significant archaeological assemblages were documented from several of them during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There also appear to have been structures, even



residences, beyond the palisade of the main town, places like the outlying cabin to which Chaumonot and Dablon retreated during the Mid-Winter ceremonies of 1655–1656 (7).

The archaeological evidence for this period comes from these outlying fishing sites as well as from the main towns. Based on the historical documents, the fishing sites appear to have had a substantial Ontario Iroquoian population, leading some scholars to suggest that captives were the primary occupants of these sites. Yet, the archaeological assemblages from these fishing sites contain both traditional Onondaga materials as well as Ontario-related ones, indicating that these sites had more balanced populations. This is discussed in more detail below.

Unlike the Mohawk and Seneca, who occasionally had separate villages for captives, the Onondaga occupied one large town at a time, one in

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which everyone resided. On a seasonal basis, of course, a large portion of the population would be outside the main town in fishing camps, hunting camps, or working in the fields. However, there is no evidence that Ontario-Iroquoian captives were segregated or that political factions, such as pro-French or anti-French, splintered off to form separate communities. In Onondaga, everyone stayed together. Whether one was a Christian Huron–Wendat, a Frenchman, or Algonquian Iroquois, all who promised to be faithful to the nation were considered Onondaga (8).

#### Implications for population

The number and size of sites have implications for estimating population, especially since there are few reliable numbers in the historical documents. The best current estimate for Onondaga is roughly 4,500 people during this period, 300 of whom were warriors. Several variables affect this estimate. One is how many people actually lived in town at any particular time, a number that probably fluctuated significantly over the course of a year. For example, just prior to his escape from Ste. Marie in 1658, Radisson estimated the size of the Onondaga population at around 2,000, although he notes that many of the men were away hunting or at war. Another variable is whether documentary estimates included captives. It is clear from the Jesuits' reports, there were large numbers of captives, adoptees, and slaves in and around Onondaga. Many were Huron–Wendat, Neutral, and Petun peoples, some of whom the Jesuits recognized from their missions in Ontario. In addition to captives, there were people who came to Onondaga voluntarily. As historian Kathryn Labelle appropriately pointed out, Huron-Wendat people were dispersed after 1650, not destroyed. Many ended up in Onondaga. Although archaeology can provide a basis for calculating population based on the number and size of longhouses present, these data are not available for the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites. Based on the size of the site, however, Indian Castle being larger than Lot 18, it appears that the population of Onondaga grew between 1650 and 1663. This suggests that in spite of the losses from disease and war, Onondaga population did not decrease during this period, as other scholars have argued (9).

#### Subsistence

The historical documents provide a wealth of information on what foods Onondaga people ate. For example Le Moine notes that he was fed "the choicest delicacies, above all, some bread made of fresh Indian corn, and some ears, which we roasted in the fire." Upon their arrival at Onontagué (Onondaga) Chaumonot and Dablon were offered "the best dishes they had, especially some Squash cooked in the embers," followed by "a feast of bear's meat . . . beaver and fish." Dablon also mentions sunflower seeds and beans, grapes, plums, and many other fruits, as well as two kinds of nuts, one sweet and agreeable, the other bitter, but which made "an excellent oil" when processed "in the same way as the Savages extract oil from sunflowers." The French did not always find Native foods that

agreeable. As Dablon noted on the way to Onondaga, "The Sagamité [corn stew] on which we live has not a bad taste," but qualifying that he expected he would "find it good in time" (10).

Food preferences, of course, went both ways. With more Frenchmen around, Onondaga people had the opportunity to learn what Europeans liked and they sampled bread, cheese, salted meat, and wine. To Onondaga tastes, most European food was strange and unpleasant. As one of the Jesuits observed, "I have never seen . . . [an Indian] that did not abhor Dutch cheese, radishes, spices, mustard and similar condiments" (11).

When Ste. Marie was close by, Onondaga people were exposed to European foods and how they were produced. As part of their plan for long-term settlement, the French brought domestic animals, including pigs and chickens, and raised a wide variety of grains, vegetables, and herbs. Given the depth of their own resource base, it is likely that the Onondaga viewed these exotic foods as curiosities rather than potential additions to their diet. Pigs, for example, were not well regarded, at least at first. As one Mohawk observed, "Give up . . . those stinking hogs that run about among your house, that eat nothing but filth; and come and eat good meat with us" (12).

Although the faunal assemblages from Lot 18 and Indian Castle are limited, they confirm that there was plenty to eat in Onondaga, with most food coming from local sources. As Radisson observed on his 1652 visit to Onondaga, "Our bellyes had not tyme to empty themselves" before they were fed more "stagg, indian corne, thick flower [corn meal], bears and especially eels." Radisson also noted that ringdoves, or passenger pigeons, occurred in such numbers that more than a 1,000 could be captured at a time in a net. The faunal data support these observations.

The assemblages from Lot 18 and Indian Castle also document the importance of hunting and fishing in the Onondaga diet. Mammals provided the majority of meat consumed, while birds and fish were also important dietary components. Among mammals, white-tailed deer is the most commonly represented species, followed by elk, black bear, dog, and beaver. Passenger pigeons account for the majority of birds present, followed by goose and turkey. Fish remains are more diverse with catfish, salmon-related fish, and eel the most abundant. There is no evidence of pigs or chickens in the excavated samples, however, it would not have been a surprise if some evidence was found. When the French abandoned Ste. Marie, they left their animals behind, and there is good evidence that within a few decades feral pigs became a part of the regional fauna (13).

#### **European Materials**

Between 1650 and 1665 enormous quantities of European material flowed into the Five Nations. The Onondaga would seldom have so much material

#### Chapter Five



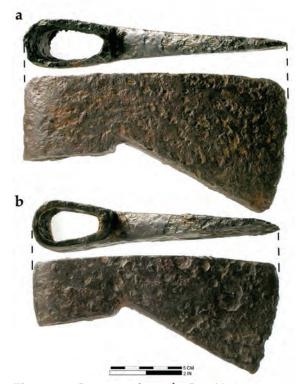
wealth again. This is where the archaeological evidence is most instructive in helping us understand the amount and variety of European material that reached the Onondaga, and the diverse ways in which they utilized it. We will examine this European material during the two time periods that generally correspond to the occupation periods of the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites.

#### The Beaver Trade

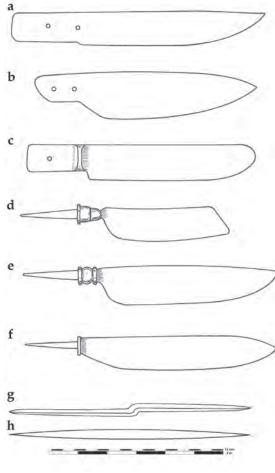
Although furs would remain an important commodity for several more decades, the greatest prosperity occurred during the roughly 20-year period between 1640, when the Dutch West India Company (WIC) opened the fur trade to all, and 1658, when widespread hostilities took place after Ste. Marie was abandoned. The flood of European material that reached Onondaga during these years came largely from two sources, Dutch and French. Each provided an increasingly diverse assemblage of goods, from the by then familiar iron axes and knives, brass kettles, and glass beads to more specialized objects made specifically for trade.

*Refining the Dutch assemblage, 1650 to 1658.* Throughout this period, Dutch sources provided the largest and most significant percentage of European material that reached Onondaga. Dutch success in the beaver trade came through a series of factors, starting with the WIC's decision to open the trade to all residents and its subsequent encouragement of private traders during the 1640s. Another significant factor was Arent van Curler, business agent for Rensselaerswijck, whose vision and energy revitalized the trade by treating Indian people well and giving them the goods they requested, not just what was available. With the establishment of Beverwijck in 1652, the Dutch had a stable community from which commercial as well as political relationships could be built with their Native neighbors.

Recent archaeological work has documented the material culture from several important Dutch sites of this period and provides a baseline for comparison with the materials from Onondaga. The best known is Fort Orange, the WIC's primary facility and the focal point for Dutch settlement in the upper Hudson Valley between 1624 and 1652. The information on this important site comes from Paul Huey's heroic rescue excavations in 1970–1971. Several other sites are known from Beverwijck thanks to the work of archaeologist Karen Hartgen and others. These include Volkert Jansz Douw's house, or the KeyCorp site, and the trader's house, located just outside what would have been Beverwijck's north gate. Equally important are the Rensselaerswijck sites. These include farmsteads such as the Van Buren and Van Vechten sites and, most important, the Patroon's farm at the Flatts north of Beverwijck. This was Arent van Curler's base of operations until 1659. Taken together, these assemblages provide a good idea of the material goods used by Dutch traders and entrepreneurs during this period.



**Figure 5.4**. Iron axes from the Lot 18 site, top and side views—(a) large-sized ax, (b) medium-sized ax.



By 1650 the trade goods used by the Dutch had settled into several well-defined categories. They formed a fairly standardized assemblage of iron tools, firearms, brass kettles, cloth, beads, and smoking pipes. This was largely the result of the patroon of the Manor of Rensselaerswijck, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, and Van Curler's effort to give Native people the materials they wanted. After 1650 the changes in trade inventories were largely refinements of this basic assemblage plus a few innovations made by other individual entrepreneurs (14).

*Axes.* Most are standard trade axes similar to those used throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. They are made of wrought iron and have a heavy trapezoidal blade with minimal edge hardening, no counter-balancing poll, and an oval socket. Sometime after 1650 these axes begin to occur in different sizes, probably in response to consumer demand. The complete axes from Lot 18 fall into three size groups. Five are large like those from earlier sites. Two others have dimensions similar to the large axes, but are lighter in weight. After 1650 smaller and

**Figure 5.5**. Forms of case knives and awls from mid-seventeenth-century Onondaga sites—

Knives with (a) flat tang with no collar or heel,

(b) flat tang with no collar and an oblique heel,

(c) flat tang with a thin collar,

(d) tapered tang with a simple grooved collar,

(e) tapered tang with an elaborately grooved collar,

(f) tapered tang with a thin collar.

Awls that are (g) stepped and diamond-shaped in cross section,

(h) straight and square in cross section.

more-lightweight versions of this trade ax occur for the first time. Four have been found at Lot 18. Whether these smaller axes were intended as weapons is not clear. They were certainly easier to carry, and one may have been the "hattchett" described by Radisson in 1652 (15).

*Knives*. Twentytwo iron knives have been reported from Lot 18 with 19

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## Chapter Five

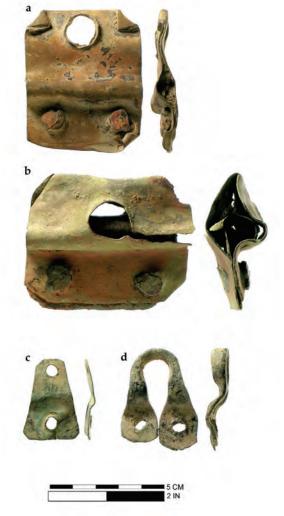


having tapered tangs and conical collars like those from earlier Onondaga sites. As usual, these blades are unmarked. There is one exception with two simple symmetrical crosses stamped on one side. Another knife blade has a flat tang, and two examples have folding blades.

*Awls*. Iron awls are well represented at Lot 18. Ten out of 14 are straight, square in cross section, and pointed on both ends. The remaining four examples are stepped awls, which are also pointed on both ends, diamond-shaped in section, and offset in the middle (16).

*Kettles*. Here too, changes from previous assemblages are evident in the Lot 18 sample. The large majority of kettle fragments are now brass rather than copper, continuing a trend from early in the century. There appears to be a preference for kettles of a smaller size, although larger ones occur as well. One of the most visible changes is how the iron handle, or bail, was attached to the body of the kettle. By midcentury this was done in four distinctly different ways,

- Square with folded corners—The most common handle attachment or lug was made by folding a rectangular sheet of metal across the rim, riveting it in place, and reinforcing the upper corners by folding them over.
- Square with clipped corners—Another method was to use folded sheet-metal lugs, but with the corners clipped off rather than folded over.
- One piece—The simplest, although not common, method was to use one-piece triangular lugs cut from sheet metal.
- Omega shaped—A new style appeared for the first time at Lot 18. Here the lugs were made from a rolled tube bent into an omega, or inverted U-shape, and riveted to the body of the kettle below the rim.



**Figure 5.6**. Kettle-lug styles from the Lot 18 site, top and cross-section views—(a) square with folded corners, (b) square with clipped corners, (c) one piece, (d) omega style.

What do these differences in kettle lugs tell us? Do they represent changes in kettle-making technology, different producers, or different preferences among suppliers? Can we say which are Dutch, English, or French? At present, there are hints, but no clear answers. What can be said is that by midcentury, there are significant differences in the distribution of

0,	Kettle lug shapes				
Site	Square folded corners	Square clipped corners	One Piece	Omega	
Neutral Grimsby	4	10	-	-	
Neutral Hamilton	3	18	-	-	
Onondaga Carley	16	18	-	-	
Onondaga Lot 18	1	6	3	17	
Susquehannock Strickler	-	5	4	35	

# Table 5.1. Comparison of kettle-lug styles from contemporaneous Neutral,Onondaga, and Susquehannock sites, ca. 1640 to 1655 (n = 123).

these styles across the Northeast. For example, during the first half of the seventeenth century, the majority of kettle lugs on Onondaga sites are square with folded corners, probably a reflection of their Dutchfocused trade relationship. In contrast, the highest percentage of kettles with clipped corners occurs on Neutral sites in Ontario, where most of their European material came from French sources. On the other hand, the Susquehannock, who traded primarily with the Swedes along the Delaware and the English in Virginia and Maryland, have kettles with omega-style lugs almost exclusively. The presence of all styles at the Lot 18 site may be an indication that the Onondaga were entrepreneurial enough to trade with everyone (**17**).

*Glass beads*. No class of trade goods changed more quickly during the seventeenth century than glass beads. Every Onondaga site has produced an assemblage in which different styles predominate. Many factors shaped these changes, from innovations in bead production in Europe to the choices made by individual entrepreneurs, such as Van Curler and William Claiborne. Native preferences in color, shape, and size were key factors and are reflected in assemblages that vary widely from region to region. For this reason, the typological approaches developed by archaeologists in different regions differ as well (**18**).

The glass-bead assemblage from the Lot 18 site documents Onondaga preferences for shape, size, and color during the mid-seventeenth century, preferences that were shared across the Five Nations. In the sample of beads from Lot 18, the first four varieties listed in Table 5.2 comprise nearly two-thirds of the total reported (n = 3,330). These are small tubular beads, predominantly red or dark blue, nearly all of which have unfinished ends. Generally these have been considered necklace beads, although they certainly could have been sewn onto clothing and regalia or used in a variety of other ways.

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			Bead description			
Rank	Kidd # <sup>a</sup>	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Core	Quantity	
1	IIIa1/3	T, ut	red	black	624	
2	Ia1	T, ut	red	-	564	
3	IIIa12/10	T, ut	brite navy	white	537	
4	Ia18/20	T, ut	dark navy	-	384	
5	IIa1	R	red	-	220	
6	Ia16	T, ut	shadow blue	-	113	
7	IIa40	R	robin's egg blue	-	103	
8	Ia2	T, ut	black	-	48	
9	IIa55	R	brite navy	-	46	
10	Ic'1	T, ut, tw	red	-	45	

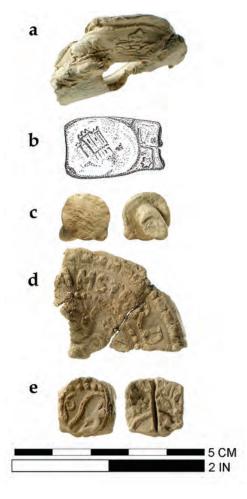
# Table 5.2. The 10 most frequently occurring glass-bead types from the Lot 18 site (n = 2,684; 81% of bead sample)

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970

b Shape—T - tubular, R - round, ut - untumbled (unfinished), tw - twisted

Two closely linked factors, one European and one Native, shaped the choices reflected in the Lot 18 assemblage. One was cost. In general, glass beads were made from long tubes of blown glass from which individual beads were cut and then heat-rounded. Known as the *a speo* method, this technique for finishing a bead was time consuming and, therefore, expensive. During the late 1640s, a different kind of bead begins to dominate the assemblages from the earlier Onondaga Carley site and other contemporaneous Five Nations sites. Rather than being finished, these tubular beads were "untumbled", that is they had broken ends. Some are more than 10 cm long. Based on historical and archaeological evidence, it is likely that these glass beads were produced in the Two Roses glasshouse site (Kg10), active from 1621 to 1657 and located on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam. Someone made a decision that it was cheaper to buy glass in production-tube form rather than as finished beads. Given his familiarity with Native taste, and the opportunity to visit suppliers in Amsterdam during the mid-1640s, it is likely that Arent van Curler was behind this decision (19).

Native preference was the second factor and a driving force behind the choice of beads sent to New Netherland. Producers in Europe made beads in a wide array of colors, shapes, and sizes, many of which never reached North America. By the mid-1650s consumer demand drove the selection process, primarily in terms of color, although preferences for size and shape would soon follow. The colors Onondaga people wanted were those they had long valued—red, black or dark blue, and white or sky blue. These color preferences remained consistent throughout the seventeenth century (20).



**Figure 5.7**. Lead cloth seals from the Lot 18 site—

(a) crushed Campen (Kampen) two-piece seal,

(b) drawing of a small Campen tube seal,

(c) small Leiden seal, obverse and reverse,

(d) fragment of an Amsterdam seal dated 1652,

(e) fragment of an Amsterdam seal, obverse and reverse, reused as a gaming disc.

*Cloth and cloth seals*. While cloth, especially in the form of blankets and duffels or coarse woolens, had been an essential part of Dutch trade inventories since 1624, a much broader range of Dutch cloth reached Onondaga by the 1650s. This included woolens of different grades and weaves from several production centers in the Netherlands, especially the towns of Kampen and Leiden, as well as linen from Haarlem. Many of these woolens received additional dyeing or finishing in Amsterdam. Lead seals from these towns frequently were attached to the cloth before it was shipped,

and they provide archaeological evidence for where it was produced. Twenty-one identifiable lead seals have been recovered from Lot 18—nine from Kampen, probably for coarse woolen blankets or duffels, nine small seals from Leiden, and fragments of three large seals from Amsterdam (21). Although there is little archaeological evidence that much European clothing

reached Onondaga prior to 1655, there are documentary hints that it was used if available. When Radisson was adopted by a Mohawk family in 1652, he received "a white [linen] shirt . . . from the Flemings" as a gift from his new father. Five years later, he lost a comparable shirt to an Onondaga (22).

*Firearms*. Few artifact categories have caused more controversy than firearms and their impact on Native people by the mid-seventeenth century. Although a few gun parts have been recovered from the earlier Shurtleff and Carley sites, Lot 18 is the first Onondaga site where they are present in quantity. Many musket parts and a few from pistols have been reported. While no complete locks are known, these parts come from the same well-documented snaphaunce and flintlock mechanisms known from other Five Nations and Dutch sites. They were good quality firearms. Most had surprisingly modern flintlock mechanisms with vertical sears and halfcock notches on the tumbler. While many were muskets, it is clear from the historical documents that shorter more-manageable carbines were often ordered and delivered. They were made in the Dutch Republic, Europe's most important arms producer during the first half of the seventeenth century. As Dutch-arms historian Jan Piet Puype has argued, many of these weapons appear to have been made specifically for the New Netherland trade (23).



One musket style is distinctive to this period. It has a wheel lock-style lock plate, a snaphauncelike cock, and distinctive brass furniture. This style of musket is common on most Five Nations sites of this period. Identical examples have been recovered from contemporaneous Dutch sites, including Van Curler's house at the Flatts, ca. 1648 to 1658, where these weapons were apparently assembled, stocked, and repaired. Evidence of flintlock mechanisms with up-to-date features, including cocks with a back catch, flintlock-style frizzens, pans, and other

**Figure 5.8**. Drawings of locks and hardware from mid-seventeenthcentury Dutch firearms—

(a) complete snaphaunce lock with a Type II lock plate, Seneca Power House site,

(b) Puype's Type II lock plate,

(c) complete flintlock with a Type V-A lock plate, Onondaga Carley site,

(d) Puype's Type V-A lock plate,

(e) two views of a castbrass trigger guard with trifoliate finials, Seneca Dann site,

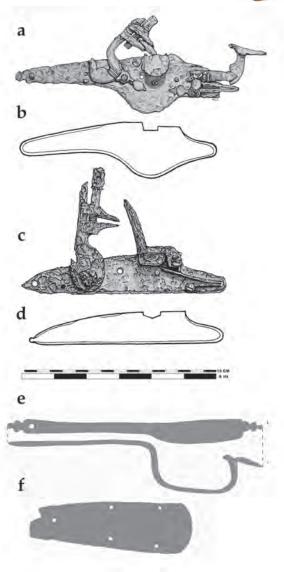
(f) nailed-on sheetbrass butt plate, Seneca Dann site.

lock plates are also present at Lot 18. These were first-class-quality firearms, better than those used by most armies in Europe, where matchlocks were still the norm (24).

Lead shot and balls provide another source of information about firearms, especially their

calibers. There is a sizable sample from Lot 18 that subdivides into several clusters. Although two clusters are considered shot, the majority are balls used for pistols and muskets. This broad distribution of ball size implies several things. While Puype has observed that "anything in the .43 to .53 range almost certainly refers to pistols," the relative rarity of pistol parts recovered suggests that even small-caliber balls may have been used in muskets. Given the range and relative lack of uniformity in caliber, it appears that little standardization existed, and that Indian people used whatever size ammunition they could get down the barrel.

Fouling is another factor to consider when attempting to correlate the caliber of lead balls with the bore of muskets that fired them. Black powder firearms were notoriously inefficient and left considerable residue in the barrel. This quickly limited the size of the ball that could be reloaded. For example, a barrel with a .56-caliber bore could fire a .54-caliber ball when it was clean. After only six shots, fouling meant that only a .50-caliber ball



could be loaded with ease. This suggests that actual barrel diameters were much larger than the sizes of the musket balls reported (25). Regardless of caliber, it is apparent that the Onondaga cast their own shot and ball. While no bullet molds have been recovered from the Lot 18 site, there is extensive evidence that they were used. This includes casting sprues, sows, splatters, and at least seven ax-cut pieces of lead bar. Complete examples of these lead bars have been recovered from Fort Orange and other Dutch sites (26).

Archaeological evidence from Lot 18 confirms that the Onondaga, like others in the Five Nations, were well armed by the mid-seventeenth century with Dutch-made weapons. How they received these weapons and the degree to which firearms changed Native warfare are very different questions, and ones that we will address below.

*Smoking pipes.* Dutch-made smoking pipes are another material class well represented at the Lot 18 site. Like cloth seals, pipes were frequently stamped with marks indicating where they were made. As a result, they are good markers for reconstructing patterns of production, trade, and use.

Table 5.3. Marked Dutch smoking pipes from the Lot 18site (n = 11)						
Heel mark <sup>a</sup>	Type of heel <sup>b</sup>	Quantity Stem bore				
EB, type 1	flush	1	9/64			
	flush	2	_			
	low	1	7/64			
	low	2	_			
EB, type 2	flush	1	9/64			
	flush	1	_			
	low	1	9/64			
Rose	low	2	8/64			

1. 1 T 1 10

a Heel mark-terminology for marks, types of heel stem bores (Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figure 5.9)

b Type of heel—high, medium, low, or flush

c Stem bore-diameter measurement in inches

The majority of the pipes found at Lot 18 came from Amsterdam and were produced by the well-known maker Edward Bird, his family, and associates. Of the eleven marked heels nine are marked EB. The other two are the Tudor rose pattern that could have been made in Amsterdam or Gouda (27).

These Dutch pipes are of interest for another reason. As with firearms, many pipes were produced, not for domestic use in Europe where smoking had become all the rage, but specifically for export to New Netherland. These export pipes are distinctly different in form from those

# Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665

clay pipe shapes and

site-

heel mark.

mark.

top right.

marks from the Lot 18

(a) three bowl shapes

used by Edward Bird,

(c) one Tudor-rose heel



made for domestic use and were probably copied from Algonquian-style pipes from around the Chesapeake. These pipes have been described as having a "tall, narrow, funnel-like bowl with straight sides" set at an obtuse angle to the stem. Also, unlike the pipes made for use in the Dutch Republic, these funnelbowl pipes do not have a heel beneath the bowl where the maker's mark was often stamped. This conical form was used by Algonquian people in the Chesapeake

region prior to European contact and well into the seventeenth century, when they occur on European as well as Native sites in Maryland and Virginia. Another indication that these pipes were inspired by Native forms is that they share a particular style of embellishment as well as shape. A hallmark of Chesapeake pipes was the use of a shark's tooth to impress one or more rows of fine dots on the surface of the bowl. A similar technique, referred to as "rouletting," was used on the pipes of Edward Bird and other Dutch pipe makers (28).

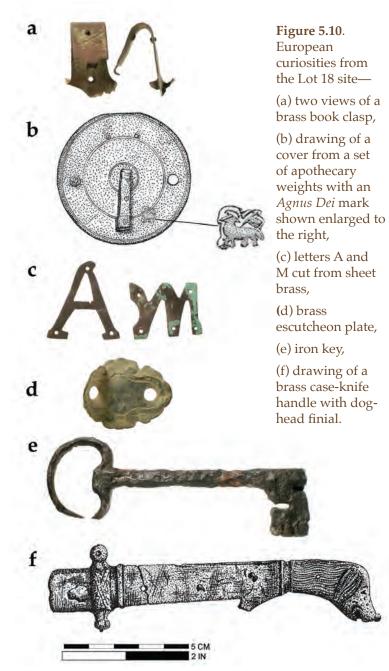
There has been much speculation about how such a linkage was made between Native pipes from the Chesapeake and makers in the Dutch Republic. Once again, the answer lies with Arent van Curler, who was also one of the most active private traders in New Netherland. He had been to Virginia at least once before going to Amsterdam in 1644. Who else had the understanding of Native people, the interest in making a profit, and the opportunity to order such a custom item from the producer in Europe? Furthermore, funnel-shaped Dutch pipes do not occur on Five Nations sites until the late 1640s. Van Curler returned

a Figure 5.9. Dutch white-(b) two varieties of the EB (d) five varieties of fleurde-lis stem marks, with a marked stem shown at 5 CM b d 10 mm 0.5 in

from Amsterdam in 1648. Whoever made the connection, these pipes quickly became popular on Five Nations and Dutch sites of the period. Five of the nine pipes marked EB from Lot 18 have funnel-shaped bowls. While examples have been found at Fort Orange and the Van Buren site, the largest number of these pipes come, not surprisingly, from Van Curler's farm at the Flatts (29).

Another curious aspect of the Dutch pipes at Lot 18 is that they are present in such quantity. Tobacco smoking and the use of clay pipes was something Europeans learned from the Native people of the Americas. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Onondaga continued to make and smoke their own pipes. So why did these Dutch pipes suddenly become so popular? Perhaps it was their whiteness, compared to the brown Nativemade clay pipes. Perhaps it was their association with European trading partners. Whatever the reasons, the occurrence of European smoking pipes more than doubles from the earlier Carley site to Lot 18 (30).

*Consumer goods and curiosities.* When Onondaga people went to Beverwijck or other Dutch settlements to visit or trade, they were exposed to a broad array of consumer goods. These included items imported primarily for



Dutch settlers rather than as trade goods. By 1650 this distinction had blurred and many items initially intended for settlers had entered the trade as desirable commodities. Included were implements such as scissors, thimbles, and files, as well as cast-brass mouth harps and sheet-metal bells. European spoons, both pewter and latten, were another popular item. Surprisingly, so were European ceramic vessels, such as Dutch lead-glazed earthenware and German stoneware, all of which are well represented at Lot 18. There are even a few fragments of European glass—a smooth prunt from a *roemer* (wine glass) and two case-bottle fragments—marking the first occurrence of these objects on Onondaga sites (31).

Just as Europeans collected Native clothing, weapons, and implements as curiosities to send back home for study and display, Indian people appear to have done the same with European items. This seems the best explanation for some of the odd and unusual European objects found at the Lot 18 site.

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665



*Individuals and entrepreneurs*. By the mid-1650s many of the most successful private traders were those who did more than just pass along imported goods. The archaeological evidence from the Flatts demonstrates some of their strategies. One was assembling firearms. Locks and barrels were imported in bulk and then fitted out with locally produced stocks and hardware, including brass trigger guards, butt plates, and ramrod pipes. Much of the hardware from Lot 18 is identical to that found at the Flatts. Keeping those firearms in good repair was a related service. While Native people had learned how to maintain their firearms, repairs that required forging, welding, or tempering had to be done where there were the facilities and knowledge. During this period, only a few places could provide those services. At the Flatts the presence of stripped and partially complete locks and a cracked snaphaunce-style cock repaired by brazing, demonstrates that such repairs were done there. A variety of other traderelated objects was also produced there from

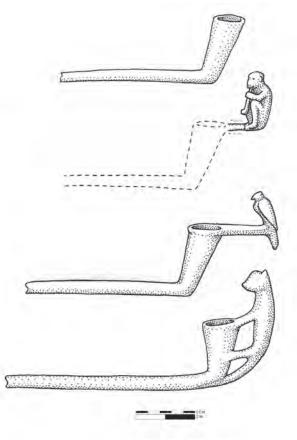


Figure 5.11. Examples of cast lead- and pewterpipe styles from the 1645-1655 period.

sheet brass, especially stemmed projectile points, pipe liners, and small tobacco or tinder boxes (32).

Arent van Curler may have been among the most successful private traders, but there were many other traders and tradesmen in Beverwijck. As historian Janny Venema notes, blacksmiths and gunstock makers were among the most common trades. Some of New Netherland's most famous families, like the Schuylers, started out as tradesmen. While the documents say less about other specialized production for the trade, it certainly existed. Pewter smoking pipes were one such specialty item. Unappealing as these may seem to us, they were bright and shiny silver when new and very attractive in terms of Indian aesthetics. Made for Native customers, they often replicated the forms of traditional Native pipes with effigy figures on the bowl facing the smoker. In addition to these cast-pewter pipes, it is possible that the production of stone pipes was another related specialty. Undoubtedly, New Netherland had other craft specialties that focused on Native customers, but to date they have left no trace in the archaeological record (33).

**Defining a French assemblage, 1650 to 1658.** Although the Dutch are usually considered the more aggressive entrepreneurs, the French were equally aware of the importance of European goods as presents and for

trade. They, too, discovered that a heavily regulated trade was one destined to fail. Since 1627 the Company of One Hundred Associates had controlled the settlement and most of the commerce in New France including a monopoly on the fur trade. But by 1645 the company was bankrupt, and control was given to a new company, one composed of the habitants themselves. With the fur trade now in their collective hands, there was more incentive to make it successful. Those on the frontier were likely to profit most, and no place was closer to the edge of the frontier than the new community of Montréal, initially established as a religious mission in the spring of 1642 (34).

The frontier, however, was a dangerous place in the 1640s. Isolated from the rest of New France and exposed to frequent raids by the Mohawk, most Montréal residents chose to live within the fort. Instead of trying to convert the local Natives to Christianity, commerce quickly became a more viable option. Trade was an informal affair, one where the local population had plenty of opportunity to barter knives or awls for furs. This made it an excellent place for ambitious young men such as Charles Le Moyne. An innkeeper's son from Dieppe, Le Moyne migrated to New France as a young man and worked initially as an interpreter and engagée for the Jesuits. By the end of his life he was one of New France's wealthiest merchants (**35**). Since Montréal was located at the head of navigation on the St. Lawrence River, the town quickly became the transshipment point for all goods moving into or out of the interior. While Québec remained the most important town in New France, Montréal was the jumping-off point for the interior, whether by way of the St. Lawrence or the Ottawa Rivers.

By 1654 several things had changed in Montréal. The fort was moved from its original location on the narrow Point-à-Callière across the St. Pierre River to an area where the town could spread out. Control of the town was transferred from the Société de Notre Dame to the superior-general of the St. Sulpice Seminary in Paris, an action that would have important ramifications within a few years. Perhaps most important, given the possibility of peace with the Five Nations, there was a significant increase in population. After the establishment of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha in 1656, Montréal became the point of departure for the fur trade as well as New France's newest settlement. Between 1653 and 1659, 200 people came to settle in Montréal, revitalizing a town that few had expected to survive. With a larger population, trade began to move into fewer hands, those with capital or connections in La Rochelle and Paris. By the early 1660s, successful merchants began to use an August fair as another means for consolidating control of the trade (**36**).

Recent archaeological work has documented French material culture from this period and provides another baseline for comparison with the artifacts from Onondaga. The question is, how visible are French material culture items at the Lot 18 site? More to the point, to what degree can we identify

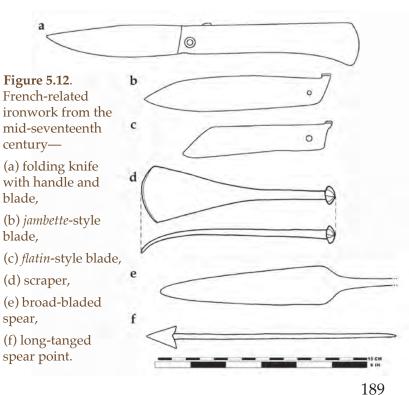


materials as French? This brings us back to the difference between where an object was produced and who may have used it for trade. During the 1650s and 1660s, France and the Dutch Republic were more than neighbors. They were friends, even allies—"*Gallia amica, non vicina,*" or "France as a friend, not as a neighbor," as the saying went. In that mercantile world, it was perfectly reasonable for Dutch merchants to purchase French scissors and cutlery for the trade, just as it was for French merchants to buy Dutch muskets, glass beads, and tobacco pipes. As a result, Dutch and French trade goods during these years may have looked very much alike (**37**). Still, there was an important differentiating factor. In New France Jesuit missionary activities were a major force in making European goods available to Native people, and the Jesuits had their own thoughts as to what constituted appropriate gifts and barter. What does this look like in archaeological terms? Is it possible to differentiate French-related materials in the Lot 18 site assemblage?

*Axes, knives, and other ironwork.* Although axes are frequently mentioned in trade lists, there is little information on their source. By 1665 French documents occasionally distinguish between "large and small biscay axes." A similar difference in ax sizes has been noted on late Glass Bead Period 3 (GBP3) sites in Ontario. Given the overall similarity between these Neutral axes and those from Lot 18, it is as likely these axes came from French trade networks as from Dutch ones (**38**).

Knives are less ambiguous, at least in terms of those with folding blades. Known as *jambettes* or *flatins*, depending on the shape of the blade, these knives were probably made in the vicinity of St. Étienne in eastern central

France. Such small knives were popular and were found on domestic sites in New France, such as Île-aux-Oies, as well as on Native ones in Ontario (39). Iron awls and other specialty implements made specifically for trade are characteristic of the French assemblage. These include the stepped awls described earlier, scrapers (gratters), and long-tanged arrowheads (fers de flèches) frequently found on French-related Native sites during the first half of the seventeenth century. They are present at Lot 18 as well but are not common (40).



*Kettles*. Frequently occurring on trade lists in this period, kettles made for trade showed a clear difference from those intended for French domestic use. The former were made of brass and occasionally copper, the latter of cast iron. It remains unclear where brass kettles for trade were produced. However, there are several traits that differentiate those that occur in French-related contexts from those used by the Dutch. One of these has already been mentioned as the tendency on French-related sites to have lugs with clipped, rather than folded, corners. Kettles from French sites in Ontario are often embellished with patterned-battery work and stamped motifs. The body of these kettles was occasionally stamped with a maker's mark. There is no evidence of these more elaborate kettles in the Lot 18 assemblage (**41**).

*Glass beads*. The Lot 18 glass-bead assemblage provides an example of the difference between the sources of production and distribution. Although almost certainly made in Amsterdam, glass beads had long been an important part of French trade and gift giving, especially by the Jesuits. As their dealings with Iroquoian people intensified, the Jesuits appear to have recognized that color mattered, and by 1630 red beads made up an increasingly large percentage of bead assemblages. In fact, tubular redglass beads are the dominant type on GBP3 sites in Ontario and were so desired that outer layers of beads with multicolored stripes were often ground off to reveal their inner redness. As a result, it is not surprising that the majority of glass beads reported by Kenneth Kidd from his excavations at the earlier Jesuit mission of Ste. Marie aux Hurons were red. Or, that when Father Le Moine offered presents to the Onondaga during his 1654 visit, they included 100 tubular red-glass beads, which he called "the diamonds of the country." It is worth remembering that the most commonly occurring beads on contemporaneous Dutch-related sites, such as KeyCorp and the Flatts, are tubular blue-glass ones. In terms of the Lot 18 assemblage, with roughly half blue and half red beads, glass beads probably came through both French and Dutch distribution systems even though they were made in Amsterdam (42).

*Firearms*. Arms were another class of material goods shared by the French and Dutch. There is little doubt that most of the muskets and pistols made during this period came from the Dutch Republic, "the arsenal of the world." Once again, while the Dutch may have been the primary producers, the French were major consumers. The settlers of New France certainly had firearms. Radisson and his three companions were well armed with fowling pieces and pistols when he was captured in 1652. Seven years later, when he went west with Médard des Groseilliers, they took more than a dozen firearms, including "five guns, two musquetons, three fowling pieces, three paire of great pistoletts and two paire of pockett on[e]s," plus a sword and dagger. Nor were the French averse to giving firearms to their Native allies. As early as 1643, Fr. Barthélemy Vimont observed that in Huronia "the use of arquebuses, refused to the



[Indian] Infidels by Monsieur the Governor, and granted to the Christian Neophytes, is a powerful attraction to win them." And Huron–Wendat warriors knew how to use them. As Radisson observed in 1656, while preparing for an Iroquois ambush on the return to Montréal from the upper Great Lakes, "We had fowr and twenty gunns ready and gave them to the Hurrons, who knewed how to handle them better than the others." Even the Jesuits used guns as gifts to the Five Nations, when it suited their purpose. Firearms were among the presents given to the Mohawk in 1656, and "arquebuses, powder and lead" accompanied the usual "hatchets, kettles and other similar articles" presented to the Onondaga. In terms of the firearms from Lot 18, most appear to be of Dutch manufacture, but as with glass beads, how they got to Onondaga is less certain (43).

*Clothing and other consumer goods.* While Dutch and French merchants may have shared some kinds of merchandise, there were some they did not. Cloth and clothing are an example. The archaeological evidence from Lot 18 indicates only cloth of Dutch origin. France did produce textiles, which were among the most important commodities imported to New France. At present, however, there is no evidence of French cloth seals or cloth from Onondaga sites of this period. Items of French clothing have often been mentioned in the historical documents and were certainly valued by Indian people. Particularly popular was the *capot*, a long coat with a hood. The Jesuits frequently included them among their presents. Native people were anxious to get them whenever they were available, as Radisson found out when relieved of his *capot* and shirt on his way to Onondaga in 1657.

Smoking pipes were another consumer good where Dutch and French tastes appear to have been substantially different. Dutch white-clay pipes are common at Lot 18 and on Dutch-related sites. In contrast, white-clay pipes seldom occur on French domestic sites and have rarely, if ever, been found on Native sites with strong French trade connections. This did not mean the French did not smoke. Rather, those who did may have used wooden pipes or made their own from brick or clay, as was evident at Île-aux-Oies (44).

*Religious objects.* If any class of material objects can be identified with the French, it is Roman Catholic devotional items, especially medals and rings. These were used by the Roman Catholic population of New France, as well

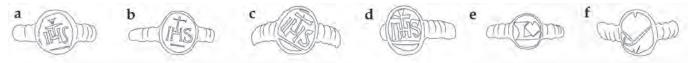


**Figure 5.13**. Personal religious objects from the Lot 18 site—

(a) crucifix in the form of the *chemise of Notre Dame de Chartres*, the obverse depicts Mary, and the reverse depicts the crucifixion,

(b) St. Christopher medal, the obverse depicts St. Christopher, the reverse depicts a monstrance, and a side view depicts the worn-through suspension loop.

as by the Jesuits in their missionary activities. As Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert reported, French traders were active in Onondaga territory by the early 1630s and were the likely source of the few religious medals found on Onondaga sites before 1650. Radisson mentions wearing a medal around his neck, and it may have been a Frenchman who brought two such objects to the Lot 18 site (Figure 5.13). One is a small brass medal with St. Christopher bearing the Christ child on the obverse and a monstrance, on the reverse. This medal depicting the patron saint of travelers is worn through at the suspension loop, suggesting it was lost rather than discarded. The second object is a small brass crucifix in the form of the *chemise de Notre Dame de Chartres*. Chartres Cathedral was an important pilgrimage center in late medieval France, one focused around the sacred well that had existed prior to construction of the first church. The cathedral's most precious relic, however, is a fragment of Mary's chemise, or birthing gown. Pilgrim badges in this form were issued throughout the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries and were believed to afford protection to travelers. This small crucifix appears to be a continuation of that tradition. Both the crucifix and the St. Christopher medal would have been appropriate personal possessions for a Frenchman far from home (45).



**Figure 5.14**. Six brass finger rings from the Lot 18 site—(a-d) four with the IHS/cross motif, (e) one with the L/heart motif, (f) one with the abstracted heart motif.

The other class of religious objects from Lot 18 tells a different story. These are simply made brass finger rings, usually with specific iconographic devices cut or cast into the plaque. Such rings have a long tradition of use in France, especially in the Vendeé and Poitou-Charentes in western France, where they were sold at fairs and religious sites. They could have sacred or secular meanings, or simply be ornamental, as the 18 examples from Lot 18 demonstrate. The majority are early style iconographic rings. In terms of production, they have cut rather than cast motifs on the plaque and ridges on the band.

It is the iconography on these rings, together with their recorded use by the Jesuits, that has led to them being called "Jesuit rings." The IHS/cross motif has long been associated with the Jesuits, since this is the central motif in the seal of the Society of Jesus. While archaeologist Carol Mason has questioned whether this necessarily makes these rings "Jesuit," it may be a fair assumption at Lot 18. The second-most frequent motif is more ambiguous. As Mason has demonstrated, the L/heart motif does not refer to either Loyola or Louis XIV, as has often been speculated. Rather, this motif belongs to a class of rings called *bague de roulier* commonly used in France from the Middle Ages onward. The L/heart motif represents the phrase "*elle a mon Coeur,*" or "she has my heart." Essentially, these were



meant as rings of engagement or romantic attachment. The third ring style is an abstracted version of the L/heart motif, and the fourth is an incised cross, or other design (46).

There has been much discussion about whether brass rings were used for religious purposes or were simply *pacotille*, or cheap trade goods. Traditionally, they have been interpreted as religious rings and material evidence of Jesuit missionary activity. Mason appropriately cautions that it is not so simple. Whatever the intended use, they reflect diverse origins, some religious and some not. What is certain is that these rings could serve many functions. For example, when Radisson decided to send a gift to his adopted Mohawk sisters in 1657, he sent them "2 dozen of brasse rings." The Jesuits used such brass rings, glass beads, and other small items for secular purposes, such as to barter for necessities or repay hospitality (47). As is usually the case with material culture, the context in which an object was used is essential for understanding its meaning.

#### **Beyond the Beaver Trade**

While the failure of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha in 1658 had many consequences, one of the most profound was the virtual collapse of the beaver trade. The Onondaga desire for revenge over the French betrayal left little time or inclination for hunting. With Five Nations' war parties at the key interception points along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, few furs arrived from the Great Lakes. By the early 1660s Montréal and Trois-Rivières were under virtual siege, and many of the outlying farms had been abandoned. "The Iroquois . . . hem us in so close," lamented Pierre Boucher, governor of Trois-Rivières, "one can not go hunting or fishing without fear of being killed or captured." As one Iroquois chief put it, the French were so scared "they were not able to goe over a door to pisse" (48).

While the French bemoaned this sad state of affairs, things were not much better for the Dutch. With free trade had come too many traders, and with renewed warfare, too few furs. The year 1660 marked the high point for the Beaver Trade in the Hudson-Mohawk region. It also marked a new level of competitiveness between two groups of traders. This is recorded in two petitions sent to the court at Fort Orange in May 1660. These documents were signed by a total of 79 individuals and constitute the earliest list of Beverwijck fur traders. Given this situation, many of the shrewd businessmen, such as the Van Rensselaer family, began to diversify their trade to tobacco, lumber, and grain—commodities not dependent on Native suppliers. Others, like Van Curler, shifted their focus away from trade and moved on to other projects. It was around this time that he left the Flatts farm and began planning for a new settlement on the Groote Vlackte (Great Flats), what would later be called Schenectady. The trade for furs and skins may have continued elsewhere in North America, but in the Northeast it was beginning to morph into something different—the Indian Trade. We will explore this transition in more detail in Chapter Seven (49).

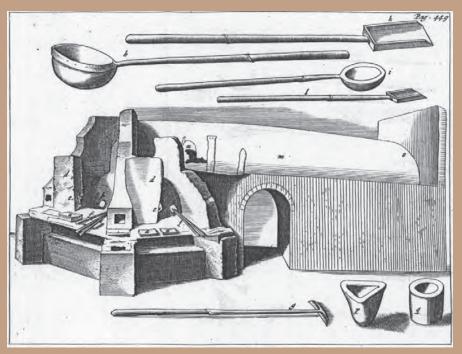
# Case Study 7. Glass beads and glasshouses

Early in the seventeenth century, European traders quickly learned that glass beads, especially red, black including dark blue, and white including sky blue, were popular with Native customers. And while the styles and shapes of beads often changed throughout the century, drawn-glass beads in these colors remained in high demand.

At that time, Amsterdam emerged as the leading industrial producer of fine glassware in northern Europe. The primary product was tableware copied from the elaborate drinking glasses made in Venice,

Europe's greatest glass-making city. In addition to drinking vessels, glass beads were also produced, especially in the glasshouse of Jan Schryver Soop located on a central canal, the Kloveniersburgwal, which operated from 1601 until 1624. Beads from Soop's glass house have been found on several archaeological sites in North America.

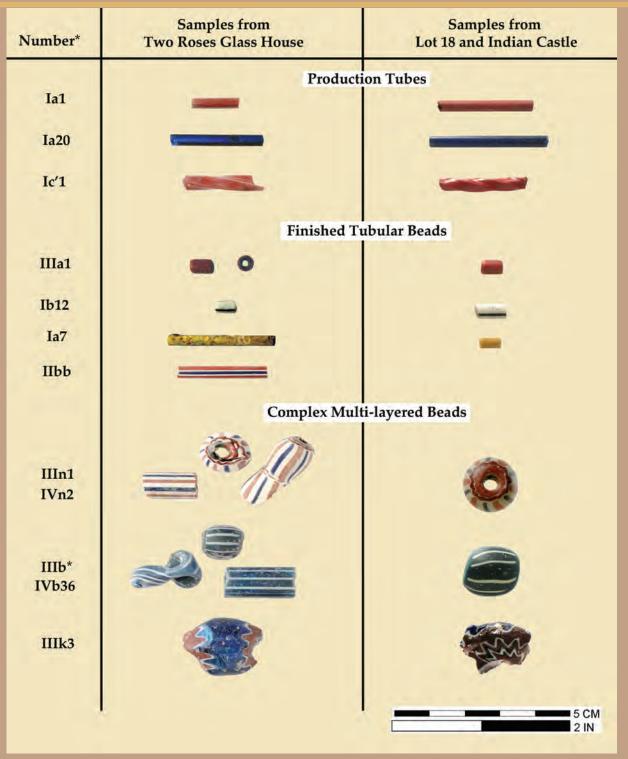
By the mid-seventeenth century Amsterdam's most prominent glasshouse was the Two Roses, built on the Keizersgracht in 1621 by Claes Rochuszn Jaquet, a glass blower who had trained in Soop's glasshouse. In 1652 Jaquet turned the business over to his son Claes Claesz, who continued to produce glass beads in his father's factory until 1657. He then moved the entire operation to a new location on the Rosengracht. Recent work on the site of the later glasshouse by the Archaeology Department of the Amsterdam Historical Museum and Bureau of Monuments and Archaeology recovered ample evidence that glass beads remained an



**Figure 5.15**. Engraving from *De Arte Vitraria* (The Art of Glass), 1669, of tools and an Amsterdam glass furnace, likely the one installed at the second Two Roses on the Rozengracht.

important product later in the seventeenth century.

The beads recovered from the two glasshouse sites tell interesting stories. One is that similar bead styles were made in both the old and the new Two Roses facilities, including simple production tubes and the elaborate multilayered beads that had been produced successfully in Amsterdam for over 50 years. Further analyses of the beads from the Two Roses excavations revealed some important changes. In the new glasshouse on the Rosengracht, the production tubes were cut and heat-rounded using the *a speo* method, making them the same size and shape as wampum. On the Lot 18 site the most common are the untumbled red and blue beads (Table 5.2). At Indian Castle those were superseded by large numbers of tumbled wampum-sized red beads (Table 5.4). These tumbled red beads would have been made in Claes Claesz's glasshouse on the Rosengracht, suggesting that Native demand for more highly finished small red beads may



**Figure 5.16**. Comparisons using Kidd and Kidd numbers of glass beads from the second Two Roses glasshouse with beads from the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites.

have shaped bead production in Amsterdam. How did that demand arise? While these Dutch-made beads were certainly used by Dutch traders such as Arent van Curler and the Van Rensselaers, the French probably used them as well. When Fr. Simon Le Moine made his gifts to Onondaga in August 1654, they included a large porcelaine collier and 100 little tubes or pipes of red glass, which constituted "the diamonds of this country." Given Jesuit awareness of the importance of wampum in Iroquoian protocol, it is likely they introduced this form of glass bead to be used in place of those made of shell (50).

Dutch material culture, 1658 to 1665. What were the archaeological implications of these broader scale changes at Indian Castle? One was an apparent decrease in the amount of European material available to the Onondaga after 1658. Unfortunately, the assemblages from Indian Castle and Lot 18 differ significantly in how they were collected, making comparisons difficult. For example, no kettle lugs have been reported from Indian Castle, in large part because earlier collectors did not keep them. Despite such sampling problems, there is little apparent change in some artifact classes. Iron axes, knives, and awls all follow the same basic patterns at Indian Castle as seen at Lot 18. One notable piece from Indian Castle is a knife blade marked with the initials VT (51).

		Bead description		-	
Rank	Kidd # <sup>a</sup>	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Core	Quantity
1	IIIa1/3	T, t	red	black/green	1600
2	IIIa1	T, ut	red	black/green	831
3	Ia1	T, ut	red	-	232
4	Ia2	T, t	black	-	170
5	IIa1	R	red	-	130
6	Ia36/40	R	aqua/robin's egg blue	-	107
7	Ib12	T, t	white, 3 black stripes	-	84
8	Ib3	T, t	black, 3 red stripes	-	83
9	Ia18/20	T, ut	dark navy	-	81
10	IIIa10/12	T, ut	brite navy	white	73

# Table 5.4. The 10 most frequently occurring glass-bead types from the Indian Castle site (n = 3,391; 83% of bead sample)

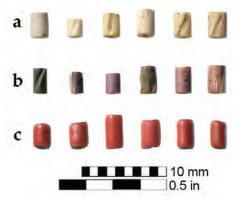
a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970

b Shape—T - tubular, R - round, t - tumbled, ut - untumbled

*Glass beads*. There is a significant and measurable difference between the glass-bead assemblages from Indian Castle and Lot 18. While color preference remained much the same, the way in which the beads were produced changed markedly. At Lot 18 tubular beads with broken ends are the predominant shape, over those with finished, or a speo, ends. At

Indian Castle the percentages are reversed, with a majority of the beads having finished rather than broken ends (52). This is a big change over a short period of time. Two factors probably drove the change. One was consumer demand, a desire for beads that could be

Figure 5.17. A sample of shell and glass beads from the Indian Castle site—(a) white wampum (Busycon and Mercenaria), (b) purple/black wampum (*Busycon* and *Mercenaria*), (c) a speo 196 tubular red-glass beads.



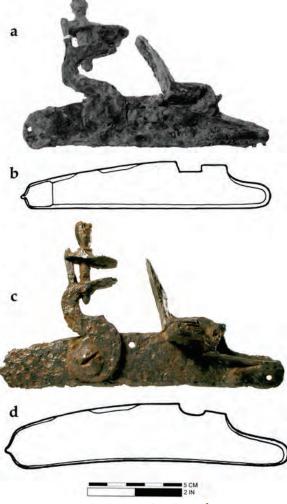


woven into sashes, straps, and belts. It is no coincidence that the finished glass beads are the same size and shape as wampum beads. Given the intense diplomacy that occurred during this period, belts were certainly in demand. The second factor was a change in production. It appears that most of the glass beads that came to the Northeast were made in Amsterdam, and after 1625 primarily in the Two Roses glasshouse of Claes Rochuszn Jaquet. In 1657 his son, Claes Claesz Jaquet having left the old Two Roses glasshouse, built a new one on the Rozengracht, and apparently used this opportunity to modify his production.

*Cloth seals.* Several fragmentary cloth seals have been found at Indian Castle. Given their size and shape they probably are Kampen and Leiden seals, as at Lot 18, but none are clearly marked. There is one unusual cloth seal, a sign of things to come. It is a fragmentary alnage seal, the English equivalent of the guild seals used by the Dutch. The surviving piece of this four-lobed seal depicts the sixteenth-century Tudor coat of arms. Although long out of date by this time, this motif has been documented on a few Gloucestershire seals dating from the seventeenth-century reign of Charles I of England (53).

*Firearms*. The changes in firearms at Indian Castle are less dramatic than those of glass beads, but they reflect the ongoing refinement in weapon production and the continued customer demand for the best-quality weapons available. At least 48 musket and two pistol parts have been reported from Indian Castle. This sample includes two complete locks with different style lock plates. As at Lot 18, these came from first-class-quality weapons and are similar to those found on other Five Nations sites of this period (54).

As at the Lot 18 site, more information on firearms is available from the shot and ball recovered from Indian Castle. Although the sample is smaller than at Lot 18, it tells much the same story. There appear to be five size clusters. Two of these are considered shot small (bird) and large (buck). The lead balls used for muskets and pistols cover a wide range of caliber. As at Lot 18, there are three clusters within this broad distribution, and there is ample evidence that the Onondaga cast their own shot and ball. At least five bullet molds have been reported, as well as



**Figure 5.18**. Lock plate styles from the Indian Castle site—(a) complete lock with Type V-B-2 plate, (b) Puype Type V-B-2 plate, (c) complete lock with Type VI lock plate, (d) Puype Type VI plate. 197

pieces of bar lead and the splatter from casting. Another important object is present for the first time—a tapered brass spout from a powder horn (55).

There is no question that firearms played an important role in the cultural disruptions and realignments that swept through the Eastern Woodlands during the seventeenth century. Even though the French were major purchasers of Dutch arms until Louis XIV ramped up French production in the 1660s, it is likely that most Five Nations' firearms came from the Dutch settlements on the upper Hudson River. But why were firearms so important? Anthropologist Bruce Trigger argued that many historians have exaggerated the tactical importance of firearms. As the Jesuits, Radisson, and other contemporary observers made clear, it was the their orenda, their spiritual power, and the ability to kill at a distance as shamans did, that made guns so feared.

Firearms may have been the shock-and-awe technology of the seventeenth century, but that did not mean they were always practical. Muskets were awkward and unreliable, especially when compared with traditional weapons. Even good-quality locks were subject to breakage, and misfires were common. Under good conditions, a significant misfire rate was normal, while during inclement weather misfires were much higher, up to 90 percent. Even when muskets did fire, accuracy was limited. The real fighting was done, as it had long been, with bow, knife, and club. As one Jesuit observed, "Arrows are the principal weapons that they use in war and in hunting . . . They are so adroit . . . that they will have discharged a hundred arrows sooner than another person can reload his gun." Firearms were important as a source of prestige and power. However, as historian Brian Givens concluded, "Firearms did not revolutionize Native warfare, nor were they the primary driver of the fur trade" (56).

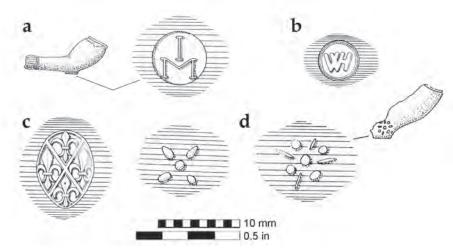
*Smoking pipes, consumer goods, and curiosities.* Like firearms, Dutch-made smoking pipes are well represented at Indian Castle. In contrast to glass beads, the changes in pipes are minimal. The majority still came from the workshops of Edward Bird and his family and associates in Amsterdam. Almost half of the marked pipes are stamped EB, while another three are stamped WH for Bird's neighbor, Willem Hendricksz.

William M. Beauchamp reported another Amsterdam mark, I over M, but additional marks appear to represent the expansion of pipe making beyond Amsterdam. The ones with a Tudor-rose heel mark and the cartouche of four fleur-de-lis probably came from Gouda. Archaeologist Diane Dallal reported pipe-bowl fragments with the Tudor-rose mark molded into them from contemporaneous Dutch sites in Manhattan. It is likely that these and the similar pipes at Lot 18 were made in Utrecht (57).

Since the Indian Castle assemblage of consumer goods is more skewed by collector bias than the one from Lot 18, it is difficult to make a fair

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665





**Figure 5.19.** Dutch white-clay pipe marks from the Indian Castle site—

(a) I over M heel mark, with the position of mark on a pipe shown on the left,

(b) WH heel marks,

(c) fleur-de-lis heel mark,

(d) two Tudor-rose bowl marks, with the position of mark on a pipe shown on the right.

# Table 5.5. Marked Dutch smoking pipes from the IndianCastle site (n = 24).

Marks <sup>a</sup>	Type of heel <sup>b</sup>	Quantity	Stem bore <sup>c</sup>
Heel			
EB, type 1	flush	1	7/64
	medium	1	7/64
EB, type 2	flush	3	9/64
	flush	1	7/64
	flush	1	-
	low	1	7/64
	low	2	8/64
	medium	1	7/64
	medium	1	8/64
WH	flush	3	7/64
rose	low	1	7/64
	low	1	-
	medium?	3	-
4 fleur-de-lis	high	1	-
	high	1	7/64
I over M	-	1	-
Bowl			
rose, type 1	low	1	-
rose, type 2	low	1	8/64

a Marks—terminology for marks on the heel or the bowl, type of heel, and stem bores (Bradley and DeAngelo 1981).

b Type of heel—high, medium, low, or flush.

c Stem bore-measurements in inches.

comparison between them. Many of the same consumer goods are present—thimbles, scissors, brass and iron mouth harps, and figures detached from cast pewter pipes. There are also similar fragments of drinking glasses, lead-glazed earthenware, German stoneware, and for the first time, tin-glazed earthenware known as delftware. Two objects Beauchamp recorded from nineteenth-century collections deserve special mention although neither has survived. One was a silver double *stuiver*, a Dutch coin probably struck in Overijssel. The other was a brass medal found in the early nineteenth century that depicted a man on horseback on one side and William, Prince of Orange, on the other. This probably refers to William II, who was *stadholder* of the Dutch Republic from 1647 to 1651 (**58**).

This was a complex and difficult period for the Dutch—the collapse of the fur trade, the resulting social unrest in Beverwijck, and commercial wars with the English. With more controlled archaeological information, perhaps evidence of these events could be documented more clearly. As is, we are left with the impression that Dutch materials were less available to the Onondaga and more intensively used when they could be obtained. Unlike the halcyon days of trade at Lot 18, Indian Castle was a foretaste of what was to come.

*French material culture, 1658 to 1665.* These were complex years for New France, a period when major changes occurred over a short period of time. The collapse of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha highlighted many of the colony's problems and internal rivalries. Most significant was the end of commercial authority and the beginning of royal control in May 1663. Under Louis XIV and his chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, New France began to receive the direct support it needed to survive and prosper. This would include rebuilding fortifications to protect Trois-Rivières and Montréal from Five Nations' attacks, and eventually sending troops to shift the war from defensive to offensive.

Even with the return of hostilities in 1658, Montréal continued to grow. In 1657 the first Sulpician priests had arrived and become the dominant religious force in the community, much to the annoyance of the Jesuits who saw New France as their domain. Montréal was still a "small palisaded community of perhaps 250 people" in 1658, but enough land had been cleared around the town to permit farming. By 1663 even with the constant threat of Five Nations' raids, additional land had been cleared. While the ongoing hostilities caused major problems with the fur trade, the few fur convoys that did make it through, such as Des Groseilliers and Radisson's successful return from the upper Great Lakes in 1660, had been so profitable that the trade continued in spite of the risks. With the establishment of an annual trading fair held in August, Montréal was primed to become the most-aggressive economic community in the Northeast—if peace with the Five Nations could be negotiated (59).

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665

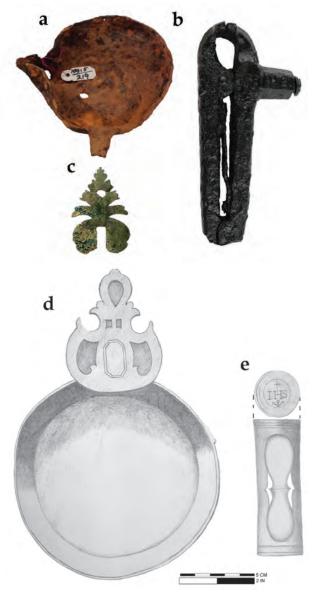


As with Dutch material culture, the archaeological evidence for the French from Indian Castle is difficult to read. Many of the same patterns are there, such as the presence of French "red *painte*" and trade goods—small folding knives, stepped awls, iron scrapers, and tanged points. In the early years at the Indian Castle site, from 1655 to 1658, these and other French goods were almost certainly available in quantity. When trade with the Five Nations had all but ceased, they were still the goods that traders like Radisson and Des Groseilliers took into the interior. Since French involvement with firearms and glass beads has already been discussed above, we will focus on two other categories of French material where we see changes in this time period (60).

*Religious objects.* One characteristic of the Indian Castle site is the large number of religious objects that have been reported. As Beauchamp observed, Indian Castle "has yielded so many rings and crosses as to suggest the thought that the Christian converts might have made it their home." Although we now know that this was not the case, a sizable sample of rings from this site has survived. Of these, two have settings for one or more stones, while 28 have iconographic motifs. As at Lot 18, these are early style rings with cut, rather than cast motifs, and decorative grooves on the bands. In terms of iconography, there are three primary motifs— IHS, L/heart, and the abstract L/heart variation—plus other rings with unique motifs. This assemblage is virtually the same as that from Lot 18. Although Beauchamp states that crucifixes were found as often as finger rings on this site, there is no evidence to support this. In fact, there are no documented examples of crucifixes from Indian Castle. There are, however, bone and possibly ivory rosary beads, similar to those from Ste. Marie aux Hurons and other French sites (61).

*Brought back or left behind?* Trade was not the only way French material culture ended up in Onondaga. Prior to the peace agreement of 1653, and certainly after the abandonment of Ste. Marie in 1658, European objects came to Onondaga as trophies taken during raids on French settlements along the St. Lawrence River. For example, during a raid near Montréal in 1661, the Mohawk carried off "a Crucifix about two feet in height . . . one of the most precious spoils taken from the French." Garakontié saw this object while visiting the Mohawk and was able to bring it back to Onondaga where it was placed in the chapel. A perforated silver coin dated 1661, with a male bust on the obverse and shield with fleur-de-lis on the reverse, may have come to Onondaga in a similar way (62).

The abandonment of Ste. Marie provided the Onondaga with an extraordinary windfall of material items, since most of the tools, equipment, and supplies the French had brought to furnish their community had to be left behind. While no inventories survive that describe what was lost, it is likely that some of the more unusual objects found at Indian Castle and related fishing sites originated from Ste. Marie.



**Figure 5.20**. French objects likely left behind at Ste. Marie—

(a) Sheet-iron grease lamp,

(b) small smithing vise,

(c) fragmentary piece of sheet-brass furniture hardware,

(d) brass dish or porringer,

(e) brass hourglass marked IHS on its top.

These include a simply made sheet-iron oil lamp, a small but heavy-duty vise, and brass furniture hardware, along with personal items such as a brass porringer and an hourglass marked IHS. As noted above, Indian Castle has been known for the large number of rings found there. It is possible these were from supplies stored at Ste. Marie in anticipation of future mission-related activities, which were abandoned as well (63).

Perhaps the best-known object brought from Ste. Marie to Onondaga was the mission bell. This bell was apparently transported again when the Onondaga moved from Indian Castle to Indian Hill, where Fr. François-Joseph Le Mercier mentioned it in 1667. He described this as the "Bell, which they had received, thirteen or fourteen years before, from those of our Fathers who were in this Mission when the war again broke out here." Both DeWitt Clinton and Joshua Clark describe fragments of a large bell found on the Indian Hill site early in the nineteenth century. While none of these fragments appear to have survived, they may have been similar to pieces of a comparable bell found on the site of Ste. Marie II on Christian Island in Georgian Bay early in the twentieth century (64).

#### A material view of Onondaga

Taken together, what do the Dutch and French materials from the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites tell us about Onondaga between 1650 and 1665? They provide a detailed basis for evaluating the choices Onondaga people made

during this tumultuous period. The evidence demonstrates several things. Dutch-made and probably Dutch-distributed objects, such as glass beads, smoking pipes, and firearms, predominate on both sites. At the same time, some of these goods, especially red-glass beads and firearms, probably came through French networks even if they were produced in the Dutch Republic. However, there are other material indicators of a substantial French presence, including specialty iron implements and religious



objects. Another point derived from the examination of trade goods is that Native demand was a significant factor in shaping what the Dutch and French chose to make and import for trade. Finally, the Onondaga were opportunists. They had definite ideas about what they wanted but were flexible in terms of where and how they obtained it.

The Native approach to trade both frustrated and mystified many Europeans, especially those who did not understand the difference between the traditional practice of ritual exchange and the western concept of trade. Although written several years later, the Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau expressed this European confusion very well –

The Indian tribes have traded with each other from time immemorial ... Their ways of engaging in trade is by an exchange of gifts ... One must keep one's eyes open in trading [with them since] they are very skilful in playing this game as they are in all others and they are a little inclined to cheat foreigners (65).

In terms of the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites, the European material assemblages provide an accurate reflection of the complex geopolitical situation in Onondaga. Things were out of balance. The Onondaga were too dependent on trade with the Dutch in Albany, not to mention their Mohawk brethren. The need to find alternatives led the Onondaga first to court the French to the north, and then to look south to deal with the Dutch along the Delaware River, or even the English around Chesapeake Bay. This desire for access to Europeans via the Southern Door was a major factor in the escalating conflict with the Susquehannock. The search for ways to bring balance back within the League and in their relationships with Europeans would continue to shape Onondaga actions and choices in the coming decades.

#### **Native Materials**

While the fur trade and warfare dominate the historical literature of this period, another equally important dynamic was taking place. This was the transformation of traditional Native exchange networks into trading systems. As Lafitau's comment illustrates, this transition was not something most Europeans understood. The material evidence provides us with specific ways to examine this process and how the dynamics of change varied from one material class to another. In Chapter Three, we traced some of the changes that occurred in marine shell, copper, and red stone up to 1650. How did the use of such traditionally high-value materials change between 1650 and 1665?

#### Marine shell

During this period, the amount of marine shell on Onondaga sites grew exponentially in comparison with earlier sites. This increase reflects several factors. One was the popularity and availability of wampum. By

1650 wampum was the most important commodity in northeastern North America. It was more valuable than furs, firearms, or even land because any of these could be purchased with wampum. The quantity of beads made and used during this period is astonishing. As anthropologist Lynn Ceci noted, as many as a quarter million wampum beads may have been recovered just from the Seneca Power House site, ca. 1640 to 1655. Within a few years, however, the situation had changed. There is a noticeable decline in the amount of wampum occurring on Five Nations sites after 1658 due to the collapse of the fur trade and renewed hostilities with the French. Another problem was that by 1660, overproduction and poor quality had deflated wampum's economic value, resulting in serious fiscal problems for New Netherland (66).

Although wampum gradually ceased to serve as currency in European colonies, it continued to have many essential functions for Native people, especially the Five Nations. It authorized one to speak. It served as the physical embodiment of the words spoken in council or negotiation. It could define a person's status as a captive or break the bonds of captivity. It could transform an adoptee into kin. It condoled loss. Radisson's experiences among the Mohawk provide insight into the many roles wampum could play. After he was captured in the spring of 1652, a Mohawk family adopted him to replace a son who had been killed a year earlier. During the ceremony that transformed him into a Mohawk, Radisson's new mother bedecked him with "two necklace[s] of porcelaine ... [while] my sisters tyed me with bracelets and garters of the same porcelaine" and "my brother painted my face . . . and tyed both my locks with porcelaine." His new father also put a necklace of wampum around his neck, one so large that it that hung down to his heels. A year later, after an unsuccessful escape, Radisson's Mohawk parents used necklaces of porcelaine again, this time to reclaim him and condole those he had harmed (67).

Wampum increasingly performed yet another essential function. It became the preferred material means by which the Five Nations conducted their external affairs, especially with Europeans. These included the porcelaine colliers Onondaga ambassadors took to Montréal and Québec in 1653 and those used during the peace negotiations of 1665–1666. We will examine this use of wampum belts in more detail below in the section on hybridization.

Wampum was important, but it was not the only marine-shell story. With the end of the third Powhatan war in 1646, the production of marine-shell objects began again on the mid-Atlantic coast and around Chesapeake Bay. Many of these objects were traditional forms—discoidal beads or *roanoke*, massive columella beads, modified *Marginella* shells, and *Busycon* columella pendants and circular gorgets. Other forms were new, or at least new versions of traditional ones. They included crescents, claw and

bird-shaped pendants, and simple runtees. The end of the Powhatan wars did not mean an end to hostilities. By the early 1650s it was not only the Dutch, Swedes, and English who fought for primacy in the mid-Atlantic. Native people, too, began to fight among themselves over the region's wealth of shell and access to Europeans. The early conflicts appear to have been between the Mohawk and the Susquehannock. As governor of New Sweden Johan Printz complained in 1653, "There is absolutely no profit any more in the fur-trade and especially now since the Arregahaga [Iroquois] and Susquahanoer [Susquehannock] (from whom the

beaver come) began to make War upon each other." By 1656 the Swedes were gone, driven out by the Dutch, and the Onondaga had become the primary opponents of the Susquehannock, a conflict known as the Susquehannock War that would grind on for another 20 years (68).

*Modal forms.* The marine-shell assemblages from Lot 18 and Indian Castle reflect these geopolitical events. At Lot 18 wampum is the predominant form in which marine shell occurs, although there are traditional Chesapeake forms, such as discoidal and massive beads, as well. A few examples of the new forms—crescents, claws, and a plain runtee—also occur for the first time at Lot 18.

At Indian Castle the shell assemblage is larger and more diverse. Traditional Chesapeake discoidal and massive beads appear in larger quantities, as do the familiar modified *Marginella* and *Olivella* shells, whelk columella pendants, and a few gorget fragments. Of special note is the number of new forms, which **Figure 5.21**. Marine-shell forms from the Indian Castle site—

(a) long wampum beads two purple and one white,

(b) discoidal bead or *roanoke*,

(c) modified *Marginella* shells,

(d) two views of a white and of a purple crescent,

(e) two views of a creature pendant,

(f) two views of a loon/ goose pendant,

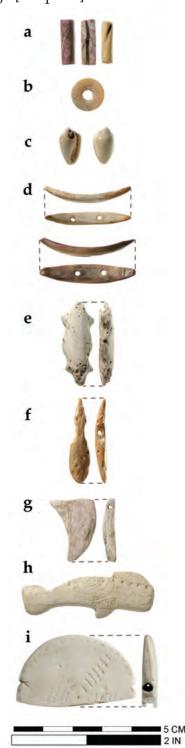
(g) two views of a clawshaped pendant of *Mercenaria*,

(h) zoomorphic runtee,

(i) two views of half of a worn runtee showing the perforation.

increase on site dramatically. There are more crescents and claws as well as new geometric forms, including triangular and trapezoidal beads and pendants. Long tubular beads, often called pipe beads, make their first appearance along with the first zoomorphic forms. These include loon/goose and long-bodied long-tailed creature pendants. There are more runtees, both circular and zoomorphic in form, and in the shell assemblage from Indian Castle there is a longer version of the standard-sized wampum bead. This



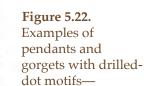


expanded inventory of traditional and new shell forms also occurs on the contemporaneous Onondaga fishing sites, especially at Brewerton and the Oak Orchard site (69).

*Technology and distribution.* After 1655 these new marine-shell forms occur across the Five Nations as well as on Susquehannock sites. The question is, who made them? As mentioned in Chapter Three, Duane Esarey has argued that they were the products of a new northeastern shell-ornament industry, a commodity made by European colonists specifically for trade. He believes that a high degree of standardization in size and style supports his idea. At present, however, there is no archaeological evidence for the production of these marine-shell objects on any seventeenth-century colonial site (**70**).

Another way to determine who made these objects is to examine their material, form, and embellishment, and how these elements came together. There is no question that marine shell was important to Native people across the Eastern Woodlands, regardless of cultural and linguistic boundaries. As we have seen, Native people had used marine shell as a preferred material for thousands of years. Often the forms were sophisticated, even highly standardized. I suggest a simple way to group their forms—traditional, modified traditional, and novel. Some of Esarey's categories, such as "Human face," "Large tube," and "Flat" discoidal

beads, are traditional forms and had been used for generations in the Northeast. Claw and creature pendants may be newer forms by comparison, but they were evidently in use well before 1635, which is when Esarey believes this colonial industry began. Even the novel forms such as gorgets and runtees have clear antecedents, or at least sources of inspiration, within traditional Native material culture (71).



a

b

d

(a) slate pendant, West Groggs Point site, MD,

(b) *Busycon* pendant, Brewerton,

(c) drawing of a *Busycon* gorget, Potomac Creek site, VA,

(d) *Busycon* gorget, Seneca Dann site, NY.

Embellishment is an important clue as to who made these elaborate marine-shell objects. I would argue the most characteristic embellishment was the use of drilled dots, either in geometric patterns or to outline a form. This technique was used more frequently than incising, surface removal, or any other method of embellishment. The use of drilled and/or impressed dots was a stylistic tradition in the Chesapeake region for centuries before European contact and was used on ceramic pipes, bone pins, and stone pendants. By the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, patterns of drilled dots were used to embellish whelk-shell pendants and possibly gorgets. Central New York



examples have been reported from the early Susquehannock Pumpelly Creek site near Owego and from an Onondaga fishing site near Brewerton. The most elaborate of these embellished pendants and gorgets occurs on early seventeenth-century Chesapeake sites such as Potomac Creek, where at least three examples with "drilled dot designs of star and triangles" have been documented. At least two have been reported from the slightly later Mount Airy site on the Rappahannock River. By 1660 virtual duplicates of these drilled-dot-decorated shell gorgets occur on Five Nations sites, such as Indian Castle and the Seneca Dann site (72).

The new shell forms, like wampum, are a cross-cultural hybrid, one in which European entrepreneurs may have provided the tools and bought the products, but the inspiration came from the Native people who did the work. The new forms were designed to have a broad appeal that would be attractive to a range of potential Native consumers regardless of their ethnic or linguistic affiliation. Given the failure of most European colonists to understand or have much sympathy for Native concerns, it is hard to believe colonists made such insightful economic decisions all by themselves. However the business of producing these new forms came into existence, it was one more step in the commoditization of shell, which had long been a ritual substance of power. By 1665 a similar dynamic was underway with pipestone as the sources of production, distribution, and preferred forms began to shift toward a new set of norms.

There is strong evidence that the Onondaga themselves made some of the marine-shell objects found at Lot 18 and Indian Castle. There is discarded production waste from both sites and several examples of used and reused quahog and whelk shell from Indian Castle. These include failed drilling attempts and the scored fragment of a drilled-dotembellished gorget. Whether the original marine-shell objects reached Onondaga through trade or were brought home as trophies, the path was probably not a simple or direct one (**73**).

The dramatic increase in marine shell and the forms in which it occurred reflect two key dynamics of this period. One was the rapidly changing nature of European–Native relations from the southern New

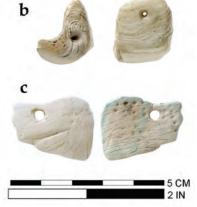


**Figure 5.23.** Evidence for the reuse and finishing of marine shell—

(a) three views of a split massive bead, Indian Castle site,

(b) two views of a fragment of columella, left, with an incomplete perforation as a bead, right, redrilled as a pendant, Indian Castle site,

(c) two views of a reused fragment of a gorget with drilled-dot motif, Indian Castle site.



England coast to the mid-Atlantic region. Second were the complex ways in which Native people adjusted to the limitations and opportunities of expanding European settlement. For Onondaga, marine shell appears to be a material reflection of their attempts to establish direct contact with the Dutch and then the English in order to exert greater control over access to the resources around the Chesapeake.

#### Copper and its alloys

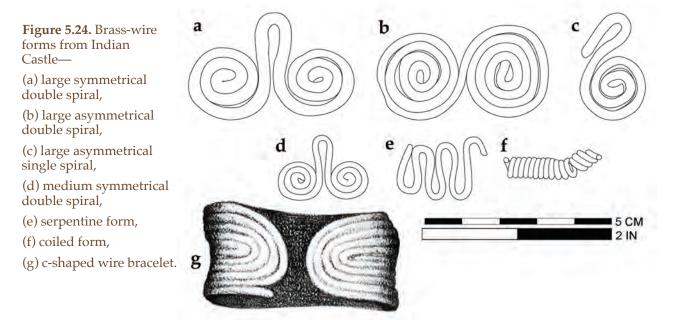
Although the copper and brass that occur on Native sites during the midseventeenth century were exclusively of European origin, the ways in which these materials were handled were well within the boundaries of Onondaga metalworking, a tradition based primarily on their relationships with other Native people. European kettles remained the primary source of sheet metal, as they had since the early decades of the century. As discussed above, kettles were an essential component of each country's trading inventory, and those that reached Onondaga appear to have come via French, Dutch, and probably English networks. Whatever their source, by 1655 the majority of these kettles were brass, while only a small percentage were copper. Although Native people used some kettles for cooking, by midcentury most appear to have been stripped systematically of their handles, lugs, and rolled edges, then cut and flattened into large rectangular pieces. From this point, scoring, cutting, perforating, and bending were used to produce more specific shapes. In addition to sheet metal, European wire became available to the Onondaga. Although rarely mentioned in the historic documents, wire of different thicknesses and objects made from it are an important component of the archaeological record for this period (74).

*Modal forms*. A key attribute of the brass assemblage from this period is its additive nature. New forms occur at both Lot 18 and Indian Castle, while only a few of the earlier ones, such as spirals and hoops, drop from view. The majority of implements are flat forms with the most common being triangular projectile points, most of which are not perforated. There are only a couple of brass knives, one from each site. They seem to have been replaced by the more available iron knives. Double-pointed awls and small saws are also present at both sites. In terms of ritual and decorative uses, flat forms fall into two distinct and familiar categories—pendants and pipe fittings. Other uses for sheet metal are discussed below.

There is also the familiar, if expanded, range of tubular and conical forms. Tubular forms range widely in length, diameter, and degree of finish. There appears to be a significant difference in how tube forms at Lot 18 and Indian Castle were used compared with earlier seventeenth-century Onondaga sites. On those sites, possibly due to the greater availability and use of wire, tubes were seldom used as preforms for making other objects such as spirals, finger rings, or bracelets, (75).



The number and variety of wire forms changes dramatically from Lot 18 to Indian Castle. At Lot 18 only three small brass rings and four c-shaped bracelets were found. These distinctive bracelets were made by folding a length of wire in half, and then in half again. It was not as easy as it may sound and required multiple anneals as well as real technical precision. At Indian Castle the inventory of wire objects is larger and more diverse than at Lot 18. In addition to five small brass rings, there are at least 15 symmetrical double spirals, four asymmetrical single spirals, and one large asymmetrical double spiral, as well as two coils and a serpentine form. The purpose of some of these objects is not known and will be discussed further below (76).



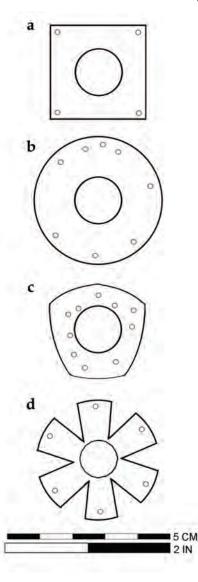
*Technology and distribution.* By the mid-seventeenth century, the Onondaga had considerable experience with sheet copper and brass. The assemblages from Lot 18 and Indian Castle give us an opportunity to examine their technical skill and stylistic preferences during this time of intensified interaction with Europeans and other Native people. In the process of converting kettles into implements and other objects, bits and pieces were left behind. Although usually referred to as scrap, these discarded pieces provide valuable insights into how the metal was used. Analysis of the scrap from the Lot 18 site indicates that most had been reused before being discarded (Figure 5.25). In most cases this meant one or more cut edges, a perforation, or intentional folding. This suggests that, even at a time of unprecedented material wealth, Onondaga people still placed a high value on maximizing the use of this material (77).

In addition to greater availability, there is evidence of increased technical sophistication and innovation in how brass was handled. Wire was utilized in a variety of ways and was handled with considerable skill. It required



**Figure 5.25.** Examples of used-scrap brass and copper from Lot 18—(a) knife-scored and cut, (b) cut with shears, (c) two pieces with drilled perforations, (d) two scored and cut rectangular blanks.

multiple anneals to turn a piece of brass wire into a symmetrical double spiral, and not all attempts were successful. One innovation is the presence of metal-to-metal joints. At Lot 18 there are two cases in which sheet-brass staples were prepared and used, plus one example of a joint using a tube rivet. At Indian Castle there is one example where two pieces of sheet brass were laced together with brass wire (78). Small pieces of wire were also



used for making metal-to-wood joints, specifically to pin a piece of sheet brass to a wood surface, such as the top of a pipe bowl. The first documented Onondaga example of this practice occurs at Lot 18, and there are similar examples from other Five Nations sites (79).

The use of brass to embellish smoking pipes was not restricted to conical liners and bowl covers. As with wooden war clubs, small pieces of sheet brass were often inserted into the pipe bowl or the effigy figure attached to it. These could produce geometric patterns of striking beauty and complexity. George Hamell and others have suggested

**Figure 5.26.** Drawings of sheet-brass pipe-bowl covers from wooden smoking pipes—

(a) square brass cover, Lot 18 site,

(b) circular brass cover, Oneida Quarry site,

(c) sheet-brass cover from a fragmentary wooden effigy-pipe bowl, Seneca Marsh site,

(d) upper portion of a conical sheet-brass pipe liner cut into a pattern with six rays to cover the top of the bowl, Seneca Dann site. these patterns may have been intended to represent tattoos. Several archaeological examples are known from Susquehannock and Seneca sites of this period. There is also an ethnographic wooden pipe now in the National Museum of Denmark collected prior to 1654. Inadvertently, the use of brass inserts helped to preserve these wooden objects and serves as a reminder that the archaeological record contains only a portion of what Native people made and used (80).

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665



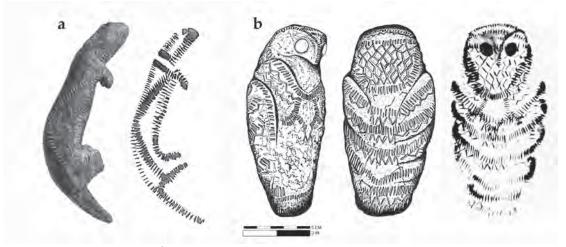


Figure 5.27. Brass embellishments on wooden smoking pipes-

(a) left, drawing of a long-bodied creature with brass inserts, 15.4 cm high, Seneca Dann site; right, radiograph of the object showing only the metal inserts,

(b) left and center, drawings of the side and back of an avian figure embellished with brass inserts, 13.8 cm high, Susquehannock Strickler site; right, radiograph of the object facing forward showing only the metal inserts.

Where did the Onondaga learn these metalworking techniques? What were the influences that helped shape stylistic preferences and the skills to produce them? The usual assumption is that Europeans were the source. This sounds reasonable given the extent of Onondaga–Dutch interactions, not to mention the presence of Ste. Marie literally on their doorstep. A careful review, however, suggests that the strongest influences came from their Iroquoian neighbors, not from Europeans. As discussed in Chapter Three, Ontario Iroquoians and the Susquehannock were major innovators in metalworking during the first half of the seventeenth century. By 1655 things had changed. The Ontario Iroquoians were gone, dispersed throughout the Great Lakes and into Five Nations' territory. It is likely that some of the techniques perfected in Ontario came to Onondaga with the refugees. These included the facility for making and using tube constructs and a preference for particular artifact forms.

The Susquehannock story is different, at least during this period. By 1650 the Susquehannock were among the most skilled Native metalworkers in the Northeast. The range of forms and sophistication in techniques evident at the Strickler site certainly exceeds that from either Lot 18 or Indian Castle, and there appear to be several specific ways in which Susquehannock practices influenced those of Onondaga and probably all of the Five Nations. One was the embellishment of wooden smoking pipes and war clubs discussed above. Although the archaeological evidence is modest, many of the embellished examples are from Susquehannock sites. In addition, most of the surviving ethnographic pipes and clubs were collected between the Delaware Valley and Chesapeake Bay. Several of these are probably of Susquehannock origin (**81**).



**Figure 5.28.** Two symmetrical double spirals from the Susquehannock Strickler site.



Another influence was a preference for objects that depicted spiraling motion. As we saw in Chapter Three, the largest concentration of early style spirals made from o- and e-shaped tubing occurs on the Susquehannock Schutlz site. In contrast to early single spirals, the mid-seventeenth-century examples have a symmetrical double spiral made from hollow tubing. The largest concentration of these double spirals occurs at the Strickler site with virtually none on the sites before or immediately after. While these double spirals may have been inspired by a European hook-and-eye clothing fastener, the preference for metal spiraling forms was already an established Susquehannock tradition. We will look at the distribution and possible meaning of these double spirals in more detail below (82).

A third Susquehannock influence was technical skill in making metal-to-metal joints. Nowhere is this skill more visible than in their ability to repair some of their own kettles. Of the 63 kettles known from the Strickler site, five have been repaired in a distinctly Native manner, patching cracks and replacing worn out lugs. On one kettle, both of the original lugs have been replaced by Native-made handles attached with o-shaped rivets. It also has been patched twice with o-shaped and butterfly rivets. A second example is a small kettle where a large split was repaired with a large v-shaped patch secured with 16 e-shaped rivets (83).

Compared with these robust repairs, the known examples of Five Nations metal-to-metal joints seem modest. Indeed, the extent to which the Onondaga used these repair techniques during this period is unclear, in part because there is no comparable assemblage of kettles. Examples of metal-to-metal joints do occur, although only on

**Figure 5.29.** Susquehannock-style metal-to-metal repairs from the Strickler site—

a) large rectangular patch secured with four sheet staples,

(b) kettle repaired with a large v-shaped patch, outlined in black, with its location indicated by the black arrow,

(c) kettle with a replaced lug.

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665



fragmentary objects, and they reflect a growing facility with metalworking techniques similar to those used by the Susquehannock.

Relations between the Onondaga and Susquehannock changed radically between 1650 and 1665, from cordial to an increasingly bitter cycle of revenge-driven hostilities. Nonetheless, Susquehannock technology and stylistic preferences had a significant influence on Onondaga. The use of double spirals and a preference for wire rings and bracelets are material evidence of this. Yet, in spite of the similarities, there were distinct differences as well. The Onondaga made their double spirals from wire, while the Susquehannock made theirs exclusively from hollow tubes. In addition, several of the most diagnostic Susquehannock traits-the use of corrugated sheet, spirally wrapped beads, and clips—rarely occur at Lot 18 or Indian Castle. Whatever processes of cultural borrowing or appropriation were at work, they were selective (84).

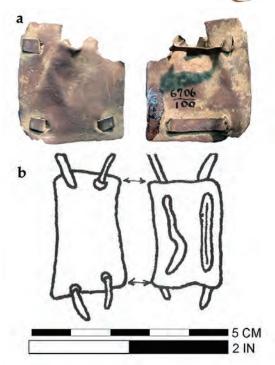


Figure 5.30. Metal-to-metal joints from contemporaneous Five Nations sites—(a) patch with two long staples, obverse and reverse, Seneca Steele site, (b) drawing of a similar patch, obverse and reverse, Oneida Quarry site.

# Red stone

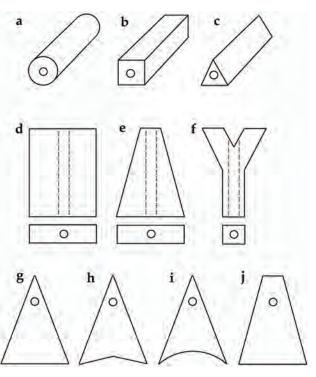
Like marine shell, red stone underwent a process of transformation during this period, one in which earlier material preferences and forms shifted dramatically. The red slate from eastern New York remained out of fashion and rarely occurs on Onondaga and Seneca sites of this period. When used, it was probably because a more desirable material was not available. The few examples we have include a single trapezoidal bead from the Seneca Steele site, an ovoid (i) triangular with pendant from the Power House site, and a small anthropomorphic bead

Figure 5.31 Drawings of geometric forms of red-stone beads and pendants.

Tubular bead styles-(a) round, (b) square, (c) triangular.

Other bead forms. side and end views-(d) rectangular, (e) trapezoidal, (f) y-shaped or triconcave.

Pendant forms-(g) triangular with a straight base, (h) triangular with an indented base, a curved base, (j) trapezoidal with a straight base.



from Lot 18 (Figure 5.32a). Large siltstone beads from Ontario disappear from the archaeological record after 1650, just as the Ontario Iroquoians who preferred them had dispersed from their homelands. What marks this period is the increasing presence of red pipestone and the new forms in which it occurs (85).

*Modal forms*. In the decades before 1650, the only pipestone objects to reach the Five Nations were a few tubular beads. These were usually long and could be round, triangular, or square in section. Square forms often had small notches cut into their edges and occasionally had incised triangles on one or more sides. A few large beads occur between 1650 and 1665, but most are small and are probably reworked fragments of larger beads (**86**).



**Figure 5.32.** Red-stone beads from Onondaga—

(a) anthropomorphic bead of red slate, Lot 18,

(b) square tubular bead of pipestone, Lot 18 site,

(c) triangular tubular bead of pipestone, Lot 18 site,

(d) oval tubular bead of pipestone, Indian Castle site,

(e) trapezoidal bead of pipestone, Indian Castle site.

The real change in pipestone is the presence of new forms, especially triangular and trapezoidal beads. In Onondaga these first appear at Indian Castle. Trapezoidal beads are also an important marker in the Great Lakes, where they first occur at the Hanson site on Lake Michigan. Archaeologist Amy Rosebrough and colleagues recently have suggested that Huron–Wendat refugees used this site briefly during the early 1650s as they sought out a new

place to settle, a conclusion supported by the archaeological evidence. What is curious about the trapezoidal form is that it occurs in pipestone in the Great Lakes about the same time it occurs in marine shell in the mid-Atlantic region. It is unclear what this represents. Was one a copy of the other in a different material? Were these convergent processes? While the question of origin remains to be answered, trapezoidal pipestone beads would quickly become one of the predominant forms of red stone, one that occurred across the Northeast during the last three decades of the seventeenth century (87).

Pipestone smoking pipes are rare objects on Five Nations sites of this period and, when present, are usually reworked fragments. Only three complete pipes are known. One is a simple elbow-shaped bowl with virtually no stem from the Seneca Steele site. The other two, one from the Seneca Dann site and one from the Susquehannock Strickler site, have been described as early calumet-style pipes. Canadian archaeologist Marie-Hélène Daviau has pointed out that the word *calumet* was used as early as 1609 to describe a wide variety of stone-pipe shapes, in much the same way

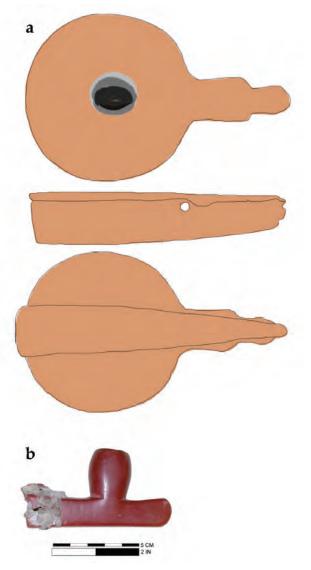


that porcelaine was used to describe all shell beads. Even in 1652, when Radisson was redeemed by his Mohawk father after an unsuccessful escape attempt with "a calumet of red stoane," it is not clear what form of pipe this was (88).

Archaeologically, the term calumet has been applied to many forms. For clarity, let us distinguish three. The first is a large disc pipe, such as the example from the Hanson site, ca. 1650s to 1660s. As we saw in Chapter Three, Oneota people of the Eastern Prairie made pipes in this form in the centuries prior to European contact. The survival of this style at Hanson is unusual and suggests this pipe may have been an heirloom. A second form

is the early calumet-style pipe like those from the Dann and Strickler sites. Pipes of this form begin to appear about 1650 and may have been made at sites such as Gillett Grove in Iowa. They have a bulbous bowl set on an elongated base with a vertically oriented distal end or prow. A third form is a simple elbow pipe, such as an example from the Seneca Steele site. Pipes of this form are more typical of the later decades of the seventeenth century and may have been made at sites such as Milford in Iowa (**89**).

By 1660 pipestone's red color and use for calumets had become widespread. When Radisson and Des Groseilliers met ambassadors from the nation of Nadoueseronons (Siouan people), they "made us smoake in their pipes . . . not in common pipes but in pipes of peace, and of warr that they pull out but very seldom." Radisson continued, "We borrowed their calumet . . . That pipe is of red stone, as bigge as a fist, and as long as a hand." The common pipes may have had a simple elbow shape, while the calumet may be a reference to a large disc pipe. Six years later, in notes that accompany the 1666 peace treaty, Fr. Pierre Chaumonot observed that when a man is buried, a red calumet pipe, "a peace calumet," was often painted on the post marking the grave. This suggests that by 1666 the ritual use of calumets had become a component of Onondaga culture **(90**).



**Figure 5.33.** Pipestone smoking pipes from sites, ca. 1650-1670—

(a) drawings of top, side, and bottom views of a large pipestone calumet with a long tapered prow, a lobate apron, and no stem, Hanson site, WI,

(b) photograph of an early style calumet, note castlead repair, Seneca Dann site, NY.

*Technology and distribution.* In Chapter Three, we saw how the forms and preferences for red stone changed dramatically across the Eastern Woodlands during the first half of the seventeenth century. These changes were driven in part by the large-scale demographic shifts that took place, as Native populations dispersed and reorganized around the Great Lakes and across the upper Mississippi drainage. These demographic shifts were still underway between 1650 and 1665, and as people began to settle, some of the earlier exchange networks were revived and new trade-oriented ones established.

All this movement had a profound impact on the making of pipestone objects. Gone were the large incised tablets and large disc pipes of the previous century, replaced by smaller scale objects such as simple calumet and elbow-shaped pipes. After 1650 these new forms and possibly fragments reworked into pendants and beads began to move farther east. Archaeologist Dale Henning has referred to this as the Middle Phase of pipestone production that took place during the Pax Ioway, a period of relative peace on the Eastern Prairie between 1650 and 1700. Henning argues that during these years increasing amounts of pipestone moved east to the Great Lakes, probably via Winnebago or Ioway networks (**91**).

The establishment of new distribution networks paralleled the changes in production. As archaeologist William Fox has demonstrated, Ottawa traders began to explore the shores of Lake Michigan early in the seventeenth century and more extensively after 1630. They also maintained close relationships with Huron–Wendat and Petun people. As a result, when their Ontario Iroquoian neighbors moved west during the 1640s, many Ottawa people went with them. Between 1650 and 1670 mixed communities of Ontario Iroquoians, now called Wyandot, and Ottawa people moved through a series of locations around the western Great Lakes before finally settling along the Straits of Mackinac (92). Relocating west did not mean that Ontario Iroquoian and Ottawa people had forgotten the way back east. By the mid-1650s Ottawa traders began to accompany their Iroquoian partners back to Montréal, using the well-established route from Georgian Bay up the French River to Lake Nipissing, and then down the Ottawa River. Although the risk of attacks by Five Nations' raiding parties made this route dangerous, especially after the abandonment of Ste. Marie in 1658, it remained the primary corridor for French–Native trade and interactions. By 1671 the Wyandot, settled at Mackinac, together with the Ottawa, back on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron, controlled this route and the pipestone trade (93). However, this is getting ahead of the story. The big increase in pipestone on Onondaga sites would occur much later in the seventeenth century. Between 1650 and 1665 the amount that reached Onondaga was small indeed.

During the 1650s small amounts of pipestone probably came to Onondaga with the war parties that had gone west to raid. Among the trophies



Radisson brought back from raiding in 1653, he mentions some pipes as well as "some red and green stoanes." Pipestone may also have reached the Five Nations through the emerging Wyandot–Ottawa trade networks across the northern Great Lakes and east to Montréal. Depending on the state of hostilities, the Onondaga were as likely to be trading as raiding along this route. As Fox has observed, Ottawa and Petun people had a long history of making stone pipes, pendants, and beads for their Iroquoian neighbors. Having worked previously in soapstone, banded slate or argillite, and siltstone, it is likely that the Ottawa now began to shape pipestone into traditional forms and perhaps some new ones as well (94).

By 1665 major changes had taken place in the kinds of red stone used across the Northeast and the shapes in which it occurred. As with marine shell, the new networks that produced and distributed pipestone provide us with a means to track the large-scale social and economic changes that occurred across the Eastern Woodlands. Pertinent to this story, red stone provides more specific ways to follow Onondaga actions and preferences within these emerging networks.

#### Acculturation

Profound as Onondaga interactions with other Native peoples were, it was still the presence of Europeans, their materials, and actions that drove events. By the mid-seventeenth century the combination of a robust three-way trade—European materials, furs, and wampum—as well as permanent European settlements deep into the interior, had produced dramatic changes in Onondaga material culture. Change did not mean that traditional materials, technologies, and forms were abandoned. In fact, it is the juxtaposition, and even interpolation, of Native and European materials and forms that characterizes this period.

#### Responses

In Chapter Three, we looked at several ways that Onondaga people had responded to Europeans and their material things. Here we will examine the Onondaga responses in three classes of material culture—ceramics, lithics, and organic materials—and we will characterize those responses as active, selective, conservative, and creative.

*Ceramics*. Few material classes define Onondaga culture more thoroughly than ceramics, both pottery vessels and clay smoking pipes, even when the evidence is limited. By the 1660s pottery assemblages drop from hundreds of rim sherds at the Pompey Center site, ca. 1610 to 1620, to less than a dozen from Indian Castle. In part, this is a sampling problem. To most early collectors, pottery fragments were not interesting enough to bring home. Still, the decrease in pottery reflects what were changing realities. With brass kettles readily available, the functional need for ceramic vessels decreased. The question is, to what extent were ceramic vessels made on these sites, or is their decrease a result of collector bias?

The ceramics that were found at Lot 18 and Indian Castle demonstrate continuity with hints of change. Although sample sizes are small, this is essentially the same stylistic assemblage that characterized Onondaga sites since the beginning of the century. The ceramic assemblage from Indian Castle is a predictable mix of medium- and low-collar vessels with notched-collar bases and incised motifs. A few vessel fragments with everted lips are also present, as is a frilled rim, a Susquehannockrelated trait that became part of the Onondaga ceramic tradition late in the sixteenth century. Against this pattern of continuity are a few examples from another cultural tradition. These include a classic Huron vessel with a turret castellation from Lot 18 and two collarless rims from Indian Castle, ones that are more at home in the Lake Erie basin than in central New York (95).

The response pattern of clay smoking pipes is different, one in which change predominates. The Onondaga had their own tradition of making elaborate and distinctive pipes prior to European contact. One of the most visible changes in earlier Onondaga material culture from about 1550 to 1650 is a dramatic decrease in clay smoking pipes. Since it is unlikely that the Onondaga stopped smoking, what happened? One explanation is that metal tools made it possible to carve pipes from other materials, especially wood and stone. This may be correct but is hard to verify. By 1650, however, Native-made ceramic pipes again become an important component in Onondaga archaeological assemblages, even though white-clay Dutch pipes were also used. Although the preferred forms would change, Native-made smoking pipes would remain a significant component of Onondaga material culture through the end of the seventeenth century and beyond.

*Lithics*. Given the quantities of iron axes and knives available, one might predict that ground-stone celts and flaked bifacial knives would be long gone. Both are present, however, at Lot 18 and Indian Castle, although in small numbers, along with pestles, grinding stones, and hammer stones. Perhaps the replacement of lithic tools with metal ones was a generational process, and the use of these traditional implements did not disappear from the archaeological record until those who preferred them had passed on.

Triangular projectile points of local chert, like pottery, were a hallmark of Onondaga material culture. On early seventeenth-century sites such as Pompey Center these points occur by the hundreds. At Lot 18 and Indian Castle several changes are evident. One is replacement. For the first time, the number of points cut from sheet metal approaches, and then exceeds, those made from chert. At the Lot 18 site there are eight metal points and 26 lithic ones, whereas at Indian Castle there are 33 metal points and 26 lithic ones. Another change is the shape and dimensions of lithic projectile points over time. During the sixteenth century, Onondaga points shift



**Figure 5.34.** Projectile points and gunflints from Onondaga sites—

(a) five points of Onondaga chert, Shurtleff site,

(b) four points of exotic material, Lot 18,

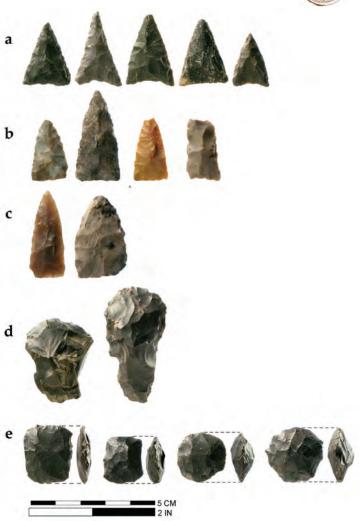
(c) two points of exotic material, Indian Castle site,

(d) two partially completed gunflints of Onondaga chert, Lot 18 site,

(e) side and profile views of four Nativemade gunflints of Onondaga chert, Lot 18 site.

from the preferred straight-sided isosceles form at the Barnes site, to a much smaller nearly equilateral form at Pompey Center. The trend appears to reverse during the first half of the seventeenth century, when points again become longer and more isosceles at Lot 18 and Indian Castle (96).

Although projectile points appear to return to the proportions they had more than a century earlier, they do not have the same shape.



At both sites, lithic points have convex rather than straight sides and are occasionally made from materials other than local chert. This change in form may be due to the increased use of exotic materials to make projectile points, such as white quartz and yellow jasper from Pennsylvania, western Onondaga chert, and Ohio Valley cherts and chalcedonies. All appear to be material evidence of where the Onondaga had been to raid or trade.

By the 1660s firearms were an established part of Onondaga material culture. Even so, the Onondaga continued to make most of their own gunflints rather than rely on Europeans to provide them. This preference is evident at Lot 18, where many Native examples, and only a few European ones, are reported. At Indian Castle, Native-made gunflints are still common, while the number of European examples increases. As with projectile points, Onondaga-made gunflints were primarily of local chert, although some exotic materials were used. This ability to redirect a traditional technology to meet a new need is an example of the active and creative way Onondaga people responded to European-driven changes (97).

*Organic material*. There is little question that metal tools enabled the Onondaga to work wood and other organic materials in new and more sophisticated ways. The first archaeological evidence of wooden ladles, bowls, and smoking pipes occurs at Lot 18. While these had probably been made for generations, we can see them for the first time. In part, the availability of European tools-knives, files, drills, and drawknives-made this creative florescence in wood carving possible. In addition was the ability of Onondaga people to create new tools and fashion traditional materials in extraordinary new ways. An example is the crooked knife, an iron knife whose blade was bent and reground for use by traditional carvers. Although similar tools were used in Europe, a cross-cultural difference was noticed by Europeans. As a Jesuit observed, "When a Savage takes a tool . . . to cut anything, he holds the handle and the blade in just the opposite way to that of a Frenchman." Small saws made from an iron knife, sheet brass, or even a flattened trigger guard, are other examples of Native-made implements. Such saws probably were used to cut teeth for combs, among other tasks. Between 1650 and 1665, these innovative tools had become an established part of the traditional Onondaga kit (98).

In each of these material categories—ceramics, lithics, and organic materials—we can see evidence of the four different ways Onondaga people responded to European materials and objects. Responses included the active way lithic technology was adapted to make gunflints, the selective and experimental quality of using brass as a substitute for lithic points, the conservative preference for their own clay smoking pipes even as European pipes became common, and the creativity to devise new tools for wood working. These examples provide an important insight into the relationship between creativity and the essentially conservative nature of Onondaga culture. Although the Onondaga approach to incorporating European materials was conservative, the reality was that old ways began to change as new traditions were established and put into practice.

#### Processes

We have examined several ways in which Onondaga people incorporated European materials and objects into their own cultural framework up through 1650. What was the status of these processes by 1665?

*Direct use*. During the early phases of contact, the direct use of a European object, such as an iron knife, usually implied replacement of its Native counterpart, in this case a chert biface. Some European objects were simply absorbed by the Onondaga, including new kinds of tools such as scissors, hoes, framing chisels, vises, and a wide range of consumer goods. Many of these implements may have been salvaged from Ste. Marie. Still, the acceptance of European things did not mean traditional ones were discarded. Novel European forms, such as latten and pewter spoons, were used side by side with wooden ladles, just as Dutch white-clay and Native-made pipes were used concurrently. One could appreciate the use of brass







**Figure 5.35.** Nativemade implements from repurposed European objects—

(a) side and edge views of a crooked knife made from a broken knife blade, Lot 18 site,

(b) side and edge views of a crooked knife made from a broken knife blade, Indian Castle site,

(c) saw made from a brass trigger-guard fragment, Lot 18 site,

(d) saw made from an iron-scissors blade, Indian Castle site.





bells and mouth harps and still value wooden drums and turtle-shell rattles. On the other hand, the acceptance of new things created the need for new tools, for example screwdrivers and small vises to service firearms. The processes of acceptance, use, and replacement were neither linear nor simple.

*Emulation*. Some examples of emulation are straight forward, like making a wooden spoon or antler comb in the shape of a European one. However, emulation is harder to pin down in terms of symbols and technology. For example, by 1650 the Onondaga had learned to cast their own musket balls as well as small effigy figures, often described as turtles. These figures and other small cast objects were made increasingly throughout the 1650 to 1665 period. Of particular interest is a small lead medallion reported by Beauchamp from the Indian Castle site (Figure 5.38c). Only one side was recorded, and it depicts a human bust with hands in front of the face. This is not a traditional Onondaga method of depicting a person and appears to

# Case Study 8. Imaging kinship

Just as traditional materials were utilized in new ways, traditional symbols also took on expanded meanings, especially in terms of how new concepts and relationships were depicted. Hourglass motifs are a good example. Although broadly used across the Eastern Woodlands, hourglass forms appear for the first time in Onondaga between 1650-1665. As discussed in Chapter Three, hourglass figures have a long history of use in the Northeast and were frequently associated with shamanism and ritual practice. They occur most often in petroglyphs and on small portable objects such as smoking pipes. By the mid-seventeenth century, hourglass motifs often served as a representation of personhood or social relationships. It was a versatile symbol, and by the 1660s these figures appear to have been used to depict kinship, an agreement or alliance, or an individual's war record.

The hourglass form is actually a family of related motifs in which a vertical hourglass could be expressed in negative as well as positive space. It could also be depicted horizontally, diagonally as a four-pointed star, or incorporated into an anthropomorphic figure with or without a head and extremities. By 1666 some of the manifestations of hourglass figures are visible for the first time in the Onondaga archaeological record, as well as in related pictographs. Hourglass figures in several forms would remain an important part of Five Nations' iconography for the rest of the century (99).



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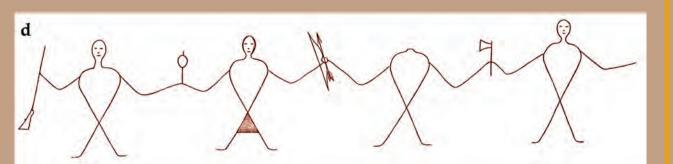
**Figure 5.36.** Archaeological and pictographic examples of hourglass motifs—

(a) drawing of a stone vasiform pipe incised with a vertical-hourglass design, Seneca Dutch Hollow site,

(b) graphite drawing by Gene Mackay of a beareffigy comb with a vertical hourglass appearing as negative space, Seneca Adams site,

(c) photograph of an anthropomorphic lead figure, Indian Castle site,

(d) pictographic depiction of a war record, note figures with and without heads, 1666.





be an effort to emulate a European medal or coin. This object is a technical leap beyond the turtles and anthropomorphic figures made by hammering or cutting a piece of lead to shape, or even compared to those that were roughly cast. This medallion appears to have been made from a mold, although there is no evidence at present for molds from Five Nations sites of this period. We will discuss this more under Appropriation.

Emulating European technology successfully meant more than just copying behavior. It required an understanding of how and why things were done. During the nearly two years Ste. Marie was in operation, the Onondaga had direct exposure to several new technologies as the French worked to build their colony and impress their hosts. One can easily imagine Onondaga men intently watching French craftsmen as they shaped and welded iron, planed a board, or patched a brass kettle, and then going home to try out these skills for themselves. And there are indications that they did. Some of the simply forged-iron objects recovered from Lot 18 and Indian Castle, such as screwdrivers and pothooks, could easily have been Native work. A complicating factor is that in terms of metalwork, it is likely the technical skills of other Native people influenced the Onondaga as much as those of the Europeans. This was especially the case in learning to work brass sheet and wire. Both Ontario and Susquehannock people were already skilled in using the shaping and joining techniques that the Onondaga were beginning to master.

Firearms represent a technology that was first emulated and then quickly appropriated. It did not take long for Five Nations' warriors to accept the potential of these new weapons and emulate their use. Nor did it take long for them to modify and adapt firearms to fit their own needs. Much has been made of the ways in which firearms transformed Native warfare, too much perhaps. Guns certainly had an impact, but their importance was more about appropriating the power of European weapons than emulating their techniques of warfare. Native warriors seldom considered guns to be superior to traditional weapons. This was clear to contemporaneous observers. The effectiveness of guns, Des Groseilliers noted during his tour of Lake Michigan in 1654–1655, was due to "the noise of which . . . frighted them more than the bulletts that weare in them." Twenty years later Fr. Claude-Jean Allouez observed that Native people,

wage war with 7 or 8 different nations, but do not use guns, finding them too cumbersome and slow. They carry them, never the less, when they march against nations who do not understand the use of them, to frighten them by the noise and put them to rout.

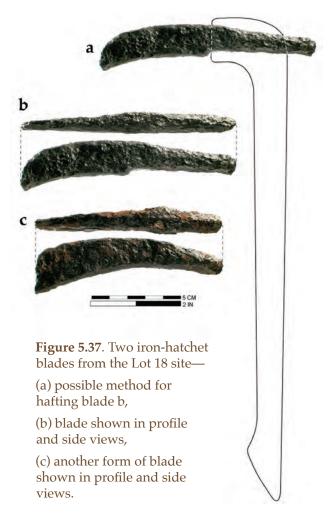
Perhaps most illuminating is Radisson's comment on the Dakota response to his use of firearms in 1659. As he observed, they believed that the "true means to gett victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gune" (100).

*Appropriation*. Appropriation can happen at many levels in cross-cultural interactions. In Onondaga prior to 1650, appropriation usually meant taking a European material or object and using it in a new or different way. Brass kettles, for example, were valued primarily for their potential reuse. During the 1650 to 1665 period similar processes for appropriating iron were well underway. From a practical point of view, the Onondaga appear to have considered iron a novel form of metal and used the same methods to manipulate it as they did with copper and brass. Axes continued to be scored, broken, and ground into both patterned tools, such as celts, and expedient ones, such as scrapers. Another European object routinely transformed into both specific and more generalized forms was a sword blade. The blade was snapped off near the cross guard and notches ground into it for use as a fishing or eel spear. Meanwhile, the proximal end, or grip, made an excellent hafted adze or scraper after the remaining stub of blade was reground. Along with crooked knives and small saws, these new implements appropriated from European objects had become a regular part of the Onondaga tool kit (101).

Another way in which the Onondaga may have experimented with iron was making small crescent-shaped iron blades for their war clubs. Wooden war clubs, called *casse-têtes* or head-breakers by the French, were one of the

traditional weapons used by warriors throughout the Eastern Woodlands. War clubs were made in many styles, some of which included an antler tine, a ground-stone bar celt, and later an iron blade. These elaborate clubs served as markers of personal and ethnic identity and could be given as a gift, used to seal an agreement, or left on the body of a slain enemy.

Among the iron artifacts from the Lot 18 site are five examples of blades that appear to be from war clubs. Unlike the iron celts made from ax blades, these blades appear to have been roughly forged and then ground to shape. They come in two distinct forms—four have a rounded or tapering poll and a steeply dropping blade, and one was made from flat stock with a flat circular pole and a triangular blade. It is possible that these were European hatchets forged in Québec or Montréal and given to the Onondaga for use in their war





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against the Erie. It is equally possible that these were Native-made, an iron replacement for the antler-tine or bar celt traditionally used on war clubs. Whatever their source, these iron-hatchet blades would become a standard part of Onondaga war regalia and remain so for the rest of the century (102).

While appropriation between 1650 and 1665 occurred primarily in material culture, it also operated at other levels. Given the intensity of interactions, it is not surprising that the Onondaga began to appropriate more European symbols for their own use, at least in an exploratory manner. The cross is one example. Crossed lines were hardly new to the Onondaga, but their encounters with the Jesuits put this symbol into an entirely different context. It was no wonder that when Mohawk raiders brought trophies home from a 1662 attack near Montréal, "a Crucifix about two feet in height" was one of their prizes. Nor was it a coincidence that when the Onondaga chose to burn some of their French prisoners in 1660, they "tied [them] to the stake in a manner entirely different," one that mimicked the cross. Symbols could be used as weapons just as effectively as firearms or war clubs (103).

Another example is the Native-cast lead medallion from Indian Castle mentioned previously under Emulation. This medallion, depicting a human bust with hands in front of the face, demonstrates the appropriation of a symbol of authority. By this time Onondaga people certainly understood that Europeans used medals to demonstrate authority in the sacred and secular realms. By choosing this form, the maker may have hoped to capture some of its power. Interestingly, like earlier bone and antler examples, the medallion is perforated at the base so it would hang upside down yet be right-side up when held up to the face. While the medal retains a traditional Onondaga orientation for being worn, it appropriates a European symbol of authority (104).

*Hybridization*. Just as the other processes of cross-cultural interaction grew in scale and complexity during this period, so did examples of hybridization. Often these were objects that were created by other Native people, such as wampum, but which became essential components of Onondaga material culture. These new hybrids include the use of wampum in belts, marine-shell runtees, and brass spirals in a symmetrical double form.

Figure 5.38. Examples of cast lead and pewter objects from Onondaga sites-

(a) cast-lead turtle, Indian Castle site,

(b) cast-pewter turtle, Indian Castle site,

(c) cast-lead medallion of a human with hands in front of the face, worn upside down using a perforation at the base, Indian Castle site,

(d) anthropomorphic bone pendant with a perforation at the bottom of the face, Atwell site.

*Wampum belts and diplomacy.* In Chapter Three we discussed the origins of wampum, probably the most successful cross-cultural hybrid of the seventeenth century, and its diverse functions. By 1665 it had acquired a new and increasingly important purpose. Wampum provided a means for talking with Europeans. In many ways this new function was an extension of its traditional ones—opening the way for communication, condoling any previous injury or affront, and providing a structure for making requests and giving replies. Wampum also served as a physical reminder of past agreements. All these functions were needed in the turbulent years between 1650 and 1665, as the Onondaga and French struggled to define an appropriate relationship.

One challenge in tracing the changing use of wampum lies in the various terms related to it. During these years, the wampum used in negotiation was usually described in the French manner, as colliers de porcelaine. Porcelaine and porcelaine colliers were prominent among the gifts Onondaga ambassadors took to Montréal and Québec in September 1653 and again in February 1654. Father Le Moine used porcelaine colliers, along with some little glass tubes and a moose skin, when he laid his 19 words before the Onondaga in August 1654. They replied with 10 large porcelaine colliers. Over the next 12 years, wampum would play a key role in defining the relationships between the Onondaga and the French (105).

Although the phrase colliers de porcelaine usually is interpreted as "wampum belt," even the word *belt* can be problematic. For example, one of the few references to a belt occurred during the reply to Chaumonot's first presentation in Onondaga in November 1655. The Onondaga Speaker took a collar of 7,000 beads and, "holding the beautiful collar in his hand, he made for him [Chaumonot] a belt with it, . . . calling on all the spectators to witness that this girdle . . . symbolized his own future close union" (106). As we saw in Chapter Three, wampum beads could be strung in many ways and for many purposes. Some may have been belts, while others functioned as sashes, bracelets, or garters. Since there are no contemporaneous definitions for these terms, it is easy to become confused.

The real question is—when did the Onondaga begin to use wampum in belt form for the purpose of negotiating relationships with the French? In order to answer this question, we must define what constituted a belt. In this book the word *belt* describes a fiber or leather framework with shell, glass, and occasionally brass beads woven into it, at least seven beads wide. Those six or less beads wide are considered a sash, strap, or garter.

Historical documents provide some clarification of when wampum belts attained their significance. In 1663, when Garakontié led a delegation of Onondaga and Seneca to Montréal to negotiate a peace settlement, they took "a prodigious collection of porcelain" with them. These included "a hundred collars, some of which were more than a foot in width." Within

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665

another decade, wampum belts would often be described by their width, or how many beads high or deep they were. The first description of a wampum belt, a porcelaine collier more than a foot wide, was recorded in 1663. The archaeological record also provides important evidence. Although no wampum belts are known from Onondaga sites of this period, several Seneca examples have survived. Some have motifs that appear to depict the Five Nations. Perhaps wampum belts such as these were among the 11 presents Garakontié offered to the French in December 1665 when the peace treaty was renewed (107).

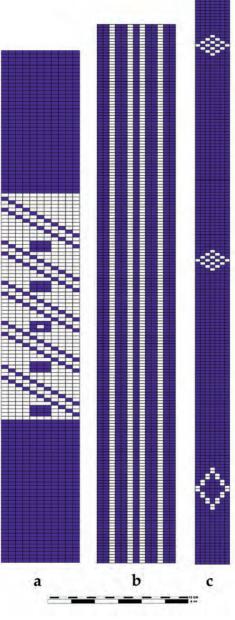
Wampum belts were a physical manifestation of a set of behaviors, one in which the Five Nations and their European neighbors began to speak formally with one another (108). Two other elements of an emerging diplomatic protocol were used in the 1665-1666 peace agreements. One was the use of Five Nations' ritual language of condolence, "to wipe their eyes, . . . to open their mouths . . . to strengthen their hearts," in responding to the propositions from the French delegation. It is not clear whether these "words" were accompanied by a wampum belt. The second element was how the agreement was finalized. Whether wampum belts were used or not, paper certainly was. After "having been read in the Iroquois tongue," a paper copy of the final version of the agreement was signed first by the French, then by the Onondaga and the other upper Iroquois ambassadors, who "affix[ed] the distinctive mark of their tribes [clans]—The Bear, the Wolf and the Tortoise [Turtle]" in turn. This marks the first time the essential components of an emerging diplomatic protocol were used together. These would continue to define how negotiations would be carried out for the rest of the century and well beyond (109).

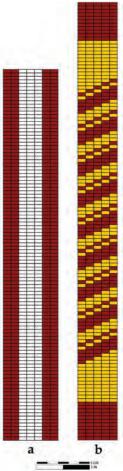
There is one more way in which wampum belts exemplify their hybrid quality. Although composed primarily of shell beads, belts could also incorporate beads of glass, copper, or brass. In some cases, belts were made entirely of glass beads. Just as the finished glass beads that became common on Five Nations sites during the late 1650s appear to have **Figure 5.39**. Drawings of three reconstructed Seneca wampum belts from the mid-seventeenth century—

(a) with purple ends, and five pairs of purple diagonal lines and five small squares on a white field, Dann site,

(b) with four white rows on a purple field, Marsh site,

(c) with four white diamonds on a purple field, Dann site.





**Figure 5.40**. Examples of a wampum belt and a wampum strap from the mid-seventeenth century reconstructed using glass beads—

(a) belt of red-glass and whiteshell beads, Seneca Steele site,

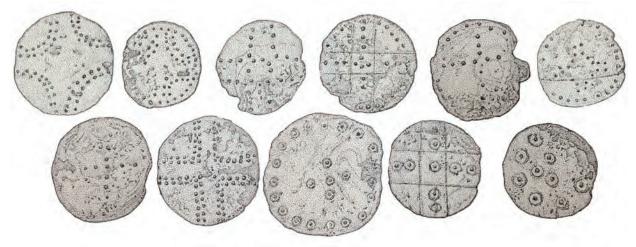
(b) strap of red- and yellowglass beads, Dann site. been made to be interchangeable with wampum beads, the use of glass beads in belts increased steadily during the later seventeenth century.

*Marine-shell runtees.* Like wampum, circular shell runtees were a new cross-cultural hybrid although their function is not clear. Runtees

are unique in form, usually a disc of shell with two parallel perforations, and they have no obvious precedent in either Native or European material culture. In terms of iconography, the most frequently occurring motif is the cross-in-circle, a traditional Native symbol and one that might have been a material indication of the Mississippian Afterglow. This motif was usually executed in a combination of incised lines and rows of drilled dots, the latter a Chesapeake Bay style. Runtees were also embellished with compass-scribed lines in a star or rosette, motifs drawn with a European tool. Rather than being a standardized form, runtees reflect a variety of influences.

**b** Runtees are the material evidence of a conscious effort to create a set of new objects, ones that helped to redefine Native identity in the mid-Atlantic region after 1650. This effort drew on traditional preferences, concepts, and iconography, as well as on newly available European tools and entrepreneurial backing. Runtees were objects meant to transcend the region's diverse ethnic and linguistic heritage, and they did. The evidence for their success lies in their occurrence on sites across the Northeast, the Great Lakes, and as far west as the Eastern Plains. Whoever made them, circular shell runtees certainly functioned as multicultural hybrid objects during the last half of the seventeenth century (**110**).

Figure 5.41. Drawings of marine-shell runtees from the Seneca Dann site. Drawings by Patricia Miller.





*Brass double spirals.* Mirror-image brass spirals are a hybrid form specific to this period. Beauchamp refers to them as earrings and observed "they are often broken in the center . . . [and] . . . are probably more frequent on Onondaga sites than elsewhere." How they were actually used remains unknown, because several stories appear to be intertwined here (111).

Spiraling motion was important in Iroquoian culture, especially when associated with copper and brass. Large single spirals made from oor e-shaped tubing are a horizon marker for sites, ca. 1550-1630. As archaeologist Lisa Anselmi has suggested, single spirals appear to have been an early hybrid of European metals, Great Lakes metalworking technology, and Susquehannock iconography. These early single spirals

# Table 5.6. Distribution of brass-spiral forms (n = 95) from Onondaga,Susquehannock, and Seneca sites, ca. 1640 to 1675.

	Hollow tube		Wire		
	6	00	6	00	
Site	single	double	single	double	asymmetrical
Onondaga					
Carley	_	_	1	_	_
1640–1650					
Lot 18	_	_	_	—	_
1650–1655					
Indian Castle	_	_	4	10	1
1655–1663			2	-	
Indian Hill 1663–1682	_	-	3	7	_
Susquehannock Strickler	7	30	2		2
1645–1666		50		—	2
Oscar Leibhart	_	_	_	_	_
1665–1674					
Seneca					
Steele	_	_	4	3	_
1635–1655					
Power House	_	-	4	1	_
1640–1660					
Marsh	_	-	5	-	_
1650–1675					
Dann	_	-	-	-	_
1655–1675					

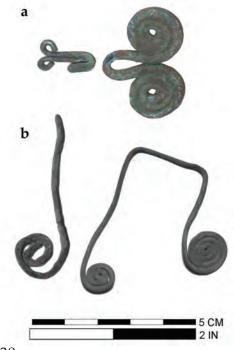
have been found on many Iroquoian sites, with the Susquehannock having the most frequent occurrence. Whatever their origin and meaning, these spirals disappeared from the archaeological record around 1630, even on Susquehannock sites. Then they reappear during the 1640s, first as single then increasingly in a new symmetrical double-spiral form. By the 1660s double spirals made of tubes or wire became common on Iroquoian sites, with the highest frequency on Susquehannock, Onondaga, and Seneca sites, in that order (**112**).

Where did the double-spiral form come from, and why was it so popular on sites of this period? Part of the answer lies with the Susquehannock and their precarious position during the 1640s and early 1650s. Caught between the Dutch and English, the Susquehannock began to rely on the nearby Swedes for trade and military aid. Brass hook-and-eye clothing fasteners may be one of the material markers of that relationship. At present these European-style fasteners are known only from the Susquehannock Strickler site, ca. 1645 to 1666. It appears that the Susquehannock appropriated the eye of these fasteners for their own purposes and replicated them in a variety of styles and sizes. Why would they take such a mundane object and incorporate it into their own culture? One possibility is that this

**Figure 5.42.** Double spirals, double stories from the Susquehannock and the Onondaga—

(a) brass hook-and-eye set likely made by Europeans, Susquehannock Strickler site,

(b) left, partially completed single spiral made of wire; right, partially completed double spiral made of wire, Onondaga Indian Castle site.



metal form reflected their relationship with a powerful European ally as well as the revival of a familiar iconographic motif, one that harkened back to a time when the Susquehannock were a dominant regional power. Whatever the reason, these brass spiraling forms made and used by the Susquehannock occur with greater frequency at the Strickler site than anywhere else in the Northeast.

The significance of these brass double spirals lies in reference to the growing hostilities between the Onondaga and Susquehannock during the 1650s. It is not known when or why they went to war. Perhaps the peace treaty the Susquehannock signed with the Europeans in Maryland in 1652, along with the support of their Swedish partners, emboldened the Susquehannock to take a harder line against what they perceived as encroachment by the Five Nations. But by August 1655 their Swedish allies were gone. It was only a year later that the Onondaga approached the Dutch West India Company director-general Petrus Stuyvesant to establish direct trade connections to the south, an action that the Susquehannock would have found threatening. Whenever it started, the



conflict between the Onondaga and Susquehannock would last until 1675. It would drain the population of both sides and become the driving force in decision-making (113).

In Onondaga brass double spirals occur most frequently at the Indian Castle site, ca. 1655 to 1663, after the Susquehannock lost their Swedish allies. However, there is a fundamental difference between the double spirals that occur on Susquehannock sites and those from Onondaga. While the Susquehannock examples are almost always made from tubes, the Onondaga examples were produced exclusively from wire (114). Appropriating one of your enemy's most important symbols and making it your own could be a useful tactic in Native warfare, much like leaving your war club with those it had slain. In this case the Onondaga not only took a Susquehannock symbol, they converted it into a new one by fabricating it, and possibly using it, in a different way. This makes the Onondaga version a complex hybrid, an appropriation of an appropriation. We will probably never know the actual meaning of these distinctive objects. Based on their distribution, the presence of double spirals strongly supports the argument that it was the Sinnekens of Onnedaego (Onondaga), not the Seneca, who were primarily involved in the war with the Susquehannock.

#### Identity

If Onondaga was an amalgam of ethnic backgrounds in 1650, it was even more diverse when the peace settlement was signed with the French in December 1665. How did Onondaga people define themselves at that point? First, we need to clarify some terms and look at the difference between Who and What was Onondaga, and how these definitions changed during the period. Then we will examine the strategies Onondaga people used to maintain and protect their cultural identity. Finally, we will see to what extent those processes are reflected in the archaeological evidence from the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites.

In previous chapters, we talked briefly about the dynamic quality of identity and the difference between its fixed and flexible aspects. The fixed component was a set of core beliefs—orenda, balance, kinship, sense of place, and the values of respect, responsibility, and reciprocity. The flexible part was the way in which these beliefs and values could be expressed. The distinction between fixed and flexible underlies the discussion of identity between 1650 and 1665.

Onondaga identity was shaped by a combination of internal and external influences. Internal influences can be defined as the stresses and disagreements within Onondaga itself, especially those that may have produced factions. While the historical documents strongly suggest that factions formed around the French and Christianity, both for and against, these dynamics are difficult to see in the archaeological record. External influences were those coming from outside Onondaga. Europeans were

certainly important, but during this period their influence was less than that of the Native people who were adopted or assimilated. In this case, while historical documents provide hints, material culture provides specific supporting evidence.

#### Who and What

While many factors influenced Onondaga between 1650 and 1665, most fall into two basic categories—people and material objects. The most important group of people were the Onondaga themselves, the men who went off to hunt, raid, and trade, and the women who travelled to visit and conduct business. The primary goal for men was bringing captives back to Onondaga, as the historical documents point out. However, people also came to Onondaga voluntarily, or because they had no better option. Voluntary relocation is seldom stated in the documents. One of the few examples was the disastrous decision made by one group of Huron– Wendat to come to Onondaga in the summer of 1657. Still, given the number of Ontario Iroquoians reported in Onondaga by Jesuits, it seems likely that other groups from Ontario had made the decision to come to Onondaga.

However new people arrived in Onondaga, their influence had broad significance in terms of practices as well as material culture preferences. Smoking pipe forms, metalworking skills, and iconography are some of the preferences visible in the archaeological record. Others are more difficult to discern, such as beliefs and ephemeral material objects like birch-bark containers or "scarfs and belts . . . made from these birds [feathers]." While our goal is to understand the people who created the archaeological record, we are limited by what we can see. In other words, when working with material evidence, we have to start with the What and work toward finding the Who (**115**).

As with people, material objects came to Onondaga in many ways. Some came through exchange or trade with other Native people. Warriors brought back more than captives. There were trophies and other forms of wealth to be displayed and distributed. They also brought back nonmaterial things, such as new ideas, forms, technology, and symbols. As with European influences, the Onondaga used the same processes of direct use, emulation, appropriation, and hybridization to incorporate cultural elements from other Native traditions into their own.

#### **Strategies**

If these were the processes by which the Onondaga incorporated the materials, forms, technologies, and ideas of other Native people, what were their broader strategic goals for maintaining identity? During this period the Onondaga focused on two fundamental strategies—extending kinship and preserving traditional ceremonial practices. In both cases, the incorporation of new people and the cultural elements that came with them



were significant factors in reshaping Onondaga identity between 1650 and 1665.

*Extending kinship*. The most basic strategy was the ongoing process of coalescence, bringing new people into Onondaga through adoption and assimilation to strengthen the nation. While Ontario Iroquoians had the most significant influence during these years, the historical documents indicate the Onondaga had contact, in one way or another, with many other Native groups across the Eastern Woodlands. Among these were Algonquian speakers from several areas, including the

- St. Lawrence River drainage and the Great Lakes Montagnais, Nipissing, Ottawa, and Ojibwa people
- Upper Mississippi River valley the Fire Nation and Shawnee people
- Chesapeake Bay region Piscataway, Patawomeke, and Nanticoke people.

Other Native groups included Iroquoian speakers, especially the Erie after 1654 and the Susquehannock after 1655, and Siouan speakers from in the upper Mississippi River valley. To what degree does the archaeological evidence reflect these interactions (**116**)?

The Onondaga also attempted to expand kinship in another novel way. This was to incorporate Europeans, collectively and individually. From an Onondaga point of view, the invitation to establish Ste. Marie de Gannentaha in the heart of their own country was an effort to engage the French collectively as kin. It was also an action that reflected the internal strength and confidence of the Onondaga. Even the Jesuits were aware of what was being offered, although they intended to use the opportunity for their own purposes—

The alliances that we contract with the Savages according to the fashion of the country constitute one of the most excellent means . . . for advancing the faith among them . . . The contract of their union, which was concluded in the presence of the envoys of the Five Nations, has since then always caused them to consider the French as a portion of their people whom they are obliged to cherish and defend with all their might.

Kinship was also offered to individuals. Like Radisson, a good example is Charles Le Moyne. After serving as an engagée in the Huron mission, Le Moyne settled in Montréal in 1646. There he served as an interpreter and captain of the militia. Captured by the Onondaga in the summer of 1665, he was adopted and given the name *Akouessn*, or Partridge. He was released a year later, apparently through Garakontié's efforts, and went on to father 12 sons and two daughters and became one of the wealthiest merchants in

New France. For the rest of the century, the Le Moyne family would play a crucial role in French and Onondaga relationships (117).

*Maintaining ceremonial practices*. The other basic strategy may have operated at a less conscious level. As with European things, the reason any trait was assimilated from another Native culture into Onondaga was to strengthen existing beliefs and practices. The difficulty lies in distinguishing between what was traditionally Onondaga and what may have been appropriated from another source. For example, we know from Fr. Claude Dablon's journal that Onondaga healing rituals included practices such as the use of turtle-shell rattles. We also have Dablon's account of the Mid-Winter Festival of February 1656 and know it included singing, dancing, feasting, dream guessing, and storytelling, as well as ritual cleansing and healing. William Fenton, William M. Beauchamp, and others have suggested that by this date, many of these ritual practices and the objects used in them had Ontario Iroquoian origins. At present, neither the archaeological nor documentary record has enough resolution to demonstrate this clearly (**118**).

#### Identity at the Lot 18 site

The years between 1650 and 1655 were relatively peaceful ones, especially after the peace agreement of 1653. This ended with the Erie war in 1654, when small bands of Onondaga warriors ranged from the northern shores of Lake Huron to the Ohio Valley and the Chesapeake to raid as well as trade. Although archaeological evidence of these raids is limited, it is sufficient to give us some sense of who and what was Onondaga by 1655. Since we have discussed traditional Onondaga material culture, the focus here is on traits from other Native traditions evident at this site.

As expected, the clearest material evidence of extended kinship is from Ontario Iroquoians. While there are suggestive hints, such as the presence of distinctive Huron–Wendat pottery and metalworking techniques, two traits are evident. One was the tendency to modify red-glass beads. Onondaga people had their own preference in terms of red beads, both glass and stone. At Lot 18, this was expanded through appropriation of two Ontario practices for modifying red-glass beads. One was to remove any stripes present by grinding them off, and another was to change the shape of a bead's profile from round to square, triangular, or acentric. In Ontario, these processes were associated with making red-glass beads look more like those made from siltstone and pipestone. In Onondaga this trait reflects the presence of Ontario Iroquoians within the larger population (119).

The presence of small stone effigy pendants is a second trait. The Onondaga had long-used anthropomorphic faces on ceramic pots and pipes, and occasionally on bone and shell pendants. In contrast, stone effigy pendants often with a cap or band across the forehead appear

#### Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665



to be an Ontario trait (120). The first known example in Onondaga is a small red-slate bead from Lot 18. There is also evidence of other Native-culture influence at Lot 18— exotic lithics from the Ohio and Susquehanna Valleys, the first occurrence of Susquehannock-style c-shaped bracelets, and a fragment of a simple calumet-style pipe. However, these are more likely to be evidence of trade or trophies than an indication of new people in the Onondaga population (121).



**Figure 5.43.** Five red ground-glass beads from the Lot 18 site.

Specific Ontario ritual objects also occur at Lot 18. The best example is a particular style of smoking pipe, known as the pinch-face pipe. In Ontario this form is strongly associated with shamanistic healing and occurs on many Huron–Wendat, Petun, and Neutral sites. This anthropomorphic pipe form, not found on Onondaga sites prior to Lot 18, occurs frequently on subsequent sites and provides evidence that Ontario healing practices were used in Onondaga during this period (122).

#### Identity at the Indian Castle site

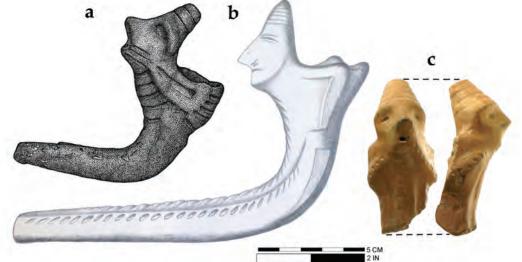
The years between 1655 and 1663 were markedly different from those when the Onondaga lived at Lot 18. This was the time when the French experiment at Ste. Marie de Gannentaha failed and relationships between Onondaga and the French, as well as their Native allies, were decidedly hostile. It was also during these years that the Onondaga dispute with the Susquehannock escalated into a major conflict, probably causing them to abandon the Indian Castle site around 1663.

**Figure 5.44.** Ontario Iroquoian pinch-face pipes from Onondaga sites—

(a) Lot 18 site,

(b) Oak Orchard site,

(c) left, view facing the smoker of a stone pipe; right, profile view, Pompey, NY.



During these turbulent years, the historical documents emphasize how internally diverse Onondaga became, with "seven different Nations who have come to settle" there in 1656 and "eight or ten conquered nations" five years later. It is easy to misinterpret such statements. As Conrad Heidenreich has observed, these references are to the various nations of Huron–Wendat and Neutral people, not completely different Native groups. It is also difficult, as Bruce Trigger has pointed out, to distinguish the Ontario Iroquoians who joined the Iroquois voluntarily from those who had been taken prisoner. Whatever the case, I agree with Daniel Richter that a large number of Ontario people had been integrated into Onondaga, and by this time many considered themselves Onondaga. Examples include Soionés, a Huron by birth but naturalized as an Onondaga, and Otchiondi, a Huron captured by the French who had been adopted by the Onondaga in 1658 (123).

Ontario Iroquoian influence continues to provide the clearest, most broadly distributed, material evidence for the extension of kinship in Onondaga. In addition to the traits described at Lot 18—modification of red-glass beads and the presence of small stone effigy pendants—there are other Ontario-related practices present at Indian Castle and the related Onondaga fishing sites. The tendency toward longer and thinner projectile points may be a reflection of Ontario influence. Another is the widespread use of stemless stone pipes, especially vasiform and perching-bird forms, styles long associated with Ontario Iroquoians. Beauchamp reported several examples from Onondaga country observing their similarity to prehistoric pipes from Ontario and Ohio. Based on their the form and workmanship, however, he considered the Onondaga examples to be "modern," that is, from the historic period. For him, confirmation came from the occurrence of these pipes in burials, along with glass and shell beads, brass finger rings, and firearms that fixed the date for these forms in historic time (124).

Clay smoking pipes continue to provide strong material evidence for widespread Ontario influence in Onondaga. While several traditional Onondaga pipe forms occur within the Indian Castle assemblage, there are significant changes. Several of the effigy forms are closely related to Ontario styles. In addition, a new form is present, one with an elongated conical- or barrel-shaped bowl, usually decorated with encircling incised rings. Often referred to as "ring-bowl pipes," this distinct style is closely associated with Ontario Iroquoians as well as the Seneca (125). A third of the pipes from Indian Castle are ring-bowl forms. Some are hybrids, with a typical Onondaga example being a bear effigy on a ring-bowl pipe. Ontario-influenced clay pipes also have been recovered from the fishing sites in Brewerton and at the Oak Orchard site. This broad distribution of Ontario-related traits in the Indian Castle assemblage, especially smoking pipes, is an indication of a substantial Ontario Iroquoian presence within the Onondaga population.



There is material evidence of other Native influence at Indian Castle, as at Lot 18. Examples include projectile points and gunflints made from exotic Ohio and Susquehanna Valley lithics, and an unusual stone pipe. Archaeologist Penelope Drooker has observed that similar pipes were often used in greeting rituals and other nonhostile interactions. Like the fragmentary calumet from Lot 18, this limestone disc pipe may have been a war trophy. However they reached Onondaga, the presence of a few such exotic objects

is more likely a reflection of trade, travel, or trophy-collecting, than the presence of a new population (**126**).

One way to test the degree to which Ontario Iroquoians may have become a substantial presence in Onondaga by the mid-1660s is to look for evidence of new ways in which ritual power, or orenda, was visualized and invoked. The evidence from Indian Castle indicates that several new zoomorphic agents-turtles, raptorial birds, and panthers-become a more visible component of Onondaga material culture by 1663 and are a likely reflection of Ontario Iroquoian influence. Ontario traditions in turn drew on the diverse, often shared, or even appropriated practices of others, especially from their Algonquian Anishinaabe neighbors in the Great Lakes, their Fort Ancient neighbors in the Ohio Valley, and even from Siouan speakers in the upper Mississippi Valley (127).

**Figure 5.45.** Comparison of ceramic-pipe styles from Onondaga sites—

(a) Ontario-influenced ring-bowl pipe, Oak Orchard site,

(b) Onondaga-style bear-effigy pipe, Indian Castle site,

(c) left, view facing the smoker of a hybrid style of bear-effigy ring-bowl pipe; right, profile view, Indian Castle site.



**Figure 5.46.** Exotic stone pipes from Onondaga sites—

(a) left, end view of a fragmentary calumet-style pipe made of soapstone; right, side view, Lot 18 site,

(b) four views clockwise from upper left—top, bottom, end, and profile, of a fragmentary disc pipe made of limestone, Indian Castle site.







**Figure 5.47.** Ceramic turtle-effigy pipe from the Indian Castle site, clockwise from upper left—head end, profile, ventral, and dorsal views.

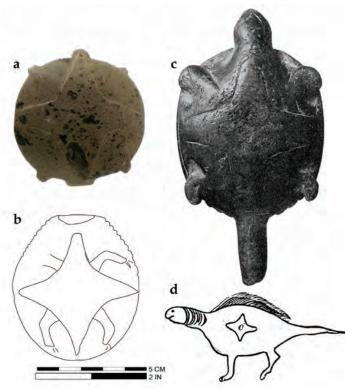


Figure 5.48. Turtle-effigy pipes-

- (a) stone turtle pipe, Phoenix, NY,
- (b) drawing of a stone pipe with a turtle motif, IN,
- (c) stone turtle pipe, WI,
- (d) a Five Nations' pictograph of a turtle copied by Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, ca. 1666.

Taken together, these new expressions served to reinforce traditional ritual practices in Onondaga. Turtles are an example. Not only do they occur at Indian Castle as small lead effigy figures, but they become a more common motif for clay and stone smoking pipes. Few turtle pipes are known from previous Onondaga sites. A finely made, clay turtle pipe from Indian Castle is remarkably similar to examples from Huronia, suggesting an appropriation or a shared origin. A stone pipe depicting a turtle was found at an Onondaga fishing site on the Oswego River. A notable feature of this pipe is a four-pointed star-shaped motif on the ventral side, part of the family of hourglass motifs discussed previously. Similar stone turtle pipes with this motif have been reported from the Midwest and Great Lakes. As George Hamell has pointed out, this shape occurs naturally on the plastron of juvenile snapping turtles, suggesting that these pipes had important ritual functions. Chaumonot's illustration of a similar turtle as a clan symbol in 1666 underscores that this turtle-and-star motif might have had many possible meanings (128).

Although birds were a traditional effigy form on Onondaga pipes, there is a significant change in the way they were depicted during this period. Previously, most pipes portrayed non-raptorial birds, such as crows, ravens, gulls, and owls. Most depictions showed the head of a bird only, often with an open mouth forming the bowl. After 1650 there is more evidence for perched or nesting birds in both clay and stone. These styles, although new in Onondaga, are familiar in Ontario (129).

# Material Culture Matters, 1650-1665

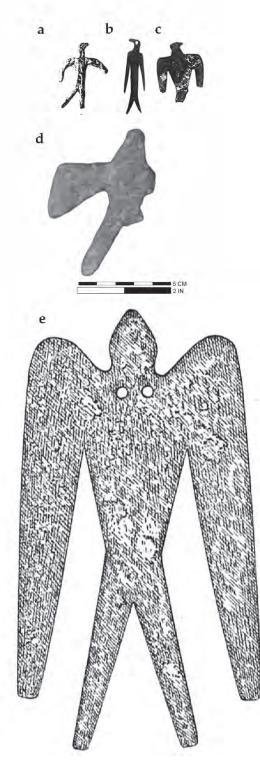


**Figure 5.49.** Stemless bird-effigy pipes made of slate from Onondaga-related sites—

(a) drawing of a bird-effigy pipe from the Oneida River,

(b) photograph of a bird-effigy pipe from the Seneca River.



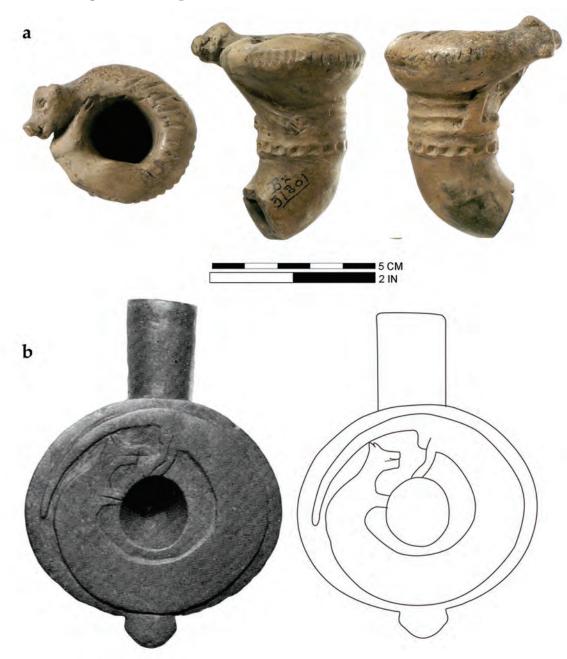


Most discussions of bird imagery include thunderbirds, the most powerful of the World Above beings in many Native traditions. Several examples of thunderbirds, usually cut from sheet brass or occasionally formed from lead, are known from early to midseventeenth-century Algonquian sites in New England and the Hudson Valley. In Onondaga and the other Five Nations, however, there are few if any material culture depictions of thunderbirds before 1650, and they are rare during the Indian Castle period. Only two examples have been reported, both cut or hammered from lead. One is from the contemporaneous Mohawk Printup site and the other from the Seneca Marsh site. While the thunderbird was an important symbol elsewhere in the Northeast and beyond, it had yet to become a significant part of Onondaga cosmology.

The panther, the denizen of the World Below, also begins to appear as a symbol of power on Five Nations sites at this time. Explicit Panther Man-Being representations occur during the second quarter of the seventeenth century

**Figure 5.50.** Metal thunderbird figures from Algonquian and Iroquois sites—

- (a) hammered-out lead example, Seneca Marsh site,
- (b) small sheet-brass cut-out, Pennacook Smyth site, Manchester, NH,
- (c) small sheet-brass cut-out, Squakheag site, Hinsdale, NH,
- (d) cast-lead example, Mohawk Printup site,
- (e) drawing of a large sheet-brass cut-out, Pennacook site, Amoskeag Falls, NH.



**Figure 5.51.** Panther-effigy pipe from an Onondaga site and a comparable example from Ontario—

(a) top and two side views of a ceramic pipe with a panther curled around the top of the bowl, Indian Castle site,

(b) photograph and drawing of a panther in low relief on the rim of a stone disc pipe, Lake Medad, Ontario.

and proliferate with the assimilation of Ontario Iroquoians. After 1650 depictions of long-bodied long-tailed creatures began to appear across the Five Nations on smoking pipes and combs. These depictions frequently mirror those used previously in Ontario. One example is a clay ring-bowl pipe from Indian Castle with a long-bodied long-tailed panther coiled around the rim. This motif is very similar to the panther carved in low relief around the top of a disc pipe from a Neutral site in Ontario (130).



Panthers are also depicted for the first time on bone and antler combs. They often are shown as twins facing one another in mirror-image symmetry above the comb's teeth. This form has been documented on Neutral sites, such as Grimsby, and occurs on Seneca and Onondaga sites in partially completed as well as finished forms (131).

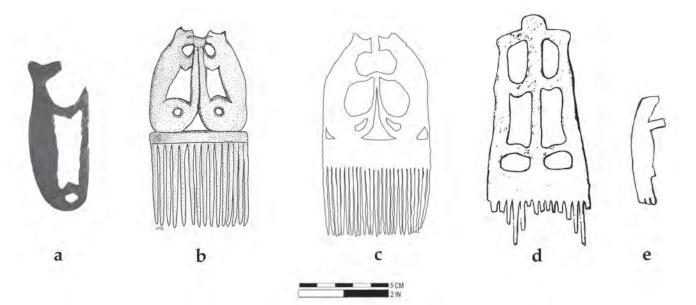


Figure 5.52. Panther imagery from Ontario Iroquoian and Five Nations sites-

- (a) sheet-brass panther, Huron-Wendat Robitaille site,
- (b) mirror-image panthers on an antler comb, Neutral Grimsby site,
- (c) mirror-image panthers on a comb, Seneca Rochester Junction site,
- (d) stylized mirror-image panthers on a comb, Seneca Dann site,
- (e) antler comb fragment, Indian Castle site.

It is hard to quantify this kind of information, since sample sizes are small. Still, taken together the archaeological evidence from Indian Castle demonstrates that by 1663 Ontario Iroquoian ritual forms and practices had become a significant component of what was considered Onondaga.

#### Summing Up

When the Onondaga signed a peace treaty with the French in December 1665, they were a different people than they had been 15 years earlier. To some observers, this meant there were not many real Iroquois left, since they were "for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered" (132). The archaeological evidence paints a very different picture. Onondaga people and culture were certainly more heterogeneous than they had previously been. What was Onondaga was increasingly expressed in symbols, preferences, and practices that came from neighboring Algonquian people and Ontario Iroquoians. This layering of traditions was not new. It was the process that had long characterized Onondaga. Yet, against these shifts in population

and identity, other fundamental aspects of Onondaga culture remained remarkably unchanged. In terms of settlement pattern, subsistence practices, the traditional use of regional resources, and the ways in which new influences were incorporated, Onondaga people continued to do things in the same ways they had since the beginning of the century.

It may seem odd to conclude this chapter by saying that the influence of Europeans on the Onondaga by 1665 was less than one might expect. In material terms, the impact of European things was profound. From a broader perspective, however, the presence of Europeans had not affected Onondaga culture in fundamental ways. Neither alcohol nor Christianity appears to have made serious inroads, and for now European ideas, values, and ways of doing things had minimal effect. This would change over the next few decades.

# **Chapter Six. Ascent of the English, 1666 to 1682**







hile things were changing in Onondaga, the world around it was becoming more complex as well. By the mid-1660s the cultural and economic systems Europeans had brought to eastern North America were being reshaped as major events took place back home in France, the Dutch Republic, and England.

# In Between Worlds

It is easy to see the differences between New France and New Netherland a decade after 1650. Established in 1534, New France was the older and larger of the two, at least on paper showing territorial claims that extended from the Arctic to Florida. Yet it had a smaller population, perhaps 2,500 people by 1660. New Netherland, though younger and geographically smaller in size, had a much larger population, somewhere between 5,000 and 6,000. In New France the population was Catholic and the religious institutions, especially the Jesuits, were major players. In New Netherland the population was Protestant, and while the Dutch Reformed church played an essential role in community life, it did not have a broader political or economic role. Most important, the social values and legal principles of New France were a reflection of the highly stratified courtcentered culture at home, whereas those of New Netherland were derived from the more egalitarian and opportunistic culture of the Dutch Republic.

Yet for all these differences, these two European outposts in North America were remarkably similar. In each the population was centered in a small number of settlements along a major-river corridor. Only modest portions of their claimed territory had actually been explored. Both operated under the authority of quasi-governmental commercial ventures—the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, better known as the Hundred Associates, established by Richelieu in 1627, and the Dutch West India Company (WIC), chartered by the States-General in 1621. Both bodies had the authority to distribute land, the Hundred Associates through the seigneurial system and the WIC through patroonships.

Each held a monopoly over trade and commerce within their boundaries. For the French and the Dutch, the fur trade quickly became the economic mainstay. In each case company monopoly over the trade proved impossible to enforce and was ultimately abandoned, by the WIC in 1639 and by the Hundred Associates six years later. Each colony also found itself drawn into an ever-more-complex web of Native allies and adversaries. This, in turn, made governance more difficult than it already was. By 1658 both New France and New Netherland were in trouble as intertribal warfare had, once again, brought the fur trade to a standstill, and threatened the economic health and social stability of both colonies (1).

The parent countries of these two colonies also shared a set of converging interests. For much of the seventeenth century, the French crown and

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Dutch Republic had found common cause in opposing, or at least in trying to contain, Habsburg Spain. As an ally against Spain, France was one of the most important and consistent buyers of Dutch arms and war supplies, especially during the early decades of the century. Even more striking, Dutch regiments served in France during the late 1630s, while French troops were stationed in the Republic under Dutch command (2). If there was a troublesome neighbor, it was England, whose internal religious feuding worried nearby monarchies and republics alike. It was the same in the New World, where England's pushy and aggressive colonies threatened French interests in Acadia and Dutch claims in New Netherland and on Long Island.

# Friends and neighbors

French–Dutch relations were quite amicable at midcentury. Aside from a predictable degree of religious suspicion and bickering over who was responsible for providing illicit firearms and liquor to the Natives, a sense of shared, or at least overlapping, self-interest existed between New France and New Netherland. The Dutch response to the establishment of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha provides an example. While Petrus Stuyvesant did fret that the existence of Ste. Marie might affect the fur trade, the French in Onondaga reported that "the Dutch wish to bring us some horses and other commodities, as they are glad that we dwell in these countries" (**3**).

Their neighborly behavior was exemplified by the activities of Fr. Simon Le Moine, a veteran of the missions in Huronia and Iroquoia. In the fall of 1657 after another trip to the Mohawk, Le Moine traveled to New Amsterdam, where he stayed for eight days visiting, among others, Director-General Stuyvesant and his friend, Johannes Megapolensis, domine of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Netherland. When Le Moine returned to Canada via Fort Orange, it was with an expressed wish from the Dutch to open trade relations. The February 18, 1658 response to the Dutch from acting governor of New France, Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge, is revealing. He wrote that he had,

communicated to all the principal persons of this country the intentions of Messieurs the *Hollanders* . . . Nobody had any doubt . . . of their being. . . friends and allies of the Crown . . . I consent, that they may come when they please under the condition, that they submit to the same customs as *French* vessels.

In April Le Moine transmitted to Stuyvesant the above reply from Louis d'Ailleboust and added this remarkable cover letter—

I send you with my love a letter received in *Quebec*, which though written in French is sincere and friendly . . . May it therefore bring happy, beneficial and fortunate results. Dear friends of the *Manhatans*, draw your furrows through the sea to our *Quebec*, and some time

hereafter, our *Canadians* will unexpectantly with God's guidance safely reach your shores . . . take this letter as an assured testimony of my regard for the *Dutch* and my love for you . . . Your most faithful and obedient servant Simon le Moine, S. J. (**4**).

So much for religious paranoia and economic protectionism. Even by the flowery standards of the time, this was a very cordial letter.

As historian Allen Trelease noted, the Dutch were surprisingly unpolitical in their dealings with the Iroquois during this period, but that was a reflection of the overall character of the period, at least in terms of New Netherland and New France (5). The dynamic was apolitical. Trade had a laissez-faire quality, and as long as a profit was made, no one seemed overly concerned about establishing control. There was a flexible quality to intercolonial affairs, as well as an informality that allowed for and encouraged individual initiative. How different things would be within a few decades.



Figure 6.1. New Amsterdam, ca. 1660. Painting by L. F. Tantillo.

# Reshaping the world

Many of the ideas that would reshape much of the New and the Old World during the last four decades of the seventeenth century came from a single source, the ambition of France's new king, Louis XIV. With the death of his chief minister, Cardinal Jules Raymond Mazarin, in March of 1661, Louis defied expectations by not appointing a replacement and assumed all royal prerogatives for himself. One of his early actions was also one of his most dramatic. In May 1663 Louis revoked the nearly moribund authority of the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France and placed New France under

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his personal control. Canada was now a royal province of France (6). Though vast in size, New France played only a minor role in Louis's plans. His focus was on Europe and fulfilling two linked obsessions. One was expanding France to her natural boundariesthe Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. The other was increasing his personal *gloire*, or reputation, especially at the expense of Habsburg Spain. Louis's antipathy toward the Spanish reflected a longstanding dispute. By the early seventeenth century the French monarchy saw itself surrounded by a series of Habsburg holdings from Spain to the Spanish Netherlands. Breaking this encirclement had been one of Richelieu's primary goals, and now, 20 years after his death, France had a king capable of doing just that (7).

If any country in Europe shared a common bond with France against Spain, it was the Dutch Republic. Given their long struggle for independence, Louis assumed that the Dutch would support



**Figure 6.2.** Louis XIV, king of France and of Navarre. Painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1701.

him when he attempted to annex a bit of the Spanish Netherlands in May 1667. How wrong he was. England and the Dutch Republic had just ended their second trade war, during which New Netherland became New York in 1664. Alarmed by Louis's aggressive behavior, in 1668 the Dutch and English formed the Triple Alliance with Sweden to oppose this expansion. Grudgingly, Louis made peace, but furious at what he considered a Dutch betrayal, he began to prepare for a campaign that would humble his former allies and neutralize their ability to interfere with his future plans. That blow fell in April 1672, when Louis invaded the Republic. Attacking through Liège, Louis's army quickly took Deventer, Utrecht, and Nijmegen. Amsterdam was spared only because the sluices were opened at Muiden, flooding the approaches to the city. For the Dutch, 1672 would long be remembered as the Year of Catastrophe (**8**).

And what about England, with its amazing reversals of position toward the Dutch—from bitter enemies during the Second Anglo–Dutch War, to



**Figure 6.3.** Charles II of England in coronation robes. Painting by John Wright, ca. 1661.

allies briefly during the Triple Alliance of 1668, to adversaries again in 1672? Much of this also originated with Louis and with the experience of the exiled English Stuart court during the Cromwellian years, from 1649 to 1659. When Charles II returned to England from the Continent in May 1660 to restore the monarchy, he was a man of deceptive ease. Although his court was known for its easy-going licentiousness and frivolity, Charles made no secret of his belief in Catholicism, royal prerogative, and the value of military rule, all lessons he and his younger brother James, Duke of York and Albany, had absorbed during their years in France. Many royalist officers had chosen to follow the young prince's example and served with him in the French army. Among them were Richard Nicolls, Francis Lovelace, and Thomas Dongan, names that would soon become familiar in New York (9).

While Charles may not have approved of his cousin Louis's aggressive actions on the Continent, he certainly shared the belief upon which they were founded— unquestioned royal authority. A clear indication of where Stuart sentiments lay was the Treaty of Dover, signed secretly in 1670, in which Charles agreed to support France against the Dutch. In return he received an annual pension from Louis and the promise of French troops should he ever need them, making him less dependent on Parliament. When news of this treaty and Charles's duplicity became public, parliamentary leaders were angry. Although England supported Louis's invasion of the Dutch Republic in 1672, Parliament forced an early withdrawal from the conflict two years later. By then, however, New York had been recaptured by the Dutch only to be returned to English control by the Treaty of Westminster. Meanwhile, the hostilities on the Continent continued as Louis's war with the Dutch ground on until 1678.

#### **Uneasy neighbors**

How did all these machinations in Europe affect New France and New Netherland? By 1675 it was rapidly becoming a very different world, and

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this was most evident in New France. Under Louis's direction, New France received the political and economic support it had vainly sought from the Compagnie. The man charged with making the new structure work was Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Colbert's plans were ambitious. He wished to make the province self-supporting—wealthy enough to purchase French manufactured goods and capable of exporting resources other than furs back to France. But before such goals could be realized, Canada needed an efficient administrative framework, the ability to protect itself, and, above all, more people. Within four years, substantial progress had been made on all three goals. An effective governor-general, Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle, was in place, and so was Jean Talon, the new intendant, or administrator of the colony's finances. The troublesome Mohawk had been



**Figure 6.4.** Intendant Jean Talon. Painting by Claude François (Frère Luc), 1671.

humbled by Lieutenant-General de Tracy's punitive expedition in 1666, and the French population had more than doubled, from around 2,500 in 1663 to 5,870 in 1666. Ten years later New France's population would be nearly 10,000. In spite of Colbert's plans, however, furs remained Canada's primary export. In fact, after 1670 the fur trade grew rapidly, expanding into the Great Lakes and beyond. By the end of the decade the French would have outposts from the Strait of Mackinac to the mid-Mississippi Valley. Although the wars across the Atlantic meant that New France would receive less support than before, by 1675 it began to look as though the once-ailing colony might actually fulfill Louis's imperial aspirations. Courcelle and Talon were gone from the colony by then, recalled to France, but others would continue to build the imperial structure they had begun to put into place (10).

Imperial control came more slowly to New Netherland, where events took a very different course. With its strategic location and plump prosperity, New Netherland was a tempting target for the ambitious James, Duke of York. In September 1664, he seized the Dutch colony renaming it New York, one of several actions that initiated the Second Anglo–Dutch War. James may have been impulsive, but he was no fool. The man he chose to pacify his new dominion was Col. Richard Nicolls, a trusted staff officer who had served with him in France, and whom he appointed deputygovernor of the colony. Nicolls, in turn, chose to take the firm but fair route. While he made it very clear who was in charge, by and large he



Figure 6.5. James, Duke of York, in allegorical Romanesque costume. Painting by Henri Gascar, ca. 1660.

left the existing Dutch political and legal structure alone. When Nicolls retired in 1668, he was replaced by another of the duke's staff officers, Francis Lovelace, who continued these policies. As a result, in spite of the change in sovereignty, the period from 1664 to 1674 was largely 10 more years of the life to which New Netherlanders had become accustomed. This was not to last. With the end of the Third Anglo–Dutch War and the return of the colony to the duke's authority, James was ready to claim his prize. This was made abundantly clear in October 1674 when the new lieutenant governor of New York, Sir Edmund Andros, arrived. Another career soldier from James's household, Andros's charge was to civilize the locals, European and Native alike, and to make Albany into an English place. The colony would continue to grow, even prosper, under the English. New York claimed a population of 6,000 in 1673, and there may have been as many as 10,000 people in New York by 1680, but the good old days of laissez-faire trade and governance were definitely over (11).

By 1675 it was a different world economically and politically for New France and New York. From a European perspective furs, though still important, had become just another commodity and were increasingly a drag on the market. More important, a new generation of consumer products such as Asian tea and Caribbean sugar, with its attendant trade in rum and slaves, had begun to dominate European interests. In these new economic enterprises, there was a less significant role to play for North American colonists and Native people (12).

Politically, whether one was in New France or New York, this was an increasingly imperial world. Unlike the old days under the commercial companies, both colonies were now creatures of royal authority. That authority saw itself as absolute, with the prerogative to rule in everything from the dispensation of land and justice to military affairs and trade

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policy. This was a hierarchical world in which roles were clearly defined, loyalty rewarded, and failure swiftly punished. For colonists this left a small but specific role—to protect the sovereign's territory, to produce necessary resources, and purchase manufactured goods imported from the homeland. For Native people the role was more nebulous. As allies, they could be useful in warfare or as proxies in claiming territory. They also had some value as a market for consumer goods. As adversaries, however, Native people were simply an obstacle to be removed.

#### The French Expand, 1666 to 1675

If the English were slow to develop their new holdings, the French were not. The period between 1666 and 1675 was one of unprecedented stability and growth in New France. This was a time of peace thanks to the Onondaga-negotiated treaty of December 1665-1666, and Lieutenant-General de Tracy's humbling of the wicked Mohawk. As Fr. François-Joseph Le Mercier observed in his introductory letter to the *Jesuit Relations* for 1667–1668, it was the terror and desolation de Tracy had brought to the Mohawk, "the proudest and haughtiest among our enemies," that had produced these fruits of peace (**13**).

#### Incipient imperialists

Governor-General Courcelle's plan for the Five Nations was simple. As "the general arbiter and umpire in all the . . . wars of these Savages," he intended to control them by keeping them in a state of fear. This message was made clear in August 1667 during a council meeting in Montréal. If any or all of the Five Nations misbehaved, he would destroy them. He warned,

dispel the thought which some giddy young people among thy brothers and nephews seem to have, that, if the French have not destroyed the Village of Onneiout, it is because they could not or did not dare to do so. Make them understand that, . . . the great Onnontio named Louis is so powerful, and so jealous of the respect that his children owe him, that he would send hither twenty times as many [troops] as there are here now.

After claiming that Louis would punish the "slightest injury," the completion of five new forts, one on the St. Lawrence and four along the Richelieu River, were tangible proof that the French were serious (14).

This may have been the first time that representatives of the Five Nations had heard such blunt imperial language, and one wonders what they made of it. In part, their response was a pledge to maintain the peace. Three years later, however, the Seneca, annoyed by French arrogance, answered a harangue by Courcelle with "For whom does he take us?" If "he threatens ... let us see if his arms will be long enough to remove the scalps from our heads, as we have done in the past with those of the French." To be

polite, they also sent eight Potawatomi captives along with their message. In reply, Courcelle brought a small flotilla to Lake Ontario during the following summer of 1671 to show the Upper Four Nations of the Iroquois that he could reach them, if he wanted to. As a result, the taunting stopped and the peace continued (15).

Two years later the same little drama was replayed with a new governorgeneral. In the spring of 1673, Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau, invited delegations from all the Five Nations to his newly built fort at Cataraqui on the eastern end of Lake Ontario. Here he laid down the same promises and threats that Courcelle had used in 1667—to be obedient children and he would protect them, but make trouble and he would crush them. This time the Five Nations' reply was more accommodating, superficially at least. Yes, they would be "most obedient children" (16).

One result of the peace was aggressive exploration of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley by French Jesuits and secular traders. After the loss of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha, new missionary efforts were focused away from the Five Nations, with the upper Great Lakes becoming the primary target. By 1670 four new missions had been established at key locations on lakes Michigan and Superior. The Québec and Montréal traders were no less energetic. Encouraged by Courcelle, they were strongly supported by Intendant Jean Talon after his return to Canada in 1670. Talon's particular dream was to extend royal claims to Mexico by any river route. In this he found willing partners in ambitious young men, such as René-Robert, Cavelier de La Salle, Louis Jolliet, and the Jesuit missionary Fr. Jacques Marquette, who were eager to push beyond the known territorial boundaries. For the French a combination of Jesuits and imperial agents made a formidable team, although their motives may have differed. For example, in June 1671 Simon-François Daumont de Saint-Lusson, a military officer sent west by Talon to find the copper mines, and Fr. Claude Dablon, erstwhile of Onondaga, informed the 14 Indian nations gathered at Ste. Marie de Sault that the French had now taken possession of those regions for the King and Church. By the time Talon was recalled again to France in 1672, he had already sent out parties to discover where the newly reported Ohio and Mississippi Rivers flowed (17).

The policy of western expansion was pursued aggressively even after Courcelle and Talon returned to France in 1672. Like his predecessor, Governor-General Frontenac saw expansion as an excellent solution to two related problems. One was containing the still troublesome Five Nations. The other was advancing Louis XIV's territorial and financial ambitions. Frontenac found a capable partner in La Salle, who directed the construction of the new fort and trading post at Cataraqui. La Salle was an energetic man and even found time to visit Onondaga territory, meeting the resident Jesuit Fr. Jean de Lamberville there in July 1672. That same summer Louis Jolliet and Fr. Jacques Marquette explored the

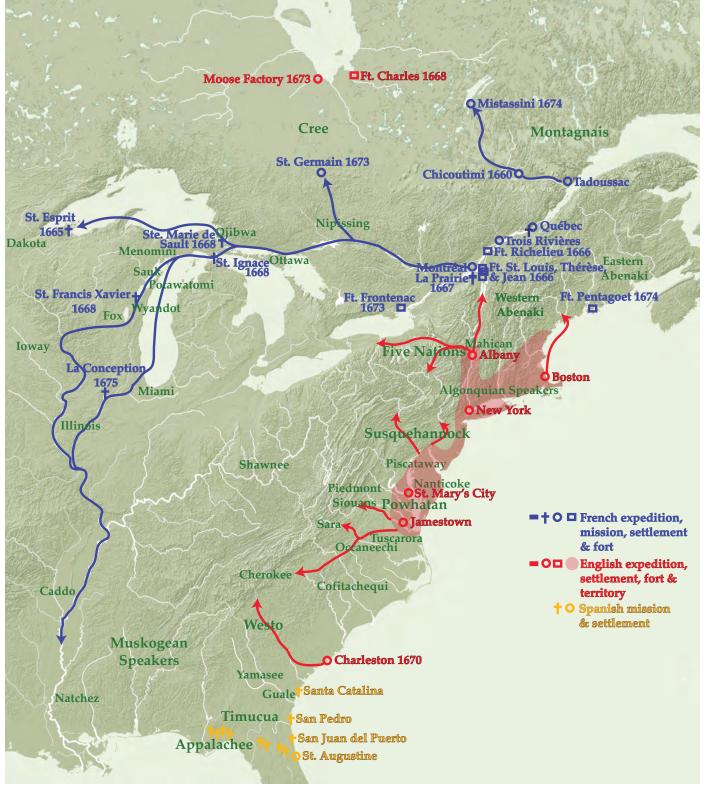


Figure 6.6. European settlement and expansion, ca. 1675.

Mississippi River as far south as the confluence with the Arkansas River. Late the following year Marquette returned to Illinois country to establish the Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, the first French outpost in the Mississippi Valley (**18**).

Along with these stunning claims and discoveries came a more complex set of fault lines and internal divisions. Frontenac did not like or trust the

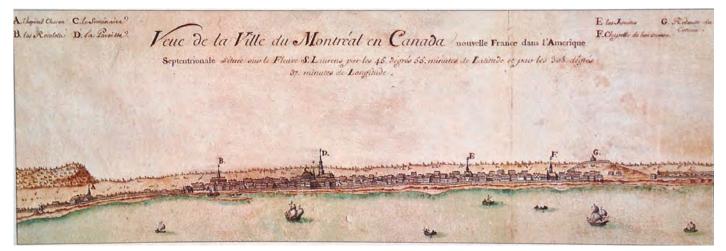


Figure 6.7. View of Montréal, ca. 1680.

Jesuits, although he was quite willing to use them, and they felt the same way about him. On the secular side, the partnership between La Salle and Frontenac was viewed first with alarm, then with anger by the Montréal merchants who saw this as an unfair invasion of their business (19). The biggest change occurred back in France, out of sight of nearly all those who would be affected by it. In December 1674 the Compagnie de l'Occident, the vehicle created by Colbert in 1664 to turn Canada into a successful royal colony, failed. With the end of the Compagnie and its monopoly, all rights and privileges reverted to the Crown, opening trade in Canada to all. Suddenly, there was much more to fight over (20).

No matter how tenuous, the French now claimed most of the lands stretching from James Bay in the north to the Gulf of Mexico in the south and west to the Rocky Mountains. For the Five Nations this presented a real and growing danger. Increasingly, they were surrounded by potential, if not actual, enemies. To the north the French and their Native allies controlled the territory between the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. With their Algonquian partners, the French also dominated much of the country beyond the Eastern Door. Now the lands beyond the Western Door were taking on a decidedly, and disturbingly, French character. This was going to be a problem.

#### **Return of the Jesuits**

While the situation beyond their borders was unsettling to the Five Nations, they were about to be assaulted from within as well. The Jesuits' status in France was diminished under Louis, and it was a different Society of Jesus that returned to the Iroquois missions in 1667, one less sure of its position at home and in New France. There were several reasons for this. One was a fundamental difference over how to deal with Indian people. Louis XIV and his ministers favored integration, civilizing Native people by bringing them into the general population. In contrast, the Jesuits favored separation, keeping Indians in separate mission communities well away from the temptations and vices of the European towns. There



was also an increasingly bitter disagreement over liquor. The Jesuits were unrelenting in their opposition to the brandy trade, pointing out its horrific effects on Indian communities. This put them in direct conflict with the merchants and the governor-general, who saw liquor as a useful as well as a profitable tool for managing Indian people (21).

Another problem for the Jesuits was the issue of authority. In a country where the king saw himself as divinely appointed to rule, to whom did the Jesuits owe allegiance—Louis XIV or the Pope? In turn, Louis's feelings about Jesuit trustworthiness and "excessive authority" were made clear in his policies. In May 1669 he sent members of the Récollet order, the most austere of the Franciscans, to Canada. They had been there before, until Cardinal Richelieu replaced them with the Jesuits in 1632. Now, the Jesuits were ordered to return the lands and buildings that had previously been taken from the Récollets. Nor were the Récollets the only ones to challenge the Jesuit monopoly on missionary work. Encouraged by Talon, the Sulpicians, who prided themselves on following, rather than questioning, royal directives, opened a school in Montréal to teach the Indians how to become more like the French. For all these reasons, the Jesuits found themselves increasingly on the defensive (22).

One result was a sense of militancy, especially in the new crop of Jesuits sent to reestablish the Iroquois missions. For the most part, these were starry-eyed novices, men such as Pierre Millet, Jean de Lamberville, Jacques Bruyas, Jean Pierron, and Julien Garnier. While these new arrivals may have had visions of a glorious death in service of the Lord, few had much experience and none could speak the languages (23). This new cohort of Jesuits worked differently from their predecessors, staying in close touch with one another and often meeting at Onondaga to compare notes on the success of different evangelical techniques. They also moved frequently, often shifting to another mission after only a year or two. More evangelical and less willing, or able, to see their charges as anything more than souls to be saved, their presence tended to polarize rather than bridge differences within Five Nations communities, a consequence that most Jesuits saw as a sign of success.

This more aggressive approach was exemplified by the way the Mission of St. Jean Baptiste was reestablished in Onondaga after Fr. Simon Le Moine had revived it five years earlier. In August 1667 Father Garnier finally reached Onondaga after travelling to Oneida with Father Bruyas. Upon his arrival Garnier complained, "He could not remain all alone and without a Chapel." In response, Garakontié, as the leading Christian in Onondaga, had a chapel built within a few days. Then he immediately left for Québec, more than 640 km (400 mi) away, to ask Courcelle to send an additional priest. Garakontié's efforts were successful, and by the end of October Millet had joined Garnier in Onondaga, while another Jesuit Étienne de Carheil was sent on to Cayuga (24).

St. Jean Baptiste was among the first missions to be restored in 1667, and the last to be abandoned 20 years later. Why did this mission matter so much to the Jesuits? One reason was that Onondaga was the center of the Five Nations and closest to where League decisions were made. But for the Jesuits, it was also a matter of pride. Onondaga was the home of the first Iroquois mission, "the oldest church among the Iroquois." It was "the heart of the Mission church," where they had had their greatest successes, and where they most wanted to succeed (25). Although Garnier and Millet worked hard to impress the Onondaga, they were not very successful. In part, this was because their ability to speak the language was only "sufficient . . . to teach the Catechism every Sunday." More fundamental to their failure was the Jesuit decision to actively oppose the three great enemies to their success—"Drunkenness, dreams, And Impurity." In fact their real goal was simple—to destroy traditional Iroquois culture and replace it with one based on Christian values (26).

This new tactic was nothing less than a calculated all-out assault on the values and rituals on which traditional Onondaga culture was built. The objective was to divide and conquer, to shatter the collective that was Onondaga, and to split them up into a community of individual sinners. This was to be done in several ways. One was to challenge the public rituals of feasting, healing, and dream guessing whenever possible. The second was to replace the Onondaga tradition of consensus with European values of hierarchy and obedience to authority. The third was to introduce the notion of private property and personal acquisition. And, the fourth tactic was to introduce the concept of private actions, necessary for a thorough understanding of sin and guilt. This would be no small task. One Jesuit observed, "the iroquois nature" is to possess nothing individually (27).

By working together and comparing notes, the new Jesuits assigned to the Iroquois missions quickly developed an arsenal of tactics and techniques for advancing these objectives. Some took the positive approach, such as the use of gifts. As Father Bruyas observed in 1669, "The one who can repeat, on Sunday, all that has been taught during the week, has for a reward a string of colored glass beads, or two little glass tubes, or two brass rings." By the mid-1670s Jesuits were advised to bring with them religious medals, "small brass crosses and brass rings... in which there is a figure of some saint, or the face of Jesus Christ or the blessed Virgin" (28). Closely related was the use of pictures and games. Fr. Jean Pierron, assigned to the Mohawk, noted that although he could speak some of the language, "The Pictures that I paint with my own hand" were effective. Meanwhile, back in Onondaga Father Millet tried various games, such as using strings of wampum, glass beads, or a small mirror as symbols for heaven and hell (29).

An ongoing problem was that many of the concepts the Jesuits wished



to teach did not translate well into the Iroquoian languages. As one missionary complained, "The Iroquois Tongue has no expression that correctly renders *In nominee.*" To correct this some attempts were made to translate Christian doctrine into Huron, which was widely spoken among the Five Nations. Most notable was Jesuit Phillipe Pierson's De

*Religione*, probably written between 1669 and 1673. But it was more than just a language problem. Many of the concepts essential to Catholic doctrine simply did not translate across cultural boundaries. The ritual use of bread and wine did not mean much to people who did not use them. Nor were references to sacrificial lambs, lost sheep, and good shepherds effective with people who had never herded animals. Even the idea of burning in hell was not particularly terrifying to people who placed a high cultural value on torture and lived where the winters were long and cold (30). There was also a serious problem with the concept of Christ, especially when the Jesuits attempted to cast Jesus in the role of an Iroquois warrior. Part of the problem was that most depictions of Jesus portrayed him with a beard. To the Iroquoian people, a beard was an indication of extreme ugliness and weak intelligence. Attempts to portray Mary as

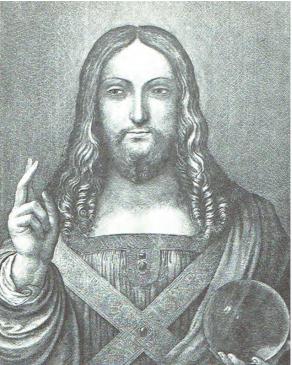


Figure 6.8. Salvator Mundi. Engraving by Wenceslas Hollar from a painting by Leonardo De Vinci, mid-seventeenth century.

a clan mother were somewhat more successful (31).

In the end it often took a miracle or two to get attention and win respect. These could range from healing the sick with an imported medicine, pulling a tooth, or correctly predicting an eclipse, as Millet did in Oneida in 1674. But when these approaches failed, the Jesuits had no qualms about using more forceful, even coercive means. One was to disrupt traditional Native practices and to "discredit in their minds their false Divinities" whenever possible. Healing ceremonies were a frequent target, and during the winter of 1669–1670, Millet often had the door shut in his face when he tried to intervene. Undeterred, Millet continued to harangue the elders, exhorting them to "follow the example of the elders, who had already renounced dreams and all that is forbidden by God's law." He also took to ringing the large bell that had been brought to Onondaga after Ste. Marie de Gannentaha was abandoned, using it to gather the Elders. "At first, the Elders appeared a little surprised at the liberty that I had allowed myself," Millet reflected, but this did not stop his self-righteous and ungracious behavior (32).

When disruption was not sufficient, threats could be used. These included an escalating scale of temporal and spiritual perils. The temporal ones were obvious. On the personal level, any disease, bad luck in war or hunting, or other misfortune was explained as being the result of impiety. Those who resisted Christianity had only themselves to blame for their troubles. And the threat of French military retaliation always lurked in the background. After complaining to the chief men of the nation about being denied access to curing ceremonies, Millet was approached by Garakontié, who offered him two porcelaine colliers, "one to appease me, and the other to beg me not to make my complaints to Onnontio [Governor-General Courcelle]." Whether Millet could invoke military power or not, no one in Onondaga was going to chance it (33).



**Figure 6.9.** *L'Åme Damnée* (The Damned Soul). Engraving by Pierre Landry from a painting by Claude François (Frère Luc), ca. 1667.

Spiritual coercion was an even more formidable weapon, and the Jesuits were not shy in wielding it. Particularly effective was the threat of separation between the saved and damned after death. To emphasize this, they often made use of the dying to implore their relatives to become baptized "in order that we may all find ourselves reunited in Heaven." Dying children were especially useful in this regard since they exerted "no slight influence on the parents." Emotional blackmail it may have been, but for the Jesuits, death with the promise of heaven was preferable to life on Earth at the risk

of hell. The traditionalists in Onondaga had been right. For the Jesuits it was all about soul capture (**34**).

#### Inside the League, 1666 to 1675

It is difficult to see the workings of the League between 1666 and 1675. Although there were Jesuits in Onondaga, Millet and Garnier were not the interested observers that Le Mercier or Chaumonot had been. Still, it is possible to glean a sense of how the Five Nations operated during these years—when each nation acted independently, and when they acted in concert. Certainly, there was a great deal of internal communication, particularly around the council meetings held in Onondaga. As Father Millet reported in 1673, this was how the Five Nations "maintain peace among themselves and make amends for faults committed by individuals." Even the old rivalry between the Mohawk and Onondaga seemed to have diminished. In the spring of 1670, after a devastating raid by the Loups from the lower Hudson Valley who were allies of the French, a large group



of Onondaga and some Oneida traveled to Mohawk country to condole their brother's losses. Here, at this ceremony of the dead, each side sat "separated from the others, according to their custom." In the face of serious external threats, internal disagreements could be put aside, at least for a while (35).

There is little evidence of any concerted military action by the French during this period. Hostilities certainly occurred, but aside from a reprisal raid against the Loups for which 400 Five Nations' warriors assembled, warfare continued to reflect the individual concerns of each nation. The overall conflict with the French and their Native allies may have ceased, but the Five Nations still had wars on three sides. The Mohawk remained in a bitter quarrel with the Loups, the Onondaga continued to struggle with the Susquehannock, and the Seneca had become entangled with the Ottawa and their neighbors in the upper Great Lakes. If acting like obedient children kept the French content and out of the way, then that was the strategy to pursue (**36**).

The French, however, read this change in Five Nations' behavior quite differently. To them, it seemed that the troublesome Iroquois had finally been taught a lesson and that peace was the result of French military power. As Father Le Mercier remarked in 1670, what seemed almost incredible was that the Iroquois had not broken the peace by seeking revenge for the killing of several of their own by the French. The reason for peace, he concluded, was "the victorious arms of the King have happily procured it for us." Many of the French administrators took the interpretation of events one step further and saw these years of relative calm as proof that Native people were really like "our peasants in France," or children who needed to be treated with a fair but firm hand (**37**).

These were the years when Garakontié frequently presented both Onondaga and League views before the French. In August 1667 he was the one who spoke the "five words" to Governor-General Courcelle, thanking him for not attacking the Upper Four Nations and requesting an additional Jesuit for Onondaga. Three years later Garakontié attempted to broker a peace settlement between the Five Nations and the Ottawa in Québec. In July 1673 it was Garakontié who once again addressed the new governorgeneral Frontenac, "in the Name of the Five Nations, as they had only one mind and one thought," and five days later promised that they would be "most obedient children" (38).

Much has been made of Garakontié's importance in shaping League policy during this period and its evolution into what would become Confederacy diplomacy. The reality was much simpler. Garakontié served as a frequent spokesman because, as "the friend and protector of the French in his country," he was the best disposed of all "their Savage Captains" to get a favorable hearing. Garakontié was the most visible and controversial

leader in Onondaga during this period, and we will discuss him in greater detail. League policy between 1666 and 1675 was generally one of maintaining stability. That meant ignoring provocations, whether from hostile Ottawa or arrogant Jesuits, and maintaining peace with the French until other threats were dealt with (**39**).

#### Inside Onondaga, 1666 to 1675

A primary reason why the Five Nations wanted stable relations with the French was that other serious threats were coming from the east, south, and west. For the Onondaga, and probably all of the Upper Four Nations, the ongoing war with the Susquehannock was the most pressing.

*Trouble at the Southern Door.* By 1667 this conflict was already more than a decade old and each side, the Onondaga and Susquehannock, had suffered significant losses. One reason for the stalemate was the cordial relationship between the Susquehannock and the English in Maryland. In May 1661 the Marylanders had signed a formal treaty of peace and amity with the Susquehannock Indians for mutual defense against each other's enemies. They also supplied them with arms. This moral and military support resulted in a serious defeat for the Onondaga and the other upper nations in April 1663, one that made the war burn "more hotly than ever." The 1665-1666 peace treaty with the French brought some relief to Onondaga, while the situation to the south did not. That June the Susquehannock and the Marylanders signed a new treaty of mutual support, and later that fall the Onondaga appear to have suffered another military defeat (40).

For the Onondaga the primary concern was security. It had been a long time since they had felt threatened in their own territory, and one tangible result was where they chose to live during this period. Sometime around 1663, the Onondaga shifted the location of their main town from the Indian Castle site, on a fairly level plateau, to the Indian Hill site, a steepsided promontory about 1.6 km to the north. A strong palisade enclosed the new town, enhancing its defensive potential. No one was going to surprise the Onondaga there. Security aside, the Onondaga had tried for years to avoid hostilities with their Susquehannock neighbors. Although their geographical location at the center of the League gave them some safety, it also boxed them in, especially when it came to establishing their own relationships with Europeans. In this regard the Susquehannock had a more advantageous location. From their settlements on the lower Susquehanna River, they controlled access to the Dutch on the lower Hudson and Delaware Rivers and the English in Maryland and Virginia. Equally important, the Susquehannock also controlled access to the marine shell from the Chesapeake region. There had been good reasons for the Onondaga and Susquehannock to remain cordial, until things fell apart during the 1650s. Now, with animosities fueled by the desire for revenge on both sides, the Onondaga were cut off to the south. For them this was a more serious a threat to their security and well-being than the Marylanders' muskets.

# Ascent of the English, 1666-1682



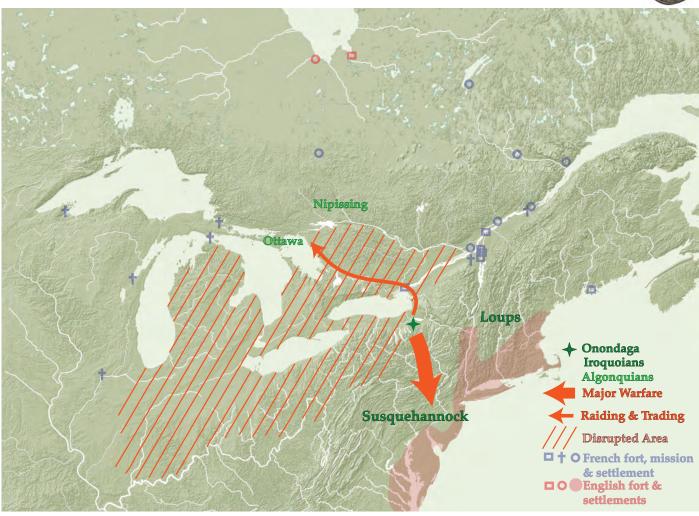


Figure 6.10. Onondaga adversaries, ca. 1666-1675.

Not surprisingly, the hostilities continued. We only know this part of the story from second-hand sources, including comments made by the Jesuits and occasional notes from this period in the *Maryland Archives: Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland*. Still, the pattern seems clear. Small parties on each side continued to raid and harass the other, bringing back captives for ransom, adoption, or death. Occasionally, larger encounters took place. As Jesuit Jacques Frémin reported in August 1669, "The Onnontagué [Onondaga] have been much humbled of late by the Gandastoqué [Susquehannock]; for nearly all their braves perished in the war" (**41**).

There were attempts at peace. That fall a Susquehannock ambassador arrived in Onondaga "with three porcelaine colliers, to treat for peace," but was unable to get a reply since most of the men of Onondaga had gone out on the warpath. When they finally returned several months later, along with eight or nine prisoners, "they [the Onondaga] broke this unlucky Ambassador's head . . . His body was burned after his death." This was not a war that would be ended by negotiation. Too much blood had been shed and the stakes were too high (42).



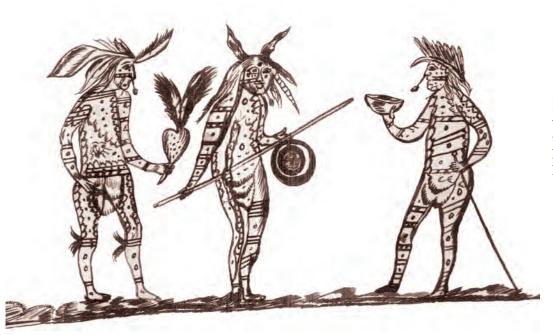
Figure 6.11. "Iroquois cabin with two heads [scalps] of enemies that they have killed." Drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1671.

> So the war of attrition dragged on, although the balance eventually shifted in favor of Onondaga. In 1673 La Salle reported to Frontenac that several French traders had joined the Iroquois against the Andastoguez [Susquehannock]. A more serious defection occurred the following year. In June 1674 the Maryland Assembly voted to change sides and requested that "peace be made with the Cynicoes Indians [Upper Four Nations]," even though such an action "may bring a warre with the Susquehannoughs." By then the Susquehannock had had enough, and without the support of Maryland, there was no point in continuing to fight the Onondaga (43). By early 1675 the conflict appears to have ended, and the Susquehannock began to disperse from their homeland. Some may have fought on for a few more years, but most seem to have decided that after holding out for over 20 years, the war was over. Some stayed on in the lower Susquehanna Valley and became known as the Conestoga by the end of the century. Others chose to leave. By 1676 some Susquehannock were reported living on the Patuxent River in Maryland, others near an abandoned Piscataway fort on the Potomac. Some appear to have joined the Lenape on the Delaware, while others may have moved farther west across the Appalachian Mountains (44). Many of the remaining Susquehannock, however, appear to have made the traditional Iroquoian choice and joined the victorious Five Nations.

*Stress and stability*. These had been hard years for the Onondaga, ones during which the nature and scale of warfare, diplomacy, and trade changed significantly. To survive under these conditions and maintain their own sense of identity, two things were essential—a stable population and good leadership.

# Ascent of the English, 1666-1682





**Figure 6.12.** "Healers who wear masks as they are seen here." Drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1671.

Although the effects of the Susquehannock War are difficult to evaluate, the Onondaga certainly suffered serious casualties. Nor had the war to the south been the only conflict in which their men were involved. In addition, disease remained a problem. While accounts are spotty, at least two major epidemics appear to have swept through the Five Nations between the late 1660s and early 1670s. In November 1668 when he arrived among the Seneca, Father Frémin reported that a "kind of contagion . . . ravaged the whole country." Four years later, Father Bruyas reported a "pestilence ... so malignant" among the Mohawk that people either recovered or succumbed in less than five days (45). Still, it appears the Onondaga population remained stable or even grew during these years. In 1665 Le Mercier estimated that the Onondaga had 300 warriors, the same number they had in 1660. Twelve years later, when Wentworth Greenhalgh toured the Five Nations on behalf of Governor Andros, he estimated they had 350 warriors. Wars and disease may have resulted in a degree of internal exhaustion, but they did not leave the Onondaga incapacitated (46).

Given the economic and diplomatic instability that surrounded them, the League and each of the Five Nations needed strong leadership, people who could make choices under difficult, even contradictory, conditions. For the Onondaga, it is hard to see patterns of leadership during these years, as opposed to those of a decade earlier. In part, this is due to the lack of detailed records, however, there is another factor. Between the years 1666 and 1675, one man's name dominates the historical records. That man was Garakontié. There were certainly other leaders in Onondaga during these years, men such as the war chief Otreouti and the young Tegannisoren. But no one captured the French imagination like Garakontié. Why was he singled out?

Even though his name does not occur in the historical documents until the summer of 1661, Garakontié appears to have been an active pro-French leader as early as 1653. He was certainly a significant figure during the 1660s, helping to engineer the peace treaty of 1665-1666 and taking the lead in bringing the Jesuits back to Onondaga the following year. After 1667 Garakontié was trying to maintain a difficult balance—helping Millet in his missionary work while not losing touch with his own people. It would prove to be an impossible task (**47**).

There is a difference between being an advocate and going over to the other side, and in 1670 Garakontié crossed that line. That January, before the Mid-Winter ceremonial season, Millet with Garakontié's backing declared himself openly against traditional healing practices and demanded that the Onondaga renounce their "dreams, Agriskoué [the Iroquois war god], and feasts of debauchery." In other words, they were to give up everything in which they believed. When other Jesuits, Bruyas in Oneida and Pierron among the Mohawk, made similar demands, Garakontié supported them as well. Meanwhile, he continued his efforts "to light the fire of peace" with the French and the Ottawa in Québec. In late July of that year, Garakontié, the "Captain of Onnontaque [Onondaga], which is chief of all the Iroquois nations," attempted to broker a peace agreement between the Seneca and the Ottawa. The fact that no other Five Nations' representatives showed up casts serious doubt on Garakontié's authority to negotiate. Nonetheless, after an agreement was signed Garakontié received the reward he had long sought—baptism in the cathedral by the bishop himself, François de Laval. With Governor-General Courcelle acting as his godfather and Talon's daughter as his godmother, Garakontié took the name Daniel and became a Christian. Upon returning to Onondaga he made a public declaration of his beliefs, and for the remainder of his life Daniel Garakontié wore a crucifix and rosary around his neck as a visible sign of his new identity (48).

Until his death in 1677, Daniel Garakontié continued to break with the traditions of his people. He spoke against dreams and dancing, and refused to participate in traditional curing ceremonies. He even renounced them when, seriously ill, they were performed on his behalf. As a result Daniel Garakontié was increasingly ignored and isolated. Although he occasionally represented Onondaga, and even the League, at council meetings with the French and English, his words no longer mattered. Having given up the values and rituals that defined being Onondaga, he was no longer considered one of them (49).

*Coping with Christianity*. For the Onondaga, Daniel Garakontié personified one of the dilemmas posed by the French. To what degree could one favor the French for political, economic, or military reasons yet not accept Christianity? Like the Jesuits he championed, Garakontié insisted it had to be all or nothing. But how did the rest of Onondaga view this and the Jesuits' not very subtle efforts to undermine their culture?

On an individual level, Garakontié aside, it is impossible to know. The range of responses was probably similar to that of two decades earlier, when the Jesuits had first come to live among them. There were certainly some believers, those who, like Garakontié, saw abandonment of the old ways as the only way forward, spiritually and temporally. And the lure of Christianity could be powerful. In the promised future there would be no more "sound of weeping and the cry of distress. No more shall there be in it an infant that lives but a few days, or an old man who does not live out his days." Given the harsh realities of life, the promise that "former things shall not be remembered or come to mind" had a strong appeal (50). As a Christian convert Garakontié was unusual in that he stayed in Onondaga. Most of those who chose Christianity left for one of the new mission communities along the St. Lawrence River, in part to start life over and in part to escape the chaos and confusion that seemed to overwhelm their old communities. There were also pragmatists, those who may have seen Christianity as another kind of powerful medicine and perhaps a more efficacious one, since many of the problems, such as drink and disease, were also of European origin. Increasingly, however, it seems that many Onondaga were opponents of Christianity, angered by the Jesuits'

coercive tactics aimed at their traditions and beliefs and by their rudeness and arrogance, which violated the standards of hospitality,

It is easier to see how Onondaga responded as a community. The first reaction was caution. To them it was unclear the degree to which Christianity and French policies were linked, and no one wanted to risk a French invasion. The second reaction was to ignore the Jesuits or avoid any commitments by patronizing them. As Millet and the others quickly learned, the elders were happy to give "assurances that they would urge the young men. .. to conform," but did little to follow-up. When stalling no longer worked, the next step was to use the traditional methods reserved for bad children and other social

**Figure 6.13.** "The first six natives at La Prairie come from Oneida in the snow in 1667." Drawing by Fr. Claude Chauchetière, ca. 1686.



misfits—mockery and treating them like fools. The Jesuits' own behavior certainly made this seem appropriate. In the winter of 1670 Millet conceded that since he could not yet speak their language, he indicated by gestures what he could not express in words. Therefore, he wondered why "these people reproached me . . . for not making myself sufficiently understood." As the Onondaga learned in turn, teasing has little effect on the selfrighteous (51).

When it became clear that the Jesuits were not going to leave and could not be shamed into behaving properly, the common Onondaga response was anger, and not only because of Jesuit arrogance and unwillingness to compromise. What was most disturbing about the Jesuits was the disruption they intentionally caused within families. This in turn created an instability that threatened the community as a whole. In the end, many in Onondaga concluded that physical abuse and death were the best methods for dealing with these men. This, too, was a traditional solution, one reserved for witches and those who threatened the community's wellbeing. For many in Onondaga, this is what the Jesuits were— witches who could raise a new disease "as if it were a domestic animal" and "make people die by pouring water on their heads." As Father Garnier observed during the summer of 1672, "I know with certainty that my death has been proposed, on the ground that I am a spy [for the governor-general] and more or less a sorcerer." What is amazing is that all the Jesuits were not killed, given the divisiveness and bitter feelings they created (52).

With their militant attitude, it is no wonder the Jesuits found so few takers in Onondaga. Some may have left for the new missions in Canada, but it was nothing like what would become an exodus from Mohawk country. While Millet and others reported that many had left Onondaga, they could only cite a few individuals who had done so, mostly relatives of Garakontié. In terms of converts the majority were either captives or on their deathbeds. Millet boasted in 1668 that "there have been more than thirty baptized, in the past year," unfortunately, most were dead. In terms of the living, the harder the Jesuits worked to convert the Onondaga, the more resistance they encountered. As Garnier reluctantly observed, "it must be admitted that these people are strongly opposed to the Faith and that a Savage's conversion is a stroke of Heaven." Such strokes did not occur often in Onondaga. By 1675 after eight years of strenuous activity in their most important mission, the Jesuits had very little to show for their efforts except the blessed Daniel Garakontié (53).

#### The English Take Control, 1675 to 1682

Between 1664, when England seized New Netherland, and 1674 when the province was firmly in the Duke of York's control, not much changed for the local European residents. Basically, it was 10 more years of life as people had known it. But the governor of New York, Sir Edmund Andros, could not keep things "orderly and quiett" for long. For the agents of

# Ascent of the English, 1666-1682



Figure 6.14. Sir Edmund Andros. Painting by Mary Beale, ca. 1680.

English imperial policy, the lessons from the past 10 years were important. The French were closing in on them. Lieutenant-General de Tracy's 1666 invasion of Mohawk country pointed out both the potential and vulnerability of Albany as a strategic outpost. If the king's dominions in North America were to be protected and expanded, then it was time to get this lax colony and its wayward people in order. Andros's task was straightforward—protect the duke's interests and turn the locals, Native and European alike, into good imperial subjects (54).

# **Expanding** claims

In April 1675 Andros received a series of propositions from the Mohawks, asking for continued friendship. There were many demands on Andros's time

that spring, and the needs of the Mohawk did not rank high. The "Council Minute" records only a short note from Andros stating, "That ye *Maques* Indyans [Mohawk] bee encouraged in their Loyallty & friendship to ye *English* & ye *French*." With the outbreak of King Philip's War in June, however, the priorities changed, and that August Andros took the unprecedented step of visiting the Mohawk in their own towns. His goal was simple—to impress them with his potential as a friend and protector, and to assess their potential use for himself. Both sides came away pleased with the results (55).

The Mohawk were happy. Not since Arent van Curler had anyone as powerful as the lieutenant governor come to them. Andros picked the moment well. European diseases, alcohol, and above all Christianity had shredded the fabric of Mohawk society, leaving them deeply divided and demoralized. As the Jesuits liked to boast, there were now more Christian Mohawks living along the St. Lawrence than there were back in their traditional homeland. Desperate for assistance and passionately anti-French, they were ideal for Andros's plan. Although the details remain unclear, the Mohawk and possibly some of the Upper Four Nations signed an agreement declaring their alliance. In return Andros was given the title





**Figure 6.15.** "Council of war between the tribe [clan] of the Bear and that of the Beaver; they are brothers." Drawing by Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot, 1666.

# *Case Study 9. Metaphorical language — belts and chains*

Finding language that both Europeans and Native people could use to successfully communicate across the cultural divide was one of the great challenges of the seventeenth century. This was especially important as diplomatic relationships began to develop. By the third quarter of the century, two words *belts and chains*—came into common usage for negotiating treaties and other cross-cultural agreements.

From the Iroquois perspective, belt was a new word for a familiar concept. Fiber woven into straps and ties had been an integral part of Native material culture for thousands of years. Some of these may have been plain, others were embellished with pigment, quills, or beading. By the mid-seventeenth century belts were also made with wampum beads, a specialized form of belt called gaswenhda'. Linguist Hanni Woodbury reports there is no known or recorded noun in Onondaga for the ordinary clothing accessory called a belt, but adds this is probably just one of those unfortunate omissions. Among its functions a wampum belt could be used to tie parties together in a commitment. For the Five Nations wampum was also "the word," or the message itself. To accept or reject a belt was to accept or reject the message it contained.

Chain was a new word for a new thing, a series of forged-metal links introduced to the Onondaga by Europeans. Nonetheless, Native people quickly understood a chain's function. Van den Bogaert observed lengths of chain as well as other hardware in Mohawk longhouses in 1634. Francis Jennings suggested that in the Iroquoian language chain translates into something like "arms liked together," but he did not provide further details. Woodbury questions this association, noting that chain in Onondaga is gaehsa and that the stem terms for "arms" and "to link something" have no relationship to the word for chain. Even if the origin of the word remains obscure, use of the chain as a metaphor for maintaining good relations, or, as the Onondaga said, "to polish the chain and keep it bright," quickly became part of the new diplomatic vocabulary that came into existence during the last half of the seventeenth century.

One of the earliest uses of chain in its ritual sense may have occurred in 1643 when Arent van Curler visited the Mohawk. Sixteen years later, when the Dutch and Mohawk met again, it was to renew their "friendship and brotherhood . . .we joined together with an iron chain." This ritual language was not restricted to the Dutch and the Mohawk. In 1656 a Mohawk spokesman had made a similar declaration in an attempt to stop the French settlement at Ste. Marie. Offering a large porcelain collar, he said, "Here is an iron chain . . . which shall bind the Dutch, the French and the Agnieronnons [Mohawk] together."

As a new cross-cultural language of diplomacy developed during the third quarter of the seventeenth century, belts and chains became a widely used and deeply intertwined set of metaphors. The Onondaga speaker employed them on July 21, 1677, when he replied on behalf of the Onondaga that they would make a "Covenant of peace which we shall bind with a chain." By 1682 these words had become a part of French diplomatic language as well. In his reply to the Onondaga spokesman Tegannisoren, Governor-General Frontenac asked them not go to war against the Illinois, "stay this hatchet . . . here is a Chain to bind it, and to prevent the arms of the warriors." This proposal was presented as Frontenac's "Third Word. Third Belt of Wampum in form of a Chain." There is a difference between using a diplomatic metaphor and making a commitment. In the end, it does not appear

that either belts or chains made diplomatic agreements any more binding or successful.

Covenant, like chain, was another new word to the Five Nations, one whose use in European–Native diplomacy did not begin until after 1675. The word covenant is Anglo-French in origin, and as Stephen Webb has observed, "partook of both the legal and the theological." As a 1643 definition noted, "A Covenant . . . is more than a promise and less than an oath." It may be no coincidence that this word was not used until Robert Livingston was appointed Secretary to the Manor of Rensselaerswijck in 1675. His duties included serving as town clerk for Albany and later as secretary for Indian Affairs. This made him responsible for maintaining the records relating to treaties, conferences, and other Indian-related matters. As an expatriate Scot and businessman, Livingston would have been well aware of the spiritual and temporal meanings implied by the use of the word covenant. After 1675 the words covenant and chain were increasingly used together. By the last decades of the century the "Covenant Chain" had become an established part of English diplomatic parlance (56).

of *Corlaer* in memory of their late friend Arent van Curler, in expectation that the English governor would provide for them accordingly. This agreement would serve as the basis for what would become known as the Covenant Chain, a series of treaties and agreements recorded both on paper and in wampum belts, specifying the relationship between the English and the Five Nations (57).

Much has been made of the Covenant Chain. One historian has called it the most important diplomatic event in North American history. Others have described it as the beginning of formal cooperation between Indian tribes and the English colonies or, in the case of the Five Nations, the beginning of a long-lived dominance in the intercultural diplomacy of the Northeast. There is no doubt that the Covenant Chain existed. What is less clear is when it began, where it came from, and what it meant to those involved.

Andros made only a passing reference to it in his 1678 report. The Covenant Chain does not seem to have been of much importance in the late 1670s, although it would grow into the essential form of English and Five Nations' diplomacy in the eighteenth century (58).

Andros had good reason to be pleased with the Mohawk response to his overture. With the outbreak of King Philip's War in New England and another round of ugly hostilities between the Mohawk and the Loups, Andros needed to know on whom he could count. As it turned out, many Mohawk were willing to serve as mercenaries against the New England tribes, even though it was afterward claimed that they had fought only "as servants and souldjers" of the English. Andros also made gestures towards the Mahican and other displaced New England tribes, encouraging the latter to settle at Schaghticoke, but it was mostly for show. With the Mohawk Andros had the allies he needed (59).

These were contentious times, and not just in the Northeast. Bacon's Rebellion against English rule in Virginia in 1676 and increased tensions among several of the English colonies as they bickered over boundaries and claims added to an air of uncertainty. These events helped to reshape how the English administrators viewed Indian people and how they would deal with them on issues of land, trade, and security. For Andros these issues were the heart of his assignment to teach the Mohawk and their brother nations what it meant to be loyal subjects. And although the Dutch and the English may have looked similar to the Five Nations, they were about to learn otherwise. Unlike the Dutch, English society was based on the authority of the sovereign. Especially under the Stuarts, English kings saw themselves as divinely appointed to their task. That task was to rule through a class of nobles, parceling out land to loyal retainers, who, in turn, used their tenants to protect the land and make it profitable. This was a hierarchical system based on everyone knowing his or her place, and staying there. It was also an authoritarian system, quick to reward and to punish, one in which wealth and status conveyed a clear message of royal approval and favor. While English territorial ambitions in North America remained largely undefined, this imperial view meant that all claimed land was under royal authority. A primary reason for Wentworth Greenhalgh's tour of the Five Nations between May and July 1677 was to better understand the territory of these new subjects (60).

Economic and military matters were also considered royal prerogatives. Although Andros had no interest in disrupting the trading arrangements the Dutch had worked out with the Five Nations, he was quick to bring them under imperial control. In military terms Andros hoped to use the Five Nations as proxies, but he had limited success. Only the Mohawk succumbed, serving as mercenaries for the English from 1676 into the early 1680s. By and large, the Upper Four Nations stayed out of such affairs. This set a precedent that would dominate the Mohawk for the next 100 years.



**Figure 6.16.** European settlement and expansion, ca. 1682.

New York was not the only place in which the English were establishing and strengthening their imperial claims. In 1663 the Lords Proprietors of Carolina received permission from King Charles II to plant a new colony along the southeastern coast of North America. By 1670 they had taken their first step, establishing the new settlement of Charles Towne. Nearly 2,000 km (1,242 mi) to the north, another English claim was staked out. As early as 1673 traders from the newly established Hudson's Bay Company

distributed presents to Native people along James Bay. Two years later a fortified trading house was built at the mouth of the Albany River where it empties into James Bay, anchoring English claims. The map of North America was beginning to look different (61).

While the English began to get their own imperial structure in place, the French continued to claim western lands at a prodigious pace. No one was more energetic than La Salle. With the fortified post at Cataraqui, he controlled much of the access to and from the St. Lawrence River. It was not long before people from the Five Nations began to go there to trade rather than make the longer, more arduous, trip to Montréal. With the eastern end of Lake Ontario secure, and Frontenac's active support behind him, La Salle began to extend his bases westward. In 1676 he established a small fort at Niagara near the eastern end of Lake Erie and requested that the Five Nations meet him there for a council. Representatives from all showed up, except the Seneca. Although Niagara would prove an important location, La Salle's real interest was to follow the Mississippi River to its mouth. In 1677 he returned to France to petition Louis XIV for permission to explore the area between the Great Lakes and Mexico. Having received the king's official sanction, La Salle returned to New France in 1678 with a new deputy, Henri de Tonty, and immediately headed west to Niagara. Over the next four years, La Salle would make several trips through the western Great Lakes to Illinois country and the upper Mississippi River valley, establishing forts along the way. By the end of 1682 La Salle's territorial claims extended from the mouth of the Mississippi River throughout its entire drainage (Figure 6.16; 62). This success came at the expense of others, especially the Montréal merchants and their Wyandot-Ottawa partners, much of whose trade was cut off by La Salle's maneuvers. The repercussions would be a major factor in shaping both Native and French politics for the rest of the century.

La Salle was not the only Frenchman establishing settlements and making claims. In 1679 the French built a post at Témescamingue at the mouth of the Moose River as a response to the Hudson's Bay Company activities. The year before, Fort Kaministique was established at Thunder Bay on the north shore of Lake Superior, while Fort Népigon, also on the north shore, was built in 1679. These settlements controlled access to one of the richest sources of furs available to Europeans, which included the vast interior-lakes region that stretched west for over 550 km (340 mi), from Lake Népigon {now known as Lake Nipigon} to Lake of the Woods. By the time Frontenac was recalled to France in 1682, French claims and even settlements had nearly surrounded the English, whose colonies were strung along the Atlantic coast. While this certainly did not please the English, it must have been even more uncomfortable for the Five Nations and other Indian people, who felt increasingly squeezed by their aggressive European neighbors (63).



#### Inside the League, 1675 to 1682

How did the Five Nations respond to these pressures? Or, more to the point, how did the League function during the years between 1675 and 1682? It is difficult to know amidst all the religious and imperial rhetoric. Once again, this was a topic in which the French Jesuits had little interest and the English were just learning that such an entity as the League even existed. The Covenant Chain itself is a complicating factor. In fact, virtually all discussion of the League during these years has been tied to, if not submerged by, the issue of the Covenant Chain.

To untangle this it is helpful to revisit some definitions. As discussed previously, the Five Nations have been described both as a League and a Confederacy. Historically, this is the point at which the distinction becomes important. The League refers to the set of rules and rituals that bound the Five Nations together internally, and by tradition required them to speak with "one voice, one mind, one heart." The Confederacy, on the other hand, was the mechanism developed by the Five Nations, largely under Onondaga leadership, to deal with an ever more intrusive outside world. This meant finding ways to balance the competing demands of Europeans and of other Native groups through alliances and treaties (64).

Several recent historians have equated the establishment of the Covenant Chain with the rise of the Confederacy. For Francis Jennings the Iroquois were willing accessories to Andros's empire-building schemes. Stephen Webb, on the other hand, sees the Covenant Chain as the means for Iroquois empowerment. For the Five Nations this was the instrument of Iroquoian ambition, the way in which their age-old ambition could be realized, to make the League of peace and power prevail over all its Native neighbors. However, as historian Richard Haan has observed, such interpretations read far too much intent into the events of 1677. Still, something different began to occur during these complicated years. Daniel Richter is closer to the mark when he suggests that a new kind of diplomacy was emerging, "the beginnings of a Confederacy political structure distinct from the Grand Council" of the League (65).

Over the previous 30 years the Five Nations had, individually and in various combinations, learned the politics of European treaty-making through their dealings with the Dutch and French. By 1677 they had developed substantial skills in making cross-cultural agreements, often incorporating many of their own concepts and practices into the process. However Europeans chose to interpret it, the Covenant Chain was fundamentally Iroquoian in conception. It was a logical extension of the basic social mechanisms used by the Five Nations for resolving disputes and renewing order. It was ritual based on reciprocity, rather than submission, and kinship, building relationships rather than a patriarchal hierarchy.

Since our understanding of the Covenant Chain and its operation comes primarily from the end of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century, it is hard to see what this term might have meant in 1677. My sense is Covenant Chain was one more phrase in an evolving diplomatic vocabulary, a useful but largely rhetorical expression that the English and the Five Nations could employ as they began to get acquainted. In much the same manner, Onondaga statements to Andros that the English would be their "greatest Lord" did not mean any more than the promise to be most obedient children to the French governors-general, Courcelle or Frontenac. On the practical side such assurances may have served as a useful buffer or counter-balance to rapid French expansion. Perhaps in time the "Five Nations would now be able to shape their relations with Europeans upon the balance-of-power principle," as historian Stephen Webb has suggested. But not yet (66).

**Different nations, different agendas.** If the meaning of the Covenant Chain was ambiguous for the League, its value seems to have been clearer among the individual nations. For the Mohawk the treaties with the English did two things. First, they spelled out a new and special relationship with them. It was a Mohawk spokesman who proudly announced, "the Covenant that is betwixt the Governor Gen<sup>II</sup> and us [Mohawk] is Inviolable yea so strong that if the very thunder should breake upon the Covenant Chain it would not breake it asunder." For a people so internally splintered as the Mohawk, the English, with their abundant gunpowder and rum, must have seemed like wonderful new friends whatever the eventual cost (67). The other essential point is that these treaties clarified Mohawk control over the Eastern Door and who passed through it. As the Mohawk spokesman made clear,

if the Sinneques [Upper Four Nations] now or at any time hereafter should appoint any other place for to speake with you, in their own Country or elsewhere, we desire that it may not be accepted, but that this be [Albany] and remaine the onely appointed and prefixed place [for council meetings], . . . we desire that it may be here and noe where else.

The important meetings were certainly not to be held in Onondaga. The old Mohawk–Onondaga rivalry may have cooled, but it was not over. The Mohawk would pay a high price for this privileged position. For them the Covenant Chain would become chains indeed, ones that bound them to an imperial system that would reduce them to military auxiliaries and economic dependents over the next 100 years (68).

For the Onondaga it is likely that the treaties of 1675 and 1677 were viewed more with relief than anything else. Not only did these agreements keep the Mohawk happy, they gave the Onondaga breathing space at a time when there were other difficult issues to deal with, internally

#### Ascent of the English, 1666-1682

and externally. And there were pressing problems. Onondaga was still recovering from the effects of the Susquehannock War. Alcohol from the French as well as the English caused increasing strain on the social fabric, as did Jesuit efforts to undermine traditional values and practices. It was also during this time that the major town in Onondaga began the slow process of moving from Indian Hill to a new location. The challenge for Onondaga was to find some kind of balance among these pressures and to make sure that their interests, as well as those of the Five Nations as a whole, were protected (69).

The ostensible goal of the Covenant Chain was peace, although it has been argued that it promoted war by creating a new assertiveness abroad. Small-scale hostilities certainly took place, but there was no overall pattern of aggression, no renewal of the Beaver Wars (70). The reality was that intertribal hostilities actually diminished during these years even though each nation still had its particular conflicts—the Mohawk preoccupied with their apostate brethren in Canada and affairs in New England, the Onondaga with the skeptical French and a turbulent south, and the Seneca with the Ottawa and other French allies beyond the Western Door. There

is little evidence of any concerted military action. For the Upper Four Nations, the Covenant Chain, to the degree that it mattered at all, appears to have been considered an Eastern Door matter. As far as can be determined, whatever warring there was during these years continued to be for the same reasons they always had—to win prestige, for revenge, and to acquire captives.

Peace and war in Illinois country. A major source of confusion in the historical record has been the tendency to lump together the actions taken by each of the Five Nations as those of the Iroquois. Nothing demonstrates this problem more clearly than the evolving hostilities between the Seneca and the Illinois. The Illinois were Algonquian speakers, closely related linguistically and culturally to the Miami, who appear to have moved from the western end of Lake Erie to an area southwest of Lake Michigan during the mid-seventeenth century. First described by Jesuit explorers such as Fr. Claude Allouez in the 1660s, Illinois people were anxious to trade with the Ottawa for the "hatchets, and kettles, guns and other articles that they need." Fr. Jacques Marquette, stationed at St. Esprit, added that the Illinois wanted these European goods not for commerce but to make war.



**Figure 6.17.** A captain of the Illinois nation. Drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1670.



In 1673 Jolliet and Marquette visited the large Illinois town of Peouarea on their way down the Mississippi. Although hoping to establish a mission, Marquette found the Illinois warlike and noted that they used guns they got from tribes who traded with the French when they "raided to the south and west for slaves." Marquette returned to Illinois country in late 1674 to establish the mission of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia, where he died in April 1675. When Father Allouez arrived to replace him in 1677, little had apparently changed. The Illinois were still waging "war with 7 or 8 different nations." There is no mention of the Iroquois in any of the accounts mentioned above (71).

Then, according to several historians, everything suddenly changed and the Iroquois launched a genocidal war against the Illinois. Allen Trelease claimed that Iroquois invasions of Illinois country began in 1677 and continued afterwards. William Eccles expanded this dramatically, stating that a "long-pending storm" finally broke in September 1680, when an Iroquois army of 600 to 700 men "burst into the quiet valley of the Illinois" determined to recapture an area they had once held. Recent scholars have been more measured, but still suggest that this invasion was a "mourningwar" gone horribly wrong. Where did this version of events come from, and why has it become so embedded in our understanding of the period between 1677 and 1682 (72)?

While these interpretations are based on contemporaneous accounts, those are few and most of them were secondhand. One of the most frequently cited is Jacques Duchesneau's memoir and letter of 1681. As intendant of New France, Duchesneau was in a position to know a great deal, but that did not make him an expert on everything. Like most of his contemporaries, Duchesneau saw the Five Nations as a monolith, an army of warriors moving from one war to another. From his point of view, once the Iroquois defeated the Susquehannock, they then "resolved to make war" on the Illinois. As Duchesneau explained, the motivation of the Iroquois was to gratify their English masters and bring the entire fur trade under English control. This was an understandable viewpoint for a French colonial administrator, however, Duchesneau also had his own problems and partisan feelings. As intendant he was responsible for overseeing an increasingly chaotic fur trade. And although he felt this situation had been caused in large part by Governor-General Frontenac and his business partner La Salle, Duchesneau was hesitant to blame them in an official report. It was easier for him to invoke the dreaded Iroquois as the source of the problem. All in all, while Duchesneau's report is a contemporary one, it is hardly an unbiased source (73).

There are similar problems with the other accounts. Sieur de La Salle, Duchesneau's nemesis, is another frequently cited source. While La Salle did visit Illinois country, it was after the September 1680 attack on Kaskaskia. His observations, as well as those of his lieutenant Henri de



Tonty and others in his party, remain the closest to eye-witness reports that we have. Nonetheless, La Salle also had his biases. A driven man with grandiose dreams, La Salle freely made enemies even with his business partners and his erstwhile Jesuit colleagues. As a result his observations, like those of Duchesneau, need to be read in the context of the conflicting personalities and complex events of the time (74).

The explorer and trader Nicolas Perrot is a third source often cited on the war in Illinois country. By 1677 Perrot had spent almost two decades in the western Great Lakes. There he was known and respected by the Ottawa, Illinois, and other Native groups. As a friend to these people, however, Perrot was not very objective, nor even knowledgeable about the Five Nations. Like Duchesneau, to Perrot the Iroquois were simply the enemy. In historian Emma Blair's efforts to untangle Perrot's narrative on the "Continuation of the war between the Algonkins and the Irroquois," she admitted that his writing was often so obscure that it was hard to discern who was doing what to whom (75).

Ironically, the final source of misinformation on the Illinois war comes from Onondaga, specifically the reports of Jean de Lamberville, the resident Jesuit in Onondaga. Although frequently cited as an authoritative source, there are reasons to question the validity of many of his statements. An example is Lamberville's report on the return of captives in 1681, after what he called the "great war-fire against the Illinois,"

Last year they ["The Iroquois"] Brought 700 Illinois captives all of whom they kept alive. They killed and ate over 600 on the spot, without counting those whom they burned along the road. They saved the children who could live without The Milk of their mothers whom they had killed; but the others were cruelly roasted and devoured.

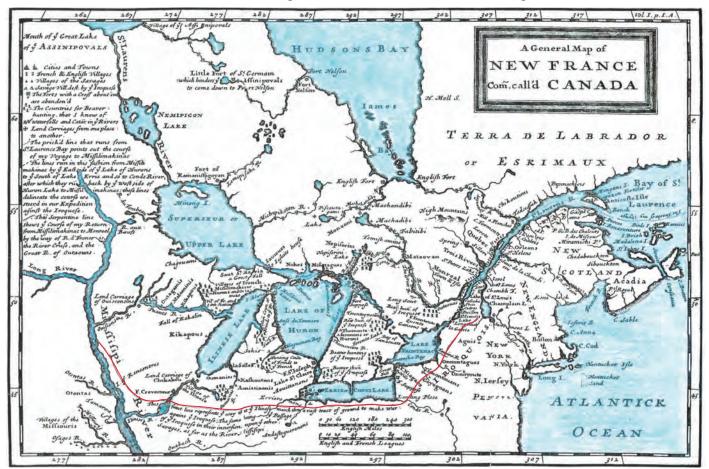
Lamberville's account, written a year after the events he describes, is ambiguous in several ways. For one, he never specifies who brought the prisoners to Onondaga. Were they the Iroquois, all the Five Nations, Onondaga, or Seneca? Lamberville's claim that 700 Illinois prisoners were herded back over a distance of nearly 1,280 km (800 mi) seems unlikely. Finally, the likelihood that 600 of these prisoners were killed and eaten, rather than adopted, is contrary to what we know about Iroquois warfare. In fact Lamberville's whole account has more than a tinge of hysteria in it, and as we will soon see Lamberville was not the most assiduous of observers. Just because he was there does not mean his statements were accurate (**76**).

In terms of a so-called Illinois-Iroquois war itself, we will probably never know exactly what happened. Apparently, some level of hostility did exist between the Illinois and the Seneca. The attack on the Illinois town of Kaskaskia in September 1680 was a real event, although who was

involved and why remain unclear. Once started, however, hostilities fell into a familiar pattern of retaliation, retribution, and in this case escalation. In September 1681 an important Seneca chief was captured and later murdered by an angry Illinois. When the bones of this chief were brought back to Seneca country, the talk was immediately of revenge. The Seneca were apparently successful in getting warriors from the other four nations to blame the Illinois, and preparations for war got underway. Even so, the reported assembly of a war party of 500 does not equal an Iroquois army, since the Seneca could have easily raised that many men themselves.

Nor was this a mindless plunge into war. No one really wanted to shatter the general peace that existed between the Five Nations and the French-allied tribes in the west. As soon as Frontenac heard the news of the impending clash, he moved quickly to keep what he considered the Seneca's "private quarrel with the Illinois" from becoming a bigger problem. After consultation with his advisors, Frontenac sent a personal envoy to Onondaga asking that they not take any hasty action until a meeting could be arranged. He suggested that the meeting take place at Fort Frontenac early the following spring, or "at the first running of the sap." Unfortunately, that meeting did not happen as planned and events took a very different course (77).

**Figure 6.18.** A General Map of New France, commonly called Canada. "This faint [red] line represents y<sup>e</sup> way that y<sup>e</sup> Ilinese march thro a vast tract of ground to make war against y<sup>e</sup> Iroquese." Drawn by Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, 1703. This map, ca. 1690, documents a route that war parties used for decades.





Several months later on September 11, 1682, the young Onondaga war chief Tegannisoren, who was "deputed by the Whole House, that is the Five Iroquois Nations," travelled to Montréal to state their position and hear what Frontenac had to say. After chiding the governor-general for not showing up that spring as promised, Tegannisoren stated that they did not wish to make war on the Kiskakons (Kaskaskia or Illinois), the Hurons, or the Miamis, but would defend themselves if they were attacked. He also said that "he had run through the Whole House," asking that no action be taken "without having first heard Onnontio's word." Frontenac, however, had no answers. Whatever he had planned, French policy would soon be in the hands of a very different leader (78).

In October 1682 a new French governor-general, Joseph-Antoine Le Fèbvre de La Barre, arrived to take Frontenac's place. As a career bureaucrat, La Barre was a man attuned to Lamberville's kind of paranoia, and the result was soon evident. Shortly after his arrival La Barre held a public assembly to announce his plans. He began with an alarming interpretation of Tegannisoren's visit to Montréal—"It is easy to judge the inclination of these peoples [the Five Nations]," he fumed. Clearly, their goal was "to destroy, one after the other, all the nations allied to us, while they keep us in uncertainty, . . . they will attack us alone." He concluded that there was only one option—to strike them first. Otherwise, La Barre was sure that there was no hope of preserving the colony. It became apparent that under New France's new leader, Onondaga's responsibility for maintaining some sort of balance with the French became much more difficult (79).

Why did this version of events featuring an aggressive and monolithic Iroquois become so embedded in our understanding of these events? The best answer is that when historians lump the actions of the Five Nations together it is easy to miss the internal dynamics that differentiated them. In the years between 1677 and 1682 a great deal was happening. During that time the League appears to have continued to function much as it had when described by Le Mercier in 1667. The focus was on maintaining the rules and rituals by which conflicts were resolved, opinions debated, and decisions made. The difficulty was that each nation had its own problems and concerns, especially the three Elder Brothers. The Mohawk remained focused on pleasing the English, their new best friends at the Eastern Door. The Seneca, watching the Western Door, were most concerned about French intrigues in the upper Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley. For the Onondaga, the primary concern remained where it long had been maintaining a balance between the French to the north and the rapidly changing world to the south.

#### Inside Onondaga, 1675 to 1682

After 1675 Onondaga interests focused increasingly to the south. The war with the Susquehannock was effectively over by then, although hostilities continued between settlers in the mid-Atlantic region and their

Native neighbors. The way south to Maryland, Virginia, and beyond was now open, as it had not been for at least a century. More than territory and access to marine shell were at stake. People were the most valuable resource, and in the shattered Native landscape of the mid-Atlantic, there were a lot of dispossessed people to be assimilated—remnants of the Susquehannock, tidewater Algonquians, and even Siouan and other people of the Piedmont region.

Another reason the Onondaga were intent on affairs to the south was their interest in establishing an independent route to Europeans there, one that bypassed the Mohawk. They had tried to do so with the Dutch in the 1650s, and now hoped to train the Marylanders to recognize them and all the Upper Four Nations as distinct from the Mohawk. English ignorance on this point was apparent when Col. Henry Coursey, representing Charles Lord Baltimore, proprietary governor of Maryland, made propositions for peace in June 1677. He addressed them to the "maques [Mohawk] & other Indians Westward as far as y<sup>e</sup> Sinnekes." Although the Onondaga agreed to Coursey's proposals, they still desired to be acknowledged specifically. It was not until April 1678, after peace was proposed by Maryland and accepted by all Five Nations, that the English specifically mention the Onondaga for the first time in a proclamation (80).

In October 1679 William Kendall, the agent from Virginia, met with Five Nations' representatives in Albany. The first thing that the Onondaga speaker pointed out to him was that Coursey and his companion Jacob Young had promised that they would go into their "Country to Speake wt us" in the spring of 1678. They never showed up. Kendall claimed no knowledge of such a promise. He was in Albany specifically to threaten those of the Five Nations who continued to raid around the Chesapeake. Ever helpful, the Mohawk promised that they had been good and would "keep the Inviolable chayn clear and clene." The Onondaga spokesman, Othonoenis, drily observed that since the English had been too busy to visit them, the Onondaga elders were too busy to come to Albany now. Still, he invited Kendall to stop in Onondaga on his way back to Virginia. He urged them to "Take your Journey to our Castles, the way being good." Kendall missed the hint, and the conference in Albany dragged on for several more weeks until the Onondaga admitted that some of their warriors "have done Verry Wickedly." There had been provocations on both sides, but the Onondaga entreated them to now live like friends. After a brief thanks the Onondaga collected their presents, and another conference was over (81).

By the summer of 1681 an English delegation still had not visited Onondaga. In August two envoys from Onondaga and Oneida traveled to St. Mary's City, capital of the colony of Maryland, to address its council. Speaking on behalf of the rest of the "Northern Indians," including "a Troope of Indians consisting of three hundred Sinniquos" representing the Upper Four Nations, they made clear that English traders were welcome in

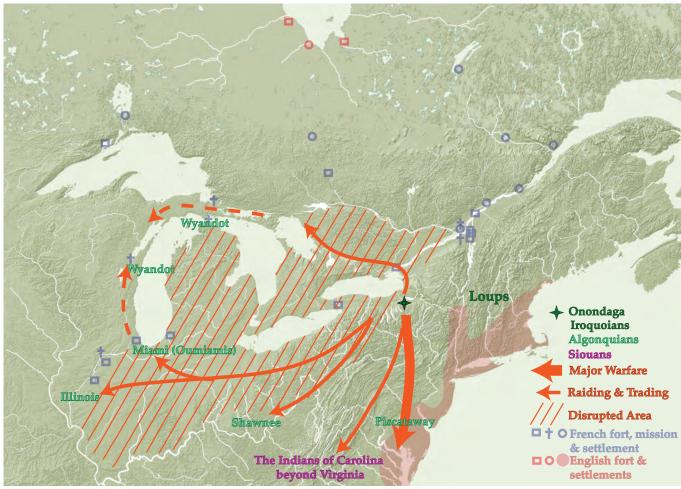


Figure 6.19. Onondaga Adversaries, ca. 1676-1682.

their country. After reassuring the council members that they were only after their Piscataway enemies and had no interest in bothering English settlers, they asked that a house be "built at the ffalls of Susquehannoh River and that they may have the liberty of trade with the English." It is noteworthy that there were no Mohawk present at this meeting. In fact this Onondaga request for trade independent from Albany and the Mohawk was virtually the same made to Petrus Stuyvesant 25 years earlier, in 1656 (82).

Despite the protestations of their innocence, there is little doubt that Onondaga war parties did go south during these years. In March 1680 Jasper Danckaerts, explorer and founder of a colony in Maryland, noted while visiting Albany that "A large party of them [Indians] had gone south to make war against the Indians of Carolina, beyond Virginia." Lamberville also described Onondaga raids on the English of "merinlande" and how they "come back with slaves loaded with clothes and booty." Three times, he noted, the English came to Albany to negotiate with the Onondaga, but the Onondaga would give the English nothing. If the English wanted war, the Onondaga were ready to fight them (83). Raiding and trading had always gone hand in hand, and if the English were too busy to visit them and did not want to trade through the Southern Door, then the raids would continue. By 1682 the Onondaga assumed responsibility for what went on to the south. Their concern for events in what soon would be known as Pennsylvania assumed increasing importance in the coming decades (84).

*Population and adoption.* The years between 1676 and 1682 were relatively peaceful in Onondaga, a time for rebuilding and replenishing. There were certainly problems. The ongoing sale of brandy and rum continued to cause disruption, and efforts to curb drinking were one of the few issues on which Onondaga elders and the Jesuits could agree. In addition men were continually lost on raids or while hunting, and greater direct contact with Europeans resulted in more episodes of disease. Although the historical record is sketchy, at least two serious outbreaks were reported—one in 1679 and the other in 1681 (**85**).

In spite of these stresses, Onondaga population size does not seem to have changed significantly during the period. Although contemporaneous sources mention that there were 300 to 350 Onondaga warriors at this time, there is no other information on the size of the population. An analysis by historian José António Brandão estimates the overall Onondaga population had grown in 10 years from 4,500 to 5,250 by 1677. The archaeological evidence bears this out in a different way. At some point toward the end of its occupation, the town, now known as the Indian Hill site, expanded south beyond its original palisade. This extension of the settlement was not palisaded and may have served to house refugees or captives after the end of the Susquehannock War. Whatever the purpose, it is clear that the town was growing, not shrinking, during its final years (**86**).

As in past decades one of the primary ways in which the Onondaga population grew was through adoption. "They bring prisoners from all parts and thereby increase their numbers," Lamberville lamented from the mission at Onondaga. The problem was the Onondaga "profit every year by our losses. They annihilate our allies, whom they convert into Iroquois." In fact the origin of captives mentioned in the historical documents appears to be an accurate reflection of where Onondaga warriors were active. Captives came from the west, the result of Onondaga warriors going off on their own or joining their Seneca brothers on raids. Illinois and Oumiamis (Miami), prisoners are specifically mentioned, and Shawnee captives may have been brought back as well. The greatest number came from the south. These included members from a variety of Iroquoian and Algonquian communities from both sides of the Chesapeake (**87**).

Just as captives were taken for many reasons, they could be treated in very different ways once back in Onondaga. Some were adopted and formally made part of the nation, usually to replace someone who had died. As Lamberville noted, a Miami captive was given to a Christian woman in the place of her son who had been killed the previous year. Those less fortunate were tortured and killed, usually in retaliation for the killing of an Onondaga. As Brandão and others have pointed out, the primary reason for bringing captives back was to adopt them or use them for labor (88).

Many captives probably ended up in a gray area between those who were

# *Case Study 10. Metaphorical language — slaves and dogs*

Words often have multiple meanings, but few have caused more confusion, then and now, as *slave* and *dog*. Both occur frequently in the historical records, and although both Europeans and Native people used them, these words meant very different things. Slaves were property for Europeans, a commodity to be bought, used, and sold. This is usually referred to as "chattel slavery." Although not all Europeans approved, the ownership of other human beings was legal, condoned by the church, and widely practiced during the seventeenth century. One might own a slave, but the idea of adopting one as a family member was inconceivable to most Europeans.

Unlike European slaves, for the Iroquois and most other northeastern Native people slaves were still human. As such, Onondaga captives were considered slaves, but they could have a range of possible futures. Most of those captured were men and women young and strong enough to be considered practical for adoption. The point was to replace family members who had been lost through accident, war, or disease. In addition to that was the need to maintain a workforce sufficient to meet the community's needs. Still, it was true that in Onondaga slaves were socially dead, powerless, cut off from their previous life, and dependent on their owner.

Dog is another word with complex meanings and associations. For Europeans dogs were companions and partners in hunting and useful for protecting property. Dogs were obedient, did what they were told, and were rewarded or punished accordingly. But dogs, like pigs, were also scavengers, often roaming in packs around the margins of settled communities. In this more biblical sense dogs were unclean, an object of contempt, and on occasion for fear. "Give not that which is holy unto the **Figure 6.20.** Native dog *chien ameriquain* (American dog), drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1671.

> dogs ... lest ... they ... turn and rend you," as the gospel according to Matthew reminded the faithful. To be called a dog by a European was not a compliment.

Among Native people, dogs had a very different status, one that might be described as intermediary between human and animal. Dogs were companions that helped in hunting, pulled sleds, and in an emergency served as a food source. But dogs played another important role—serving as messengers between this world and the spirit realm. This tradition was particularly strong among the Huron–Wendat and Algonquian people of the Great Lakes. As a result, dogs were often sacrificed by them as part of a curing ceremony, to enlist assistance in war, for relief during bad weather, or sometimes used as an offering in place of a human.

Just as an actual dog could serve several purposes, so too, the word could mean many things. As George Hamell has observed, the term dog was used by Indian people to describe anything that served its master. Such a dog could be a person, a charm kept in a medicine pouch, or a real dog. In this sense a person without status, such as a captive or slave, was often referred to as a dog. When the Jesuits in Onondaga complained that "the life of a captive is valued no more than that of a dog," they were both right and wrong. They were correct in that a dog's future was in the hands of its owner, but wrong in assuming what that future would be (**89**).

killed and those who were adopted. The French referred to these people as slaves, but this obscures rather than clarifies their position. Disposition of prisoners was a clan responsibility and specific individuals could be kept by their captors or given to relatives or friends. All were put to work in the fields or fishing villages on behalf of the nation. My guess is that traditional adoption practices may have changed during the 1660s and 1670s, when non-Iroquoian speakers were brought back in larger numbers. It is difficult to know, or even estimate, the numbers. Brandão argues that captives might have comprised as much as two-thirds of a town's population. Although Jesuit accounts often focus on the brutality of individual masters and the capricious killing of slaves, it appears that many of these captives were eventually assimilated, if not adopted, into the population. We will examine the archaeological evidence for this in the next chapter (**90**).

*Leadership.* Who were the leaders in Onondaga during the crucial years from 1675 to 1682? How useful are terms such as *Francophile* and *Anglophile*, or even *believer*, *pragmatist*, and *strategist*, in describing those who made decisions on war, peace, alliance, and trade? This is difficult to answer. Only a few individuals are named in the English records. Most were representatives sent to conferences in Albany, and little more is known about them. The French records are not much more helpful. Lamberville, who was resident in Onondaga during these years, mentions many individuals, but rarely names them. For example he describes, "an old Captain, who still retained his rank among the leading men of the Town" and finally accepted baptism just before death. He also discusses, "the chief men of the town, who were assembled in a body . . . [with] their Spokesman." Finally, Lamberville occasionally notes the presence of his interpreter, evidently a woman, but provides no additional information (**91**).

In spite of Lamberville's maddening carelessness with names, at least four individuals can be recognized during these years. One is no surprise, Daniel Garakontié. Unlike many of the Mohawk and Oneida converts who moved to the Praying Towns of New France, Garakontié chose to remain in Onondaga to the end. Here he played an ever-diminishing role until his death in September 1677. As he requested, he was buried after the French fashion and was eulogized at length by Lamberville for his piety, zeal, and virtue. Some historians have made much of Garakontié's life and passing. However, it remains unclear how much the Onondaga mourned a man who had abandoned the values and traditions that defined their community.

A new name appears during this period, one that has resulted in some confusion. The speaker for Onondaga at the July 1677 conference in Albany was Carachkondie, not Garakontié. Carachkondie appears to have been a successful young war chief and was the one who delivered the Onondaga response to Coursey's proposal that the Onondaga would "make now an



absolute Covenant of peace which we shall bind with a chain." Although this is the first mention of Carachkondie in the historical documents, he would continue to play an important role in Onondaga affairs for the next 30 years (92).

The third name, Otreouti, is another familiar one. A fierce adversary of the French after the collapse of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha in 1658, he served as one of the peace ambassadors with Garakontié in December 1665. After that he is nearly invisible in the historical documents until November 1679, when he was one of the Onondaga representatives who met with William Kendall. Although he may have ceased to be an active warrior, he would remain a powerful voice in Onondaga until his death in 1688.

The last name is another new one, Tegannisoren, but one that would quickly assume prominence. In his first appearance as a young war chief before Frontenac in 1682, Tegannisoren spoke on behalf of the Five Nations. Although Lamberville stated that like Daniel Garakontié, Tegannisoren, too, "loved the French," that was not actually the case. In fact Tegannisoren's comment to Frontenac about having "two hands, one for peace and another for war" epitomized the Onondaga position. The goal was the well-being of the Onondaga nation. To achieve this the strategies remained the same—to keep their options open, to not take sides, and to strive for balance (93).

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing Onondaga leadership between 1676 and 1682 was the persistent Jesuit effort to undermine their authority and the cultural values on which they were based. Yet even here, it was restraint that marked the Onondaga response. Lamberville provides an example. Having arrived in Canada in 1669 and succeeded Millet at Onondaga two years later, Lamberville served until 1687. Although esteemed by some scholars as one of the more insightful Jesuits, Lamberville appears to have made up his mind about the Five Nations very quickly. "The Iroquois is not guided by reason . . . as a rule, they believe only what they see," he observed. To convert them, "it would be necessary to subdue them . . . by two arms . . . one of gold, and the other of iron . . . [that is,] by presents . . . and fear of arms" (94).

Lamberville's dogmatic view did not change during his residency, even when it became clear it was not an effective strategy. As father superior of New France Claude Dablon wrote in 1678 that the fruits of a missionary's labors were "only crosses, rebuffs, contumelies, threats and almost everywhere a horrible image of death." This was a conclusion frequently echoed in Lamberville's reports from Onondaga. Every once in a while, however, Lamberville inadvertently recorded a more profound insight into Onondaga culture. In 1681 Father Carheil fled to Onondaga after being assaulted at his Cayuga mission. Here he asked Lamberville to help him appeal to the leadership for redress. After listening to his complaints,

the chief men of the town gave Carheil some advice, "It is true that your Cabin has been pillaged, that your Holy house . . . has been profaned." But brandy was responsible for this assault, "which you Europeans have brought to us." So, they continued, Carheil could teach them all by his own example "to practice patience." In conclusion they suggested that when bad things happen do not complain, be a man and remember the words he told them to say to God, "Forget our offenses, as we forget the evil that has been done to us." Once again Onondaga leaders tried to use the traditional techniques of ridicule and irony to shame Carheil into better behavior. Apparently, neither he nor Lamberville got the point. Indeed, Lamberville found these condolences very humane with nothing shaming or savage in them. But then, subtlety never was Lamberville's strong suit (95).

In August 1682 Lamberville reported that "a Comet makes its appearance in the west this evening, and causes the Iroquois to ask us . . . what it Portends." While he did not respond to them, Lamberville might also have seen it as a sign. Resident priests had lived and labored in Onondaga since 1667, but in spite of their efforts they had had little success. In the end the Onondaga were no more willing to submit to Lamberville's demand for spiritual authority than they were to Frontenac's and Andros's desires for temporal control (96).

#### Summing Up

In 1675 New France and New York were similar colonies. As outposts of European empires, they were more like each other at this point than to their earlier commercial incarnation. This changed as each colony became more forcibly integrated into the emerging imperial systems of its parent country. By 1682 those divisions sharpened, as La Salle and others spread French territorial claims throughout the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River valley. Even as the European map of North America extended westward, Onondaga remained a key strategic point, geographically and politically. Within the decade France and England would become bitter enemies in a global struggle that would engulf the Five Nations well into the next century.

The European motivations and values that would drive these events were not ones the Onondaga had yet grasped. Loyalty they understood, but blind obedience and absolute authority made no sense to people whose lives depended on being pragmatic and flexible. As such, the Onondaga were a poor choice to become what the French and English expected from loyal subjects and faithful retainers. It had been a turbulent 15 years since the peace treaties of 1665–1666 were signed. While the Five Nations had been able to avoid open conflict with their increasingly assertive European neighbors, the situation was not comfortable and things were about to get a lot worse.

# Chapter Seven. Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682







he Onondaga found themselves in a rapidly changing world during the period from 1666 to 1682, when European commercial colonies became outposts for imperial expansion. Although things had been relatively peaceful since 1666, excluding their war with the Susquehannock, new challenges threatened to undermine the traditions and values on which Onondaga culture was based. These included the return of the Jesuits to live among them and Onondaga's first exposure to European imperial thinking, with its demand for obedience and quick resort to force. It is also probable that by 1670 a few Onondaga actually had been to France. Under these pressures the influence of European ways, and even ideas, could no longer be ignored. The comingling of economic, political, and spiritual matters in unfamiliar ways presented a challenge (1). In this chapter we look at the archaeological evidence from this period, primarily from the Indian Hill site. We will also look at what this evidence can tell us about the ways in which Onondaga relationships with other Native people and Europeans evolved.

#### The Indian Hill Site

Between 1663 and 1682 the Onondaga lived in one large town known today as the Indian Hill site. This was one of the locations that so impressed DeWitt Clinton in 1810 and many visitors over the next two centuries. Three decades later historian Joshua Clark observed,

gun barrels, sword blades, hatchets, knives, axes, clay pipes, copper kettles, brass chains, beads of glass, pewter plates, rings for fingers, ear and nose jewels, lead balls, iron gate hangings, copper coins, [and] tools for working wood and iron . . . [had been found, and] at every plowing something new is brought to light.

Artifacts were so prolific that, during the nineteenth century, collecting the axes, gun barrels, and other iron items from this site to sell to local blacksmiths was a viable source of income. The earliest surviving collection from Indian Hill was made prior to 1864, and although artifacts have been collected from this site ever since, few of those collections survive (**2**).

As mentioned in Chapter Six, the Indian Hill site is located on an exposed north-facing ridge with deep ravines on either side, which is an unusual choice for a seventeenth-century Onondaga town. If Fr. Jean de Lamberville's dating of this site is correct, the Onondaga relocated here around 1663, at a time when their war with the Susquehannock burned more hotly than ever. With a strong palisade reinforcing this naturally defensible location, the Onondaga would have been more secure at a time when the outcome of this war remained very much in doubt. A second reason the Onondaga may have relocated to the Indian Hill site may have been disease. According to the Jesuits smallpox decimated the Onondaga in 1663. Three decades earlier, when confronted by European disease,

#### Chapter Seven



the Onondaga had built their town on a hilltop exposed to the prevailing northwest winds, perhaps because it was considered a healthier location. This also may have been part of the logic in choosing the Indian Hill location (3).

#### Descriptions and interpretations

Along with the incidental references to Onondaga made by Julien Garnier, Pierre Millet, and the other Jesuits who resided there, two important contemporary descriptions of the town have survived. The first was made by Wentworth Greenhalgh during his early summer trip across the Five Nations in 1677—

The Onondagoes have butt one towne, butt itt is very large; consisting of about 140 houses, nott fenced; is situate upon a hill thatt is very large, the banke on each side extending itself att least two miles, all cleared land, whereon the corne is planted. They have likewise a small village about two miles beyond thatt, consisting of about 24 houses (4).

Five years later Lamberville provided a different description after returning from a trip to Québec—

On my arrival, I found the Iroquois of this town occupied in transporting their corn, their effects, and their cabins to a place 2 leagues distant from their residence, where they had dwelt for 19 years. They made this change in order to have their firewood in convenient proximity, and to secure fields more fertile than those they were abandoning.

Lamberville also noted that moving the town was a slow process. Since the Onondaga had no horses, everything they owned had to be carried "on their backs." To make this easier, "a single family will hire sometimes 80 or 100 people" to help, and in turn they provided the same service to others (5).

The accounts of Greenhalgh and Lamberville have shaped most previous interpretations of this site, and while contemporary accounts are valuable, they also need to be used with care. For example Greenhalgh mentions two settlements—the main Onondaga town and a small village about two miles beyond. This has usually been interpreted as evidence for two contemporaneous settlements, one large and one small, essentially a continuation of an earlier Onondaga pattern proposed by archaeologist James Tuck. However, it does not appear that this pattern continued into the seventeenth century. The "small" village reported by Greenhalgh in 1677 is almost certainly an early phase of the Weston site, the single large town occupied after Indian Hill. As Lamberville observed, moving such a large community was a lengthy affair, and Greenhalgh's comment probably refers to an early part of that process. Four years later, when he

observed the final stages, Lamberville noted that many of the Onondaga still retained a strong connection with the town's old location at Indian Hill (6).

There are other discrepancies. For instance, Greenhalgh describes the "town is nott fenced," yet there is clear archaeological evidence of a strong palisade. How can these be reconciled? As mentioned in Chapter Five, experimental studies by A. Gregory Sohrweide indicate that wooden palisade posts will survive in the ground for up to five years, or as long as seven, depending on the wood used. After that, they need to be replaced. When Greenhalgh rode through Onondaga, the town was 14 years old, twice as long as a palisade could be expected to last. Sohrweide's excavation of the palisade indicated that some sections of it had been repaired, as would be expected. In other places, the palisade line was buried under extensive refuse middens. In other words, when these sections of the stockade collapsed, or were taken down, they were not replaced. Given that the Susquehannock war was over by the time Greenhalgh was there, it is no surprise that the town was "nott fenced" (7).

Lamberville's comment on how long the town was occupied and why it moved has been used as a basis for estimating site duration and relocation processes elsewhere across the Northeast. Certainly pests, soil depletion, and the need for new sources of firewood were important factors, as ethnohistorian William Starna and others have argued. On the other hand, the new town of Onondaga at the Weston site is barely two miles (3.2 km) from the old one at Indian Hill. Because this new location was within the bounds of the land already cleared and cultivated, the depletion of firewood and soil do not make a compelling explanation by themselves. What made the effort to move a town worthwhile? The move from Lot 18 appears to have been a response to a nearly catastrophic fire in 1654. Abandoning Indian Castle may have been in response to disease and the need for a more secure location. For Indian Hill at the end of the Susquehannock War, I suspect that the Onondaga simply outgrew this location constrained by ravines (8).

#### Archaeological evidence

During the 1970s and 1980s, Sohrweide undertook extensive testing to determine the size of the town at the Indian Hill site by mapping its palisade. Based on his work, the town was initially enclosed by an elongated three-sided palisade of about 6 acres (2.4 ha), or roughly the same size as the preceding Indian Castle site. The palisade line was composed of a double row of posts that ran about 15 feet (4.6 m) below the crest of the hill, and it had a narrow entrance on the steep northfacing end. In 1669 the missionary René de Bréhant de Galinée described a similar Seneca palisade as being made of "poles 12 or 13 feet high fastened together at the top and planted in the ground, with great piles of wood the height of a man behind these palisades." The palisade at Indian

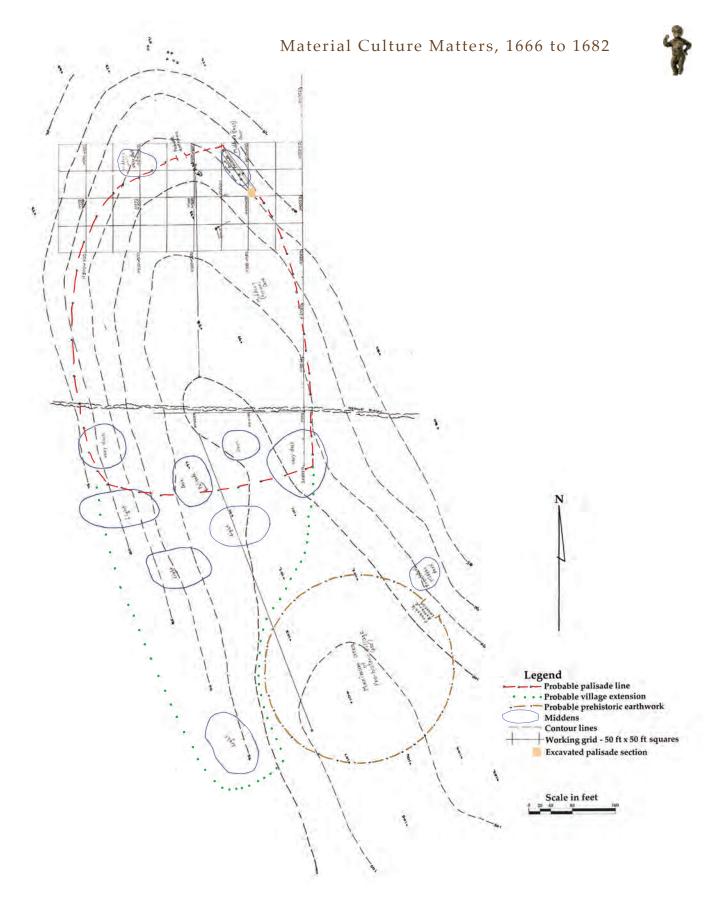
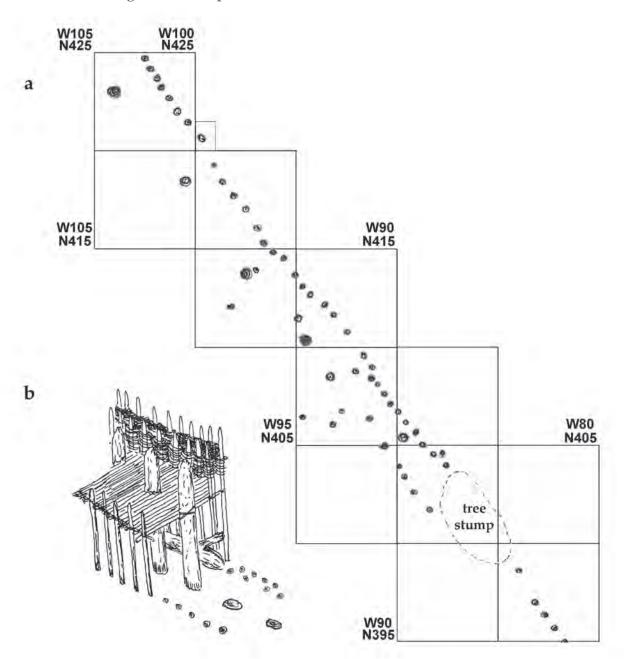


Figure 7.1. The Indian Hill site with the estimated palisade outlined in red. Plan by A. Gregory Sohrweide.

Hill follows the traditional Onondaga pattern, one that utilized natural contours. It does not show any evidence of European influence. Although the Susquehannock had used European defensive architecture, including



**Figure 7.2.** The Indian Hill site palisade—(a) plan view of a section of the palisade, (b) reconstruction of a cross-section view.

bastions to enhance the defenses of their town, the Onondaga apparently felt that their own fortifications were adequate (9).

Within the palisade was a series of typical Iroquoian longhouses of varying sizes, as well as storage structures and open public areas or plazas. Sohrweide's excavation documented only one longhouse. He estimated it to be 50 feet long by 20 feet across (15.2 m by 6.1 m), and it aligned with the contours of the site. Even if these longhouses were shorter than their predecessors, it is hard to imagine how Greenhalgh's estimate of 140 houses could have fit within this palisade. One explanation is that Greenhalgh counted every structure as a house. Another is that the town had outgrown its original size by the time Greenhalgh saw it in



1677. Based on Sohrweide's mapping of the site, it is clear that a major expansion took place beyond the palisade during the latter part of the site's occupation, increasing its size to roughly ten acres (4 ha). It appears likely that this expansion took place after the end of the Susquehannock War, when defense was no longer a concern and when there was a need to accommodate an influx of captives and adoptees (**10**).

#### Fishing villages and outlying settlements

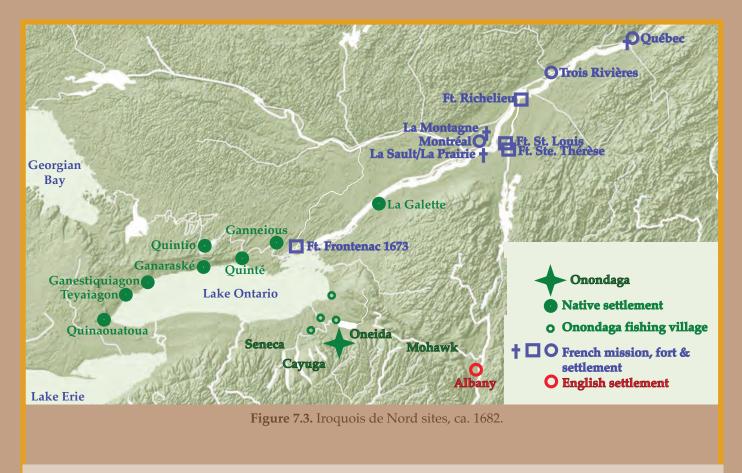
As discussed before, the Onondaga did not establish separate settlements for captives as the Mohawk and Seneca sometimes did. At Indian Hill, the settlement pattern data and historical sources agree that captives were brought to the main town and their fate decided there (**11**). Although the town continued to grow during this period, there are also indications that more people began to live outside the town, especially after 1675. This was particularly true of the traditional fishing communities at La Famine, Brewerton, and others along the Seneca and Oswego Rivers. Lamberville describes people living well outside the town in cabins and even in small settlements. Although with Lamberville it is hard to know what to believe, there are other indications that Onondaga began to spread out with the end of the Susquehannock War (**12**).

Onondaga people also began to move south. While there had long been hunting camps in the highlands south of the Pompey Hills, small communities may have been established in the upper Tioughnioga River drainage after 1675. Some may have served as way stations for travel to and from destinations farther south, with likely locations where the Tioughnioga converges with the Otselic, Chenango, and Susquehanna Rivers. Other new communities were multiethnic settlements built east to west across the upper Susquehanna watershed as refugee people sought protection and a new home. Settlements in that area at Tioga, Wyoming, and Shamokin were among those formed toward the end of this period. Although there is minimal documentation about these small communities, it is unlikely they would have been established without Onondaga consent (13).

Even more important were the new settlements established to the north. Traditionally, Onondaga territory included the fishing sites on the Oneida and Seneca Rivers and around the eastern end of Lake Ontario. During this period, Onondaga influence also extended into the St. Lawrence Valley to locations such as Cataraqui and La Galette, and across into what is now southern Ontario. Like the similar Seneca settlements on the western end of Lake Ontario, these settlements are often referred to as the Iroquois du Nord.

#### Implications for population

As at Lot 18 and Indian Castle, it is difficult to determine the size and health of the population who lived at Indian Hill. There are few estimates



# Case Study 11. Iroquois du Nord, 1666 to 1682

With peace in the eastern Great Lakes after 1666, some of the Five Nations began to move north and settle on lands that had previously been occupied by Ontario Iroquoian and Algonquian people. By 1670 there were more than a half dozen of these "Iroquois du Nord communities." Those on the western end of Lake Ontario were primarily Seneca, while those located toward the eastern end were, initially, largely Cayuga, Onondaga, and Oneida. These towns were settled for different reasons. Some, like Teyaiagon and Quinaouatoua, were opportunistic and controlled important portages. Others, such as Quinté, were related to mission activities. However, until the Susquehannock war was over, the Jesuits Carheil and Millet related that it was "fear of the enemy that obliged some of them to separate" and "settle on the North Shore" of Lake Ontario.

These towns served a variety of purposes. The western ones appear to have been used as staging areas for hunting, raiding, and trading parties headed either west across southwestern Ontario into Michigan and beyond, or north around Georgian Bay towards Sault Ste. Marie. The eastern towns served as base camps primarily for fishing and hunting between the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers, lands that the Onondaga increasingly thought of as their own. With the construction of Fort Frontenac in 1673, Cataraqui quickly became an important place on the Onondaga map. Here they could trade directly with the French without having to travel all the way to Montréal. For the same reason, Cataraqui increasingly became the location used for French conferences and negotiations with the Five Nations, a pattern that persisted until Governor-General Denonville's treachery in 1687 (**14**).



in the historical documents. One account from the *Jesuit Relations* for 1665 estimates a population of roughly 4,500 people of whom 300 were warriors. Basically, these are the same numbers that were reported for the Indian Castle site five years earlier. Greenhalgh estimated the Onondaga had 350 warriors, suggesting a population of more than 5,000 people in 1677. The same uncertainty applies to the effects of warfare and disease. Although the Susquehannock War resulted in Onondaga casualties and two serious epidemics were reported, one in 1679 and another in 1681, it is not possible to put these losses into numerical terms. This is where the settlement data from Sohrweide's excavation are important. Whatever fluctuations in population may have occurred, the size of the Indian Hill site grew over time, especially after 1675 (**15**).

#### Subsistence

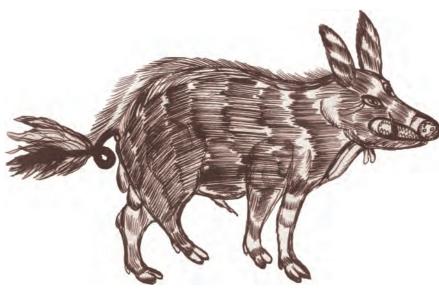
Like settlement, Onondaga patterns of subsistence changed in subtle but significant ways between 1663 and 1682. Some of these changes are best discerned from the historical documents since they are all but invisible archaeologically. One was the inclusion of more European foodstuffs as the fur trade morphed into the Indian Trade. Although bread, peas, and other dry goods had yet to become significant components in the Onondaga diet, they were often listed in trade inventories and used as gifts at conferences.

There was one European import that did have an increasingly powerful and divisive effect—alcohol. While beer and wine were common, brandy was the real culprit. Some of the quantities consumed seem unbelievable. In August 1669 Fr. Jacques Bruyas reported that 60 kegs of brandy had been brought to Oneida from "new Holland" [Albany] with disastrous results. The following April, after another 40 kegs arrived, a fire nearly destroyed the town. The situation in Onondaga may have been similar when Fr. Simon Le Moine described Onondaga as "a veritable pot-house" in 1662. Initially, the Onondaga may have mistaken brandy for holy water, but by this time those days were long past. Alcohol was a problem of which they were well aware. As the chiefs reminded Fr. Étienne de Carheil in 1682, when he complained about ill-treatment from drunkards, "Brandy is a pernicious evil, which you Europeans have brought to us" (16).

Brandy was bad and readily available from both Dutch and French sources, but it was nothing compared to English rum. Rum, also referred to as rumbullion or Kill-Devil, was "a spirit distilled from various products of the sugar cane," and according to a 1677 description, "commonly twice as strong as brandy." Initially produced in Barbados and elsewhere in the West Indies, rum was distilled in New York and New England by 1670. It quickly become an important commodity in the Indian Trade. "Two vats of beer and an anchor of rum" were among the goods used to purchase land in Westchester County, New York, in October 1671, along with the usual kettles, stockings, knives, and hoes. Six years later William Kendall offered the sachems of the Onondaga three vats of rum, among other presents,

when he asked for their assistance. There is little archaeological residue to mark this change, only fragments of stoneware jugs and perhaps the bottle glass that appears for the first time in the middens at Indian Hill. Small as these objects are, they signified big changes in Onondaga (17).

Although these European products had a substantial impact, they need to be evaluated within the broader context of Onondaga subsistence. Thanks to Sohrweide's excavation, there is a large faunal sample from Indian Hill, one that provides a basis for understanding Onondaga food preferences during this period. This assemblage documents the continuity in Onondaga meat consumption, with mammals providing the majority while birds and fish were also important dietary components. Among mammals, white-tailed deer remains were the most common of the identifiable



bone, followed by dog, black bear, and beaver. Passenger pigeons account for almost all of the birds, with duck, goose, and turkey also present. Fish remains were more diverse, with walleye pike, catfish, and eel the most abundant. And for the first time, pig bones were recovered from good archaeological context, confirming Fr. Louis Nicolas's report of couiscouis or wild pigs (18).

**Figure 7.4.** Aper or wild pig of Virginia, known as *la couiscouis*. Drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1670.

Details regarding the Indian Hill faunal assemblage help us reevaluate some of the often-cited claims about Onondaga diet in the historical documents. One is the old assertion that "the Iroquois nations, especially the four upper ones, do not hunt any Beaver or Elk. They absolutely exhausted the side of Ontario which they inhabit . . . a long time ago." Since both beaver and elk are present in the Indian Hill faunal assemblage, albeit at small percentages, this assertion needs to be understood as the political comment it was, rather than as a statement of fact (**19**).

#### **European Materials**

The European materials found at Indian Hill help us examine some of the dynamics of this period from a perspective different from that of the historical documents. Let us start with two fundamental questions. First, what did the shift from a mercantile to an imperial world look like in archaeological terms? More specifically, is it possible to define English



or French trade assemblages from this period? Next, what do these assemblages tell us about Onondaga participation in trade and the choices they made between 1666 and 1682?

# The Indian Trade

One of the fundamental dynamics of this period was a redefinition of the fur trade. What began as a series of informal exchanges at the beginning of the seventeenth century had become corporate commercial enterprises by 1650. By 1682 those economic ventures had morphed into something quite different, a means for extending imperial control. The trade itself had also changed. As colonial settlement expanded and the interactions between European and Native people became increasingly diverse, material goods were used for more than obtaining furs. For example, when Europeans purchased land or hired Native people to serve as guides or interpreters, they usually paid in goods. Material objects also became essential as gifts or presents, especially as Indian conferences became an established part of the political landscape during the 1670s. Finally, while beaver remained important, other furs and even deerskins were increasingly listed in inventories. As a result, what previously had been known as the Beaver Trade was increasingly called by a new name, the Indian Trade (20).

In actuality, there were several Indian trades during the period. In addition to Albany, where the focus was increasingly on goods and services, there were two other major centers—to the north at James Bay, where beaver remained the main interest, and to the south at Charleston on the Carolina coast, where Indian slaves were the primary commodity. While each had its own distinct character, markets, and commodities, all were under English imperial control, one way or another. Restoration England was a time of economic expansion, and as a result, more of the goods used for trade were made in England rather than purchased abroad. For example, when the Hudson's Bay Company assembled its first cargos of trade goods in 1671 and 1672, they included Spanish-made Biscay hatchets. Two years later they placed their orders for hatchets with local London smiths. A similar change took place for kettles and guns (21).

**Defining an Anglo–Dutch assemblage**. By the mid-1670s a set of definably English objects made for export occurred with growing frequency on sites in North America including axes and firearms, cloth marked with English lead seals, and smoking pipes, especially from Bristol. Small tobacco tongs and tobacco boxes, latten spoons, round-headed iron mouth harps, and iron fish hooks also appear to have been part of this assemblage (22).

Although English commercial interests spanned a large portion of eastern North America from Hudson's Bay to the interior Southeast, Albany remained the heart of the Indian Trade. Yet, while the town was English in name, its people and commercial operations remained profoundly Dutch. Even after the final transfer of control in 1674, the legacy of three

Anglo–Dutch wars, plus significant cultural differences on how economic matters should be managed, left the trade in a state of flux. The Navigation Acts officially prohibited ongoing Dutch participation in New York's trade, but the reality was less straightforward. The Duke of York wanted to encourage, not suppress, the trade in his new colony. New York had the best harbor on the Northeast coast, and its location between New England and the Chesapeake gave it a particularly strategic importance. New York also served as the departure point for the annual Maryland–Virginia tobacco fleet, one that sailed with a hired escort and was controlled largely by Dutch merchants. After 1674, as Louis XIV's wars of expansion continued to destabilize northern Europe, England and the Dutch Republic increasingly found themselves on the same side (23).

All of these events had consequences in terms of the Indian Trade and how it is reflected in the archaeological record. More bureaucracy meant better record keeping. For example, in 1678 Albany merchants were divided into two groups. One was permitted to sell "duffells, Strouds, Blanketts and other Indian goods of value," while the other could sell only small wares such as,

Knives, Looking Glasses, Painting stuff, Boxes, Aules, Tobacco Pipes, Tobacco Boxes, flints, Steels, Sizers, Wire of any sort, Ribboning, Bottles, Thread, Salt, Sugar, Prunes, Apples, Razins, Juiseharps, Bells, Thimbles, Beedes, Indian Combs and Needles.

While these lists are helpful, they are difficult to match up with the archaeological evidence. Another problem is that these lists rarely provide information on where goods were made. For example, in 1670 the settlers brought 240 lbs. of glass beads with them to Charleston for the Indian Trade. In 1674 the Hudson's Bay Company also ordered "200 lbs of glasse beads," but in neither case do we know where these beads were made. This is an essential point, since there was often a fundamental difference between who produced goods for trade and who actually traded them (24).

Until the early 1670s, the Dutch Republic was northern Europe's primary industrial producer, especially for munitions, textiles, tin-glazed wares, and smoking pipes. As we have seen, most of the glass beads and firearms found on French-related sites prior to 1670 probably came from producers in the Dutch Republic. It was not until 1672, the Year of Catastrophe, that Dutch products began to be superseded by those of their increasingly industrialized neighbors, especially firearms and knives from France, and cloth and smoking pipes from England. Still, the Dutch continued to be important producers, and their goods dominated the Albany trade in terms of cloth, pipes, and glass beads. The shifting of the political and economic landscapes in Europe is, however, reflected in the archaeological record in northeastern North America. For this reason, the material culture from Albany and its Indian Trade is better thought of as an Anglo–Dutch



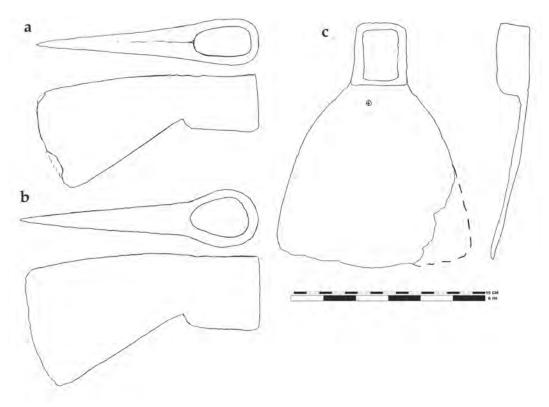
assemblage, rather than as strictly English or Dutch.

The increased importance of the Southern Door is another complicating factor in interpreting the material culture of this period, especially after 1675. With the Susquehannock gone, the way south lay open, and there were many reasons for the Onondaga to focus in that direction. One was to track the increased political activity among the English colonies of New York and Virginia, particularly in terms of their land claims. Another reason, which had been an Onondaga priority for decades, was to assess the potential for obtaining English material goods from a source other than Albany.

While tobacco was the economic mainstay of the mid-Atlantic colonies, there was also an active trade for furs and then for deerskins after 1650. By the 1670s English explorers such as John Lederer began to push farther inland in search of new markets. What they found was an active Native trade network centered on Occaneechi Island in the upper Roanoke River, "the Mart of all the Indians for att least 500 miles." This was a source waiting to be tapped, and in spite of the chaos in frontier areas resulting from Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, the English were anxious to do just that. The trade goods recommended by Lederer and others in the early 1670s included iron tools, cloth, and glass beads, items very much like those used for trade in Albany. This was the heartland of Piedmont Siouan people, and one of the places where some Susquehannock sought refuge after 1675. All this took place just as the Onondaga began to explore the many ways south. Whether the initial interactions between the Five Nations and Piedmont Siouans, such as the Occaneechi, Sara, and other proto-Catawba people grew out of pursuit of the Susquehannock or the desire to exploit new trade opportunities, the ensuing hostilities would define their relationship for decades to come (25).

How are these factors reflected in the assemblage from Indian Hill? Which material categories are most useful in helping us understand what Anglo– Dutch goods were in demand and where they came from? To address these questions, let us reexamine the standard trade assemblage and how it changed during the years when Indian Hill was occupied.

*Axes, knives, and other iron implements*. Although iron axes remained an essential item in the trade, important changes are evident in the Indian Hill assemblage. One is size preference. While the majority of axes from Lot 18 were large, small axes are most common at Indian Hill. It seems likely that these functioned as belt axes. Equally significant is the change in shape. Although they still have triangular blades, the sockets at Indian Hill tend to be round rather than oval. Since similar axes with round sockets have been recovered from other English-related sites, they may reflect the shift from imported Biscay axes to English-made ones. Other large iron implements, such as hoes and adzes, appear for the first time at Indian Hill (**26**).



**Figure 7.5.** Drawings of iron implements from Indian Hill—

(a) top and side views of a medium-sized ax with an oval eye,

(b) top and side views of a large-sized ax with the more common round eye,

(c) top and profile view of a large hoe.

Knives and awls are present at Indian Hill in quantity and largely in familiar forms. Knives occur in three basic forms—blades with a tapered tang, a flat tang, and those with a folding blade. Case knives with tapered and flat tangs were used by both English and French traders and often listed in their inventories. As a result, these knives do not tell us much about where they were made or who traded them. Knives with a folding blade are a different story, and are discussed below with other French products. Awls also came in two forms—straight bi-pointed awls that are square in cross section, and those that are offset and diamond-shaped in cross section (27).

*Kettles*. While few intact examples have been reported from Indian Hill, some information can be gleaned from the fragments that have been collected. The majority of kettles were brass. The presence of "numerous small brass patches, drilled for riveting" suggests that some of these kettles may have been mended before they reached Onondaga, perhaps to repair flaws that occurred during production in Europe. As at Lot 18, the different styles of kettle lugs provide some suggestive information as to where the kettles originated. Of the examples from Indian Hill, about half are omega-shaped lugs, most of the rest have square lugs, and only two are one-piece. While the increase in omega-shaped lugs may reflect the Anglo–Dutch trade, kettles with square lugs, whether of French or Dutch origin, are still well represented (**28**).

*Cloth seals and clothing*. Although textiles were an increasingly important

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component in the Indian Trade, they leave little evidence in the archaeological record. Usually, the only material residue of the coats, shirts, and other garments described in trade inventories are the metal fasteners such as buttons, lacing points or aiglets, and the occasional buckle. While articles of clothing were more common, cloth itself was of primary importance. At least a dozen lead cloth seals have been reported from Indian Hill, although only seven are distinct enough for identification. Of these four are Dutch—three large two-piece seals from Kampen, and one from Leiden. These indicate that the material preferences and sources of production established by Kiliaen van Rensselaer in 1640 remained in place well into the 1670s. Three of the cloth seals are English and appear to be merchant seals rather than those of an official woolen cloth inspector, or alnager, as they were called in England. Frequently, they have one or two capital letters, such as H or BH, and occasionally a device such as three roses or a shield. At present, none have been linked to specific producers or merchants (29).

Figure 7.6. Dutch and English cloth seals from Indian Hill—

(a) drawing of a Dutch two-piece seal from Campen,

(b) two views of a Dutch two-piece seal from Leiden,

(c) English seal with a BH beneath three roses,

(d) half of a small English circular seal with the center punched out, leaving a H within a dotted border.



*Smoking pipes*. While cloth seals came from established Dutch and new English sources, white-clay smoking pipes tell a different story. Of the pipes with marked heels from Indian Hill, all are Dutch. Although these represent some changes, the overall system of production and distribution appears to have remained the same. Most of these marked pipes have the distinctive funnel-bowl shape developed for the New Netherland trade in Amsterdam by Edward Bird and used by his family and associates. All but a few of the pipe marks are EB and WH, for Willem Hendricksz, as found at the earlier Indian Castle site (**30**).

Table 7.1. Marked Dutch smoking pipes from the IndianHill site (n = 17; 12.5% of sample).						
Heel mark	Type of heel <sup>a</sup> Quantity		Stem bore <sup>b</sup>			
EB type 1	flush	1	9/64			
EB type 2	flush	4	7/64			
	flush	2	7/64			
	flush	1	-			
	medium	2	7/64			
	medium	1	-			
	high	1	7/64			
WH	flush	1	-			
goblet	flush	3	7/64			
orb	medium	1	7/64			

a Type of heel—high, medium, low, or flush

b Stem bore—measurements in inches

Although Bird died in 1665, the story of EB pipes does not end there. Bird's son Evert inherited both the rights to his father's EB mark and extensive property holdings, but was unable to keep the family pipe-making business going. The success of the EB brand and funnel-bowl design quickly attracted imitators. In 1672 Amsterdam merchant Adriaan van der Cruis registered the EB mark in the city of Gouda and hired a local pipe maker, Jacobus de Vriend, to produce pipes for him. De Vriend had already made bulbous-bowl pipes for export under his own mark, the hand. It appears that Van der Cruis also contracted with pipe makers in other towns. Four additional EB pipes from Indian Hill appear to have been made by these later users of the EB mark (**31**).

The movement of the pipe industry from Amsterdam to Gouda involved more than just EB pipes. Gouda had become the center of Dutch pipe making by the mid-1670s, a distinction it would hold well into the next century. Pipes with Gouda marks found at Indian Hill include one with the orb, the mark of Pieter Jansz Gleijne registered in 1674, and three with the goblet (*roemer*), the mark of Willem Claesz Boot registered in 1676. In





addition to these marked pipes, there are also four pipe fragments with low blank heels, which could be from either Gouda or Bristol makers. What is interesting is that no marked English pipes from this period are known from the Indian Hill site, even though other smoking paraphernalia, such as pipe tongs and tobacco boxes, are present for the first time (32).

*Glass beads*. Glass beads provide another view into the changing nature of production and distribution. Beads are prolific at Indian Hill and they reflect significant differences and continuities with the bead assemblages from previous sites. The most significant change is in form. At Indian Hill the majority of glass beads are round rather than tubular, with red still the preferred color. In terms of continuities, the wampum-sized glass beads with finished ends that predominated at Indian Castle are still present. Also present are a smaller number of the earlier style tubular beads that do not have finished ends, which characterized the Lot 18 assemblage.

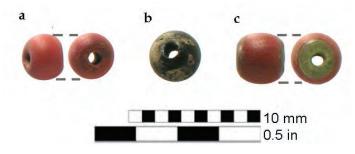
# Table 7.2. The ten most frequently occurring glass-bead types from the Indian Hillsite (n = 2,697; 85% of bead sample; 33)

Bead description					
Rank	Kidd # a	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Core	Quantity
1	IIa1	R	red	-	1,444
2	IIIa1/3	T/t	red	black/green	424
3	Iva1/5	R	red	black/green	277
4	IIa6	R	black	-	196
5	Ia2	T/t	black	-	106
6	IIIa1/3	T/ut	red	black/green	88
7	Ia1	T/ut	red	-	62
8	IIa40	R	robin's egg blue	-	48
9	Ia7	T/ut	yellow	-	28
10	IIa2	С	red	-	24

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970

b Shape—T - tubular, R - round, C - circular, t - tumbled, ut - untumbled

It is not clear why this shift from short tubular beads to round ones took place, but it may have been driven by events in Europe more than by consumer demand. Although it is tempting to call these English beads, because their appearance seems to correlate with the time of the English takeover, the evidence indicates these beads were almost certainly produced in the Dutch Republic. Two Dutch glass houses were the likely sources of the beads found at Indian Hill. One was the second Two Roses glasshouse located on the Rosengracht in Amsterdam. Recent archaeological work on this site produced the same styles of small wampum-sized tubular beads as well as large multilayered ones.



**Figure 7.9.** Examples of Puype lock-plate styles and a lock plate found at Indian Hill—

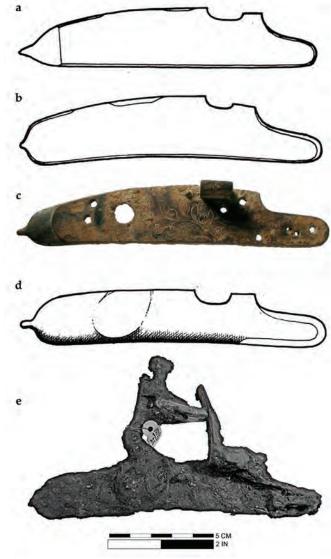
(a) drawing of a Puype Type V-C lock plate,

(b) drawing of a Puype Type VI lock plate,

(c) photograph of a Puype Type VI lock plate with floral engraving, collected prior to 1900 and unprovenienced,

(d) drawing of a Puype Type VIII-A lock plate,

(e) photograph of a lock with a Puype Type VIII-A lock plate, Indian Hill site.



**Figure 7.8.** Three types of round red- and blackglass beads from Indian Hill, classified according to Kenneth and Martha Kidd, account for ~61% of the beads from the site—

(a) 1,444 round red beads, two views of type IIa1,

(b) 196 round black beads, one view of type IIa6,

(c) 277 round red beads with a translucent green core, two views of type IVa1/5.

A few round red-glass beads were also recovered. According to the most recent research, the Two Roses ceased production in 1676, then restarted briefly before it was sold in 1679 and moved to the neighboring city of Haarlem. Production appears to have continued there until at least 1697. It is likely that the plain round red and black beads of the 1680s and 1690s period were made in Haarlem (34). Even if the round red beads from Indian Hill were produced in the Dutch Republic, it still does not answer the question of how they reached Onondaga. Who bought them, brought them to North America, and traded them remains elusive. From whom did the Hudson's Bay Company order their "200 lbs of glasse beads" in May 1674, or Cavelier de La Salle obtain his "200 lbs. large black beads" 10 years later? At present, we do not know (35).

*Firearms*. A similar problem of origin exists with firearms. There is no question that the Onondaga who lived at Indian Hill were well armed with good-quality weapons. Hundreds of gun parts have been reported from this site. While the Dutch were still a major producer of arms during this period, they faced increased competition from the French and English, as well as from independent producers such as the city of Liège. The locks and lock plates from Indian Hill exemplify the problem of origin. The majority of styles are strongly associated with Dutch



production. Most have flintlock mechanisms with up-to-date lock plates, although two older style locks are also present. A few, however, have plates with a concave lower border and a rounded, rather than a flat, surface more typical of the new French style.

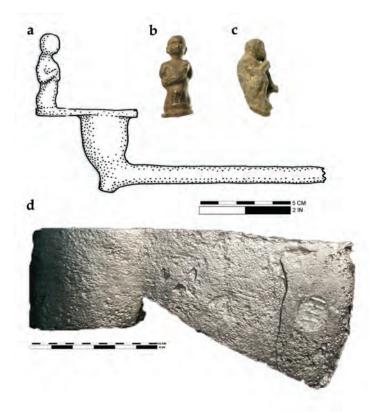
Several producers made these new French-style locks, a form that may have been made in St. Étienne, southwest of Lyon, as early as 1670. Even the English may have made similar locks. One of the innovators was Samuel Oakes, who made round locks for the Hudson's Bay Company. The Oakes-pattern trade guns made during the early 1680s had other distinctive features, including iron trigger guards and butt plates. Examples of similar iron hardware have been found at Indian Hill. Therefore, while most of the muskets used by the Onondaga at Indian Hill probably were assembled and stocked in Albany or Montréal, it remains unclear where the locks, barrels, and even hardware were originally produced. This is discussed in greater detail under French firearms (**36**).

Lead shot and ball provide another source of information about firearms. There is a sizable sample from Indian Hill that subdivides into several clusters according to caliber. Although two clusters are considered shot, the majority are balls used for pistols and muskets. These cover a wide range of calibers with a slight shift towards larger ones for muskets. Regardless of caliber, the Onondaga continued to cast their own shot and ball. While no bullet molds have been recovered from Indian Hill, there are many examples of casting sprues, sows, splatters, and at least three ax-cut pieces of lead bar. Another important accessory, powder horns, is present at Indian Hill for the first time (**37**).

*Consumer goods and curiosities.* With rapid expansion of trade during this period, an even broader range of consumer goods reached Onondaga. Some of these were listed in a 1678 Albany inventory and include "Steels, Sizers, Wire of any sort, Juiseharps [brass and iron mouth harps], Bells [sheet-metal and cast], Thimbles, Indian Combs and Needles." Other items present at Indian Hill, but not mentioned in the inventory, include iron fish hooks, small sword blades, iron keys, and fine brass chain. One notable trend is the occurrence of more European items related to food preparation and presentation, including pewter spoons and vessels, such as plates, basins, and beakers. European ceramics are also present, especially tinglazed wares and German stoneware, along with the first excavated iron kettle fragments. Globular glass bottles, smaller medicinal bottles, and case bottles also occur. Although many of these items may have come through the Anglo–Dutch trade, they could just as easily be of French origin (38).

*From imperial to individual.* Fortunately, not all the archaeological evidence is ambiguous as to source and purpose. One class of artifacts is unequivocal—objects that announce their imperial intent. In the case of Indian Hill, there is a small, undated copper medal of Charles II. The

obverse reads CAROLVS II DG.M/BF & H.REX, with a bust facing left. On the reverse is REGNO CRISTO AVSPICE, translated from the Latin as "I reign with Christ as Protector." This is a modest piece compared with the elaborate silver medals and tributary badges used in Virginia during this period, but it is a material portent of things to come (**39**).



**Figure 7.10.** Anglo-Dutch trade items produced in the Albany area—

(a) drawing of a pewter smoking pipe with an anthropomorphic effigy figure,

(b) pewter anthropomorphic figure detached from a pewter smoking pipe, Indian Hill,

(c) pewter figure of a monkey detached from a pewter smoking pipe, Indian Hill,

(d) ax blade with a repaired steel bit stamped HH, Seneca Beal site.

As the new Anglo–Dutch Indian Trade began to take shape, it is essential to remember that much of what we see in the archaeological record reflects the opposite end of the scale from the imperial. It is personal, individual, and often idiosyncratic. Albany may have been the funnel through which the Anglo–Dutch trade flowed, but it was not a passive one. Material goods were stored, traded, and produced there, as had been the case in Beverwijck. It is hard to discern these local products amidst the volume of imported goods, but they are there. One example was the ongoing production of pewter smoking pipes. Although these appear to have begun as a Beverwijck specialty, pewter pipes in new and traditional forms were made during this period. It is possible that small circular cast-pewter buckles found at Indian Hill came from the same source. Another locally produced item may have been better-quality axes, or at least better-quality repairs to existing axes. Just as Beverwijck blacksmiths provided essential services in repairing tools and firearms, Albany smiths continued the tradition. They also produced

specialized items such as belt axes and ice creepers for shoes. By the early 1680s a new practice was initiated, one where smiths were sent from Albany to Five Nations' towns on a seasonal basis to make needed repairs. An ax from the Seneca Beal site with a welded-steel bit and stamped HH may be an example of this work. The interactions between Indian people and their European neighbors continued to expand and diversify, as is reflected in the archaeological record at both the imperial and the individual scale (40).



**Defining a French assemblage**. Events in New France were no less complicated than those in New York. Louis XIV's chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, took an active role in directing the royal province's growth and economic development. While everyone wanted the Indian Trade to flourish, there were major differences of opinion as to how it should operate and where it fit into the colony's overall priorities. This was complicated by another problem, which was the highly political way in which governors and intendants were appointed. This made long-term policy and planning difficult, if not impossible. Finally, although officially known as New France, many of the people who lived there increasingly thought of themselves as something different—Canadian.

Meanwhile, the fur trade was in trouble in New France as well as back home. In addition to hostilities disrupting the gathering of furs, the price of beaver on European markets declined suddenly around 1664 and continued to fall until 1675, dropping by two-thirds. The situation stabilized somewhat after the Crown reorganized the beaver trade in 1674 and set a guaranteed price per pelt. The trade was also expanded to add hides, especially moose and other furs besides beaver. Subsidizing the trade created a different problem. A glut of beaver would bring about a general collapse of the trade by the end of the century (**41**).

For the Canadians, the end of Five Nations' hostilities in 1666 opened the way to the upper Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley. The result was a chaotic free-for-all of men and merchandise suddenly rushing west. The primary route still ran from the upper Ottawa River to Lake Nipissing via the Mattawa River and down the French River to Georgian Bay. This passage was controlled largely by the Ottawa, who, with the support of their Montréal merchant partners, continued to play a key role in opening the western Great Lakes trade. Although this was the era of the *coureurs de bois*, or independent French traders, the trade actually became more centralized and the private preserve of the professionals during these years. These traders included the governors and other officials as well as a growing class of merchants. While Montréal had as many as 39 merchants out of a population of 270 households, by 1681 real economic power was steadily concentrating in a much smaller number of hands (42).

Wealthy merchants, men like Charles Le Moyne, Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, and Jacques Le Ber, extended their control in several ways. They purchased goods directly from France, getting the products they wanted without the cost of middlemen. They also exercised more control over the *coureurs de bois*, the men who went into the country to get furs directly from Native people. Although the image of the *coureurs de bois* is one of rugged individuals acting on their own behalf, they increasingly became a specialized workforce during these years, one largely composed of young men born in Canada. Finally, the Montréal merchants often found the Jesuits to be willing political and economic partners. As a result, many of

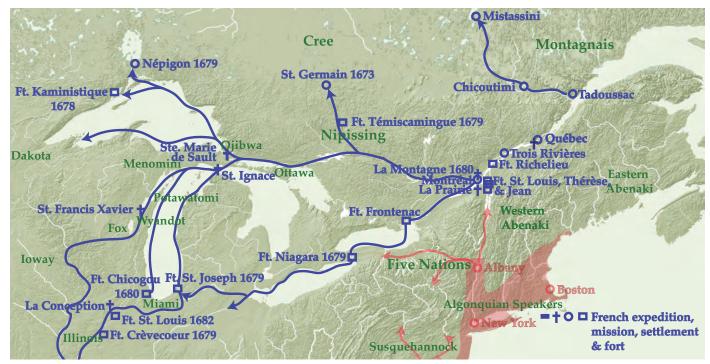


Figure 7.11. New France and its expansion, ca. 1682.

the important western trading outposts—Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace, and St. Francois Xavier—were missions as well (43).

Powerful as the Montréal merchants were, they soon found themselves outflanked by an aggressive rival in La Salle. In 1673, backed by Governor-General Frontenac, La Salle and his associates built the new commercial post at Cataraqui at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. Strategically, this post, known as Fort Frontenac, served two important functions. It provided a more convenient location for the Five Nations to trade, and it served as an excellent point of departure for anyone headed farther west. Within a decade, La Salle established a new network of outposts from Cataraqui to Niagara, on to the St. Joseph River at the foot of Lake Michigan, and into the upper reaches of the Mississippi. These included Fort St. Louis on the Illinois River and Fort Prudhomme, farther south on the Mississippi River. By 1680 one could reach the Mississippi without having to take the long northern route up the Ottawa River to Georgian Bay and through the Straits of Mackinac. The problem was that La Salle's success came at the expense of the Montréal merchants and their Ottawa partners, a situation that would have serious political as well as economic consequences in the years to come (44).

Regardless of who controlled the trade, much more material was available. Under Louis XIV, France rapidly grew into one of Europe's great industrial powers. Quantities of cloth, kettles, knives, firearms, glass beads, and other desirable goods flowed from La Rochelle on France's midwestern coast and other ports to Québec and Montréal, and then into the interior. Period

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records describe what goods were in demand. When La Salle visited Seneca country in August 1669, they used "knives, awls, needles, glass beads, and other things" as informal gifts, while reserving the kettles, hatchets, coats, a "double-barreled pistol," and "five or six pounds of large glass beads" as the formal presents. A dozen years later, another entrepreneur listed the trade goods considered to be the most successful—"short and light fusees . . . kettles of all sizes . . . knives with their sheaths . . . sword blades . . . and brandy goes off incomparably well" (45). The question is what did this rapid growth in French trade look like in archaeological terms, and to what extent are these materials

present at Indian Hill?

*Knives and firearms.* There is considerable ambiguity in terms of where many of the iron implements and firearms from Indian Hill originated, as we saw above. Knives are a good example. Whether they are referred to as case knives or table knives, sheath knives or butcher knives, everyone traded iron knives with straight single-edged blades. One trait helps sort things out, which is the tendency **Figure 7.12.** A case-knife blade fragment stamped with the maker's mark and name from Indian Hill.



of French producers to mark their work. Although a few marked knife blades occur on earlier sites, Indian Hill is the first site to produce a blade fragment with the marker's name stamped on it. The name HUGUES/ IANDRE is probably associated with the important industrial town of St. Étienne. Knives with the names of St. Étienne makers would become a significant presence on French-related sites during the last decades of the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth. Another hint of the increasing role of French goods is the higher percentage of folding knife blades, a specialty product of St. Étienne. At Indian Hill, twice as many knives have folding blades as at Lot 18 (46).

St. Étienne produced more than knives. By the 1670s that town was one of France's leading makers of firearms. Under Louis XIV France had become a major producer of munitions, for its own wars as well as for trade. This change was reflected in official as well as more informal interactions in North America. After 1670 firearms were standard French gifts at Indian conferences. At the 1673 conference at Cataraqui, Frontenac presented a gun to each of the Five Nations plus an additional 15 guns along with "powder and lead of all kinds, with gun flints." The following year Frontenac informed Colbert, "a great quantity of arms and powder is every year absorbed by the Indian trade." Lock plates stamped with the names

of known St. Étienne makers have been found at the Seneca Rochester Junction site and in Québec (47).

*Cloth and clothing.* There is no question that cloth was a major component of the French trade. Like their Anglo–Dutch counterparts, cloth included a wide range of French-made woolens, muslins, flannels, and linens. It is unclear how much of this cloth reached Onondaga, but there are hints. Joshua Clark described a wooden box found earlier in the nineteenth century that contained "cloths of red and blue . . . [with] lead clasps, bearing French marks upon them." At present, there is no archaeological evidence of French cloth seals from Indian Hill.

French cloth seals have been recovered from the Le Ber-Le Moyne site in Montréal. These men were among Montréal's most important merchants, and historical records indicate that most of the imported cloth was made into shirts, coats, and other garments before it entered the trade Archaeologically, the garments themselves are all but invisible. Usually it is only the metal buttons or other fasteners that survive. Two-piece hemispherical brass buttons, often tinned, with a U-shaped eye are an example. These distinctive buttons may have been used on *capots*, or overcoats. They occur on French domestic sites as well as at Indian Hill and on other French-related Native sites (**48**).

*Religious objects and imperial markers.* Two artifact classes are unambiguously French. Given the intensity of the Jesuit presence at Indian Hill, it is no surprise that a large sample of religious objects has been recovered. Brass finger rings are the most common. A majority of these have iconographic devices and are similar to those from Indian Castle and Lot 18. Examples with identifiable religious motifs include several with IHS/cross and L/heart. Other motifs are present in smaller quantities including the crucifixion, the abstract style of the L/heart motif, *pietà*, incised cross, double M, bust of Christ, and clasped hands (**49**).

These rings can also be divided by the style of manufacture. Most have a discernable motif—two-thirds have designs that are cut into the plaque, while the rest have cast or stamped motifs. The difference is important. A large sample of virtually identical rings was recovered from the wreck of La Salle's vessel *La Belle* that sank off the Texas coast in 1686. All the rings recovered appear to be cast rather than made in the earlier cut style. This suggests that the rings from Indian Hill with cast motifs probably came through La Salle's trade networks, while those with cut motifs may have come through the Ottawa-Montréal traders (**50**).

Given their iconography, it is appropriate to call these religious rings, at least in terms of intent. As a newly arrived Jesuit noted during the summer of 1676,



the things which may help us to win these poor Savages. One must be provided in this country with medals, crucifixes a finger in length or still smaller, small brass crosses and brass rings also some in which there is a figure of some saint, or the face of Jesus Christ or the blessed Virgin.

On the other hand, given La Salle's well-known dislike of the order, it may not be appropriate to refer to these as Jesuit rings, iconography aside. This supports archaeologist Carol Mason's argument that in spite of the symbols used, these rings were more for show than devotion. A cache of rings, all with cut motifs and tied together, was found at the Onondaga fishing site in Brewerton contemporaneous with Indian Hill. This supports the idea that rings could function either as a commodity or as ritual objects (51).

No crucifixes have been documented from the Indian Hill site, even though William M. Beauchamp reported several from the area. The only relevant object is a small cast-brass Corpus Christi figure. Four religious medals and many bone or ivory rosary beads also have been reported from the site. While it is not clear whether these objects were intended for use in conversion, or as personal possessions, they are consistent with the extended French presence on the site. The degree to which they represent success or failure is a different story (52).

Another group of objects from Indian Hill represent French imperial ambitions and cultural tastes. These include secular medals, rings, and coins. One undated medal of Louis XIV was found early in the nineteenth century and reported by Clark. More recently, three rings with motifs depicting Louis XIV have also been found. Two examples show a king holding a scepter and are similar to those recovered from the *La Belle*. The other portrays the Sun King motif. Although no rings with the Sun King motif have been reported from the *La Belle*, several of the muskets had similar brass devices set into their stocks (53).



**Figure 7.13.** French religious objects from Indian Hill—

(a) heart-shaped medal, obverse and reverse,

(b) small Jesuit medal, obverse and reverse,

(c) Corpus Christi figure,

(d) large medal with Jesus on the obverse and Mary on the reverse.

Although European coins are generally rare on seventeenth-century Onondaga sites, Indian Hill is an exception. Small copper coins, often worn and with mid-seventeenth-century dates, are common. Of the identifiable coins, there are *liards* struck under Louis XIII, usually bearing a date of 1656



**Figure 7.14.** Objects of French imperial culture from Indian Hill—

(a) copper *liard* imprinted with CHARLES II.D.DE.Manitov 1656,

(b) copper double *tournois* inprinted with CHARLES.II.DVC. MANT.S.DAR and a crowned bust facing right,

(c) cast-brass ring with a king and scepter motif,

(d) cast-brass ring with a Sun King motif,

(e) two views of a cast-pewter *putto* figure.

and a mint mark from Paris, Rouen, or Lyons. Less common coins include double tournois, also struck under Louis XIII with dates of 1619 (?) and 1639, a silver douzain, minted during the reign of Henri IV, and examples of French feudal coinage bearing the image of Charles II de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (54). With the exception of the silver *douzain*, these coins were obsolete and essentially worthless, apparently shipped over in bulk to be given or traded to Indian people for public-relations purposes. Onondaga people appear to have treated them for what they were, copper discs to be perforated and used like any other ones. Or perhaps like a small, cast-pewter *putto*, or cherub figure found on the site, these may have been valued as the exotic and curious cultural items they were (55).

*The local and illicit.* Just as Albany served as the funnel and filter for the Anglo–Dutch trade, Montréal was the launching point for most of the French trade, at least until La Salle complicated things. It was from Montréal that canoes headed up the Ottawa River, whether bound for James Bay, Sault Ste. Marie, or the Straits of Mackinac. As did Albany, Montréal contributed its own specialized goods to the trade. While many items such as kettles, knives, and awls were imported, others, such as axes, tomahawks, chisels, and scrapers, were produced by local craftsmen. A similar process occurred with firearms. Local gunsmiths assembled trade guns from imported components and did the needed repairs. By 1680 Montréal merchants also made the coats, shirts, and leggings that were in demand, rather than import them as finished goods (56).

This was more than just producing local objects for the trade. It involved transforming European materials to fit the demands and needs of the new country. The incentive to customize goods came from Native people and from the *coureurs de bois*, who, based on their personal experiences, understood the value of portability, flexibility, and the need for utility across cultural boundaries. While these changes were evident in many kinds of objects, one of the most emblematic was a new form of lightweight



stemless smoking pipe. We will discuss this hybrid form in more detail below (57).

One complicating matter in all this change was the illicit trade. As both England and France began to put their imperial systems in place, significant differences developed between Albany and Montréal in terms of what goods were available and how much they cost. In this, Albany generally had the advantage. The English often had better quality products and charged less for them. Albany merchants also paid for furs in cash or goods, not bills of credit. The predictable result was French traders brought a good deal of their furs to Albany instead of Montréal between 1675 and 1685. It is estimated that in 1676 as many as 400 to 500 Canadian traders did business in Albany. Four years later, Jasper Danckaerts noted from Albany, it was "not only the Indians, but the French also [who] pass over here in canoes from Canada. We ourselves have conversed with persons who have come over, some by water, and others by land and on foot" (58).

Even though this illicit trade was carried out in defiance of official policy, nearly everyone was involved in it, from the top government officials down to individual entrepreneurs. Although illegal, both colonies benefited from the smuggling. Montréal merchants could make more profit by reselling cheaper English goods at higher French prices, while Anglo–Dutch merchants were happy to have the furs. In fact, if it were not for the furs being diverted to New York, the overtaxed French market probably would have collapsed even sooner than it did (59).

#### A material view of Onondaga

Whether the European goods from Indian Hill were of English or French origin, or had come via the illicit trade, the reality is it probably did not matter. People traded for what they wanted and needed, not because of where things were made. As Canadian historian Louise Dechêne observed, the period between 1666 and 1682 was one of economic chaos but also opportunity, as the Indian Trade reorganized around new products, participants, and purposes (60).

What did this mean for Onondaga? As we have seen, in terms of European materials a wide range of Dutch, English, and French goods is represented at Indian Hill. While French-related objects may be less visible archaeologically than their Anglo–Dutch counterparts, they were probably just as important and possibly present in comparable amounts. All this suggests that the Onondaga were successful in keeping their options open, yet still selective about what they wanted. This material diversity reflected a broad attitude of how the Onondaga related to their European neighbors, an approach that was initially opportunistic, but increasingly became a choice not to take sides. In turn, this decision to remain non-aligned economically foreshadowed how they would eventually deal with similar political and military pressures.

#### **Native Materials**

The period between 1666 and 1682 was marked by a shift from laissezfaire trade to one with greater geopolitical implications. Even so, the traditional classes of high-value material continued to play essential roles in Onondaga material culture.

#### Marine shell

At Indian Hill, the quantity of shell appears to remain the same as at Indian Castle, though the preferred forms change. With the end of the

**Figure 7.15.** A "Virginian purse imbroidered with Roanoke" is 0.77 m in length from end bead to end bead and was collected prior to 1656.

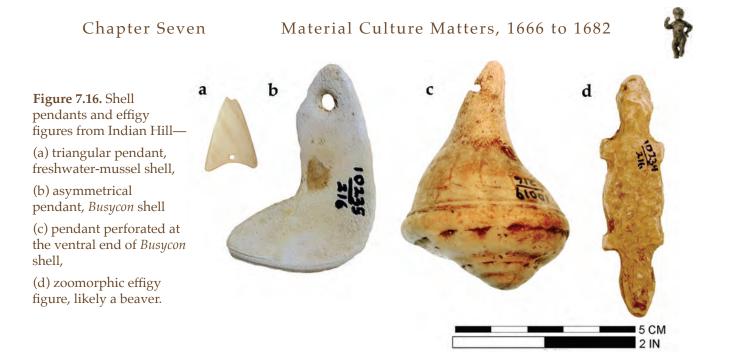


Susquehannock War, the way south lay open. During these years Onondaga attention frequently focused on issues beyond the Southern Door, especially toward Maryland and Virginia. The shell assemblage from Indian Hill reflects these southern interests (61).

*Modal forms*. Wampum continues to occur in significant quantities, with white and black beads of *Busycon* shell and purple beads of *Mercenaria* shell well-represented at Indian Hill. Early in the twentieth century, and before the widespread use of chemical fertilizers, collectors were still able to pick up hundreds of beads from the surface of the site. In addition to the standard belt-sized wampum beads, the longer version first seen at Indian Castle occurs more frequently at the Indian Hill site, as do other familiar forms, including massive beads and a few tubular beads of varying length made from sections of *Busycon* columella (62).

There is a dramatic increase in two particular forms very long tubular beads and small discoidal beads. The long tubular-bead style appeared first at Indian Castle. Beauchamp describes them as "long cylindrical beads, slender, and of quite uniform character." Like the runtees and effigies discussed below, these beads, or wampum pipes, as they were called during the 1680s, appear to have been a specialty product made for trade. The small and very small discoidal shell beads (*roanoke*) are a common form found in the Chesapeake Bay region and were often used to embellish clothing or regalia. While not new to Onondaga sites, their sudden influx at Indian Hill during this period may be another reflection of Onondaga activity beyond the Southern Door (63).

Shell pendants from Indian Hill occur in a wide range of shapes, including the traditional circular form, both plain and embellished with drilled dots, as well as the newer triangular and trapezoidal ones. The presence of another form suggests contact with the Chesapeake Bay—a plain



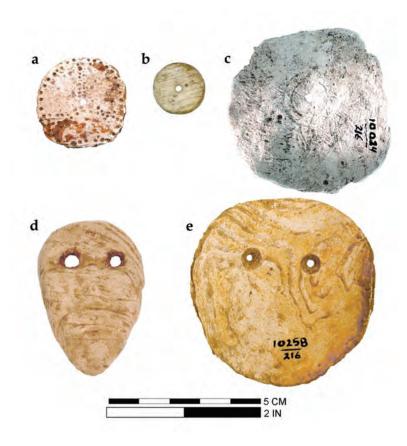
pendant with an asymmetric or foot-shaped form made from *Busycon* whorl. While this is an unusual shape in Onondaga, comparable examples in shell and copper have been recovered from several early to mid-seventeenth-century sites on the lower Potomac (64).

Another prominent feature of the shell assemblage from Indian Hill is the increase in elaborate forms including zoomorphic effigies, runtees, and gorgets. In addition to the common crescent, claw, and goose or loon effigies seen on earlier sites, new forms include larger ones of beaver, other birds, and turtles. Perhaps the most unusual are two fragmentary examples of a birdman pendant (65). In a similar manner, the runtees from Indian Hill tend to be larger and more embellished than those from Indian Castle. These motifs include the familiar geometrical styles seen on previous sites—variations on the cross in a circle and arc rosette motifs. These forms were executed using a combination of incised or scribed lines and drilled dots. At least one runtee from Indian Hill is embellished with drilled dots only, another Chesapeake Bay trait (66). Marine-shell gorgets and embellished pendants are forms often considered as markers of status and identity. Indian Hill is the first Onondaga site where they are a significant part of the shell assemblage. The presence of two McBee-style gorgets, one large circular gorget, and three circular pendants embellished with drilled dots, all provide material evidence of where Onondaga interests were focused between 1663 and 1682 (67).

*Technology and distribution*. The archaeological evidence indicates ongoing production of several shell forms at Indian Hill during these years. Whoever made these objects—the long tubular beads, crescents, claws, creatures, and runtees—they were economically important. By the 1680s the business of making shell objects had become significant enough for New York to regulate it or at least to "order that no wampum, wampum pipes, Indian jewells or money shall be carried out of the government

[colony] in the way of trade or traffic" (68). Rather than talk about these novel objects as a group, it is more likely that they reflect the convergence of several different influences. In fact, the gorget and pendant forms from Indian Hill and the subsequent Weston site provide a basis for demonstrating how two new gorget forms, one appropriated and the other a multicultural hybrid, came to Onondaga during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The appropriated form of a McBee-style shell gorget originated in the traditions of the Mississippian world, west of the Appalachian Mountains. By the early seventeenth century the powerful chiefdoms that produced this style of gorget during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had disappeared, though simpler versions continued to be made and used into the early decades of the seventeenth century. The McBee-style gorget has a mask-like character with the two perforations serving as eyes. These large gorgets and smaller maskettes occur in the upper Tennessee River valley and on eastern Fort Ancient sites along the Kanawha River during the last half of the sixteenth century. By the early seventeenth century they occur on Fort Ancient sites such as Madisonville and Orchard in the upper Ohio Valley along with other gorget styles of the Mississippian tradition. By the 1630s and early 1640s McBee-style gorgets had reached The 28th Street site, on the southern shore of Lake Erie, and the Neutral sites such as Grimsby, on the western end of Lake Ontario. As Fr. Paul Le Jeune had observed, "The Neutral nation . . . is the main gateway for the Southern tribes." A few McBee-style gorgets and maskettes also appear on Seneca Power House



and Steele sites of this period. After 1650 and the dispersal of the Ontario Iroquoians, these gorgets become common on Seneca sites and also occur on Wyandot sites in the Great Lakes. By 1670 they were an established Onondaga form and continued to be used well into the eighteenth century,

**Figure 7.17**. Shell pendants and gorgets from Indian Hill—

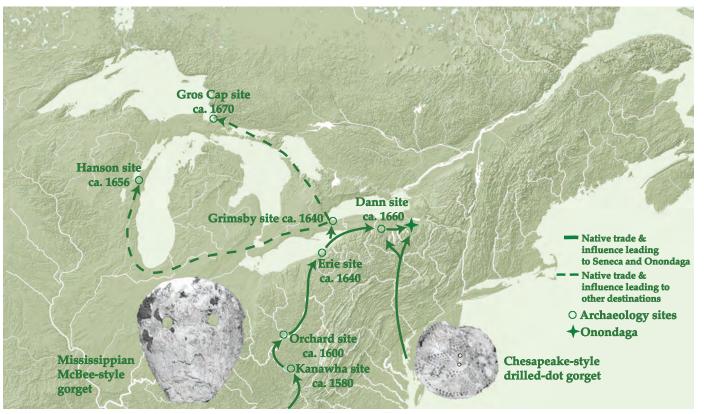
(a) large Busycon pendant with drilled dots,

(b) very small *Busycon* pendant with drilled dots,

(c) large finely embellished, but heavily worn, *Busycon* pendant,

(d) ovate McBee-style gorget of *Busycon* or *Strombus* shell,

(e) circular McBee-style gorget of *Busycon* or *Strombus* shell.



**Figure 7.18.** Exchange networks that brought exotic gorget and pendant forms to Onondaga by 1670. Examples of shell gorgets from the Seneca Dann site showing the influence on style—left, McBee-style gorget, and right, drilled-dot gorget.

Ontario Iroquoians had also taken the large circular form of gorget with them when they moved west into the Great Lakes after 1650, as examples from the Hanson and Gros Cap sites in Wisconsin demonstrate. Finally, by the 1660s both of these gorget styles appear to have been appropriated by Onondaga. They may have been brought by Ontario Iroquoians or as a reflection of greater Onondaga interactions with mid-continent and Great Lakes people after 1666. However they got there, by about 1670 large gorgets and smaller maskettes had become part of Onondaga material culture (69).

The second influence that brought a multicultural-hybrid form was the shell-working tradition east of the Appalachians, especially around Chesapeake Bay. Here the preferred style was a centrally perforated disc made from *Busycon* whorl. These pendants have a distinctive multicultural distribution prior to European contact, one that extended from the Chesapeake Bay area into the Piedmont of Virginia and North Carolina on sites such as Wall and Leatherwood Creek. It continued up the major river drainages to Luray sites, such as Keyser Farm on the Potomac, and to Shenks Ferry sites, such as Locust Grove on the Susquehanna. As we saw in Chapters Three and Five, centrally perforated Busycon discs, often decorated with drilled dots, persist on sites along the Chesapeake-Susquehanna corridor during the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century. The three examples of Chesapeake-style pendants found at Indian Hill are different sizes but share similar motifs of drilled dots. By 1680 this marine-shell form, as well as a preference for embellishing material objects with patterns of drilled dots, had become Onondaga traits (70).

The presence of complete and unmodified shells plus worked fragments of marine and freshwater shell demonstrates that some of these objects were made at Indian Hill. The shell objects found include simple triangular and trapezoidal pendants made from *Busycon* and *Unio* (freshwater mussel) shell (example, Figure 7.16a), and possibly more complex objects such as runtees. The occurrence of two unembellished *Busycon* discs, one doubly perforated and the other not perforated, suggests that some of the runtees may have been at least finished there. Another group of unperforated triangular, trapezoidal, and rectangular pieces of *Busycon, Mercenaria*, and *Unio* shell may have been intended as inlays for war clubs, wooden smoking pipes, or other regalia (71).

Some of the columella fragments that occur on sites of this period are massive and appear to be from *Strombus* rather than *Busycon*. We know from the historical documents that Dutch entrepreneurs began to import conch shells from Curaçao in 1660, and that these quickly became a preferred material for making large shell objects such as pipe beads, runtees, and gorgets. Although one largely complete *Strombus gigas* shell has been reported from the Susquehannock Strickler site, it has remained difficult to distinguish between objects made from mid-Atlantic Busycon and Caribbean *Strombus* shell until now. Using stable-isotope values in whelk and conch shell to source their origins, nine shell objects from the Onondaga Indian Castle, Indian Hill, and the later Jamesville sites were included with a set of reference samples analyzed in 2014. Four samples from Indian Castle and three of the four from Jamesville indicated a New England to a mid-Atlantic-coast origin. One of the four samples from Jamesville and one from Indian Hill, both runtee fragments, had values consistent with an origin in the Gulf of Mexico (72).

For marine-shell objects from this period, we are just beginning to understand how many networks were involved in their distribution, and what the diversity of forms may have meant to the Native people across the Eastern Woodlands who made and used them.

**Figure 7.19.** Five marineshell objects from Indian Castle and Indian Hill tes for the origin of the shell-

(a) white *Busycon* discoid Castle site,

(b) half of a white *Busyco* Castle site,

(c) massive bead, Indian

(d) runtee fragment, Indi

(e) runtee fragment, Indi





#### *Copper and its alloys*

That sheet copper and brass remained fundamental components of Onondaga material culture at Indian Hill is beyond question. What is less clear is the degree to which these European metals retained their highvalue status as a material of ritual power, or whether they were devalued into a commodity whose utility was defined by its potential for reuse. Given the frequency with which European objects such as finger rings and perforated coins occur at Indian Hill, copper certainly still had value. How that value was defined is less obvious. As on the previous sites, sheet metal from kettles remained the primary source of brass and copper for Onondaga people, although wire occurs frequently in the collections from Indian Hill, more so than at the earlier sites.

*Modal forms*. The most common metal objects are simple flat forms. While large pieces of metal were still cut from kettles by scoring and snapping or cutting with a knife, shears and scissors had become more available by the Indian Hill period and were used frequently for finer work. As at Indian Castle and Lot 18, implements are the most frequently occurring flat forms. Triangular projectile points are the largest group, a third of which are perforated. Most retain the traditional isosceles shape with a few exotic pentagonal and stemmed forms present. Another distinctive implement at Indian Hill is the flat double-pointed weaving needle with a central perforation. These occur in substantially increased numbers compared to earlier sites. In addition to these patterned forms a few expedient tools knives, saws, and scrapers—are also present (73).

Overall, the body of objects made from cut sheet metal is a diverse group. Some objects appear to be fittings for wooden pipes. Others may have been intended as inlays for clubs, gunstocks, or other objects. And others appear to have been made as hinges or for some other

related function. In terms of ritual and decorative uses, pendants and other cut-out forms are most common, excluding coins. The pendants are primarily the traditional disc shape, although there are also crescent-shaped and square (c) perforated examples. Curiously, there are no metal triangular or trapezoidal pendants given that is the most common form in red stone.

Figure 7.20. Nativemade copper and brass objects from Indian Hill—

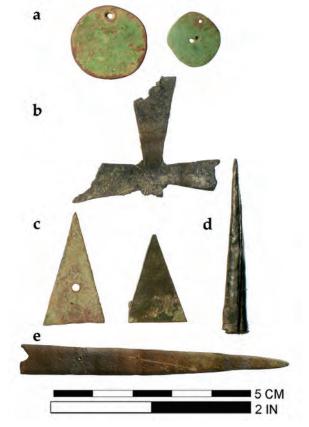
(a) two disc-shaped pendants,

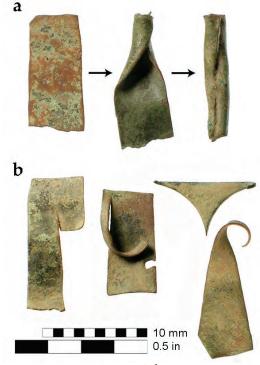
(b) partially cut-out Baroque-style cross,

and unperforated triangular projectile points,

(d) conical projectile point,

(e) half of a flat bipointed weaving needle.





**Figure 7.21.** Evidence of sheet-copper and sheet-brass fabrication from Indian Hill— (a) three steps in forming an o-shaped tube, (b) four examples of cut sheet copper and brass.

There is also a diverse array of tubular and conical forms. The simple o- or e-shaped tubes are familiar, many of which may have served as beads or as components for more elaborate composite objects. A newly occurring form is the spiral strip bead, made by wrapping a thin strip of metal diagonally into a tube. Frequently these were wrapped around a piece of leather or cordage, suggesting that they were attached to clothing or other regalia rather than strung as beads. Although common on Susquehannock sites such as Strickler, they are not known from earlier Onondaga sites (74). There is little evidence that the tubes at Indian Hill were used to produce other forms such as finger rings or bracelets, perhaps because brass and copper wire was readily available and easier to work. On the other hand, short pieces of tubing may have been used as rivets.

Conical forms in particular are well represented. These include tinkling cones in a range of sizes that were probably used to embellish clothing and equipment. There are also several conical pipebowl liners, one of which has preserved a section

of its wooden pipe bowl. Finally, the presence of conical projectile points indicate that this form continued to be used along with flat triangular ones, although the functional difference remains unknown.

There is a noticeable increase in the use of wire at Indian Hill. Apparently, wire was common enough to be cached or discarded. Implement forms of wire are unusual, with a couple of fishhooks or vent picks for firearms being the only examples. The primary interest appears to have been in making finger rings and c-shaped bracelets. Reported rings are composed of one to seven loops of wire, and the wire bracelets are similar in style to those described from previous sites and range from a single to six strands across (75).

The other distinctive wire form present at Indian Hill is the symmetrical double spiral, first seen at Indian Castle. Although Beauchamp illustrates only one example from Indian Hill, he notes, "Many have been obtained [there], both perfect and fragmentary." A smaller sample of double and single spirals was documented from Indian Hill than from Indian Castle. It may be that with the end of the Susquehannock War these distinctive objects ceased to have a significant meaning (76).

*Technology and distribution*. The scrap brass from Indian Hill provides some surprising insights into Onondaga metalworking of this period. At



the earlier Lot 18 site, much of the scrap had been utilized before being discarded. At Indian Hill, the amount of scrap increased dramatically, and the percentage of use actually rises. In other words, the Onondaga at Indian Hill appear to have used sheet metal much more intensively than their forebears had two decades earlier. This runs counter to the notion that over time, Onondaga people threw away increasing amounts of European material because more was always available. As it turns out, acculturative change is neither inexorable nor linear (77).

There is another surprise in this assemblage of scrap, three examples of metal-to-metal riveted joints. One is a staple where two pieces of sheet metal were joined by a thin strip of brass. In the other two examples, a piece of o- or e-tubing or wire was inserted through holes drilled in both pieces, then flattened on each side. Given the fragmentary nature of these pieces, it is not clear what kind of object was made or repaired in this manner. Even when the object is complete, its function is often elusive. An example is a circular copper disc reinforced on the reverse side with a narrow band attached with nine rivets made from wire pins and e-tubing. In looking at these ambiguous remnants, it is easy to underestimate Five Nations' technical expertise during this period. Fortunately, surviving examples, such as the brass pipe depicting a spirit canoe from the Seneca Dann site (Figure 7.23), demonstrate the skill and aesthetic sophistication of Native metalworking (78).

In addition to metal-tometal joints, there is good evidence for metal-towood joints using wire pins and small rivets. As we saw at Lot 18, one common practice was to embellish the bowl of a wooden pipe with a brass

**Figure 7.22.** Examples of Nativemade metal-to-metal and metal-towood joints from Indian Hill—

(a) metal-to-metal joint with a butterfly rivet, obverse and reverse,

(b) copper disc with a reinforcing ring attached by e-tube rivets and wire pins, reverse,

(c) x-shaped brass cut-out with perforations for pins, obverse,

(d) sheet-brass hinge (?) attached to wood with brass-wire pins, obverse and reverse.





Figure 7.23. Boat-shaped brass pipe from the Seneca Dann site.

or copper cover. Two circular examples are known from Indian Hill, but the intended function of other examples is less clear. Some, like a broad x-shaped cut-out with drilled holes, may have be used to embellish a war club, musket stock, or other object. Another group of metal-to-wood joints are best described as hinges. These objects have a mortise-like cut-out at one end with the remaining tenon-like strips rolled back to form an eye. At least six of these have been documented from Indian Hill, ranging from partially cut out to drilled and pinned in place, occasionally with wood fragments still intact. We know very little about these objects and how Onondaga people used them. In addition to making embellishments and hinges, this technique may have been used to patch cracks in wooden bowls or ladles. Wherever they learned the skills, and in spite of the limitations of the archaeological record, Onondaga people had developed the ability to work sheet metal and wood together in sophisticated ways when they lived at Indian Hill (79).

#### *Red stone*

Although red stone had been out of fashion as a high-value material for many decades in Onondaga, there was a strong revival in its use at Indian Hill. This renewed interest may have been due in part to the greater visibility of pipestone through the renewed Wyandot–Ottawa trade connections in the upper Great Lakes region. With a return of peace after 1666, activity along this route increased dramatically, as did the knowledge of what resources lay at its western end. After spending the winter of 1667–1668 at the mission of St. Esprit on Lake Superior, Fr. Louis Nicolas observed that the best red stone came from the country of the "Nadouessiouek," the Siouan people who lived south and west of the lake. There, he said, one can "obtain very cheaply . . . beautiful blood-red stone of a very fine and delicate grain" (80).

Desirable as pipestone may have been, it was not a material readily available to the Onondaga. Indeed, one rectangular bead and a single square-shaped pendant are the only confirmed pipestone objects from

#### Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682

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the site. The pendant appears to be a trophy piece, since it is not a typical Onondaga form and was redrilled after the original perforation wore through. With a double-v motif incised on the obverse and edge notching, it is more characteristic of the upper Great Lakes or Eastern Prairie than of Onondaga during this period (81). In contrast to pipestone, small objects made from Taconic red slate are a significant presence at Indian Hill.

*Modal forms*. Red-slate objects from Indian Hill are primarily simple geometric pendants. These reflect a shift in preference away from the traditional disc form to new trapezoidal and triangular ones. While most of these pendants are plain, three have been incised. Red slate is a difficult material to work, one that splits and spalls easily. However, it appears to have been the best available alternative to pipestone (82).

*Technology and distribution*. In terms of red slate, there is no question that at least some of the pendants were made at Indian Hill. There are partially completed examples as well as a few unworked pieces of slate from the site. What is less-well understood is who collected this material from its source in eastern New York, and how it was exchanged among the Five Nations. Another poorly understood issue is where

these newly popular triangular and trapezoidal forms originated. One possibility is that they were part of the iconographic tradition of Oneota people west of the Mississippi and came east along with other forms of pipestone. Or, they represent a stage of secondary processing by Iroquoian and Algonquian people in the Great Lakes, one in which the pipes and other large objects made farther west were reworked into new smaller forms including triangular and trapezoidal pendants. A third alternative is that

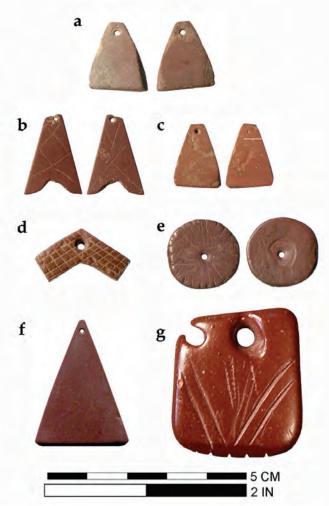
Figure 7.24. Red-stone ornaments from Indian Hill-

- (a) front and back of a trapezoidal red-slate pendant,
- (b) front and back of a trapezoidal red-slate pendant with incised surfaces,
- (c) front and back of a trapezoidal red-slate pendant, partially drilled,
- (d) chevron-shaped red-slate pendant with incised surfaces,

(e) front and back of a disc-shaped red-slate pendant with incised lines,

(f) red-slate triangular pendant,

(g) pipestone pendant with incised lines and notched edge.



these forms originated in marine shell and were copied in red slate and pipestone as they were exchanged or traded further west (83).

Pipestone objects were certainly made in northwest Iowa, and archaeologist Dale Henning has long argued that these were exchanged east across Iowa to the Mississippi River, then eastward along the Wisconsin and Fox River corridor to Lake Michigan. There, the Iroquoian and Algonquian people around Green Bay and on the Door Peninsula would have reprocessed them into new forms. Ron Mason's excavations at Rock Island, a multicomponent site off the Door Peninsula, provide a good example. During what Mason calls the early Third Period, or second Potawatomi occupation, ca. 1670 to 1700, there is "ample evidence of reworking" pipestone. They were specifically cutting down larger objects, primarily pipes, to produce new smaller ones. Among the forms recovered were tubular beads, Y-shaped beads, and a trapezoidal pendant. The one form not present in this assemblage is the trapezoidal or frustum-shaped beads found at the Hanson site in Wisconsin (84).

Additional support for the argument that eastern pipestone forms were produced in the upper Great Lakes comes from a series of sites around the Straits of Mackinac. With the establishment of the mission at St. Ignace in 1671 and Fort de Buade in 1683, Mackinac quickly became a focal point for the Ottawa and Wyandot people who had been displaced from Ontario, along with Ojibwa or Saulteaux, Miami, and other Algonquian people. Given the density of sites in this area, plus the fact that many were occupied until at least 1705, it is difficult to isolate components that date before 1682. Nonetheless, a good case can be made that triangular and trapezoidal pendants, beads, small zoomorphic figures, and anthropomorphic pendants were made at the Marquette mission and adjacent Wyandot sites (**85**).

A Great Lakes-centered system appears to have been the primary network by which pipestone was processed and distributed east. Pipestone was also exchanged down the Des Moines River into the mid-Mississippi Valley. Anthropologist Kathleen Ehrhardt reports several pieces of worked pipestone, including two triangular blanks or preforms for pendants from the Haas-Hagerman site. This site, also known as Illiniwek, appears to be the large Illinois town of Peouarea visited by Marquette and Jolliet in 1673. As both Ehrhardt and Larry Grantham have argued, the people who lived there were not Oneota, but Algonquian newly arrived in the area (**86**).

All this suggests that renewed interest in red stone, the emergence of new forms such as triangular and trapezoidal beads and pendants, and the distribution of these across the Great Lakes and the Northeast are material reflections of the complex social and economic dynamics that characterized this period. It appears that the marine-shell forms exchanged to the west from the mid-Atlantic were a significant catalyst in encouraging the

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**Figure 7.25.** Following the pipestone trail, showing sites where pipestone objects were found, ca. 1660-1687—(a) pipestone quarries (b) Blood Run, (c) Gillett Grove, (d) Harriman, (e) Illiniwek, (f) Utz, (g) Hanson, (h) Rock Island, (i) St. Ignace, (j) Seneca, (k) Onondaga, (l) Susquehanna.

production of new forms in the Great Lakes, and possibly even among Oneota producers. At the same time, Oneota forms and iconography became a more integral part of the visual vocabulary used across the Great Lakes, Mississippi Valley, and farther east. For now, Onondaga was at the edge of this evolving network, but that would change in the coming decades.

# Acculturation

With the return of Father Millet in 1667, French Jesuits again became fulltime residents of Onondaga and would remain so for another 20 years. This meant that contact with Europeans was no longer an abstract or episodic event. It was a salient factor in everyday life, one that reached into all aspects of Onondaga culture and practice. The material culture from Indian Hill serves as a valuable basis for probing the intensified cross-cultural dynamics that characterized this period. In this section, the objective is to examine some of that material evidence and see to what extent those patterns reflect the behaviors and choices that created them.

#### Responses

In Chapter Five we looked at four attributes that characterized Onondaga responses to Europeans and their things. These were active, selective, conservative, and creative qualities. The active and selective aspects are most evident in terms of the European goods, as well as objects made from the traditionally high-value materials—marine shell, copper, and red stone from Indian Hill—as discussed above. The conservative and creative aspects can be seen in the interactive relationships between new European materials and those that were traditionally part of Onondaga material culture—ceramics, lithics, and wood.

Previously, a distinction was made between Onondaga responses to Europeans and the processes by which Onondaga people incorporated them into their own cultural framework. By the time the Indian Hill site was occupied, the distinction between responses and processes had blurred. For example, was the choice to make a triangular projectile point from sheet brass rather than chert a conservative decision based on form or just a pragmatic one? Was emulating a European-style spoon by carving a wooden one a conservative or creative choice? What quickly becomes apparent is that the relationships between European and Native materials, their forms, and usage during this period were not simple.

*Ceramics*. Based on the preceding Onondaga sites, where Native pottery decreases from hundreds of rims at the early seventeenth-century Pompey Center site to less than a dozen rims at Indian Castle, one might predict that ceramics would have disappeared completely at Indian Hill. Instead, the ceramic sample is more than five times greater than that from Indian Castle. The pottery from Indian Hill can be divided into three distinct groups. Two are familiar Onondaga pottery forms—collarless and collared vessels. The third is a group composed of fragments of exotic vessels from different ceramic traditions.

Tuck reported one assemblage from Indian Hill that contained "about two dozen rim sherds." He described three of them as "everted, notched lip types," and the rest as collared vessels "decorated with bands of opposed lines, often beneath a band of horizontal lines." I observed another larger assemblage from Indian Hill. Unlike Tuck's assemblage, all three groups of ceramics were represented. Most common were collared vessels with incised opposed-triangular or oblique-line motifs, notched-collar bases, and plain necks and bodies. There was also a small number of collarless rims. The third group of exotic pottery fragments is discussed in more detail under Identity below. It appears that the replacement of pottery by brass kettles was not as straightforward a process as I once suggested (87).

The occurrence of clay smoking pipes is quite different from ceramic vessels. Although Dutch white-clay pipes occur more frequently at Indian Hill than on the previous sites, Native-made pipes remain a strong

### Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682



**Figure 7.26.** Rim pieces of Native pottery from Indian Hill showing their profiles—

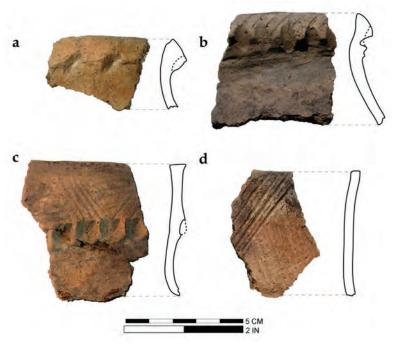
(a) collarless rim with everted lip and deep diagonal notches,

(b) collarless rim with a thickened and everted lip incised with diagonal lines and oval notches,

(c) rim with a bi-concave collar, incised motif, and pinched basal notches,

(d) fragment of a slightly concave high collar with broad incised lines.

presence even if the preferred forms continue to change. Of the identifiable examples from Indian Hill, almost two-thirds have elongated ring bowls, while most of the rest are effigy styles. Pipes are discussed further under Identity (88).



*Lithics*. By the time Indian Hill was occupied, it would seem reasonable to assume that metal projectile points had replaced those made from local chert. Tuck observed as much in his comments on Indian Hill, noting that "projectile points of native manufacture are very scarce . . . having been almost completely replaced by points cut from sheet brass." Even the eminent historian Eric Wolf weighed in on this subject, noting that by 1670 Onondaga sites "reveal almost no items of native manufacture except pipes." The problem with these statements is they are incorrect. Like pottery, lithic tools are still well represented at Indian Hill. True, there are three times as many sheet-metal ones, but lithic points have hardly vanished. It is more than just projectile points. The lithic assemblage from Indian Hill includes bifaces, unifaces, and an assortment of celts, hammerstones, and mullers. The ongoing preference for local lithics extended to gunflints. Although most of the gunflints from Indian Hill are of European origin, many are Native-made (89). What does this persistent preference for traditional forms and materials mean?

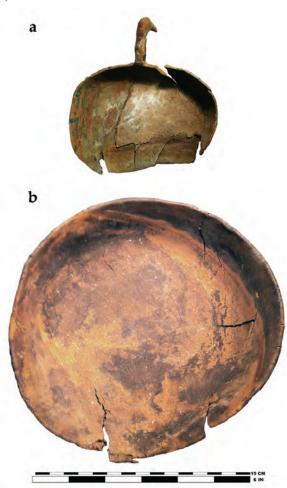
One explanation is that ceramic vessels and stone tools are a material indication of captives, especially Native people who did not have the same exposure to European materials and may have preferred traditional ones. But that alone does not explain the persistence of traditional Onondaga preferences. Part of the answer is probably the inherently conservative character of Onondaga culture, one that looked to traditional solutions first even in novel circumstances. Another factor that helps to explain this was the shifting political and economic environment. Between 1663 and 1682 the economic nature of cross-cultural relationships across the Eastern

Woodlands changed radically. Just because more European goods were available to Indian people did not mean they were cheaper. To the contrary, now under the control of hard-nosed businessmen in Montréal and Albany, the Indian Trade was about profit for the Europeans. In this new economic world where trade was tied to imperial ambition, the price Native people were required to pay for the goods they wanted would continue to rise, and in more ways than one.

The Onondaga seemed to have dealt with this situation in traditionally resilient and adaptive ways. Some may have chosen to do without. It is also probable, judging from the scrap-brass evidence, that there was a greater tendency to use and reuse the European materials they had. There was another option, which was to return to what they already knew how to do—making ceramic pots and lithic tools. Although this revival of traditional technologies would be brief, it cautions against the assumption that once change got underway, it was unstoppable and inevitable.

*Organic material*. In Chapter Five we discussed how cross-cultural interactions can produce surprising and creative results. This was the case

**Figure 7.27.** Wooden objects from Indian Hill— (a) ladle with bird-effigy handle, (b) shallow bowl or dish.



at Indian Hill, where, with their enhanced tool kit, Onondaga people were able to work more expressively in traditional media such as wood, bone and antler, shell, and stone. This aspect of cultural creativity has been underappreciated, in large part because it is hard to see. As Beauchamp observed, "It is every way probable that the aborigines had many useful or ornamental articles of wood or vegetable materials of which we have little idea." Indian Hill provides a glimpse of what Onondaga people used on an everyday basis—wooden bowls and ladles, elaborately carved smoking pipes and clubs. Ironically, here it is the documentary record that tells us how impoverished our view of Native material culture is if based solely on archaeological evidence. Thanks to observers like Fr. Louis Nicolas, we know something about the tobacco pouches "embroidered and decorated with different coloured porcupine quills," elaborate moose-hair embroidery, an "elegant little bag" made from milkweed fiber, and fine works made from tall rushes, not to mention cradleboards, mortars, and sailing canoes (90).

#### Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682

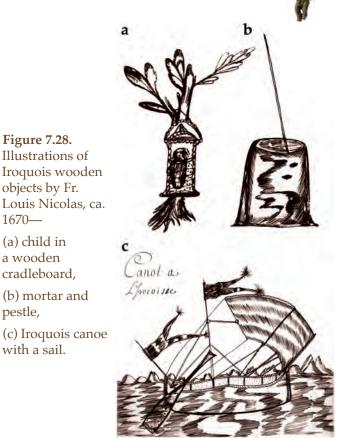
Beyond this, there are objects about which we can only speculate, including what appear to be sheet-metal hinges and fragments from other composite objects at Indian Hill. These fragments consist of cut-outs of brass, pewter, shell, and even red stone that may have functioned as inlays. While surviving ethnographic examples and descriptions provide hints, we may never know for certain how these objects were used. This is where the problems of survival and visibility in the archaeological record truly limit our ability to understand the sophistication of Onondaga material culture.

#### Processes

In previous chapters, we looked at the ways Onondaga people incorporated European materials and objects into their own cultural framework during the first part of the seventeenth century. What is the evidence for these processes between 1666 and 1682?

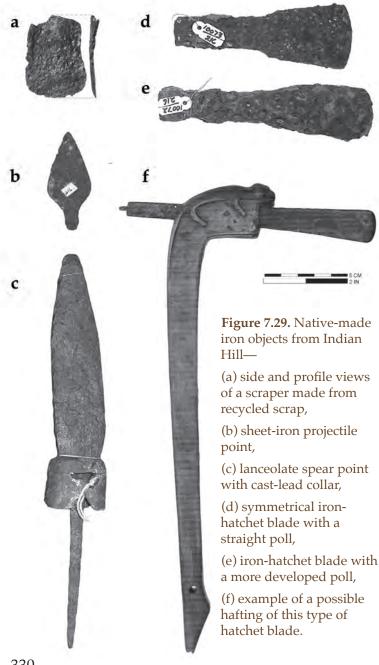
*Use, reuse, and replacement.* The process by which European objects and materials replaced their Native counterparts has long been central to discussions of acculturation. As the evidence from Indian Hill indicates, the dynamics of use, reuse, and replacement were anything but simple. The problematic term here is *replacement*. What exactly was replaced—the material, the form, or the function? At what rate did these changes take place, and did the dynamics vary according to the class of material or the intended function? In her discussion of the ongoing preference for making bone harpoons at the Wyandot sites in St. Ignace, archaeologist Susan Branstner provides a contrasting example. Replacement did not occur here, even though iron and brass alternatives were available. There are also examples of concurrent usage, rather than replacement, as with Native and European smoking pipes, or Native wooden ladles and European spoons. Perhaps it is time to rethink what replacement means in terms of behavior, and how we measure it.

Kurt Jordan has argued that material culture studies alone cannot assess the degree of continuity and change, and he stresses the need to understand "the contexts of social life." Certainly, the better the context, the easier it is to interpret what the material evidence may indicate. However, we are not always fortunate enough to have social contexts, such



as storage pits, house patterns, or burials. Nonetheless, we can still use older collections and even surface-collected material to refine conventional methods of organizing data and develop new ones. For example, Kathleen Ehrhardt has demonstrated that reconstructing technological processes of metalworking is as valuable a way to understand behavior as reconstructing its social contexts (91).

*Emulation and appropriation*. The differences between emulation and appropriation seem less distinct at Indian Hill than at the earlier sites. Whether a carved wooden spoon emulates a European form or appropriates it, the distinction is difficult to discern. Rather than forms,



it was European technology the Onondaga sought to copy between 1666 and 1682, especially ironworking. In spite of frequent requests for smiths to mend arms, there is evidence that some Five Nations people had learned to service their weapons during this period. An example is a cache of gun parts from the Seneca Boughton Hill site, including several locks and lock plates as well as tools. The excavator, who was able to assemble at least two working locks from these parts, concluded that whoever cached them knew enough to make his own repairs. As Joseph Mayer observed when he reported this cache in 1943, we are naive if we do not think Indian people had developed the ability to repair their own firearms after using them for several decades (92).

Although tempering and welding may have remained beyond the reach of the Onondaga at this time, evidence from Indian Hill indicates that their ability to utilize iron continued to improve and diversify. There is

## Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682



evidence that axes with snapped-off bits or ruptured sockets were routinely used to make celts and other implements, just as brass kettles were cut up and made into projectile points (Figure 7.20). There is also evidence that broken axes and other pieces of iron were cached for later use rather than simply discarded. As on the previous sites, the traditional methods of hammering and grinding were used to produce a variety of simple objects such as screwdrivers, scraping tools, and pot hooks. There are also more ambitious pieces including a sheet-iron point with rounded shoulders and a large lanceolate spear point with a long tapered tang and cast-lead collar, possibly reforged from a large knife blade (93).

Innovative as these points were, it is the iron-hatchet blades first seen at Lot 18 that provide the most compelling evidence for systematic Onondaga ironworking. The iron blades known from Indian Hill display a range in size, form, and degree of skill with finished and partially finished examples. The examples document three different stages of the production process. The first group has roughly forged, symmetrical blades with variable degrees of finishing. The most finished example has a trapezoidal blade, a slightly tapered tang, and a square poll (Figure 7.29d). In the second group the blades are slightly asymmetrical and have more developed polls for hafting (Figure 7.29e). The work on each of these blades has a more individual sense. The third group is composed of pieces that have only been roughed out and may have been discarded because of problems. Taken together, the iron-hatchet blades from Indian Hill and comparable examples from Seneca sites indicate that by ca. 1680 Five Nations people were capable of making iron weapons of their own choosing. At present, there is no evidence for how these blades were hafted **(94)**.

While Onondaga interest in European technology may have focused on iron, the use of other metals remained important. There was the more sophisticated use of sheet brass and copper described above, and an expanded use of lead and pewter. There are a number of Native-made lead and pewter objects from Indian Hill (Figure 7.30). Cutting, hammering, and grinding were used to shape the metal into the desired forms—a longbodied creature, an anthropomorphic figure, two centrally perforated discs, and two hourglass-shaped pieces of uncertain function. Other cast objects were the mouthpiece from a wood or stone pipe and three turtle figures. No cast-lead or cast-pewter medallions similar to the one from Indian Castle are known from Indian Hill. By this time, however, other Native people across the Northeast used stone molds to cast buttons and other small items, and it is possible that the Onondaga did as well (95).

Important as acquiring technology was, the need to appropriate European symbols was equally pressing. By 1676 the Onondaga understood Europeans and their intentions fairly well. It is likely they also believed that if they used the symbols Europeans valued they might be able to



**Figure 7.30.** Native-made lead or pewter objects from Indian Hill—

(a) cut-out long-bodied creature,

(b) front and back views of three cast turtles,

(c) anthropomorphic figure,

(d) cast mouthpiece for a pipe with lines showing the stem.

appropriate some of their power, or at least authority. As interactions became more complex, so did the need to find ways to talk. Using the right symbols could make this easier, and by 1682 the Onondaga had begun to develop just such a repertoire. The most obvious example was the Covenant Chain, an Iroquoian concept of kinship linked to a physical form that Europeans seemed to understand. It may have been an ambiguous creation at first, but it worked. The cross was another important, if contentious symbol. While the Jesuits often remarked how "crosses, medals and other similar articles are their most precious jewels," it is not clear what a cross meant in Onondaga. For a few like Daniel Garakontié, wearing a crucifix was a declaration of personal belief. Given the lack of crucifixes at Indian Hill, as well as the Jesuits' ongoing attempt to undermine traditional values and practices, the cross was not a symbol that most Onondaga were ready to embrace, at least not yet (96).

During the 1670s the cross began to take on more layered meanings, especially as Jesuit missionaries took it deeper into Indian country. While traveling along the Fox River in 1673, Fr. Jacques Marquette observed "a handsome cross erected in the middle of the village, and adorned with many white skins, red Belts, and bows and arrows, which these good people had offered to the great Manitou (This is the name they give to God)." While Marquette saw this as a Christian success, his Native hosts undoubtedly viewed their ceremonial pole in quite a different way. Two years later, another Jesuit was outraged when his Ottawa and Nipissing hosts set up a similar painted pole, this one with a large dog suspended from the top (97).

Back in Onondaga, an analogous process may have taken place between the cross and the ever-growing tree, or the "May-Tree" as the Jesuits called it. This was the place where "assemblies and parleys relating to Peace" took place. This Tree of Peace stood in Onondaga, at the center of the world, and served as a living symbol of the Great Law and the League itself. Sometimes portrayed as a white pine, sometimes as an elm, the Tree of Peace served as a metaphor for life, status, and authority in Iroquoian culture, just as the cross did among Christians. Although no European crucifixes are known from Indian Hill, the cross was



an important symbol. In the 1950s Stanley Gifford found a fragmentary Baroque-style cross, cut from sheet brass, at Indian Hill (Figure 7.20b). Who did this and for what reason, we will never know. However, it seems that by 1682 the cross may have come to represent spiritual power in a more general sense, perhaps another kind of medicine. By the end of the century the cross and the Tree of Peace, along with ceremonial posts and poles, would become a virtually interchangeable set of metaphors for spiritual power (98).

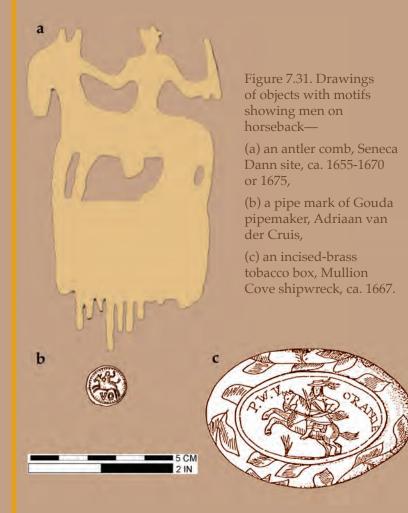
*Hybridization*. Cross-cultural hybrids arise from opportunity or need, and both were present between 1666 and 1682 as two examples demonstrate. One was the changing use of wampum, especially in belt form, a subject discussed previously. The other was a similar process in which stone smoking pipes morphed into new forms, ones with different meanings and uses.

*Wampum belts and diplomacy.* Chapter Three looked at wampum as a crosscultural hybrid and the diverse ways in which these small white and purple shell beads were used. Chapter Five focused on one particular aspect of wampum, the ways in which beads woven into belts were used. This ranged from gifts in reciprocal exchanges to sealing internal agreements. By 1665 the Onondaga began to use wampum belts as a means to establish a more structured and eventually diplomatic relationships with the French. How did this process evolve between 1666 and 1682 as the Five Nations attempted to build diplomatic relationships with their Europeans neighbors?

New problems often required new solutions. As the imperial administrations in New France and New York became more firmly established, harsh new realities confronted the Five Nations. The imperial concept of absolute submission to authority and the idea that their land and allegiance belonged to someone else were particularly alien. As Fr. François-Joseph Le Mercier observed looking back on the Ste. Marie episode, the French had not gone to Onondaga to make friends, "We were ... sent by the Governor to take possession of those regions in his Majesty's name." As Lieutenant-General de Tracy's punitive visit to Mohawk country in 1666 had made clear, Europeans had the means to enforce such claims (99).

In this new and uncertain world, wampum provided a means for opening and maintaining communication. Often the impetus came from Onondaga. It was an Onondaga-led delegation that went to Montréal in August 1668 to reestablish the balance after de Tracy's invasion. Two things are notable about Garakontié's brief address to Governor-General Courcelle at that time. One was his use of condolence language. The other was his use of "five words . . . in behalf of the whole Nation, " accompanied by five presents. This was akin to the wise policy of the Five Nations as

# Case Study 12. Imaging authority, the man on horseback



The image of a man on horseback with a raised sword in one hand is another European symbol appropriated by the Five Nations during this period. This image is best known from its appearance on antler combs and has usually been interpreted as a depiction of the Englishman Wentworth Greenhalgh during his 1677 tour across Five Nations. This is doubtful, however, since at least one of these combs is from a site that predates Greenhalgh's visit. A more likely explanation is that equestrian figures were well known in Europe, where they had been used as a symbol of imperial, or at least military, authority since Roman times. The image was revived during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to promote the legitimacy of a new ruler, and frequently occurred on seals, medals, and coins as well

as in paintings and printed materials. By the middle of the seventeenth century, however, this once-royal device, like many others—the Tudor rose, the fleur-de-lis, and the twoheaded eagle—had been appropriated into European culture for use on consumer products and Indian Trade goods that ranged from tobacco pipes and boxes to Rhenish stoneware jugs (100).

One of the unusual objects reported from the Indian Castle site is a brass medal found in 1815. Although the actual object appears to be long lost, historian Joshua Clark's description survives. This was a medal "with an equestrian image of a man with a drawn sword on one side and William, Prince of Orange, with a crest or coat of arms on the other; the date was obliterated." While previous scholars have identified this as William III, it is more likely his predecessor William II,

who died in 1650. Given the dates for Indian Castle and the Seneca Dann site, it appears that this image of authority had circulated through Iroquoia more than a decade before Greenhalgh's trip, influencing the motif on the antler comb.

For Native people, it may have been the image of the horse, even more than the man, which conveyed authority and power. Horses imported by Europeans were new to Indian people, and whether they were "the tame moose of the French" or the means by which Greenhalgh and other English agents travelled among them, they inspired awe and respect. Whatever its origin, this image of a man on horseback would remain a symbol of authority and power for Five Nations people for the rest of the century (101).

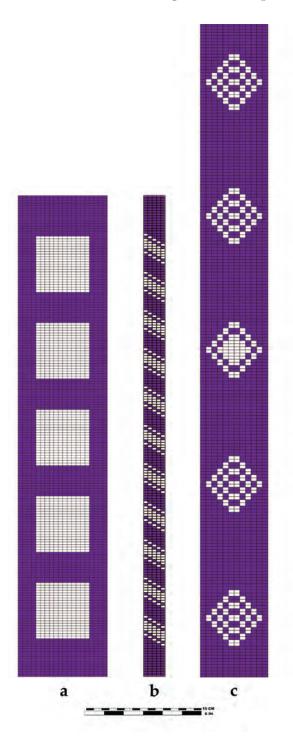


held at their annual general assembly in Onondaga in order "to settle the differences that may have arisen among them." There they "make their complaints and receive the necessary satisfaction in mutual gifts." In 1674 Father Millet observed the Iroquois nations "maintain peace among themselves, and make amends for faults committed by individuals," through "certain embassies which they reciprocally send one another," during which "they exhibit their fine porcelain collars." These were the practices Garakontié and other Five Nations' leaders wanted to use in building a more predictable relationship with the French (102).

Courcelle may have been an imperial agent, but he was not a fool. He recognized the utility of wampum protocol and did not hesitate to use it. When it was his turn to apologize after a French party killed seven Oneida and a Seneca in 1669, the governor sent a collar "of 5000 beads of wholly black porcelain" to the Seneca as a condolence gift and another to the Oneida. The Jesuits were also quick to understand that wampum conveyed a special kind of authority. In December of that year, Millet invited the Onondaga elders to a feast. To impress them, he mounted a portrait of Louis XIV and a map of the world on the wall of his cabin. In between, he hung a "fine large porcelain collar . . . meant to signify . . . there is only one God" (103).

The use of wampum in diplomatic protocol took another significant turn in July 1673, when Frontenac met with a large Five Nations' delegation at Cataraqui. Although "more than sixty of the oldest and most influential" chiefs were present, it was Garakontié who spoke first. While the rhetoric was much the same as in previous meetings, the use of wampum was not. This time, "each Captain presented, at the conclusion of his speech, a Belt of Wampum, which is worthy of Note, because formerly it was customary to present only some fathoms of stringed Wampum." Although Frontenac replied with the usual presents of guns and clothing, belts were exchanged between the Huron of the Lorette Mission and the Five Nations. Diplomacy had begun to take on a new form (104).

English records begin to use the term *belt* during the early 1670s, and in February 1675 the meaning of this word becomes clearer. A series of requests from the Mahican and "North Indians" were accompanied by "fathoms of wampum" and "bands of wampum" of differing widths. The wider bands almost certainly refer to what are now considered belts, and from this point on "belts of wampum" are frequently mentioned in the English records (**105**). While the use of wampum belts had become widespread by the mid-1670s, they remained most closely associated with Onondaga-led negotiations. A good example was during the summer of 1677 when Col. Henry Coursey came to Albany to negotiate a peace agreement with the Mohawk and the other nations to the west. Although each of the Five Nations replied, the Onondaga answer clarifies the purposes wampum belts served—"They say we are sent for by a Belt



**Figure 7.32.** Drawings of reconstructed Seneca wampum belts and a strap, ca. 1665-1687—

(a) belt with five white squares on a purple field, Dann site,

(b) strap with ten compound white-diagonal lines on a purple field, Boughton Hill site,

(c) belt with five white diamonds on a purple field, Rochester Junction site.

of Zewant to speak with his Honor the Governor Generall here," and they were ready to make a Covenant of peace, and seal it with "ane band Therten [13] deep." Even if the wording is obscure, the intent is clear. Here is wampum performing its essential diplomatic functions—summoning, making an agreement, and sealing it with a belt (106).

Five years later, when Frontenac met with another large Five Nations' delegation at Cataraqui, it was a different Onondaga chief, Tegannisoren, who spoke on behalf of "the Whole House, that is, the Five Iroquois Nations." During his address, Tegannisoren "drew forth a Belt of Wampum, which he held . . . between his hands" as he made his points. Frontenac replied with the expected presents and three wampum belts of his own, the last "in the form of a Chain." By 1682 many issues remained in dispute between the Five Nations and their European neighbors, but at least with wampum belts they had developed one means for discussing them (107).

*Pipes with detachable stems*. New situations also produce new solutions. By 1682 French missions and trade networks extended across nearly all the Eastern Woodlands. This geographically dispersed trade produced a specialized workforce of young Frenchmen, the *coureurs de bois* or *voyageurs*, as they were sometimes called, and they needed lighter portable equipment. One example of such an item was a new pipe form made from stone or clay with a detachable stem, often referred to as a micmac-style pipe. These were a product of need, opportunity, and a new Canadian identity that developed during the 1670s.

Several recent studies have examined these pipes and their origins in detail. Archaeologist Roland Tremblay has pointed out that the term *micmac* itself is problematic. Not only has it become a catch-all term for



a wide variety of stemless-pipe forms, the name is a misnomer and has little to do with Micmac people. The name aside, Tremblay clarifies two important characteristics of these pipes. One is they occur in a range of distinctive styles, several of which were cross-cultural hybrids (*métissage*) based on older Native styles. The second is that, increasingly, these pipes served as a marker of Canadian rather than French identity. It is not difficult to see why such an attitude developed when explorers like Des Groseilliers and Radisson had been patronized by the governor-general in 1660 as being mere inhabitants rather than French gentlemen. By 1680 many of New France's most influential people, men like the 12 sons of Charles Le Moyne, had been born and raised in Canada and thought of themselves as Canadians first (108).

In a parallel study, Marie-Hélène Daviau analyzed a large assemblage of stemless pipes from Québec, subdividing them into well-defined stylistic groups. She suggests that what became known as micmac-style pipes early in the eighteenth century grew from two distinct traditions in the seventeenth. One was the Canadian practice of making their own pipes from stone, wood, or even brick. The second was the merging of Frenchmade pipe styles with existing Native forms. This happened more often as French trade expanded west during the 1670s (109).

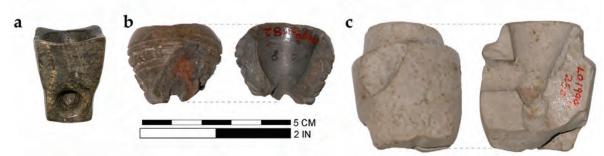
Another study by Penelope Drooker examined pipes from a Native perspective. Stemless stone pipes have a long tradition of use in the Eastern Woodlands. As the French travelled farther west, these pipes were used in greeting ceremonies, where pipe bowls were frequently exchanged or given as gifts. Pipes came in a bewildering variety of sizes and shapes. Some may have had specific functions, and others may have served as ethnic markers or reflected personal preference. Whatever the reason, this diversity makes pipes an ideal class of artifacts for archaeologists to trace cultural interactions. Drooker's work provides an excellent review of the extensive literature on this subject. She also identifies several of the key stemless stone-pipe forms, tracing their cultural affiliation and use from the

Figure 7.33. Stone pipe bowls from Indian Hill—

(a) small bowl of gray-green soapstone with a rectangular rim,

(b) two views of half of a globular bowl of dark stone or highly fired clay with four crudely incised rings,

(c) two views of half of a bulbous and cylindrical bowl of gray limestone.





**Figure 7.34.** Stone vasiform pipes from Onondaga-related sites—

(a) two views of a darkgray-slate vasiform pipe,

(b) gray-marble vasiform pipe with incised figure on the side, Big Ridge, NY,

(c) two views of a brown-soapstone vasiform pipe with a collar, Cicero, NY.

time of European contact into the early decades of the seventeenth century. Among these are the ovoid, rectangular, and vasiform shapes from which micmac-style pipes would emerge. In other words, Drooker's study ends roughly where the work of Tremblay and Daviau begins (110).

If these new pipe forms were a hallmark of the 1660 to 1680 period, to what extent do they occur in Onondaga? At present, one complete and two fragmentary examples are known from Indian Hill (Figure 7.33). Several additional examples have been found on contemporaneous Onondaga fishing sites. These pipes exemplify some of the well-known forms, while others appear to be transitional types, suggesting that Onondaga people

**Figure 7.35.** Iroquois of the Gandaouaguehaga Nation (Onondaga). He is smoking a vasiform pipe. Drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1670.



were closely tied to the social interactions that created these new forms (111).

A number of stone pipes with detachable stems have been recovered from Onondaga-related fishing sites of this period. Two forms stand out in particular. First, vasiform pipes often occur across the Five Nations, in Ontario, and in the Ohio Valley during the first half of the seventeenth century. Another form of stemless stone pipe from this period is particularly unusual, essentially half of a platform pipe with a vertical handle beneath the bowl. These are discussed further below under curation and revival of older forms (112).

The diversity of stone pipes from Indian Hill and related fishing



sites provides another means for documenting the range of Onondaga interactions north, east, and west across the St. Lawrence River drainage between 1666 and 1682, just as shell objects reflect interactions to the south. These pipes indicate more than mobility. They are hybrid objects, markers of a changing identity as the Onondaga met and interacted with an increasingly diverse set of other Native people and Europeans.

#### Identity

The years between 1666 and 1682 were, except for the Susquehannock War, a time of general peace and prosperity. But peace brought its own problems. War pushed the Onondaga together against a common enemy, minimizing internal differences. Peace and the opportunities it brought encouraged different approaches for dealing with Europeans and their Native allies, issues around which factions quickly formed. One such issue was the status of Christianized relatives who had gone to the mission towns in Canada (113). To what degree were these Christian Iroquois still kin? It was also a period of rapid expansion for the French, and of transition for the Dutch and English. New and increasingly complex interactions occurred among Native people across the greater Northeast and beyond. One problem in trying to understand Onondaga identity during these years is that the historical documents provide little guidance. Alternatively, the material culture evidence provides a more detailed and revealing basis for understanding who and what was Onondaga during these dynamic years.

The framework and terms used in previous chapters provide a way to examine the continuities and changes in Onondaga identity at Indian Hill. Chapter Three focused on the difference between the fixed and the flexible components of identity, or how the Onondaga retained traditional values while expressing them in more diverse ways. In Chapter Five we looked at the internal and external factors that shape identity, and at the ways in which material objects help us reconstruct Onondaga actions while they were at the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites.

A key factor underlying the dynamics of the Indian Hill period was the ever-increasing level of stress on traditional Onondaga ways. Unlike the previous period, the years between 1666 and 1682 were marked by a significant increase in internal and external pressures. These ranged from the effects of war, disease, and alcohol to the Jesuits' aggressive efforts to undermine traditional values and practices. Internal divisions and factions were an inevitable result. There were also serious external stresses, even after the Susquehannock War ended. One was responding to the political changes among their European neighbors, especially to their shifting policies. Most challenging was the need to understand European intentions and their alien views on authority, respect, and ownership. Did they comprehend the importance of kinship responsibilities? Would they respect the agreements they had made? This, in turn, raised difficult issues for the

Five Nations as a League. How were they to deal with these pushy, often arrogant, neighbors? How did the Onondaga respond to these pressures in terms of protecting their own interests as well as those of the League?

#### **Strategies**

Chapter Five reviewed two basic strategies used by the Onondaga between 1650 and 1665 to maintain their identity—extending kinship and sustaining traditional ceremonial practices. Between 1666 and 1682, these strategies were enhanced. It was no longer adequate to extend the offer of kinship to individuals. Now the goal was to establish kinship relations with larger groups of people, especially Europeans. In a similar manner, it was no longer sufficient to maintain traditional ceremonial practices. These had to be strengthened in the face of greater threats, adding new means of expression. These were challenges the Onondaga leadership had to face, both internally and on behalf of the League.

*Expanding kinship*. Since kinship was the foundation of Onondaga culture and society, relying on it remained the primary strategy for dealing with problems during this period. As one Jesuit observed in 1671, they "possessed nothing individually, which best suited the iroquois nature, among who sociability, visits, hospitality, feasts, and mutual gifts are much in vogue." In other words, all those practices that bind a community together (114). The very definition of who and what was Onondaga was a composite, drawn from all the people and traditions that comprised the nation. Over the course of the seventeenth century, that definition had grown and changed considerably, most recently as Ontario Iroquoians were added. Between 1666 and 1682, a substantial number of other Native people from across the Eastern Woodlands joined this already diverse mix. These included other Iroquoian speakers such as the Susquehannock and possibly others from the mid-Atlantic. Many of the people who came to Onondaga were Algonquian speakers from the Great Lakes, Midwest, and mid-Atlantic. Even some Siouan speakers from the edge of the Eastern Prairie and the Virginia–Carolina Piedmont ended up in Onondaga during these years (115). We will look at the archaeological evidence for the influence of these people at Indian Hill.

Although extending kinship to other Native people remained an essential aspect of Onondaga culture, Europeans were the real challenge. Could kinship be expanded dramatically to include them as well? Would this be a useful way to find out what Europeans wanted and allow the Onondaga to shape a more favorable course of policies by using the obligations of kinship? The result was an evolving process of cross-cultural diplomacy, one in which the Onondaga sought to make European actions more predictable and accountable.

*Strengthening ceremonial practices*. The down side of expanding kinship was that it stretched the internal bonds that kept the community together.



The more internally diverse, the greater the need to strengthen, not just maintain, what defined Onondaga. While the influence of other Native people might be a concern, the real threat came from Europeans, especially the Jesuits. Traditional Onondaga practices, and the values on which they were based, were exactly what the Jesuits sought to disrupt. Not surprisingly, strengthening and defending those practices became an even more critical component of Onondaga identity. We will examine this dynamic in two related realms—authority and who had it, along with power and how to access it.

*Authority.* How decisions were made and who made them were fundamental aspects of Five Nations' cultural practice. As we saw in Chapter Six, these issues took on ever-greater importance after 1666, as relationships with Europeans became more complex. Decision-making certainly had its fixed components, but as the scale of interaction with Europeans increased, so did the need for flexibility as new situations arose. Prior to 1666 each nation usually spoke, negotiated, and often acted on its own behalf. After 1666 the Five Nations increasingly sought to act together, to speak with one voice. This meant that agreement on making decisions among themselves was essential. Who was to speak at conferences, in what order, and of particular importance, who was authorized to speak on behalf of others? By tradition an Onondaga presided over council meetings. It is not surprising then that as negotiations with Europeans grew more important, the first speaker was usually Onondaga. Nor is it surprising, given their responsibility to maintain balance within the League, that Onondaga leadership played an ever-stronger role in developing what would become Confederacy diplomacy.

It was not just a matter of who had the right to speak on behalf of the Five Nations, but where those negotiations would take place—around the Council Fire or at the Eastern Door. This had been a substantial part of the dispute between the Onondaga and Mohawk earlier in the century. While we know little about what was said, during these years the embassies by which the Five Nations "maintain peace among themselves" took place on a constant basis. The apparent solution was that most of the League councils were held in Onondaga, while the important Indian conferences with Europeans were held at the Eastern Door, in Albany or Montréal. This was the traditional or fixed way of solving the problem of where to meet, and it was largely successful. Between 1666 and 1682 the Onondaga feud with the Mohawk did fade, in part because of greater threats, but also through the renewal of ritual ties between the two nations (116). After 1673 Cataraqui emerged as a compromise location for Five Nations' conferences with the French. Situated at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, it was neutral enough for the Mohawk to accept, yet as far as Onondaga was concerned, it was within their own territory.

While strengthening their own decision-making processes was a key aspect

of how the Onondaga responded to the challenge posed by European authority, it raised another difficult problem—enforcement. In Onondaga, authority was not the same as power. Leaders did not have the means to compel agreement or obedience the way European authorities did. This blurring of the distinction between authority and power would play a major role in the relations between the Onondaga and Europeans for the rest of the century.

*Power and its sources.* In Onondaga cosmology, power was the ability to animate or reanimate, to bring to life, to transform, or to destroy. Along with balance and reciprocity, the nature of power was one of the fundamental principles of how the world worked. Accessing this power through the proper rituals and ceremonies was an essential component of Onondaga culture, and one that the Jesuits worked hardest to change. Healing practices, such as the belief in dreams, animal friends, medicine societies, and all the "debauchery and superstition" that went with them, were a particular target. This was the reason why Garakontié lost the respect of his people in spite of his years of service to the nation. More than his decision to become Christian, it was his refusal to accept traditional curing ceremonies when ill that caused such shock and anger. By abandoning ritual-healing practices, Garakontié ceased to be a member of the community, and as a result their "affairs should no longer be confided to Him" (117). Few incidents demonstrate more clearly what it meant to be Onondaga.

Even though the Onondaga resisted Jesuit teachings and worked to strengthen their own ceremonial practices, Christianity had its effects. One was the changing nature of the World Above and the World Below. As we saw in earlier chapters, maintaining a balance between these worlds was the foundation of Onondaga cosmology. It is important to remember that in Onondaga tradition the World Above and the World Below were not associated with good or evil. The powerful forces that resided in either of those realms could be benevolent or malevolent. This is why the observance of appropriate rituals and proper ceremonial practice were so important. We will return to the archaeological evidence for redefining the World Above and the World Below at the end of this chapter.

Christianity was not the only factor that altered cosmological views in Onondaga. As they continued to absorb Ontario Iroquoians and Algonquian-speaking people from the Great Lakes, different cosmological concepts came with them. While these beliefs helped to reinvigorate traditional practices, especially those related to healing and maintaining balance with the spirit realm, they also began to redefine how the Onondaga viewed power, where it resided, and how to access it.

#### Identity at the Indian Hill site

We know from the documentary record and the material evidence that

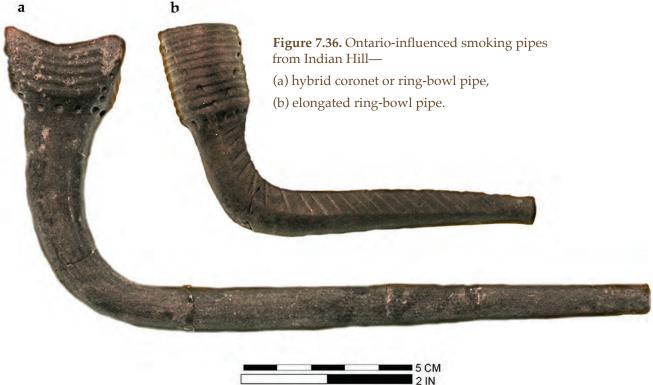


Onondaga population and material culture became ever more diverse during the 1670s and early 1680s. To what degree can we see the evidence for these processes and behaviors in the archaeological record from Indian Hill?

*Expanding kinship.* With the rapid growth of European and Native trade systems between 1666 and 1682, Onondaga people appear to have traveled more extensively than at any other time during the seventeenth century. While the precise extent of their movements is not known, they ranged from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to James Bay, from the western end of Lake Superior and along the edge of the Eastern Prairie to the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, and from the Roanoke River along the Atlantic coast to the Gulf of Maine. There were many reasons for such travel, such as opportunities to raid and trade, seasonal hunting, making diplomatic missions, and visiting kin. In terms of raiding and trading expeditions, a party might be composed entirely of Onondaga or a few Onondaga might join a group of their Seneca or other Five Nations' kin. During their travels they might encounter a wide range of Indian people, including other Iroquoians, Eastern and Central Algonquian speakers, and members of different groups of Siouan and Muskogean speakers.

Whatever the reasons they traveled, Onondaga people brought many things back, among them trophies, people, and ideas. Although trophies usually imply something taken by force, they could include objects acquired through exchange or trade, especially if they were strange or exotic. Possible examples from Indian Hill include the redrilled pipestone pendant, shell gorgets, and stemless stone pipes discussed above. People,





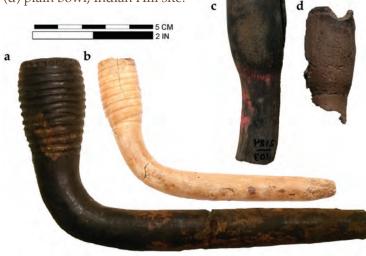
on the other hand, generally meant captives brought back for possible adoption. Whatever their status, people from other Native traditions brought their own and often different ideas with them, important factors in reshaping Onondaga identity. Ideas are powerful and many that came into the Five Nations during these years were exactly what the Jesuits feared—support for all the false deities of "the sun, of thunder, of The bear, of missipissi [Mishipizheu], of Michabous, and of Their dreams." Archaeological evidence provides a basis for evaluating these influences, culturally and geographically (**118**).

By 1682 Ontario Iroquoians had become a significant component of Onondaga, whether they originally had been Huron–Wendat, Neutral, or Petun. There are several archaeological indicators of this heritage as we saw in Chapter Five. Some of these practices continue to occur at Indian Hill, such as a preference for red stone and grinding red-glass beads to mimic it. One of the most telling examples is the predominance of Ontario styles of smoking pipe. At Indian Hill most of the ceramic pipes have elongated ring bowls. Even when traditional Onondaga styles, such as coronet or effigy forms, occur they frequently are combined with this ringbowl shape. What had been an exotic trait three decades earlier was now the predominant Onondaga pipe form.

*Influences from the south.* With the end of the Susquehannock war in 1675, Onondaga concerns focused increasingly on the Southern Door and the many ways south from there. First and foremost was along the Susquehanna River to the Chesapeake through what had been

**Figure 7.37.** Susquehannock-influenced smoking pipes with tulip-shaped bowls from Onondaga, Seneca, and Susquehannock sites—

- (a) ring-bowl pipe, Indian Hill site,
- (b) ring-bowl pipe, Oscar Leibhart site,
- (c) plain bowl, Boughton Hill site,
- (d) plain bowl, Indian Hill site.



Susquehannock territory.

Although the historical documents provide few details, and even fewer numbers, it is likely that many Susquehannock people came to Onondaga one way or another. As with Huron– Wendat people 25 years earlier, some may have been brought as captives while others chose to come voluntarily. There is archaeological evidence that supports this, and as linguist Floyd Lounsbury observed, Susquehannock appears to have had more in common with Onondaga than with other Five Nations languages (119).

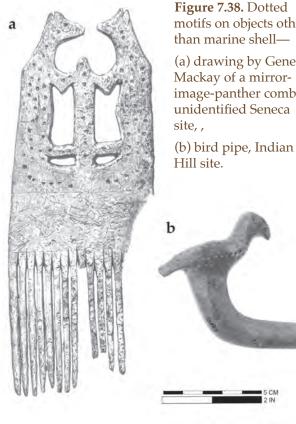
It is the archaeological record



that provides the best evidence for Susquehannock people in Onondaga. The dramatic postwar expansion of the Indian Hill site after 1675 suggests this, as do numerous Susquehannock material traits in the Indian Hill assemblage. Smoking pipes provide one line of evidence, especially pipes with tulip-shaped or hourglass-shaped bowls, and probably those with painted motifs on the stems and bowls (120).

Metalworking techniques and forms provide additional evidence of Susquehannock influence. As suggested in Chapter Five, brass double spirals were a material marker of Susquehannock ethnicity, one that was appropriated by the Onondaga for their own use. If this hypothesis were correct, what would we expect to see at Indian Hill after the war was over? For the victors, we would see continued use of a symbol that brought them success. This is the case at Indian Hill, where brass spirals made of wire occur more frequently than on any other Onondaga site except Indian Castle. We might also expect to see more varied and diverse expressions of this form as Susquehannock people and their traditions were assimilated. This trend will be discussed further under the subsequent Weston site. For the losers, we would see little if any continued use of a symbol that had ceased to work for them. After Strickler, double spirals virtually disappear from Susquehannock sites (121). In addition to spirals, Susquehannock influence on Onondaga metalwork is evident in other ways. There is greater use of coils, spiral strip beads, clips, and wire bracelets of brass and iron, as well as joining techniques such as riveting, casting pewter and lead figures, plus making inlays for stone and wooden pipes. In summary, by 1682 several material traits that had once defined the Susquehannock had become part of Onondaga material culture.

With the Susquehannock dispersed, the way south to the Chesapeake and beyond lay open, and as the historical documents indicate, the Onondaga were frequently there. For example, Lamberville often describes Onondaga raids on the English of Maryland with the slaves and booty that were collected. Although the Onondaga probably travelled along both shores of the Chesapeake, they appear to have been especially active among the Piscataway and Nanticoke on the Eastern Shore. Repeated raiding may have been the reason why the Piscataway relocated their primary town from the Posey site to Zekiah's Fort sometime around 1680. We get a broader sense of who was involved from Col. Henry Coursey's instructions in 1682, the year he was sent to New York in order to protect "the Pascattoway, Mattawoman, Choptico and all the rest of our ffriend Indians on both sides of the Chesepeake" from their enemies in the north, including the Five Nations (122). Material evidence that supports this includes specific Chesapeake traits, such as the use of very small discoidal beads as well as particular pendant and gorget styles. One of the most suggestive pieces of evidence is the appropriation of the drilled-dot motifs used on shell objects, and its application to other material culture forms, such as bone combs and smoking pipes (Figure 7.38; 123).



motifs on objects other than marine shell-

Mackay of a mirrorimage-panther comb, unidentified Seneca

(b) bird pipe, Indian

Did Onondaga war parties go farther? There are documentary hints that they may have gone even farther south. In his June 1676 description of an Onondaga healing ceremony, Lamberville mentions the dance of "a Warrior clad as an American from the south." Four years later, Jasper Danckaerts noted, "A large party of them [Indians] have gone south to make war against the Indians of Carolina, beyond Virginia." Perhaps these war parties were in pursuit of Susquehannock survivors who had retreated into the Virginia Piedmont, and some may even have gone beyond the Roanoke River into the Carolinas in what would become Catawba country (124).

Although such documentary hints are suggestive, they tend to revive the problem of "The Iroquois" as

a monolithic entity. Such speculation perpetuates the notion of the Five Nations acting together as a militaristic slaving society, whose repercussions during the seventeenth century were felt as far south as Spanish Florida and as far west as the Mississippi River (125). These statements are exaggerated. By 1682 it is possible that Onondaga people had ventured into what would become Catawba country, but there is no evidence for any patterned hostility. Nor is there much evidence of hostility-driven change in the eastern Carolina Piedmont until after 1670, when the culprits were more likely to be English adventurers from Virginia than Five Nations' warriors (126). Another factor that may have drawn the Onondaga south of the Chesapeake by 1680 was contact with their Iroquoian-speaking kin—the Nottoway, Meherrin, and Tuscarora people who lived on the interior coastal plain of Carolina. It is also possible that some raiding and trading parties traveled down the Great Valley into the upper Tennessee River drainage, where they may have encountered their other southern Iroquoian kin-the Cherokee, or Muskogean speakers such as the Koasati, Upper Creek, or Chickasaw. At present, there is little archaeological evidence to support such contacts unless one considers birdman pendants, ventrally perforated *Busycon* shells, and the popularity of shell gorgets as material evidence of the Mississippian Afterglow.

*Influences from the north and west.* The situation to the north and west was different. Seneca people mediated the relationships with those who lived beyond the Western Door. This was a vast area ranging from James Bay through the upper Great Lakes, along the Mississippi and edge of the

#### Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682



Eastern Prairie to the Missouri Valley. A large and diverse population of Native people lived across this portion of the mid-continent. A few spoke Iroquoian languages, but most were Algonquian or Siouan speakers. Beyond language, two other factors make it difficult to know precisely who lived there. One was the huge shift in populations that took place during the first six decades of the seventeenth century. As presented in Chapters Three and Five, many people known historically, such as the Fire Nation, disappeared before 1650. Even knowing where a specific population lived in 1630 provides little guidance to where they would be in 1660 or 1680. The second factor is the challenge of defining ethnicity in this dynamic, often chaotic, landscape. While some groups dispersed or moved to new locations, others coalesced around new centers. Often these were locations where French missions or outposts had been established in strategic spots such as around Green Bay or along the Straits of Mackinac. Here, already displaced Native populations became even more mixed through intermarriage and adoption. In describing the situation around Green Bay in 1679, Fr. Claude Dablon reported that one mission had six nations speaking two different languages, while at another there were "as many as 12 nations speaking 3 different languages." Under these conditions any attempt to assign ethnicity is risky at best (127).

What does this mean when interpreting the exotic materials in the Indian Hill assemblage? How do these materials relate to the Illinois, Miami, and possibly Shawnee captives mentioned by Lamberville? The material evidence provides some help in answering these questions. For example, the presence of exotic lithics and pipes probably serve as markers for the presence of foreign men. A revival in the use of freshwater-mussel shell for ornaments may reflect a mid-continent-cultural preference. There are also at least two styles of exotic pottery, probable markers for the presence of foreign women. One group of ceramics is composed of pieces of a thin gray-bodied shell-tempered ware with exterior cording on the shoulder and body (Figure 7.39a). While none of the pieces has a complete profile, they resemble a comparable vessel from the Seneca Dann site. Penelope Drooker has identified these ceramics as similar to late Fort Ancient vessels from the Ohio River valley. During his travels in 1673, Marquette passed the Waboukigou (Wabash) River that "flows from the lands of the East where dwell the people called Chaouanons [Shawnee]." He said they were a numerous people with 23 villages in one area and 15 in another. "They are not at all warlike, and are the nations whom the Iroquois go so far to seek." Based on this, it seems likely that the unusual shell-tempered ware from Indian Hill may reflect a Shawnee origin (128).

The second group of exotic ceramics contains fragments of a thin coarsely grit-tempered ware that come from collarless vessels with a plain lip, a smoothed-over neck, and a corded body, which was a common style among Algonquian people (Figure 7.39b). Although reminiscent of several well-known pottery types associated with Illinois, Fox, and Potawatomi

**Figure 7.39.** Exotic Native ceramics found on Onondaga and Seneca sites—

- (a) shell-tempered sherd, Indian Hill site,
- (b) three grit-tempered cord-marked sherds, Indian Hill site,
- (c) Ohio Valley-style vessel, Seneca Dann site.

people in the Midwest and Great Lakes, the Indian Hill examples do not appear to be a direct match with any of them. Given the degree of ethnic mixing that took place in many locations, this is not surprising (129).

Although exotic ceramics provide the most visible evidence of women from different traditions living in Onondaga, there are other indicators in the historical record, even if they are difficult to find archaeologically. After his 1670 visit to the Indians of "Virginia," actually central New York, Fr. Louis Nicolas made detailed notes about what he saw. He described moose-hair embroidery made by the "Virginian women" and finely worked objects, such as "bags...

decorative headbands, bracelets, garters, [and] . . . tump lines for carrying heavy loads." He also noted tobacco pouches women produced from moose skin called *kaskipitagan* or *sac à pétun*, which were "embroided and decorated with different coloured porcupine quills." The importance of moose, a species far more common in the Great Lakes than in central New York, impressed Nicholas. As he observed, "To our Western and Northern Americans, the moose is what some trees are to the Indians of the East, trees in or upon which they find everything they need to survive." Nicholas was well informed on this point, having spent more than a year in charge of the mission of St. Esprit at Chequamegon on Lake Superior. Since no moose bone was present in the faunal assemblage from Indian Hill, the preference for moose hide and hair was not local and probably came from the upper Great Lakes (130).

While these exotic objects tend to confirm Lamberville's observations about captives brought to Indian Hill, their scarcity suggests that his numbers were greatly exaggerated. This was a time of ongoing conflict in the mid-continent, with frequent changes in allies and adversaries. The Five Nations were not always involved. As historian José Brandão observed, almost all Five Nations' raids against the French-allied Indians occurred either prior to the peace treaties of 1665–1666 or after 1687. Hostilities

a

C



between the Upper Four Nations and their Native neighbors followed this pattern, with two exceptions. One was a series of raids and counter-raids between 1668 and 1673, probably based on vendettas left over from earlier conflicts between the Seneca and the Ottawa. Onondaga involvement in these conflicts was minor. For example, in 1669 while returning from a skirmish with the Ottawa, an Onondaga was taken prisoner along with several Seneca by the Nés-percez, a people from the upper Great Lakes. A second and more serious round of hostilities appears to have begun between the Seneca and Illinois-Miami around 1680 and continued into the next decade (131). As this situation deteriorated, the Onondaga became involved. Even so, these hostilities were nothing compared with the violence that occurred after the collapse of Ste. Marie in 1658 or the intense border warfare that would nearly consume Onondaga after 1687. In terms of Onondaga interactions with other Native people in the Great Lakes and mid-continent, there was more trading than raiding, especially during the mid-1670s.

If exchange and trade rather than war brought such trophies back to Onondaga, what went the other way? Marine shell was most likely. There was certainly a demand for it. The question is, how did marine-shell objects such as gorgets, effigies, and runtees reach sites in the Mackinac area and on the west side of the Mississippi? (132). These marine-shell artifacts support Dale Henning's argument that during the Pax Ioway, which spanned the last quarter of the seventeenth century, an active exchange network operated across northern Iowa and southern Wisconsin between the Blood Run Creek locale and Green Bay. Along this route, known as *Les Chemin des Voyageurs* in the early eighteenth century, pipestone and buffalo hides moved east while marine shell and European materials moved west (133).

What role did the Onondaga play in this exchange? By 1675 no one was better situated to manage the distribution of marine shell inland from the Chesapeake than the Onondaga, just as the Ioway were positioned to control pipestone from west of the Mississippi. The archaeological evidence supports this. While the Seneca sites of this period have proportionally more pipestone than their Onondaga counterparts, the Onondaga sites have proportionally more marine shell. There were undoubtedly other participants in this newly evolving network—the Potawatomi in Green Bay, the Wyandot and Ottawa at Mackinac, and the Seneca. We do not know whether this network functioned primarily on the traditional principles of exchange or was one more step toward a Native-based trade in commodities. Whatever the case, these interactions demonstrate that dynamics other than warfare were used to expand kinship during this period.

By 1682 Onondaga was a community of diverse parts, Iroquoian in language and structure, but with people and cultural traits from across the

Eastern Woodlands. A growing population and new ideas helped to keep Onondaga strong, but they also presented a challenge. How were they able to maintain an identity that balanced traditional values and practices with the flexibility to express them in a variety of ways?

*Strengthening ceremonial practices.* Between 1666 and 1682 the distinction between Us and Them was vitally important to the Onondaga and all Five Nations people. With a growing and increasingly heterogeneous population, the Onondaga needed a visual vocabulary that defined them. As we have seen, identity frequently was expressed in symbols, whether they occurred as iconography in tattoos, on embellished material objects, or as marks on the landscape. These visual markers could represent many things—kinship, personal achievement, or membership in a particular medicine society. In addition to iconography, preferences for materials and forms served as indicators of identity and belonging. Between 1666 and 1682 all these practices took on added significance as ways to define, express, and strengthen traditional ceremonial practices that could maintain balance in an increasingly chaotic world.

Active and regular practice. The most important way the Onondaga strengthened their ceremonies was through the active curation of culturally important objects and practices. We know this was the case from the Jesuits' constant complaints about how difficult it was to change traditional ways. One place where we can see this archaeologically is their continued use of long-standing preferences in material, form, and color (134).

In terms of material preference, the same set of highly valued substances we have followed in earlier chapters—marine shell, copper and brass, and red stone—remain well represented at Indian Hill, even if the forms in which they occur continue to change. Still, there are challenges in interpreting this evidence. Given the degree of their utilitarian use, copper and brass would appear to have lost some of their traditional ritual value. However, the popularity of brass finger rings, religious medals, and perforated coins suggests that these metals retained value, even when used in novel forms. Some of this ritual value may have been transferred to pewter and lead. Whether carved or cast, the use of these silvery-white metals may foreshadow the popularity of silver in the eighteenth century.

Another challenge to understanding ceremonial practices is archaeological visibility. For example, we know that medicine bundles, or wrapped collections of sacred items held by a designated carrier, were in regular use during this time. Radisson provides a valuable description of the *sacke* his Mohawk father wore. Although it did not look impressive, Radisson was assured that,

in that same sacke are inclosed all the things in the world . . . [and] that I should [not] disoblige them in the least nor make them angry . . . by



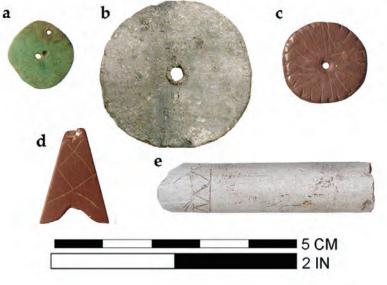
reason they had in their power the sun and moone and the heavens, and consequently all the earth.

Courtesy of the Jesuits, we also know that during their years at Indian Hill turtle-shell rattles were "the main instrument of their religion" along with "pouches filled with charms." Quartz crystals, fossils, and archaic projectile points have been found at Indian Hill, but we cannot demonstrate their ritual use (135).

Discs continued as a longstanding favorite form at Indian Hill, as did the traditionally preferred forms for implements and ritual objects. These occur in a wide range of materials-copper and brass, marine shell, red stone, and lead. Most were perforated and probably used to embellish bodies, clothing, or regalia. Others were unperforated. At a time when new triangular and trapezoidal forms are increasingly present, the traditional disc form remains well represented. A similar pattern takes place with traditional iconography, especially the use of motifs composed of horizontal and oblique lines, often in the

**Figure 7.40.** Traditional Onondaga forms and incised motifs from Indian Hill—

- (a) plain perforated brass disc,
- (b) plain perforated lead disc,
- (c) perforated red-slate disc with incised motif,
- (d) triangular red-slate pendant with incised motif,
- (e) European pipe stem incised with opposing triangles.



form of opposed triangles or diamonds, and hourglass figures. Although less obvious given the diminished presence of Native-made pottery, these motifs continued to be used on objects as diverse as bone combs, red-stone pendants, European pipe stems, and wampum belts (136).

Along with geometric motifs, the use of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures became more widespread during this period. There were depictions on pipes and combs, and small figures of lead, shell, and red stone. Onondaga people also tattooed comparable figures on their bodies, painted them on their houses, and used them to sign documents. Few things frustrated the Jesuits more than the belief that "the Master of their lives" was "either a bear, a wolf, a serpent, a fish, a bird, or some other kind of animal" the people had seen in a dream. Replacing such notions with Christian beliefs was one of their most important goals, and the archaeological evidence demonstrates their failure. Whatever the

**Figure 7.41.** "Iroquois from the village of Gannachiou-aé [Mohawk] inviting the gentlemen of the Gandaouaguehaga [Onondaga] to a game." Note the turtle and serpent tattoos. Drawing by Fr. Louis Nicolas, ca. 1670.

ways in which these effigies functioned—as a personal link with an animal friend, an indication of membership in a medicine society, or as a symbol of clan and lineage they provide material evidence that traditional practices had not diminished to any significant degree. If anything, their use had become more widespread (137).



Color preferences for white, black, and red remain predominate, as on previous sites. When Radisson was captured in 1652 he was stripped, tied, and "smired with redde and black" until he looked "more like a divel than anything else." Thirty years later Lamberville observed the same, when a captive was brought in "his face being painted red." The importance of red during this period is underscored by two other practices. One is the striking increase in the use of red stone, in this case, the regionally available red slate. The second is the first appearance of vermillion in both English and French trade inventories. Archaeologically, vermillion occurs for the first time at Indian Hill (138). Color preferences are also evident in beads. Most of the glass beads from Indian Hill are red while some are black or dark blue, and very few are white or robin's egg blue. As discussed in Chapter Five, the preponderance of red-glass beads is not as dramatic as it seems. When wampum beads are factored in, each color comes out closer to one third of the total. As some of the reconstructed belts and sashes from mid-seventeenth-century Seneca sites demonstrate, in the use of glass beads color occasionally mattered more than material (139).

**Figure 7.42.** Drawings of a reconstructed strap and belt made with redand black-glass beads from the Seneca Dann site—

(a) strap of red- and black-glass beads,

(b) belt of red-striped black-glass beads.



*Curation and revival of older forms.* In addition to strengthening current ceremonial practices, particular ancestral forms were back into use. We have already seen an example in the revitalized use of lithic bar celts on war clubs during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (140). During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, this practice of referencing past forms focused on renewed use of large stone pendants and a particular pipe form. Why these ancestral forms were chosen remains unclear. Perhaps they evoked authority and power or because of their antiquity, a wide range of Native people across the Eastern Woodlands viewed them as part of their own heritage. As such, these symbols were understood across linguistic and ethnic boundaries.

Club-shaped stone pipes are an example of the revitalized use of an ancestral object. This distinctive form appears to be a modified version of a Middle Woodland-style platform pipe, one with only half the platform and a vertical handle beneath the bowl. The earliest documented examples of this style occur, ca. 1,500 years ago, and have been found across a broad section of the Northeast from Michigan to the Delmarva Peninsula (141). Several examples of this style of pipe have been found on Onondaga-related fishing sites contemporaneous with Indian Hill. Most have been found along the Seneca River. Three of these club-shaped pipes are remarkably similar and appear to be made from the same material, a mottled-brown soapstone (142). Three other unfinished examples, including one described as "drilled with European tools," have been reported (143). The final example is the most exceptional and was found with other European materials at the well-known fishing location at Jack's Reef. The bowl of this pipe is a human head that faces away from the smoker. Beauchamp noted this pipe was made from dense black soapstone, had inlaid-bone beads for eyes, and speculated it might portray a French Jesuit (144).

**Figure 7.43.** Club-shaped pipes—(a) mottled-brown soapstone pipe, Seneca River, (b) two views of a mottled-brown soapstone pipe, Baldwinsville, (c) drawing of an anthropomorphic pipe, Jack's Reef.

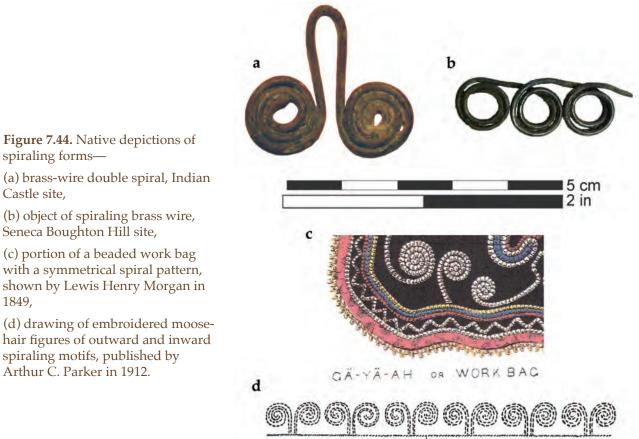


As historian Scott Meachum observed, these unusual club-shaped pipes probably depict a weapon, a hafted celt or pick-shaped war club, combined with a smoking pipe. They represent the physical embodiment of the choices one had in negotiation, to fight or to reconcile. Robert Hall and others have discussed this dual nature in other artifact forms, especially the congruence between atlatls and calumets (145). Was the revitalization of this club-shaped pipe another example of congruent meaning? Interestingly, George Hamell has pointed out the comparable similarity between ball-headed war clubs and bulbous-bowl smoking pipes. He has also suggested that the eighteenth-century concept of the pipe tomahawk grew out of this Native tradition (146). This interpretation fits what was happening between 1666 and 1682, a period when Onondaga decisions on how to deal with Europeans alternated between hostility and attempts to make peace.

Appropriation from other Native traditions. The third way in which the Onondaga expanded their ceremonial practice was to appropriate ritual materials, forms, and iconography from other Native traditions. Appropriation could strengthen ritual and ceremonial practice by reinforcing existing preferences or by linking them more closely with the revival of older ones. An example was the ease with which pipestone and some of its Oneota-inspired iconography were integrated into Onondaga culture during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Another example of appropriation is the changing role the spiraling motion played in Onondaga material culture during the last half of the seventeenth century. As we saw in earlier chapters, brass spirals were an established trait in Onondaga during the late sixteenth and well into the seventeenth centuries. During the Susquehannock War, a modified version of this form, symmetrical double spirals, was appropriated by the Onondaga and became a hallmark of the 1655 to 1675 period. By the end of the war spiraling forms in brass, including the spiral strip beads and wire coils found at Indian Hill, had become a discernible part of Onondaga material culture. While these metal examples are important in tracking the process of appropriation, this may be another situation where the archaeological evidence limits our ability to see how spiraling motifs may have been used in organic materials. In his discussion of nineteenthcentury moose-hair embroidery, the Seneca archaeologist Arthur C. Parker reviewed traditional patterns and myths. Among these were variations of the commonly used two-curve pattern or double spirals. These patterns, Parker maintained, were closely tied to the directions related to life and death. The outward-curving motifs served as symbols of "life, living and light," while the inward-curving motifs represented "sleep or death." Still, these common double-curve patterns originated somewhere, and as Parker observed, those "who copy these old designs, have [sometimes] forgotten their meaning." Without suggesting that the motifs used on late nineteenth 1849,





century leggings have a mid-seventeenth-century Susquehannock origin, it is likely that a motif, such as the double spiral, had a longer and more complex history of cultural expression than we can see from the archaeological evidence alone (147).

A different set of appropriated forms may have come from Algonquian and Siouan speakers whose cultures still reflected aspects of the Mississippian Afterglow. Evidence of this heritage includes regional forms of shell masks and maskettes, birdman figures, whelk-shell pendants, chimeric figures, and possibly club-shaped pipes. As Drooker has pointed out, by the time these forms reached the Northeast, they probably had become markers of achievement rather than of their original inherited status (148).

A similar process took place between 1666 and 1682, as the Onondaga increasingly appropriated European symbols for their own purposes. As we have seen in other contexts diverse reasons drove this process, ones that ranged from building a language for diplomacy to expressing European concepts of authority and power. The most important reason for appropriating European symbols was to strengthen Onondaga ceremonial practice, especially in terms of where spiritual power resided and how to access it.

#### Redefining the World Above and the World Below

One place where these diverse influences converged was in the changing nature of the World Above and the World Below. In ceremonial terms, it was a matter of utmost importance to know how to handle matters of life and death in an increasingly chaotic world, especially in terms of healing and maintaining balance.

Between 1666 and 1682 traditional views of the World Above and the World Below began to shift. As one venerable Oneida confided to Father Millet in 1674, he now believed his success in life was due "to Him who reigns in the sky, and not to dreams." There is evidence that suggests that by 1682 the World Above was increasingly identified with good, while the World Below was associated with its opposite. Some of this comes from texts, such as Fr. Phillipe Pierson's *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois* from the 1670s, in which Catholic teachings were translated into Huron, a language used widely across the Five Nations. This text emphasized that after death "some will go into the sky, whereas others will fall inside the earth." Furthermore, those "admitted into sky, those who were of one mind," will be physically made whole, have plenty of food, and be reunited with friends and family. Where will the others go, who are non-believers? They will go "inside the earth, where it burns" forever. It is no coincidence that Pierson also translated "devil" as "the earth-dwelling spirit" (149).

As in the earlier periods, understanding Native beliefs during the Indian Hill era is difficult, because Native people did not record their thoughts. Ironically, it is Jesuit observers who provide the best accounts of Native beliefs, perhaps because they found them so offensive. Most refer to the World Below. One example is Fr. Paul Ragueneau's description of "a kind of monstrous serpent . . . which brings with it disease, death, and almost every misfortune in the world" and who "lives in subterranean places, in caverns . . . but generally in Lakes and Rivers." Nicolas Perrot described another kind of deity in 1671. This was "the god of the waters, the Great Panther . . . [who] dwells in a very deep cave, and . . . has a large tail . . . [which] rouses great tempests." Marquette was horrified and fascinated by the large pictographs he saw on the rocks just below the confluence of the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers in 1673. He saw portrayed –

"two painted monsters which at first made Us afraid and upon Which [even] the boldest savages dare not Long rest their eyes . . . They have Horns on their heads Like those of deer, a horrible look, red eyes . . . a face somewhat like a man's, a body Covered with scales, and so Long a tail that it winds all around the Body" (150).

Although the World Below was increasingly identified with the Christian idea of hell, the World Above still had its undesirable pagan associations. In 1673 a Jesuit priest lamented how "a chief juggler" claimed he could

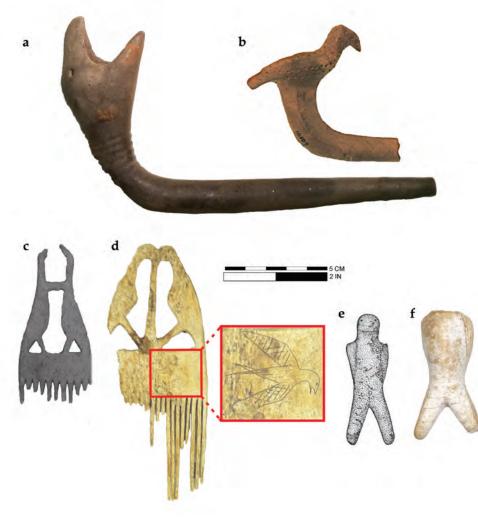


invoke the power of the thunder god by singing his songs. Six years later, a resident at the mission of St. Francois Xavier on Green Bay complained about the persistence of idolatry. In spite of Jesuit efforts, Indian people continued "offering almost constantly sacrifices to the sun, to the thunder, to bears, to the wild ox, and to The special divinity which Each of them has chosen in his dreams." This was what gave so much trouble to missionaries, that the Native people in the region were "passionately attached to these fooleries" (151).

Based on these accounts, it appears the Native cultures of the midcontinent functioned as a reservoir of traditional beliefs and that the assimilation of those people helped to recharge these practices in Onondaga. Can we see evidence for this in the archaeological record from Indian Hill? Yes, although it is subtle. Just as the ritual value of marine shell remained high in Onondaga despite its changing forms, the high value placed on copper in the Great Lakes may be one of the reasons it continued to retain its association with power. In a similar way, the renewed Onondaga interest in red stone and the novel forms in which it came, are almost certainly linked to the Eastern Prairie. The increased use of incised and carved images on pipes, combs, and other material objects may be another link to the cultures of the mid-continent. There are depictions from the World Above—raptorial birds, thunderbirds, and birdmen—and from the World Below—serpents, panthers, and other creatures, often with heart-lines or other similar motifs (152).

*Evidence for the World Above.* To what degree can we see the changing beliefs in the material assemblage from Indian Hill and contemporaneous Five Nations sites? Smoking pipes are one material class that suggests this shift. Pipes were intimately associated with spiritual matters, and there is a large assemblage of Native-made clay pipes from Indian Hill. Of the several effigy forms, there are nine that depict birds and only three portray turtles, snakes, or other creatures from the World Below. This may not seem dramatic, but it is the first time imagery from the World Above exceeds that from the World Below in any sample of Onondaga pipes (153).

The importance the World Above to Onondaga identity is also reflected in the greater presence of shell pendants in avian forms, including geese or loons and owls. Marine-shell birdman figures are a more exotic reference to the World Above. These figures are a chimera that combines avian and human traits in a variety of ways. The most common have a forked tail and folded wings. The birdman pendant is a three-dimensional representation of a widely distributed Native iconological concept, the personification of a paramount celestial being. This form is not common and is known only from Five Nations and Susquehannock sites, ca. 1660–1711. Two examples are known from Indian Hill, while others have been reported from the contemporaneous Seneca sites at Boughton Hill and Rochester Junction (Figures 7.45e, 7.45f; **154**). Birdman figures are an important component of



**Figure 7.45.** Native imagery related to the World Above—

(a) open-mouthed-bird (crow?) pipe, Indian Hill site,

(b) nesting-bird pipe, Indian Hill site,

(c) mirror-image-avian (bitterns?) comb of antler, Indian Hill site,

(d) mirror-image-avian comb of antler with an enlargement of the incised thunderbird to the right, Seneca Dann site,

(e) marine-shell-birdman figure, Seneca Rochester Junction site,

(f) marine-shell-birdman figure, Indian Hill.

Mississippian iconography, first appearing about 750 years ago and often portrayed on shell gorgets, cups, and copper plates from sites as diverse as Spiro Mound in Oklahoma and Etowah in Georgia. Archaeologist James Brown has made the case that the birdman is connected thematically to a supernatural entity recorded among Siouan speakers as Morning Star or Red Horn, a great warrior associated with reincarnation or the triumph of life over death. Southeastern specialist Marvin T. Smith believes there is no connection between Mississippian birdman figures and those that appear in the Northeast during the late seventeenth century. Perhaps so, but this form came from somewhere and is possibly another example of Five Nations people appropriating an exotic motif, even if a direct connection cannot be demonstrated (155).

As noted in earlier chapters, thunderbirds were not part of the traditional Five Nations' pantheon. With the adoption of Algonquian people from New England and the Great Lakes, however, thunderbird imagery occurs more frequently on Five Nations sites of this period. Often this evidence is subtle, such as an incised figure on an antler comb, one that resembles comparable figures incised on much earlier Caborn–Wellborn and Fort Ancient pipes from the Ohio Valley (**156**).

# Material Culture Matters, 1666 to 1682







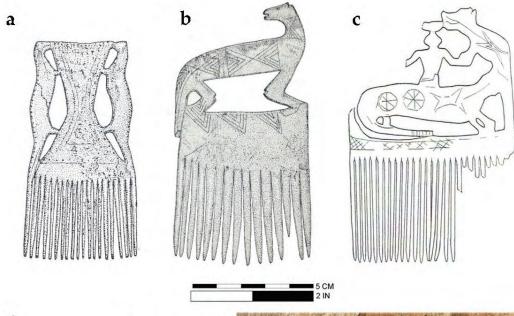
**Figure 7.46.** European imagery related to the World Above—top, The Assumption, painting by Claude François (Frère Luc), 1671, bottom, eagle lectern in the Church of Ste. Catherine, Honfleur, France. Understanding who dwelt in the World Above was sometimes ambiguous. One complicating factor was the conflation of thunderbirds with other birds, especially doves, a common Christian symbol for the Holy Spirit. The Jesuits had noticed this confusion as early as the 1630s. During a visit to Québec in 1633, three Nipissings accompanied their host into a chapel where,

seeing the Holy Spirit pictured as a dove, surrounded by rays of light, they asked if that bird was not the thunder; for they believe ... that the thunder is a bird; and, when they see beautiful plumes, they ask if they are not the feathers of the thunder.

It is likely that this congruence between thunderbirds and doves as agents who could access power in the World Above increased as more Christian iconography became available after 1666. For those who traveled to Montréal or Québec, depictions of the Holy Spirit as a dove were readily available in the paintings of the Récollet Frère Luc and others. In 1682, when Millet observed that "some people begin to acknowledge the True god, who reigns in the Sky," he may have been a little optimistic. As Lamberville and the other Jesuits in the Five Nations continued to learn, a shift toward the denizens of the World Above did not necessarily mean that Christian beliefs came along with them (157).

### Evidence for the World Below.

Even though references to the World Above are more evident in the material culture of this period,



e





(a) drawing of a comb with mirrorimage otters facing an hourglass figure, Seneca Boughton Hill site,

(b) drawing of a comb with a panther looking over its shoulder incised with diamonds and hourglasses, leaving an hourglass figure in negative relief, Seneca Dann site,

(c) drawing of a comb with an anthropomorphic figure and a panther



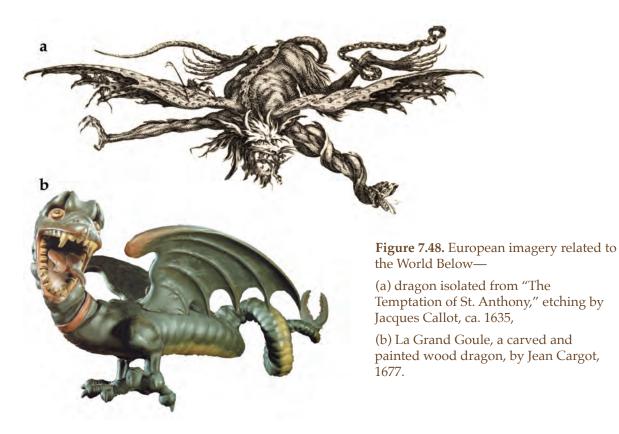
with a rattlesnake tail incised with diamonds, hourglasses, and other forms, Seneca Iroquois du Nord site, Baby Point, Ontario,

(d) horned figure, or Mishipizheu, cut from sheet copper or brass and missing its tail, St. Ignace, MI,

(e) pictograph on rock of a horned figure, or Mishipizheu, Agawa site, Lake Superior Provincial Park, Ontario.

the World Below remained very much in evidence. This is especially the case with combs. In Iroquoian cosmology there were many ways to depict power in the World Below including the varied forms of the Great Horned Serpent along with his helpers, all those long-bodied long-tailed creatures. During this period, the most effective agents appear to have changed. More panthers and otters are portrayed on combs, and fewer snakes or turtles.

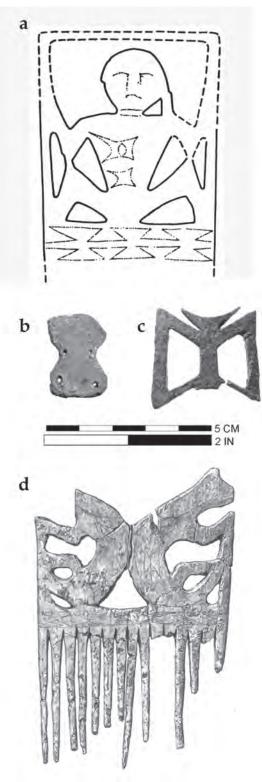




Creatures from the World Below were often depicted on antler combs, cut from lead or sheet copper, or incised on stone pipes (158). Novel shapeshifting forms of power from the World Below also occur, including a comb from the Seneca site at Baby Point, Ontario, that depicts a *Piasa*, whose panther-like head and body end in a rattlesnake's tail, and a Mishipizheu figure cut from sheet metal (159).

Just as thunderbirds began to merge with Christian doves, so the Great Horned Serpent began to take on aspects of European dragons. As early as 1637 the Jesuits used illustrations of hell in which "the damned are depicted . . . with serpents and dragons tearing out their entrails" to dramatize their message. Canadian anthropologist Marius Barbeau argued that the association between serpents and dragons grew as contacts between Five Nations people and French-Canadians intensified after 1666. Dragons were very much a part of European folklore, and like their New World cousins, were creatures of power that could play many roles, positive or negative. During the Counter-Reformation, however, the Catholic Church revived dragons as evil, as a symbol of heresy, atheism, and Protestantism. When the Jesuits complained that Indian people respected "dragons and other monsters," they were referring to a problem they had often faced back home (160).

*Toward a new cosmology?* Greater embellishment and morphing forms are evident in another family of iconographic motifs, the hourglass figures. As we saw in previous chapters, these could be used singly or



in combination to create a row of alternating hourglasses and diamonds. They could also be portrayed in negative as well as positive space, especially on combs. Hourglass forms were used to depict a variety of anthropomorphic figures, including hockers, man-beings with or without heads and appendages, and manbeings with European hats or clothing. Three Seneca combs, all from the Rochester Junction site, provide examples from the period 1666 to 1682. George Hamell and Hazel Dean John suggested that one of the combs represents the owner's status as the Wolf Clan Door Keeper (161). Similar figures occur in other materials and with varying degrees of sophistication, as examples from Indian Hill demonstrate.

A new characteristic of hourglass figures during this period is the tendency to be oriented horizontally as well as vertically. We saw earlier horizontal examples in Chapter Three, especially in terms of the negative space between the legs of effigy figures on combs. Between 1666 and 1682 horizontal hourglass figures were expressed in novel ways, such as a pewter cut-out from Indian Hill and the incised embellishment on the comb from the Seneca Rochester Junction site (Figures 7.49c, 7.49d; 162).

Another related embellishment is the addition of rays that appear

**Figure 7.49.** Native objects shaped and decorated with hockers, hourglasses, and related forms— (a) drawing of an anthropomorphic comb with the figure in a hocker position and incised with hourglass shapes, Seneca Rochester Junction site,

(b) hourglass shape of hammered lead, Indian Hill site,

(c) horizontal hourglass figure of cut pewter, Indian Hill site,

(d) drawing by Gene Mackay of a comb with mirror-image panthers incised with a horizontalhourglass shape on the right panther image, and a row of hourglasses and diamonds below the

#### Chapter Seven



to emanate from these hourglass forms. In both Native and European cosmology, rays were associated with animacy or spiritual power. This motif occurs most frequently incised on combs and occasionally on pipes. The pewter cut-out from Indian Hill may actually have been an attempt to portray a horizontally oriented rayed hourglass. Hourglass figures with rays may have been related to other motifs, including what Hamell has called "reel- or star-shaped" forms (163).

Unraveling the meanings embedded in hourglass forms is too formidable a task to undertake here. Instead, I will conclude with two general observations on the changing use of these figures. In Chapter Three we discussed hourglass figures as a means for representing a broad range of Iroquoian kinship relationships and social status. As those became more complex between 1666 and 1682, it would not be surprising if the iconography used to depict them became more varied as well. We have also seen that anthropomorphic hourglass forms have long been associated with shamanistic vision and power. It may be that by the third quarter of the seventeenth century, hourglass figures served as an updated depiction of spiritual power, a cosmogram for the changing conceptions of the World Above and the World Below. The world, as Onondaga people traditionally had known it, changed markedly during these years in response to European beliefs and to those of Native people from the Great Lakes and mid-continent. As those beliefs began to redefine where spiritual power was located, it is likely that these changes were embodied in new iconographic forms. The addition of rays supports this idea.

These complex figures were part of an evolving visual vocabulary, one used by Five Nations people to identify themselves and to signal their fundamental belief in balance. It remains unclear to what degree these forms were home grown, appropriated from other traditions, or a hybrid of both. In this sense, they parallel the emerging diplomatic process with its new language and symbols. It mattered less where these forms came from than whether they worked.

#### Summing Up

Although the traditions of other Native cultures remained the most significant influence on Onondaga at Indian Hill, the looming presence of Europeans would soon change that. Peace had accelerated the pace of European settlement, and with it came a new and more aggressive set of European values and behaviors. With the end of the Susquehannock War in 1675, the Onondaga began to realize that Europeans with their growing power and destructive influences—disease, Christianity, alcohol, and alien values—posed a serious threat to their culture. The basic challenge for the Onondaga remained the same—understanding what drove European ambitions. Whether it was the Jesuit obsession with sin, guilt, and salvation, or the imperial concepts of ownership, authority, and

sovereignty, the Onondaga had to find a way to turn these to their own advantage.

By 1682 Onondaga leadership was in transition. Garakontié was gone and with him the option of joining the French on Onondaga terms. The most visible leader, Otreouti, was still a commanding and respected presence. His diplomatic style was as aggressive as his warrior heritage. It was an approach that had seemed to work with Europeans, so far. Increasingly, however, the challenge of dealing with their imperial neighbors would rest in the hands of a new generation, men such as Tegannisoren and Aqueendaro. For them the challenge would be maintaining balance within Onondaga and the League as conditions changed and deciding what to do when strategies failed. These were difficult issues, but what were the alternatives? In dealing with Europeans, how much control did the Onondaga really have?

# Chapter Eight. Between the Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



he comet that Fr. Jean de Lamberville watched during the autumn of 1682 was the herald of change to the Onondaga. When the Great Fire Dragon was visible in the night sky, it was not a sign of good things to come. Before long he would return as the Dragon of Discord, bringing war, dissension, and misery to the land and its people. This time, however, his appetite would be fed not by Native feuds, but the imperial ambitions of New York and New France, as they claimed not only territory but the right to control its inhabitants as well. As these imperial systems geared up, there would be less room for the Five Nations to maneuver and less tolerance when they did not obey. Although caught between the hammer of French military invasions and the unyielding, yet indifferent, anvil of English ambition, the future of the Five Nations would be shaped largely by Onondaga leaders and their beliefs. Still, it would prove to be a long and painful path before a solution emerged.

#### **Taking Sides, 1683 to 1687**

Some of the events that would drive Iroquois affairs occurred far away in Europe across the Great Sea and seemed completely unrelated to Five Nations' issues or concerns. Momentous things were taking place in Europe, and the consequences of these events would have profound implications for those in the colonies.

#### *Tightening the imperial screws*

In France, Louis XIV continued his aggressive efforts to expand and secure his borders. Although earlier wars with the Spanish and the Dutch had been largely successful for the French, they had come at an ever-increasing cost. Now a "Grand Alliance" of European states formed threatening French security, and the need for revenue to support what would become the Nine Years' War (1688-1697) began to outstrip France's resources. Louis's priorities were also shaped by anything he perceived as a challenge to his authority, particularly when it came to matters of religion, faith, and power. Whether it was the Huguenot Protestants of his own country, the Jesuits, or the Pope in Rome, any hint of loyalty to someone other than the king was unacceptable. The result was a greater degree of social and political turbulence as Europe, once again, began to polarize along religious lines. One of Louis's most dramatic actions was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685. This decree issued by his grandfather Henri IV in 1598 provided a legal basis for toleration under which Protestants could practice their faith. With that protection gone, many French Huguenots fled to England or the English colonies taking their skills, money, and anti-Catholic paranoia with them.

Meanwhile, significant internal changes were underway in England as well. In February 1685 Charles II died and his brother James, Duke of York, assumed the throne and became James II. If Charles had reestablished the Stuart tradition of encouraging a cult of monarchy, James became its



greatest exemplar. Like Louis XIV across the channel, James believed in the monarch's absolute right to rule, and he demanded unquestioning obedience, deference, and loyalty from all his subjects. If there was any question what this meant in terms of governance, events like the brutal suppression of the Monmouth Rebellion in the West Country of England in 1685 and the Bloody Assize that followed made James's policies very clear. Here, too, finances and religion played important roles. For James II, the need for revenue independent of parliamentary approval was always a priority. He was also an overt and unrepentant Catholic. As he strengthened the position of Catholics in his court and the army, Protestants in England and the Dutch Republic watched with ever-greater concern. The flood of Huguenot refugees from France to English shores after 1685 raised tensions further (1).

Imperial policies in North America were a direct reflection of those in Europe. The year 1683 saw the beginning of two new colonial administrations—that of Joseph-Antoine le Fèbvre de la Barre, governorgeneral of New France or Canada as it was increasingly called, and Thomas Dongan, governor of New York. La Barre had come to New France with instructions to punish the disloyal, while Dongan was sent to New York to build. The Five Nations now had two very different men as neighbors. In each case, however, Indian policy was about to get a lot more aggressive (2).

In addition to separate mandates, each governor faced a very different situation within his own realm in North America. For the French the 1670s and early 80s had been a time of rapid expansion in territorial claims and tribal alliances across the upper Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley. The challenge La Barre faced was external, protecting those claims and clients from English and Five Nations' encroachment. For him, the Iroquois were an obstacle to be controlled or removed, but in such a way as to not drive them further into the arms of the English. For Governor Dongan, the task was fundamentally different. His mandate was internal, to bring the imperial order and discipline of his master, James Duke of York who would ascend to the throne two years later, to a wayward colony, one that still considered itself Dutch despite the official change in sovereignty. For the English, the Iroquois were an asset to be used. Dongan reported that they were "the most warlike people in America, & are a bulwark between us & the French & all other Indians." The challenge was how to integrate them into the imperial system (3).

For the Five Nations the question was how would these new officials act? From past experience the French seemed to alternate between offering peace and threatening war. Frontenac had been a tough and savvy negotiator, one who knew how to use presents and persuasion effectively. He had also promoted trade with the Five Nations, whatever their political differences might be. What would La Barre do? In many ways, the English

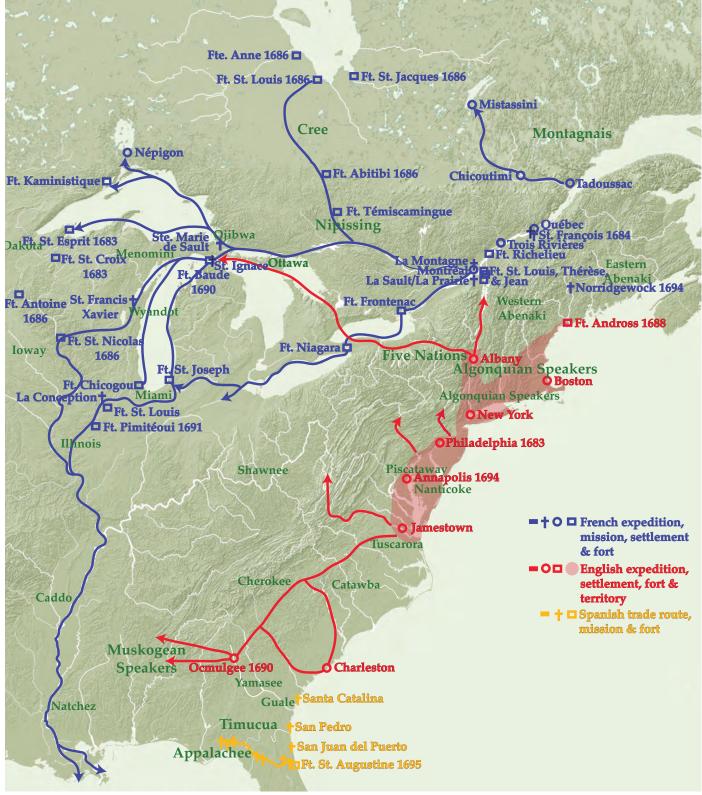


Figure 8.1. European settlement and expansion, ca. 1696.

seemed the more predictable neighbor. Gov. Edmund Andros had allowed the established systems of trade to remain basically unchanged. He had also offered Indians the opportunity to establish political relations through a series of treaties, not only with New York, but also with the other English colonies of Virginia and Maryland. To what degree would Dongan continue this policy? More important, could the English be relied upon to honor their commitments?

#### The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



Although the answers to these questions were of the first importance, they meant different things to each of the Five Nations, especially the three Elder Brothers—the Mohawk, Seneca, and Onondaga. For the Mohawk, Eastern Door concerns always came first. They were physically the closest to the Europeans in the Hudson Valley, and they had paid a high price for that privileged position of access. Nowhere in the Five Nations were the corrosive effects of European diseases, alcohol, and religion greater. Being most affected by them, the Mohawk needed to maintain a special relationship with the English, and it was no surprise that the Mohawk were the first to endorse the Covenant Chain and become its most ardent supporter.

At the western end of the Great Longhouse, the Seneca were more concerned with the disruptive influence of the French. The problem was not limited to the Jesuits' unceasing efforts to undermine traditional beliefs or the network of alliances that La Salle and others had made—it was also their meddling in Native affairs. Whether it was the trade, the initiation of warfare, or its resolution, the French upset the balance of intertribal relations. And while the English seemed a distant concern, they began to take on greater significance as a possible counterweight to the overwhelming influence of the French.

The Onondaga, as usual, found themselves in the middle, not just as the keeper of the League's Council Fire, but also as the intersection point of its north–south and east–west interests. For Onondaga, it was useful to have the English as friends. The English in Albany had connections with those who controlled the lands beyond the Southern Door, and Albany was important for trade. About the French the Onondaga were ambivalent, as they long had been. On one hand, the French were a necessary commercial and political alternative to a Mohawk–English partnership. On the other, Onondaga people remembered very well how quickly French friendship could turn into something quite unpleasant.

By the early 1680s the League members found themselves increasingly divided by these differing concerns and priorities. This was not a problem, not yet. There had always been disputes to resolve, and one of the League's primary purposes was to do just that. As a contemporary French observer noted, "Every year the five Cantons send Deputies to assist at the Union Feast, and to smoak in the Great *Calmut*, of Pipe of the Five Nations." Yet, there was no policy for unified action, no diplomatic plan for a concerted response to external pressures. Aside from the broad peace agreements made with the French in 1665–1666 and with the English 10 years later, each of the Five Nations pursued its own course with, or without, the concurrence of the others. There was no mechanism for creating a unified external diplomacy because there had never been a need for one. This was about to change (**4**).

#### From League to Confederacy

Whatever their differences, strong ties—kinship, language, and mutual interests—kept the Five Nations together. Internally, the League functioned as it long had, maintaining continuity in leadership, resolving disputes, and providing a means for exchanging information. It was the external world that was changing, and with those changes came the need for a more unified position among the Five Nations on matters of trade, war, and peace.

The tricky part was how to negotiate these issues with Europeans and their Native allies when the individual nations saw and experienced them differently. Nevertheless, with each conference in Montréal or Albany, it became more important for Five Nations' representatives to articulate their priorities and to not become divided amongst themselves. Increasingly, Five Nations' diplomacy, or what would become the political agenda of the Confederacy, rested on four points—

- Sovereignty To protect the right to control their own affairs and make their own decisions. In short, to be treated as equals by the Europeans (5).
- Security To provide protection from physical attack.
- Return of captives To regain the captives and hostages held by the French and their Native allies, and to find some form of reconciliation with their Christian kin in Canada.
- Balance To not allow themselves to be split up, and to find ways to maintain identity and internal balance in the face of massive change and instability.

The question was how to achieve these goals, or even to present them in ways that Europeans might understand.

During the 1670s initial diplomatic efforts had begun to settle into a structured set of protocols, ones drawn largely from Native precedents. They centered around the presentation of propositions and replies, emphasized with gifts and accompanied by specific rituals of welcome, recognition, and thanksgiving that took place both before and after the main event. Language was another essential aspect of this emerging diplomatic process, one that provided metaphorical terms to help bridge the significant cultural differences. With the English, the Covenant Chain was often invoked when they met with the Five Nations, although other terms such as the "Tree of Peace and welfare" were also used. With the French, it was always the governor-general, Onnontio, telling his Indian Children how well or how badly they had behaved, and then praising or punishing them accordingly. In either case, it is unclear how much real communication took place (6).

#### The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



The differences in cultural values and assumptions between Europeans and the Iroquois were enormous. For Europeans, whether French or English, obedience, deference, and results were what mattered. Authority came from the top in an imperial system. Those below were expected not only to obey without question but to express gratitude as well. As discussed in earlier chapters, for the Five Nations' authority worked in the opposite way, from the bottom up. Each individual was responsible for his or her own actions. Leadership came through demonstrated competence and the ability to persuade, not command. When explorer Nicolas Perrot observed "The savage does not know what it is to obey," Iroquois people would have agreed with him (7).

Deference was another sticking point. For Europeans born and raised in the rituals of court and church, the observation of proper form was very important. Where people sat, how they dressed, and in what order they spoke all meant something. Council behavior among Native people was different. Meetings rarely started at a fixed time and protocol was less structured. As one Frenchman observed, "Their custom is, when they came in, to sit down in the most convenient place they find vacant, regardless of rank, and at once get some fire to light their pipes, which do not leave their mouths during the whole time of the council." For Native people, sitting and smoking allowed them to listen more carefully and to think better. To Europeans, the spectacle of Indian people sitting around, apparently not paying attention, was profoundly disrespectful and reinforced the notion that these were children who did not know how to behave properly.

Finally, for Europeans the goal of negotiation was pledges, promises, and commitments, preferably written down on paper, signed, sealed, and witnessed. A treaty was a solution to a problem, even if only temporary. For Native people negotiation was about the process. It was the need to open eyes, ears, and throats that mattered. Only then could communication occur and consensus eventually be reached. This is why Five Nations' council language often stressed actions couched in symbolic terms, such as the need to "polish the chain" or "water the tree." Treaties were rituals for renewing and strengthening relationships, not ending them (8).

During the 1680s, as council meetings in Montréal and Albany occurred with greater frequency, the differences in values and expectations between Natives and Europeans became increasingly apparent. For the Five Nations, it was seldom clear exactly what European officials were demanding. They understood traders who wanted furs and even priests who wanted their souls. But how were they to deal with imperial agents who apparently wanted everything—the land, its resources, and its people? This was a difficult problem with no clear solution, especially for those in Onondaga who sought to negotiate with Europeans and maintain balance within the League. In looking for an answer, two questions emerged that

would help refine the alternatives. One was could Europeans understand and address the Five Nations' concerns and demands honestly? And two, if they could not, could Onondaga play the game of taking, or not taking, sides more effectively?

*Initiatives and failures.* The years between 1683 and 1687 in Onondaga were ones of deceptive continuity, a long twilight of the way things had been. Superficially, everything seemed fine. There were no great outbreaks of disease, no debilitating warfare. The town had completed its move from Indian Hill to what we know as the Weston site, and people were secure enough not to raise a palisade around their new home. Father Lamberville remained in Onondaga, and if he served less as a missionary and more as an agent of the French governor, no one seemed to mind. Council meetings continued to take place on an annual basis and more frequently when needed. Basically, these were good years with many opportunities for trading, raiding, and peace making.

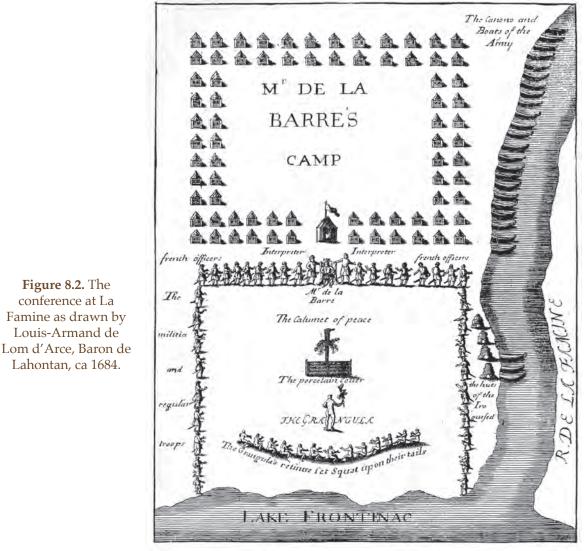
In terms of trade Onondaga people had several choices. They could go to La Salle's outpost, Fort Frontenac at Cataraqui on the eastern end of Lake Ontario, or to Montréal and merchants like Charles Le Moyne, and take advantage of the rivalry between them to get the best deal. They could go to Albany, where the selection of merchandise was different from what the French had to offer and the prices better. Or they could head south toward the Chesapeake and meet the traders who slipped into the upper Susquehanna Valley from Pennsylvania. But a more careful look at these years reveals a less rosy picture. Although the Indian Trade remained active, the fur trade was in trouble. The primary source for furs was rapidly shifting north to Hudson's Bay, away from the Great Lakes. Worse, the demand for furs in Europe was plummeting.

In terms of raiding there were opportunities for young Onondaga warriors to join Seneca war parties, who sought revenge for past insults from the Ottawa, Wyandot, and others in the Great Lakes. These forays included a brief campaign against the Illinois in Shawnee country. Occasionally, there was greater Onondaga involvement, as against a "far [Farr] nation of Indians" in 1685. There were also ongoing skirmishes with the Wyandot and the Miami in 1686. Whatever was happening in the west, Onondaga interests continued to focus south, with continual raids against the Piscataway in Maryland during 1685 as well as against the Nottoway, Saponi, and other groups in the Virginia–Carolina Piedmont. Still, these were years of relative peace compared to what would come (9).

It was in brokering peace agreements with Europeans, not warfare, where Onondaga initiatives were most visible. During these years, the most frequent speaker for Onondaga and often for all Five Nations was Otreouti, the old war chief and nemesis of the French. He proved as formidable a diplomat as he had been a warrior, one happy to pursue any advantage

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that offered itself. He had no love for the French and was happy to exploit them whenever possible. Lamberville observed that Otreouti had "the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois," hence his nickname, *La Grande Gueule*, or Big Mouth. Otreouti headed a coalition of Onondaga chiefs that Lamberville called "the triumvirate"(**10**).

Nowhere was Otreouti's success, and eventually his failure, more evident than in his negotiations with Governor-General La Barre during the summer of 1684. As the conflict between France's western Native allies and the Seneca had grown more serious, La Barre prepared to invade Seneca territory to teach them a long-overdue lesson. The Seneca were not impressed and looked forward to the fight. Lamberville confided to La Barre that the Seneca say, "the French [must] have a great desire to be stript, roasted and eaten." While the Seneca were happy to fight, it was the Onondaga, "men of business," who wished to arrange affairs otherwise. Someone needed to arrange a peace agreement, and as an Onondaga chief, it was Otreouti's right and responsibility to do so (11).

Over that spring and summer, Otreouti was able to keep the French and the Seneca talking, finally organizing a peace conference in August at La Famine on the southeast shore of Lake Ontario (Figure 8.2). Much has been written about this meeting, and it does seem that Otreouti humiliated La Barre in a very public way. After the governor-general's scoldings and threats were delivered, Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, a soldier and chronicler who was there, recorded Outreouti's response—

the *Grangula* [Otreouti] did nothing but look'd upon the end of his Pipe: After the Speech was finish'd he rose, and having took five or six turns in the Ring that the *French* and the Savages made, he return'd to his place, and standing upright spoke in the following manner . . . I have come to assure you that the [Five Nations] are not yet destroy'd . . . I congratulate your Happiness, in having left under Ground the bloody Axe, that has been so often dy'd with the blood of the *French* . . . We are born Freemen, and have no dependance either upon *Onnontio* or the *Corlar*. We have a power to go where we please, to conduct who we will to the places we resort to, and to buy and sell where we think fit.

As soon as the interpreters explained *Grangula's* answer, La Barre retired to his tent to storm and bluster, while "Grangula danc'd after the Iroquois manner" (12).

Whatever actually happened, the French considered La Barre's performance at La Famine a disgrace. Jacques de Meulles, La Barre's intendant, wrote back to the Court reporting that the worst of this affair was not just the resulting loss of the trade, but that "the Ottawa and other Savages who came to our aid, will hereafter entertain no respect for us . . . as a people without courage" (13).

**Figure 8.3.** A French sword blade found near the mouth of the Salmon River and attributed to La Barre's encampment of 1684. The Latin inscription on the blade translates as "In Thee, O Lord, have I trusted; Let me never be confounded." Drawing by William M. Beauchamp.



More pertinent to the story of an emerging Confederacy policy is that Otreouti's reply to La Barre was one of two statements of sovereignty made within a very short period of time. The other had been made three weeks early to Gov. Thomas Dongan of New York and Gov. Francis Howard of Virginia at a conference in Albany. Robert Livingston, acting secretary for Indian affairs, did not record the name of the Five Nations speaker, but the message was nearly identical to what Otreouti would say at La Famine. "Brother Corlaer . . . let your friend, the great Sachem Charles [King Charles] . . . know that we are a free people, uniting ourselves to what

#### The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696





**Figure 8.4.** Jaques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, who was named the new governorgeneral of New France in 1684. Painting by unknown artist.



**Figure 8.5.** Col. Thomas Dongan, who became governor of New York in 1683. Painting by unknown artist, ca. 1674-1683.

sachem we please." If Otreouti did not deliver this message himself, it may have been one of his triumvirate (14).

Otreouti's rhetorical skill may have succeeded in 1684, but not all of the Five Nations' imperial adversaries were as gullible as La Barre and Lamberville, nor would the situation remain as easy to manipulate. Word of La Barre's poor performance resulted in his recall, and a new governor-general of New France arrived in August 1685. Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, was an experienced soldier and would prove to be a much tougher adversary. As soon as he arrived, Denonville began to make changes, increasing regulation of the trade and making military plans to push back recent English advances, especially around James Bay and along the Five Nations' frontier.

Other changes were also on the way. Back in England, James Duke of York became James II in February 1685, therefore New York became a royal colony like New France. James was a king with plans among which was "my desire . . . to preserve the Indian Trade as entire as I can for the benefitt of the Inhabitants and traders of New Yorke." In Thomas Dongan, he had the man to do this. Dongan had a very clear idea of where the Five Nations fit into England's emerging imperial plan. They were potentially quite useful, especially as "a bulwark between us & the French & all other Indians," he reported. In terms of the trade, Dongan assured James that he would not allow any other English settlers to deal with the Five Nations "any

where but at Albany and that not without my license." That was easier said than done. Between 1682 and 1685, an estimated 90 ships carrying 7,200 people arrived in the new colony of Pennsylvania, a situation that would fundamentally change the relationships between Native people and Europeans at the Southern Door (**15**).

Throughout 1685 Otreouti and his triumvirate continued to negotiate issues within the League as well as with the Europeans. But things did not go as well as they had at La Famine. At an Albany Indian conference in early August things started well. The Seneca delegation came to express a newfound devotion to the English, now that the French looked more threatening. "Let the Chaine be Kept Cleane & bright as silver," they declared, as "wee [plant] againe a great Tree off wellfare." This good start was spoiled a few days later when reports arrived about ongoing hostilities around Chesapeake Bay. Then a few days later, Virginia planter William Byrd arrived in Albany specifically to protest Five Nations' raids. The Onondaga speaker Carachkondie tried to finesse the issue, but this became awkward when the Mohawk righteously declared, "We have had no part in what happened to the Virginians." The Seneca were equally blunt. "If any evil has been committed, the four nations who sit here must have done it. We say so right to their face." Poor Carachkondie was obliged to accept the double humiliation of being chastised publicly for the behavior of "our young Indians" as well as for being "disobedient because of the peace making [efforts] with the French" (16).

This affair reveals several flaws in Otreouti's approach to diplomacy. First, if Onondaga wanted to maintain its leadership in resolving issues within the League, it had to be above the dispute, not a guilty party. Equally important, if they wanted to negotiate successfully with Europeans on behalf of one or more of the Five Nations, Onondaga would need the other nations to back them up. Moreover, Otreouti's approach failed to recognize that others could be even more calculating than he was. That lesson was yet to come.

As imperial pressures ratchetted up during 1686, Five Nations' concerns about sovereignty were replaced by a more pressing need—their own security. Wasting no time once he arrived in Canada, Denonville commenced his campaign against the English by sending a force to capture Fort Albany on Hudson's Bay and other Hudson's Bay Company outposts on James Bay. He also ordered a small fort to be built on the strait between Lakes St. Claire and Erie to protect the trade at Michilimackinac from the enterprising English, and observed that a fort "at Niagara would render us entire masters of the Iroquois" (17).

Denonville understood the Onondaga position quite well. "That tribe [Onondaga] . . . is the most disposed of all to peace, and through the intrigues of one of their leaders, named Otreouti, is making every effort



to induce the Senecas to preserve peace with us," he wrote back to France. But, he asserted, they "must not rely on them too far because their harebrained young men, who are brave [and] without discipline . . . upset . . . all the deliberations of the old men." Besides, he concluded, "all the Iroquois are naturally cheats and traitors," so why continue to talk? It would be best to destroy them and be done with it. A key part of his plan was to use Father Lamberville, not only as a conduit, but to distribute bribes and plant misinformation while preparations were made for a military expedition. As Denonville noted later with regard to his plan, Lamberville knew nothing of their designs, and he was "very sorry to see him exposed." But not that sorry, since Denonville kept Lamberville busy with schemes until the last minute. Apparently, a Jesuit was as expendable as an Iroquois. By early 1687 all that remained was to bait the trap (**18**).

While Denonville hardened the hammer, Dongan was busy securing the anvil. In May 1686 he invited the Five Nations to Albany, where he proceeded to lecture them on all the ways in which they had failed—

I hear there are a great many English dutch & french goes a hunting and Tradeing . . . without a Seale from me. . . I charge you neither to make warr nor Peace . . . You shall not Trade or Traffique . . . without my Consent and approbation.

All could be forgiven if they would just do what they were told. He reminded them that he was their best friend (19). The Five Nations' reply was as ironic as Dongan's speech had been tactless. An unnamed speaker observed, "Now we see that our Governor . . . means so well for us . . .We can not contain our joy." But, he implored his English hosts, remember that "we are one head, one body, and one heart," and that "we like to hear this which was not said for the sake of talk, but because it is true." Dongan's response, if any, was not recorded (20).

While it may have been satisfying to win such rhetorical exchanges, the reality was more sobering. The Five Nations did not have much leverage with either the French or the English. For Denonville, the time to talk was over and rumors of a French invasion of Seneca country were widespread. In July 1686, before the Five Nations met for their annual League council, a Mohawk delegation sent a wampum belt to the English governor Dongan, requesting that he come to Onondaga and advise them. The Five Nations needed his advice because, depending on what they decided, "we do not know whether we will be dead or alive." There was no reply from their best friend. It is not clear if Dongan received the message, but he certainly did not go to Onondaga. Apparently, if the Five Nations wanted to be sovereign, they would have to figure things out for themselves (**21**).

Rumors continued to swirl throughout the winter of 1687. In February the Mohawk reported to Dongan that Denonville had invited the Five



Figure 8.6. Fort Frontenac at Cataraqui, November 1685.

Nations to meet with him at Cataraqui in the spring. The Mohawk and Seneca declined, and as a reward Dongan gave them powder and lead to go fight the Miami instead. The Onondaga remained undecided, but Lamberville assured them that this was not a trap, that Denonville was "a man incapable of breaking his word." In April Dongan finally summoned the Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga to Albany and asked their intentions. Having heard nothing from them of their plans, Dongan put pressure on the attendees to decline a meeting with the French, reminding them that "you have putt yor selves and yor Land under the great King of England who is able to defend you from all Enimies" The Onondaga reply was cool. "Wee

have understood your Propositions," and "as for our Intended voyage to Cataraqui... wee can give no Positive answer before our general meeting of all the Nations" (22).

In fact, the Onondaga were actively trying to find out what Denonville intended. In early June an Onondaga chief just happened to stop by Cataraqui during a hunting trip and witnessed major improvements to the fort and preparations for war. By now things were getting serious. "Wee hear dayly Bad Rumors," a Cayuga chief confided to the Albany magistrates, and worse, "there is little union among our nations" (23). But as the French threat grew, the English seemed to become more distant. For all their talk about chains, trees, and the power of the Great King, the English provided very little of what was needed, such as weapons and men to help the Five Nations defend their towns. This had happened before. Back in 1684, when La Barre threatened to attack the Seneca, the Five Nations had asked Dongan for assistance. They requested arms and arms they got, the Duke of York's coat of arms posted on the gates of their towns. Perhaps the request needed to have been more specific (24).

#### The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696

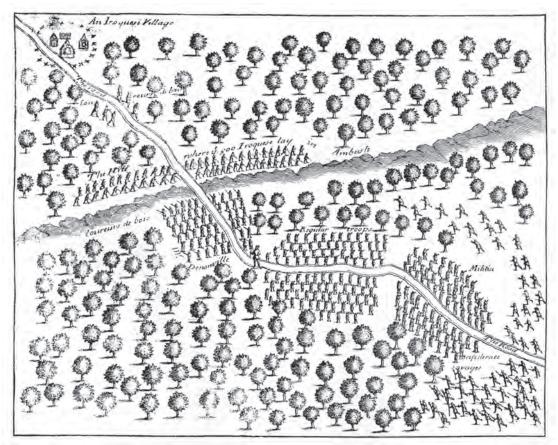


Now that the threat had returned, so did the appeals for aid, with slightly better results. As Dongan reported, the Upper Four Nations "desired assistance of men but I put them off by giving them Powder, Lead, Arms and . . . by making such Propositions as I thought would please them." This included the useless reposting of "y<sup>e</sup> kings arms upon all y<sup>e</sup> Castles." Even as reports of fighting began to trickle in early in July, Dongan refused to believe them. When it was finally clear that the French had invaded Iroquois territory, Dongan's bland assurances became demands that the Five Nations follow his instructions. "Therefor I command & Desyre of yu, not to keep yr Castles nor Engage" the enemy, he directed. "Send downe your old men women and Children" to Albany where they would be safe. "I will make a Better Peace for yu, then you can make yr Selfs—I know ye french Better then you." Dongan might call the Five Nations his brethren, but he too treated them like children (25).

When the French hammer came down, it was with a speed and degree of treachery that left the Five Nations stunned, and it was Onondaga and the Younger Brothers—the Cayuga and Oneida—who took the initial hit. Assured by Denonville and Lamberville that there was nothing to fear, several hundred people from the three nations went to the summer-trading settlement at Ganneious, located about 10 leagues (55 km) from Cataraqui at the outlet of Lake Ontario. Denonville's official report tells the tale. His instructions to Lamberville to summon the most influential Onondaga to Cataraqui to consult were nothing more than a pretense for capturing them. This was done on July 1 at Ganneious, although the French had "not force enough to seize and carry off all the Iroquois" who were there. Still, all were "plundered of their peltries," which they had brought as a show of confidence, and some Indians were put in irons and "were carried away to France" (26). Lamberville was on the way to the conference with "8 of the most notable Iroquois," when they heard about the arrests from those who had escaped. Although his friends urged him not to, Lamberville continued on to Cataraqui. Here he "found two hundred Iroquois, men and women, who had been made prisoners." In spite of his appeals, he "could not procure the release of these wretched people, except for 7 or 8." Nor could Lamberville leave. Obliged to stay as chaplain for the garrison, Lamberville would soon find himself besieged by the very people he had long tried to serve (27).

The second blow came almost as quickly. Leaving his newly acquired captives behind in Cataraqui, Denonville led his force of more than 1,600 men, including regulars, militia, and Indian auxiliaries, along the southern shore of Lake Ontario. He was seconded by the new military commander from France, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, and by the governor of Montréal, Louis-Hector de Callière. With advance scouts and excellent maps, Denonville reached Irondequoit Bay on July 10. After securing their bateaux and establishing a rear guard, the main force followed the well-marked trail toward the Seneca town of Gannagaro. Although the

Onondaga and Empire



**Figure 8.7.** The Seneca ambush Denonville's forces in July 1687. Drawing from Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, 1703.

Seneca ambushed the French on the way and inflicted casualties, it was not enough to stop them. Over the next several days, four Seneca towns were burned, a vast amount of corn destroyed, and a large number of hogs killed. The destruction of the Indian corn complete, Denonville moved his men 30 leagues (167 km) on to Niagara, where they built a small fort. Then, leaving a garrison behind, Denonville returned home reaching Montréal in mid-August. He had no regrets about the devastation he had caused. Indeed, he observed, "I believe we may assure ourselves, that . . . we will next year be able to do as much to the village of the Onnontagues" (28).

If anything could have made things worse, it was the smug response of the English. In early August, Dongan summoned the Five Nations to Albany. After a perfunctory greeting and expression of regret, Dongan launched into his imperial text saying that they had brought this trouble upon themselves. He began, they "ought not to treat with any forraigne Nation, it not lying in your power . . . Brethren, I took it verry ill . . . that you should ever offer to make peace or warr, without my consent; you know, that we can live without you, but you cannot live without us." A substantial list of demands and more specific complaints followed (29). Even the faithful Mohawk were taken aback. Replying on behalf of the Five Nations, the Mohawk speaker carefully explained the provocations of the French as well as the League's efforts to understand why they had been treated with such treachery. He admitted,



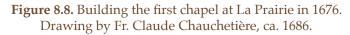
It is true that we warr with the Farr Nations of Indians, because they kill our people, & take them prisoners when wee goe a Bever hunting and it is our Custome amongst Indians, to warr with one another; but what hath the Christians to doe with that to joine with either one side or other?

More important, they asked, where were the English when their Indian brothers needed help? "O Brethren . . . why should you not joyne with us in a just cause, when the French joynes with our Enemies in an unjust cause" (30).

For all their annoyance with the English and their arrogant manner, the Five Nations began to understand that things had changed in ways they could not manage by themselves. After the events at Cataraqui, the French now held many of their people as hostages. Some had even been sent to France. There was also the issue of the Praying Indians, warriors who were Christian converts from mission towns such as La Prairie. For the first time Denonville had used them against their own Five Nations' kin. These were deeply troubling developments. The Mohawk speaker concluded, "Wee are

much inclined to get our Christian Indians back again from Canida, but we know noe way to effect it" (**31**).

The year 1687 had been one of deception and betraval, a time when events demonstrated that the traditional ways of dealing with Europeans no longer worked. The Onondaga in particular were outraged, and in early September a war party of 280 men attacked Cataraqui. When the French sent out a white flag to ask who they were, "There Captn being an Onnondager replyed, all Onnondages (although the troop was composed of all the 5 nations) and said they were come to revenge the injury the French had done to the Sinnekes." But while revenge attacks might be satisfying and even unite the Five Nations temporarily, they did not provide a way to deal with the demands of their imperial neighbors.





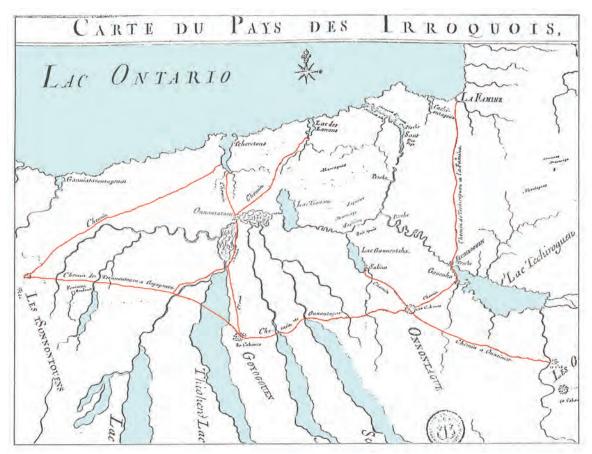
Another more diplomatic way had to be found to do this and to keep the League together. That task would fall to Onondaga (32).

#### The Late Troubles, 1688 to 1690

For the Five Nations, the events of 1687 were a sobering surprise. It was not that they expected the French to be honest, or the English to be reliable. Rather, it was they had allowed themselves to be caught unprepared and then had been unable to act together. Perhaps the best indication of this was, of all things, a cartoon. In September 1687, Robert Livingston described it and said,

The french of Canada seem to be much incensed at a picture which they found in the Sinnekes country made by us as they say, viz: one [man] on horseback the horse has an axe in his mouth and under his belly abundance of Ropes, two Indians smoking together and an Eagle between them. The man on horseback is Arneut [Arnout Viele], bidding the Sinnekes to kill the french, the ropes is to tye the french prisoners. The two Indians are the Sinnekes and Cayouges united to war with the french, the Eagle is the Onnondages flyeing to and again and is not fixed with whom to joyn (**33**).

**Figure 8.9.** *Carte du Pays des Irroquois* (map of Iroquois country). Red lines follow the trails marked on the map attributed to Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, ca. 1688.





While this may have been funny to the English, it was no joke for the Five Nations. It did make it increasingly clear that the nations could no longer afford to go their separate ways when dealing with Europeans. To survive, they needed to stay together and act together. Under this kind of pressure, even old feuds like that between the Mohawk and Onondaga began to fade. But finding a way to move forward, to build a basis for negotiating with all Europeans together, would be a serious challenge.

#### The War begins

Considering the treachery at Cataraqui and the punishing effects of Denonville's expedition, the Five Nations' initial response was muted. There were retaliatory raids from Cataraqui to Montréal, and Five Nations' warriors again blockaded the Ottawa River, cutting off fur convoys from the Great Lakes. Nevertheless, things had changed in a fundamental way, and each side seemed to pause in order to understand what had happened.

For the Onondaga, security was now a major concern since the French had demonstrated to the Five Nations their ability to attack them anywhere in their territory if they chose to do so. The Onondaga appear to have fortified their main town at this time and requested "six great Gunns for our Fort at Onondage" from the English, as a way to strengthen their position further. The fact that the French had helped the mission community at La Prairie, near Montréal, build a new pentagonal stockade the year before, complete with a great iron cannon, may have been an influencing factor (34).

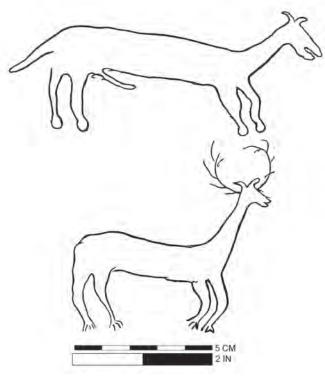
Denonville had also changed the rules of warfare in two significant ways—by taking and holding a large number of hostages, and by using the Christian Indians from the mission towns against their own people. All future negotiations would have to take these factors into account.

For the French, things had changed as well. Denonville's instructions were to "bring the Iroquois war to a speedy conclusion . . . [by] attacking the Mohawk and Onnondagues simultaneously this year, and of afterwards wintering among them . . . thereby spreading terror throughout their country." From the French perspective, this marauding plan would have sounded good on paper, but the reality was quite different. Denonville's expedition, though successful, had been costly. He had also brought another powerful, if inadvertent, weapon with him from France, disease. Between the troops that came with him and the supply ships that supported them, epidemics of small pox and measles swept through Canada, killing nearly 10 percent of the European population. With the resumption of hostilities by the Five Nations, Denonville did not have the strength to fight, so he did the next best thing. In June of 1688 he invited the Onondaga to come to Montréal and negotiate a peace (**35**).

Although Denonville may have switched tactics, the English had not. That February Dongan had proudly told the Five Nations that the king "has adopted you his children, and will protect you." Now, Dongan explained, he could really work on their behalf. The Five Nations carefully worded reply was polite, but lukewarm. It was true that they had "in former times a sort of friendship with the French, but it was held by the left hand, which is now wholly broke . . . and wee renew the chain that it may be strong and lasting." It was also true that the Onondaga did have some discourse with the priest Lamberville at Cataraqui, trying to get their prisoners back from the French. They now agreed to hand over this effort to the English, and they would "leave the whole business to your Excell: to manage" the demolishing of the French forts, the building of English ones, and having their goods restored. Meanwhile, they planned to continue the war as they saw fit (**36**).

It is unclear whether Otreouti was undaunted by recent French actions or just very confident of his ability to deal with them. Whatever the case, in answer to Denonville's invitation, he and six others headed for Cataraqui that summer and requested that an officer escort them to Montréal. There, he apparently gave another of his signature performances, first taunting Denonville with the ease by which the Five Nations could "exterminate" the French, and asserting, "as he ever loved the French," it would be preferable to make peace. When Denonville asked about the English king's

**Figure 8.10.** Sample of marks made by the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Oneida representatives on the June 15, 1688, Declaration of Neutrality.



claim that the Five Nations were his subjects and they "could conclude nothing except by his orders," Otreouti replied that this was not true. The Five Nations wish "to be friends of the French and English, equally, without the one or the other being their masters." Their intention, he concluded, "was only to observe a perfect neutrality." Contrary to all expectations, Otreouti, Carachkondie, and the other Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga representatives signed a Declaration of Neutrality on June 15, 1688. Now it was Denonville who stalled for time, promising a cessation of hostilities until this agreement could be fully ratified (37).

Exactly what happened next is unclear. Apparently, Otreouti and the other delegates returned home to finalize the agreement with all Five Nations. The

#### The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696

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expectation was that they would return to Montréal to ratify the treaty in the fall. Denonville waited there until October 10. Then, not having heard from the Five Nations' representatives, he went back to Québec. There was a good reason why Otreouti and his party did not arrive. At La Famine, they were intercepted by a war party of Wyandot from Michilimackinac led by the charismatic chief Kondiaronk. One of the Onondaga was killed, apparently Otreouti, and three others taken as prisoners. Kondiaronk was a fiercely loyal ally of the French and would play a key role in future events. His intent was not only to take captives, but to sabotage any efforts at peace between the French and Five Nations. Like Otreouti, he was as skilled with diplomatic weapons as he was with a knife or club. Tegannisoren, by now well known as an influential Onondaga chief, was one of his prisoners. Rather than kill him, Kondiaronk expressed shock and sorrow at the realization he had attacked a peace delegation, but said that he was only following Denonville's orders. Having poisoned any thoughts of peace, Kondiaronk released the Onondaga to return home and rekindle the war against the French (38).

If the details of this episode remain fuzzy, the outcome was not. For Onondaga, this second act of betrayal by the French put an end to any

peace initiatives. Perhaps the war that would dominate the rest of the century had begun the year before at Cataraqui, and it certainly was on now. This did not mean immediate retaliation or hostile action against the French. Once again, there needed to be time to mourn the dead, deal with the change in leadership, and rethink how to proceed. It was a good time to pause, since things were once again about to become a lot crazier.

#### Glorious, and not so glorious, enterprises

Events in Europe had shaped the world in which the Five Nations lived for a long time, but in 1688 the pace of change accelerated. This time the main events occurred in England. In July 1688 James II's Catholic queen bore a son. This galvanized the anti-Catholic sentiments that had been building in England and the Dutch Republic ever since James's coronation. Four months later, a force of 20,000 men landed at Torbay on the southwestern coast of England and proceeded, virtually unopposed, toward

**Figure 8.11.** King William III of England. Painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller, ca. 1680s.



London. This invading army was led by Prince William of Orange, a Protestant and the elected ruler or stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, and his wife Mary Stuart, James II's Protestant eldest daughter. What happened next is the stuff of history, or histories. It is usually called the Glorious Revolution, but as historian Lisa Jardine aptly pointed out, it was neither particularly glorious nor a revolution. Whatever it was, it was quick and decisive. By December James II, "the greatest man that the sunn shines upon," had fled to France, and on April 11, 1689, William and Mary were jointly crowned king and queen of England (**39**).

While these events unfolded in England, another, more brutal drama played out across the English Channel. In September 1688, as William was preparing his invasion force, Louis XIV declared war on the neighboring League of Augsburg and sent an army into the German Palatinate. Things did not go smoothly for the French. What was meant to be a brief incursion quickly grew into a much greater conflict. In May 1689 King William of England and the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I joined the war, forming a Grand Alliance against Louis. By summer the fighting had spread across the lands and waters of northern Europe from the Rhine to Bantry Bay in Ireland. Known in Europe as the Nine Year's War or the War of the League of Augsburg, it would be called King William's War in America.

As far as the Five Nations were concerned, the war with the French had already begun. But they were about to be dragged into this larger conflict, one in which their needs and concerns would play only a small part. Amidst all the changes, there was an important continuity. The precedents for how the Five Nations would be treated by their European neighbors had already been set—the French treating them like children and the English calling them brothers but treating them like servants. In the clash of European egos and imperial interests, the Five Nations would find themselves increasingly caught between the hammer and the anvil. Traumatic as the process would be, these were the external forces that would transform them politically and reforge the League into a Confederacy that could deal with these external forces in a unified manner.

It took awhile for the news of events in Europe to reach the colonies, but some people were already making preparations for war. Callière, who was already in France in January 1689, had been directed by Denonville to ask for more aid to fight the Iroquois. Callière argued that based on his experience any hope for peace with the Five Nations was absolutely useless, and he observed that the recent revolution in England would change the face of American affairs. Why not seize the opportunity and make a preemptive attack on Albany and New York, cutting the Five Nations off from their base of support? Callière prepared a detailed request for the arms, ammunition, and equipment that would be needed for an expedition of 1,600 men. It was not yet the time to act, however, and he was



told to wait until war between England and France was formally declared. Then "an end would be put to the War of the Iroquois" (40).

When the news of James's departure and William's ascent finally reached New York City in April 1689, it triggered an unexpected response from the colonists. Old grievances about taxes, the disparity in wealth, and highhanded treatment combined with anti-French and anti-Catholic sentiment to create a politically volatile situation. After Thomas Dongan had retired in 1688, Francis Nicholson was installed as lieutenant governor of New York. Unable to control the situation, Nicholson fled New York City in June 1689 leaving a local-militia captain named Jacob Leisler in control of the city's fort. By August Leisler had been named commander-in-chief, and later he claimed the title of governor as well (**41**).



**Figure 8.12.** Members of the New York militia signing Leisler's declaration, June 1689. Engraving by Alfred Fredericks, ca. 1873.

Not everyone agreed with Leisler's ascension, especially upriver in Albany. Although many supported King William, many refused to accept Leisler as his agent. When Leisler's deputy, Jacob Milborne, attempted to take control of Albany in November 1689, Mayor Peter Schuyler refused to surrender the fort and its garrison. Albany was left deeply divided, largely along class lines, between Leisler's supporters and opponents. Undeterred, Schuyler and the others who opposed Leisler established their own convention for governing as well as defending the city's monopoly on the Indian Trade and its dealing with the Five Nations. Only after a force of Montréal militia and Christian Indians attacked and virtually destroyed the nearby town of Schenectady in February 1690 did Schuyler agree to Leisler's demand for recognition (42).

Referred to as the Schenectady Massacre, it was horrible, a sign of the brutal partisan warfare that was to come. However, it was not the first blood to be shed. The events that led to the massacre began six months earlier. In August 1689 a large Five Nations' war party, with as many as 1,500 men, fell upon Lachine and other French settlements around Montréal, killing, burning, and taking captives (43). This attack led by Onondaga was in response to the collapse of the Declaration of Neutrality with the French, negotiated the previous summer, and the killing of Otreouti in the fall of 1688. Stunned by the suddenness and ferocity of the attacks, the French pulled back into their fortified towns, abandoning most of their smaller settlements, farms, and fields. The raids continued into the fall, and by October Denonville ordered that Fort Frontenac be abandoned in an effort to consolidate his forces. (44).

Although Denonville's plan to attack New York and destroy the Five Nations had not taken place, it had not been forgotten. When war was formally declared between France and England in April 1689, Louis appointed Frontenac to return as governor-general of New France to make sure the plan was enacted. The new governor turned out to be an old hand when it came to the Iroquois. In October Frontenac finally returned to find Canada in an uproar. Nor was he pleased to learn that his base at Cataraqui had just been destroyed and the area was now occupied by the Five Nations. Frontenac's instructions from Louis may have been clear, but his options for implementing them were limited. In the fall of 1689 Callière and Denonville continued to push for an invasion. They argued, "Peace

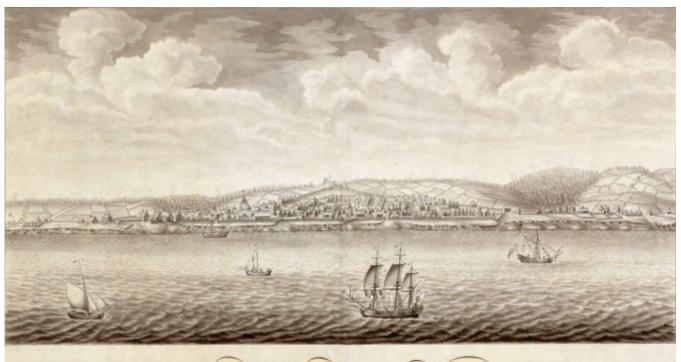


Figure 8.13 Albany as it may have looked, ca. 1690. Engraving, ca. 1717-1731.

PROSPECT of the CITY of ALBANY in the PROVINCE of NEW YORK in AMERICA .



cannot reasonably expected to be made with the Iroquois" unless New York was taken. As for Albany, there was no need to capture and retain "so ugly a post . . . at such a distance from our settlements." Best that it be "burnt and destroyed" (45).

Even with Louis's orders to invade Onondaga, Frontenac thought there might be better ways to proceed. He prided himself on his ability to deal with the Five Nations and wanted to keep the diplomatic option open. In November 1689 he sent back to Onondaga three of the Iroquois, who had been captured at Cataraqui in 1687 and taken to France, with a request for a peace conference in the spring. Although this request was rejected at the council meeting in Onondaga the following February 1699, Frontenac continued to keep this channel open, sending another delegation in April. Meanwhile, Five Nations' raids near Montréal and the surrounding area continued, therefore Frontenac began to organize an offensive response. His decision was not to attempt an invasion, but to use a series of small attacks, or *petite guerres*, on outlying settlements to demoralize the English and depopulate the frontier. A raid on Albany or Schenectady would be a trial run (**46**).

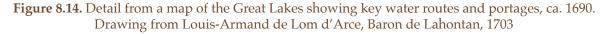
The French were not the only ones struggling to develop a plan. While the raids on Canada continued, the Five Nations tried to understand the new political situation and whom they could count on as allies. Back in September of 1689, a delegation from the New England colonies came to Albany to "Renew ye Covenant Chain of frindship" and ask if the Five Nations would help them fight the Abenaki and other French Indians. After a long day of presentations and replies, the English pointed out that the Five Nations still "had not answered upon the 2 main points of the Proposals," especially whether they would declare war on the "Eastern Indians." Privately, the Five Nations agreed that "your warr is our warr & we will live and dye with you," but it was unclear whether they were divided on this or just did not want to discuss it openly. Concern grew over Albany's vulnerability to a French attack, and even Massachusetts began to realize that Albany was "the hinge upon which . . . New England affairs doth turn." Schuyler was well aware of how vulnerable his city was and how much he needed the Five Nations as scouts, warriors, and allies (47).

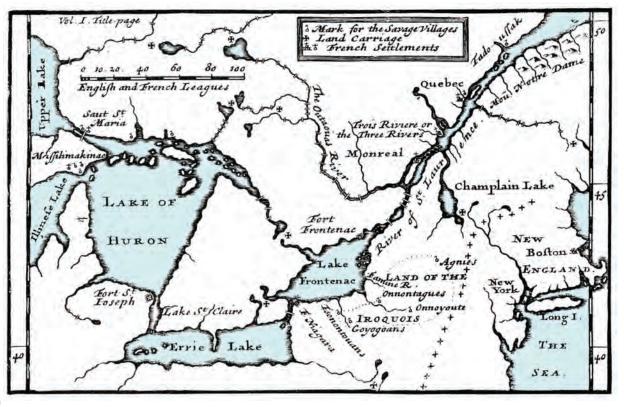
In February 1690, at the same time as French and Indian raiders were approaching Schenectady, the Five Nations met in Onondaga for a League council to consider several issues. The first was Frontenac's rather surprising request to meet at Cataraqui in the spring and to enter into an alliance. This was followed by proposals from Albany, reminding the Five Nations that in spite of the political changes they were still subjects of the king of England and should not make treaties on their own. After considerable discussion, an Onondaga chief observed, "Brethren, we must govern our Selves by the Propositions from the Convention of Albany & look on the French with Enmity." The speaker then addressed himself to

Arnout Viele, the well-known interpreter and frequent representative from Albany, stating that the Five Nations "were all determined to preserve their Coalition with us [the English] & to make War upon the French in Canada." Finally, the speaker then addressed the deputies from the governor-general of Canada and told them they would not meet Frontenac, and "took up the Ax against him." For now, the political arrangements between the Five Nations and Europeans would remain as they were—hostile with the French and friendly with the English (48).

#### Enticing the Ottawa

One other important piece of business occurred at the League council in February 1690—a request to approve a treaty with the Wagenhaer Nation, one of the Ottawa groups. Kondiaronk may have poisoned Onondaga efforts to make peace with the French, but in between the bouts of hostilities the Seneca had been negotiating with various groups of Ottawa and also Wyandot for decades. As early as 1673 Frontenac had learned that "the Iroquois were negotiating with the Outaoüaes [Ottawa]," and he tried to block their efforts. One of the great concerns regarding La Barre's failure at La Famine in 1684 was that it would encourage a rapprochement between the Ottawa and the Seneca. When English traders with Seneca guides reached Michilimackinac for the first time in the summer of 1686, one result was a serious discussion by the Ottawa about dumping the French and allying with the English. The English could provide better merchandise in exchange for furs at a cheaper price. Since any such





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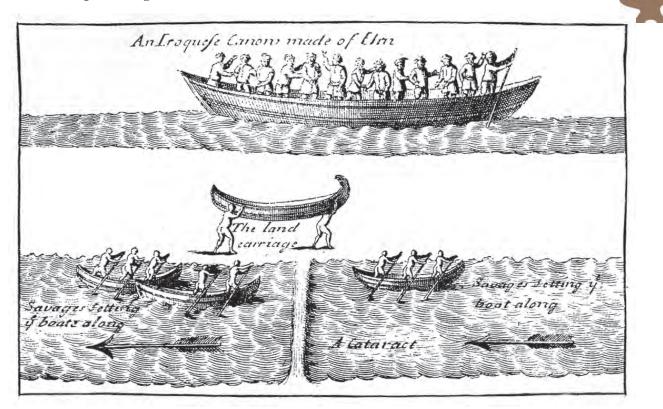


Figure 8.15. "Iroquois Canoe made of Elm" and "The land carriage [portage]." Drawings, ca. 1690s, from Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, 1703.

rearrangement would be a deathblow to French aspirations in the west and disrupt any friendly communication between the Five Nations and the Ottawa, defending the trade route quickly became a priority for every French governor-general. In fact, this was a primary reason that Denonville chose to attack the Seneca in 1687, to show them, the Ottawa, and other French allied tribes, who was stronger (**49**).

By late 1688 Fr. Étienne de Carheil, who had left the Cayuga and now served in Michilimackinac, warned Frontenac about Ottawa dissatisfaction, thanks in part to La Salle's co-opting their trade and their inclination to join with the Five Nations. Carheil confided that he knew that peace between the French and the Ottawa was impossible, and that he did not "know the dispositions of the Iroquois, and especially of the onnontague, the most treacherous of all." Perhaps Carheil had understood his humiliation by the Onondaga elders six years earlier after all, when he had complained about his troubles with the Cayuga (50).

By the fall of 1689 the Five Nations' success in terrorizing the French, especially having forced their decision to abandon Fort Frontenac, emboldened those Ottawa who believed it was time to switch sides and support the English. Word that Frontenac planned to hold peace talks with their enemy the Iroquois strengthened this belief further. Eager to exploit this opportunity, the Iroquois sent eight wampum belts to the Ottawa outlining the terms for alliance. After considering them, the Ottawa

"consented . . . and sent return messages by means of collars, red-stone calumets, and bales of beaver-skins" (51).

By February 1690 an agreement only needed to be finalized after a Seneca delegation had reported on their progress to the English at the League council in Onondaga. They claimed that on behalf of themselves and the other four nations, "they had entered into a Treaty of Peace & Alliance with the Wagenhaer [Ottawa] Nation." The Seneca also brought three Ottawa ambassadors with them, who would ratify it and bring the Wyandot and other Ottawa into the alliance. The Five Nations' intentions were quite clear—to adopt the Ottawa. One wonders what the English representatives thought of this independent exercise of Iroquoian diplomacy (52).

But the Five Nations were not to be Six Nations, not yet. Frontenac had heard the warnings and used all his skill to sabotage the Ottawa defection to the English. In the spring of 1690 he sent a message to Michilimackinac, proclaiming to the Ottawa, "Men! I give you notice that Onnontio, . . . has again returned." He proclaimed that he was "strong enough to kill the English, destroy the Iroquois and to whip you if you fail in your duty to me." Frontenac was smart and persuasive, but he was also lucky. Just as the Ottawa ambassadors were about to leave Michilimackinac for Onondaga to ratify a peace treaty, an Iroquois captive was brought up for torture. Instead of the usual defiance, singing his death song and taunting his tormentors, this unfortunate individual broke down as he was burned and he begged to be spared. The Ottawa fear of the Five Nations turned to scorn, and as a contemporary French chronicler recounted, the episode shattered the image of the Iroquois as an unbeatable enemy ending any further discussion of alliance (53).



**Figure 8.16.** Québec, as seen from the East. Detail from *Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionale* by Jean-Baptiste Franquelin, 1688.

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For now, the game of taking sides was over and the opposing forces settled down to the business of war. The Schenectady Massacre in 1690 had created panic in nearby Albany. Some of the more exposed farms were abandoned and many people, especially women, were sent to safer lodgings downriver in New York City. Meanwhile, the French continued their unpredictable attacks on small towns and forts along the border, terrorizing the New England frontier. The ongoing raids by the French and Indians drew the northern English colonies together, even the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. They began to make plans for an invasion of Canada. The Five Nations also seemed to favor a joint action with their English brethren and urged an assault on Québec itself (54).

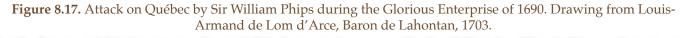
Known as the Glorious Enterprise of 1690, the planned invasion of Canada by English colonists would have two components. One was land-based and would attack Montréal from Albany. The other would be a naval campaign designed to capture Québec at the same time. The idea was to use this two-pronged approach to split the French forces and weaken their ability to defend both settlements. As plans for the invasion came together, Peter Schuyler invited the Five Nations to Albany in early May to discuss their participation. After greeting them, he noted there was "nothing more cheerfull then to see so many arrowes togither in one sheafe as our meeting." He claimed this was good, the right way to bind themselves together "against the common ennemy, namely the French," and pressed them for how many men could he count on for "this most necessary and glorious work" (55).

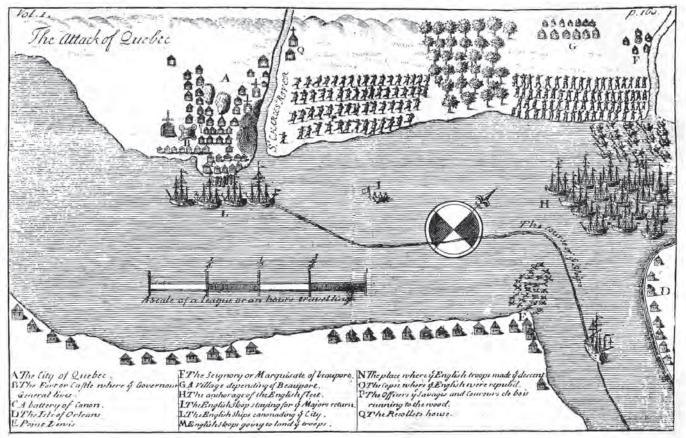
The Five Nations' reply did not come until late June. The speaker thanked Schuyler for his courtesy in addressing them in the appropriate ways with "the metaphor of the arrowes," invoking the silver chain and the green tree. "We come here and perceive you are well acquainted with our house and rejoyceth . . . that you are so well enformed." The Indians agreed that the French and their allies were their enemies. The speaker admonished Schuyler saying, "Brethren, pray attend well to what we say . . . you would maintaine peace among yourselves, and joine togither . . . otherwise wee shall destroy one another." In other words, when the English finally got organized, then the Five Nations would be ready to paint their faces and would do their part against the French. Neither Schuyler's nor Leisler's response to this brotherly reproof is recorded (56).

The English captured Port Royal in Nova Scotia in May 1690, but even with that success it was becoming clear that organizing the larger scale invasion of Canada would prove more challenging than expected. The New England troops, under the command of Fitz-John Winthrop, did not arrive in Albany until July. Here they found fewer New York men than had been promised and very few Iroquois. Apparently, smallpox had broken out in Seneca country, and little assistance would be available from that quarter. With disease decimating his own troops, Winthrop saw that any

large-scale attack was impossible. In an effort to salvage something, he sent a raiding party under Johannes Schuyler, Peter's brother, to attack the Mission Indians at La Prairie, but with little success. Emboldened by this failure, the French and their Indian allies stepped up their raids, causing increased panic in Albany. More dangerous was the doubt that began to grow within both English and Five Nations' minds as to the sincerity of the other's commitment (57).

There was one more act to play out. In August 1690, just as the attempted land assault on Montréal sputtered out, the hero of Port Royal, Sir William Phips, with a large force departed for Québec from Boston. This was a huge undertaking for Massachusetts—four warships and 28 transports crammed with more than 2,200 militia including 50 Wampanoag men as scouts. Although the prayers of New England went with them, the results were disastrous. The weather turned bad and disease ravaged the overcrowded vessels. By the time Phips finally arrived in mid-October, Québec was well prepared to resist. After a few attempts, Phips abandoned the campaign and returned to Boston, but the voyage back proved worse than the one out. Violent weather scattered the fleet and many vessels were lost. It is estimated that between disease and wrecks, more than 400 men, nearly 20 percent of Phips's expedition, did not return home. It was all for the nothing. The campaign was an utter failure (58).





### Chapter Eight The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



The Five Nations lost few if any men in these ill-fated campaigns, but they did lose something almost as important—confidence in their English allies. They already knew that the English could be inconsistent and unreliable, a situation made worse by internal divisions within the colony that could not be mended. But were the English cowards as well? How else could two major military campaigns fail without even being fought? The French may be treacherous and deceitful, but they certainly were not cowards. Perhaps the issue of taking sides needed more thought.

#### Leading the way

Throughout these difficult and traumatic years, new leadership arose in Onondaga, one that articulated Onondaga concerns and spoke increasingly for the Five Nations as well. By 1690 Otreouti was gone and, although Carachkondie appears to have remained active, Onondaga leadership changed in this new decade. The hard choices that would have to be made now shifted to other men (59).

Three names appear most often in the historical documents. One is Dewadarondore, or *La Chaudière Noire*, as he was called by the French. Known as a formidable war chief and a bitter enemy of the French, most references to Dewadarondore refer to the raids he led on Fort Frontenac and around Montréal. He would continue to be a militant and anti-French influence until his death in 1697 (60).

The other two emerging leaders are people encountered already— Aqueendaro and Tegannisoren. Also known as Sadegenakie, little is known of Aqueendaro's early life. He is first mentioned in June 1688 when Viele reported, "They have summoned me to come to the house of chief Sadekannaghtie where all the old men and he also were gathered." During the 1690s Aqueendaro would be the Onondaga chief who spoke most often in council, second only to Tegannisoren (61).

Like many of his contemporaries, Tegannisoren appears first as a warrior. When he addressed Frontenac in September 1682, he was already known as one of the principal war chiefs of the Onondaga. He also addressed La Barre the following year, less successfully it appears, and may have been part of Otreouti's delegations at La Famine in 1684. Tegannisoren also played an important, if inadvertent, role in the Kondiaronk's successful effort to sabotage the Five Nations–French peace initiative of 1688. Whatever his prowess as a fighter, it was Tegannisoren's skill with words and a very Onondaga sense of trying to work both sides of the issue that made him stand out. Even in his first address to Frontenac in 1682, speaking of "being a man with two arms and two hands, one for peace and another for war," his words reflect the politics of balance that would define his leadership a decade later (62).

It has been suggested that Onondaga attempts to negotiate peace with the French and their allies during the 1680s and 1690s were disjointed. However, if one looks for purpose in these efforts, it is there. It is true that Otreouti's death and his absence from the negotiation process brought changes. The very question of what peace between groups meant, as well as the terms, tactics, and style of diplomacy used to achieve it, changed after Otreouti died. But the fundamental issues—sovereignty, security, return of captives, and maintaining internal balance—remained unchanged, even if the order of priority was in flux (63).

Now, the return of captives was the priority. Until Denonville's massive taking of prisoners at Cataraqui in 1687, no one had used hostages on such a scale before. Traditionally, hostages were single individuals of stature who volunteered to serve their community in this way during a negotiation. That changed after 1687. People were certainly killed during the Onondaga-led attacks near Montréal in 1689, but the primary purpose was to take French hostages so that serious bargaining could begin. After the February 1690 League council, wampum belts were sent to Frontenac to convey the words of Onondaga "in the name of the five Nations." Speaking for Onondaga, Tegannisoren said he was "master of all the French prisoners." If Frontenac was serious about exchanging prisoners, then Tegannisoren would meet with him so terms could be discussed. Once their people had been returned, other issues could be addressed (64).

Another challenge for the new leadership was to find a way forward between their French adversaries and English allies, or perhaps to determine which was really which. That distinction grew ever less clear. Although there were no French Jesuits left in Onondaga by 1690, there were other Europeans. After the collapse of the Montréal expedition, both Schuyler and Leisler agreed that they needed better information about affairs in Onondaga. Therefore, in early fall a new agent Gerrit Luycasse was sent to Onondaga as a resident special envoy, the first such recorded. When Luycasse left Onondaga a few months later, Arnout Viele, a familiar visitor and now Leisler's official interpreter, replaced him and stayed for the winter. Viele's presence is an example of how entangled business and politics often were since Viele also served as the agent for the Albany trader Johannes Wendell and possibly for Peter Schuyler. From 1690 on there would always be one or more Englishmen living in Onondaga and reporting back to their masters (65).

The French presence in Onondaga was less obvious but more insidious. Unlike the English, the French had learned the importance of kinship ties to the Five Nations. The Jesuits had been the first to discover this, and several of those who had served in Onondaga, including Le Moine, Chaumonot, Le Mercier, and even Lamberville, had been given Iroquoian names and may have been adopted. Nor were priests the only ones to become Onondaga. Charles Le Moyne, the Montréal merchant and occasional

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interpreter, had also been adopted by an Onondaga family when taken captive in the 1665. After his death in 1685, two of his sons were adopted in his place. There was also another category of French in Onondaga captives. Although Frenchmen had been taken as prisoners for many decades, the scale of hostage taking had increased since 1687. Some were exchanged quickly, while others stayed in Onondaga for a much longer time. A few escaped, including one who, after a year in Onondaga, was able to get back to Montréal with a detailed report on the town's improved defenses (66).

# Case Study 13. Extending kinship, gaining influence



**Figure 8.18.** Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, called *Sinnonquirese*. Painted by unknown artist. This idealized vision of a French noble seems at odds with Le Moyne's long and difficult life at the edge of the frontier.

The Five Nations had long used adoption to increase population and replace those lost to accident or war. During the last half of the seventeenth century, adoption took on an additional function as a means to influence European behavior and policy making through the bonds of kinship. This may have been the reason that resident Jesuits were often given Iroquoian names.

By the last decades of the seventeenth century, however, this process began to work in reverse, as European adoptees gained significant influence among the Five Nations. The Le Moyne family provides a good example. When taken captive in the 1665, the elder Charles Le Moyne was adopted by an Onondaga family and named Akouessn, or partridge. After he was freed he became one of Montreal's leading merchants, and he often served as an interpreter during negotiations. After his death in 1685 two of his sons—Charles, commonly known as Longueuil, and Paul, known as Maricourt were adopted by the Onondaga in his place. They were given the names *Sinnonquirese* and Taouestaouis or Stow Stow, respectively. Both would play significant roles in affairs in Onondaga over the next several decades. Another powerful figure was the cavalry sergeant Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire. Adopted by the Seneca during the 1680s and given the name Sononchiez, Joncaire exercised considerable influence as a partisan leader for French interests, as did Maricourt among the Onondaga. Although Five Nations' expectations were that these adoptees would advocate for Native concerns with their European colleagues, the reality was these Frenchmen remained loyal to their European kin, first and foremost (67).

Although no Jesuits resided in Onondaga, they were not far away and their presence could not be ignored. The closest was Fr. Pierre Millet, who, since his capture at Cataraqui in October 1689, had become firmly established in Oneida. In order to protect him from the anti-French Onondaga, the leading Christian family in Oneida had adopted him and given him a League title as well. Farther away but equally powerful was Fr. Jacques Bruyas. Like Millet, Garnier, and others who arrived in 1666, Bruyas had come a long way in terms of understanding the Five Nations. His years among the Oneida and Mohawk made him a fluent and influential speaker. He now served in the mission at La Prairie where a great number of his Mohawk flock also resided (68). For the Onondaga leadership, such connections complicated things. These Europeans spoke their language and often understood their plans all too well. And while they were occasionally useful for keeping official channels open with both Montréal and Albany, it also meant that very little could be kept secret. Increasingly, it would become difficult to keep internal affairs separate from external ones, that is, League business from that of the Confederacy.

European influence in Onondaga could cause trouble in other ways. With the English problems were often commercial, such as unfair trading practices or too much rum, whereas with the French the threat was cultural. For years the Jesuits had sought to challenge Iroquoian values and replace them with Christian ones. With the movement of some of their people to the Christian mission towns, Onondaga began to feel a new kind of pressure, one that threatened the traditional bonds of kinship, the very bedrock of society. Initially this did not seem to be a problem. There was considerable movement back and forth the between Onondaga and the Praying Towns. By 1673, however, the Jesuits reported that there were enough Onondaga living in La Prairie to require their own chief. Fifteen years later it was still generally understood that "the Christian Indians were no ways inclined to engage in the war if the Mohawks, Oneidas and Onondagas were concerned because their Brethren, Sisters, uncles, [and] aunts were there." Prior to 1687 the traditional bonds of Iroquoian kinship remained strong enough to withstand the pressures of separation, but would traditional loyalties remain intact (69)?

By 1690 the situation had changed as people were forced to decide where their loyalties lay. As one of the Jesuits at La Prairie observed about his flock, "Who would ever have supposed that the faith and religion had so thoroughly united them with the french as to cause them to take arms against the iroquois and their own nation." For the new generation of leaders this was a divisive issue at every level—for family, nation, League, and Confederacy. Were the Christian Iroquois at La Prairie and the other missions still kin? Could one be a Christian and still be Onondaga? These were increasingly difficult questions to answer (70).

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There was one more fundamental adjustment to make if the new Onondaga leadership was to protect the interests of the Five Nations. Since the mid-1640s, the Onondaga had tried to get Europeans, especially the French, to see them as a separate nation. But now the situation was reversed. The threat lay in splitting up, letting the individual priorities and concerns of the different nations pull the fabric of the League apart. The strategic challenge now was finding ways to stay together. In this regard, Denonville had done the Five Nations a double favor. At a time when their respective concerns might have led them in different directions, Denonville had pushed them together twice—first by taking Onondaga, Oneida, and Cayuga hostages at Cataraqui, and then by attacking the Seneca. What would happen as the pressure continued to increase?

## Upping the Stakes, 1691 to 1692

By the fall of 1690 it may have seemed that the "late troubles"—the escalating hostilities between the Five Nations and the French, from Denonville's treachery in 1687, to the failure of the Glorious Enterprise of 1690—were over. There was a pause as a certain level of exhaustion seemed to settle over the combatants as they tried to recover from their losses to disease and on the battlefield. Officially, however, King William's War continued and imperial instructions from Europe would shape Five Nations' choices as the space between the hammer of French coercion and the anvil of English indifference continued to shrink.

## Hardening the hammer

Things were not going well in Canada. Five Nations' raiding parties prowled along the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, blockading the western trade and keeping the habitants on edge. With hostilities at a stalemate, Frontenac decided to reopen the diplomatic door. He had a fairly good idea where his enemies' weak points were and where to strike blows that would divide them.

In April 1691 Frontenac had received a letter with interesting news from Father Bruyas at La Prairie. A delegation of three Mohawk chiefs had recently arrived at the mission to return some prisoners and to see "whether they would be welcome **Figure 8.19.** Louis de Buade, comte de Frontenac et de Palluau, drawing by Christian Robert de Massy, 2016.



to their father Onnontio . . . to prove their ardent desire to put an end to the war." They were warmly welcomed and told that Onnontio would be greatly pleased to learn that they would live under his authority, "as true children should do; But that they must really mean what they say . . . not like the Onondaga." The Mohawk speaker replied that he was "earnest in his desire for peace, that the warriors ask for it . . . [but] not through the Elders—whom they would not consult because . . . all those among the Angiers [Mohawk] who had sense are dead." Bruyas concluded his letter with some observations of his own. In his mind there was no doubt that the Mohawk were sincere, because, he reported, "disease, the heavy cost of clothing, and the loss of a number of braves, have disgusted them with a war upon which they entered solely because they were compelled to do." If the French could give them the right assurances, he concluded that they would have two-thirds of the Mohawk at the mission. This was exactly the wedge that Frontenac had in mind. If he could continue to use the Christian Indians of La Prairie and the other missions to widen the cracks within the Five Nations, he just might be able to split them apart. Who knew what a few wampum belts might accomplish (71)?

Frontenac was correct—the Mohawk were in a desperate situation. They had been depleted by war, disease, and desertion to Canada. They were divided internally and evermore dependent on the English for assistance. For European colonists, the ongoing war, although terrible, was largely an extension of the political and economic conflict back in Europe. For the Five Nations, the war had taken on a much more personal and destructive character, one that split families and communities along the lines of belief and loyalty. Pushing harder on these lines was exactly what Frontenac planned to do. He might make things tough for the Onondaga, but another hammer blow and he might just break the Mohawk.

#### Setting the anvil

In March 1691 the newly appointed Gov. Henry Sloughter arrived in the city of New York from England. Sloughter was tasked with restoring the authority of his majesties William and Mary and strengthening the governance of New York and the adjacent colonies. He also came with royal instructions to pursue the war with the French and maintain the Iroquois alliance. To accomplish this, he brought a substantial sum of money from the king to be used for presents. Among his first actions was to arrest, try, and hang Jacob Leisler for his rebellion, reestablishing official civil authority. Among those rewarded for faithful service were Robert Livingston, Peter Schuyler, who was reinstated as Albany's mayor, and Dirck Wessels. It was not until the end of May that Sloughter was able to travel to Albany and get to know his new Indian allies. At an initial session with the Christian Mohawk who lived near Albany, Sloughter expressed his surprise and delight that they could distinguish between the Reformed Religion and that of the Romans as well as between the Christian Religion and Paganism. He presented the delegates with stockings, shirts, and other



items, and also gave gifts privately to the chief men (72). A few days later on June 1, Sloughter addressed representatives from all Five Nations, who had gathered in Albany. Coached by Schuyler, he greeted them courteously and spoke briefly, again distributing generous presents—400 lbs of gunpowder, 500 lbs of lead, 579 lbs of tobacco, 30 *runlets* (kegs) of rum, and quantities of bread and beer. "Brethern, I am very glad that the late troubles ... [did] not affect the union between us," and he continued, reminding them that they were "strictly charged by the former Governours . . . not to treat with the common Enemy . . . because their Jesuits are too subtile for you." The English were set on holding their own territory and insisting that the Five Nations have no dealings with the French (73).

On June 2 an unnamed speaker from the Upper Four Nations gave a carefully phrased reply. He began with "Brother Corlaer," invoking the term of respect for the English leader, saying they were glad that he arrived safely and that they had a governor again since there had been many troubles recently. Then in good League fashion, the speaker went on to recount stories of covenants and a chain of friendship, emphasizing that "Wee have established the Tree of Peace and welfare in this place, [and] now make the Root . . . extend itself as farr as the Sinnekes [the Upper Four Nations] Country." Partnership, however, had to work both ways. They had been warned not to be "deceived & betrayed by the subtile French," and they entreated the English, "take it not amiss if we put your Excellcy in mind of the same." In addition to chiding the English governor to be a true partner and not act like the French, they reminded him of previous unmet promises, such as that a smith come to Onondaga to mend guns (74).

As the wrangling over how to proceed against the French continued, much of the discussion began to sound familiar. On June 4 another Five Nations' delegation, this one led by a Mohawk speaker, arrived and met with Sloughter to ask his advice. The wily Frontenac had sent to the Mohawk "one belt of Wampum for all the 5 Nations" by way of the Christian Mohawks from La Prairie, and proposed peace between the Mohawk in New York and his Mohawk in Canada. The lure he presented was that there might be an end to hostilities and an exchange of prisoners. Frontenac requested that this offer be proposed to Sloughter so that a peace should be agreed upon for all parties. What should they do, the Mohawk speaker asked? Sloughter replied that those proposing an end to the war were the very same persons who so recently had burnt their houses and destroyed their people. There could be no thought of peace, only to "prosecute the warr with all sped and violence." And since he planned to launch an attack within 14 days, he asked for 200 men to join them (75). The Five Nations' reply the next day was equally brief and direct. Although "going out against the Enemy" was very acceptable, they regarded the timing for the campaign as short. In closing they said that it would be helpful in enlisting men to join this effort if they knew "how many of the Christians" his excellency planned to send against their common enemy (76).

Once again, things did not go as planned. Indeed, it almost seemed a replay of the previous summer. Anxious to start, Peter Schuyler set out for Canada in late June without waiting for a decision from Onondaga. He left with fewer than 200 men—120 Christians, 60 River Indians from Scaghticoke, and no assistance from the other colonies. Not until more than two weeks later did a group of 80 Mohawk finally catch up with Schuyler's party. No support from the Upper Four Nations was forthcoming. Even with these limited numbers, Schuyler decided to attack La Prairie, the primary town of the Christian Indians who had come originally from the Five Nations to join the French. This he did in the early morning of August 1, 1691. The attack was not a complete surprise, and the garrison at La Prairie outnumbered Schuyler's men. After several hours of brutal hand-tohand fighting, Schuyler decided to retreat and headed back toward Albany. The raid on La Prairie was a mixed success, although it was recorded as a "successe and victory" by Schuyler. In the end it only heightened tensions in and around Albany, with Livingston reporting to Governor Sloughter that the people were "extremely afraid to goe into the woods at present." Revenge attacks by the French and Mission Indians quickly followed Schuyler's assault, leaving everyone's crops abandoned in the fields and the Indian Trade at a standstill (77).

The real casualty was confidence in the alliance between the Five Nations and the English. Each group felt the other had not come through as promised and began to have serious doubts about future reliability. Robert Livingston wrote to Sloughter, "I wish to God that we had such a force that we needed not to court such heathens . . . for they are a broken reed to depend on." It is likely that the Five Nations felt much the same about the English, who had not provided assistance when the Indians needed it yet demanded help when it was not possible to give it. Why could Schuyler not have waited a few more days before leaving or come to Onondaga to consult them? Besides, if the Five Nations were to fight the French, they needed arms and ammunition from the English, not fancy clothes and rum. Unexpectedly, Governor Sloughter died on July 23 and was no longer able to address their concerns. He was succeeded by Richard Ingoldsby as acting governor, and the Five Nations now had another Englishman to engage and understand (78).

## Between the hammer and the anvil

By early fall in 1691 the increased tension between the Five Nations and their English allies began to show. In September a delegation of Seneca and Mohawk asked to meet with the authorities in Albany. The Seneca spoke first saying, "wee are a nation dispersed and scattered by y<sup>e</sup> French as far as Ondage [Onondaga]." He continued that regardless they had always been "in a firm Covenant" with the English. But he must "reprove and chide" them for foolishly going with the Mohawk to fight our enemies in Canada with such small parties. He asked where were the troops from



Virginia, Maryland, and New England who were "likewise entered in our covenant?" No wonder the English could not overcome their enemies (79).

The English reply was courteous yet critical,

"Brothers, Wee have been sorry y<sup>t</sup> you have been driven and diperst out of yo<sup>r</sup> lands by y<sup>e</sup> French but wee are glad to hear y<sup>t</sup>. . . and you come to renew the remembrance of y<sup>e</sup> Tree of Prosperitye and y<sup>e</sup> Covenant wherin we are all soe firmly bound."

But, "wee are much astonished that y<sup>e</sup> Brethren should accuse us . . . for having gone out with such small parties." The English wanted to know where were the warriors from the rest of Five Nations when they marched on Canada. They then suggested that the Seneca "take better care in matters of soe great consequence and not . . . impute your faults to others." It was not a very satisfactory meeting for either side (80).

The reality was things were not going well for the English. New York remained deeply divided along Leislerian and anti-Leislerian lines, and Sloughter's summary justice had not helped to heal the wounds. The colony was virtually bankrupt, its trade stagnant, and unable to raise any relief or even sympathy from the neighboring colonies. The desperation in Ingoldsby's request to the Board of Trade for arms and ammunition, written a week after Sloughter's death, was not feigned. He wrote that they were now in great want, not only to replenish the supplies of the garrisons in Albany and Schenectady, but for their Indian allies as well (81). Meanwhile, hostilities across the border between Canada and the English colonies continued to drain life from all sides. The French had killed and taken "our best Indians of the Mohaks and Oneydes," Dirck Wessels wrote to the speaker of the New York Assembly in December. After adding details on the scalpings, maimings, and other atrocities that had been committed around Albany, he observed, "if this warr continues with us as formerly most of our Inhabitants here will of necessity desert this place" (82).

The situation was not much better for the Five Nations. Under the direction of Callière, now back in Montréal, and Vaudreuil, who commanded the regular troops of the colony, the French waged an increasingly aggressive and effective campaign against the Five Nations and the English. Using the same tactics as the Iroquois used, small raiding parties of French and their Native allies ranged across the hunting and fishing areas frequented by the Five Nations on both sides of the St. Lawrence River. In 1692 alone, Ottawa and Huron warriors brought 42 scalps to Montréal to claim the 30-*livre* bounty offered by the French. The ugly business of converting scalps into a commodity had begun. Nor were all the actions small. During the winter of 1691–1692 the Upper Four Nations attempted a large-scale attack at Cataraqui, but were defeated with great loss. In all, it is estimated that more than 100 Iroquois were killed and another 44 captured that year (83).

In June 1692 Ingoldsby hosted a council meeting with the Five Nations in Albany to assess the strength of their alliance. This he hoped would keep things together until the newly appointed governor, Benjamin Fletcher, arrived. Ingoldsby tried to be as diplomatic as possible—welcoming the

## Case Study 14. From trophy heads to scalp bounties

Of all the cross-cultural hybrids that emerged by the end of the seventeenth century, the scalp bounty was the ugliest intersection of Native and European practices. As discussed in Chapter Two, a scalp could be a gift to a grieving kinswoman in lieu of a living captive to take the place of a deceased family member. Possessing that enemy's scalp also gave its owner spiritual control over the dead, who must remain physically bound to



this world in a state of involuntary servitude. The taking and displaying of heads was an equally well-established practice in Europe, and one the English brought to their colonies in North America. The justification for decapitation was simple. It established dominance and was a suitable punishment for treason. In the spring of 1685 after the newly crowned James II successfully put down a Protestant challenge, he decided the West Country needed an example. As a result, some 340 captured rebels were hanged, beheaded, and their heads spiked atop town gates or stuck on roadside poles.

While it remains unclear exactly when and where the process of offering a monetary reward for scalps began in North America, by the early 1690s the practice had become widespread, and was used by the English and French alike to intimidate, if not terrorize, the population each side of the border. As the Onondaga were warned in January 1695, the French governor-general had sent the Abenaki to New England "not to fetch beaver skins this winter, but scalps." By the end of the century human scalps—Native or European, from French or English, whether men, women, or children had become one more commodity in the marketplace of imperial control. Well into the eighteenth century, scalping and scalp bounties would embody the savagery that marked cross-cultural conflicts for Native people and Europeans alike (84).

**Figure 8.20.** An Iroquois warrior scalping an enemy. Engraving by Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, ca. 1797.



Indians with "the good affection I have for the Brethren," condoling their losses to the French over the winter, and handing out extravagant presents. But he just could not resist saying that while he was truly grieved, their losses were their own fault, and he exhorted them to be more careful in the future. After all, they were all in this war against the French together (85).

The Five Nations' reply was given by an Oneida—"Brother Corlaer; We the Sachems of the Five Nations, have with great attention heard Corlaer speake and have noticed well, what was said." Now, he asked them to please listen carefully,

We heartily thank Corlaer for his presence . . . and likewise for the forces he brought . . . and doe give three Beavers and a Belt of wampum.

As for the Contract and agreement that was made last year between the late Governr and us . . . doe not let us accuse one another in this matter, such practices not savouring well among Friends—this being an unnecessary check, [we] give nothing [no wampum] to this proposition.

Protocol satisfied, the speaker returned to issues at hand regarding the Indian need for guns. Agreeing that they were "all one heart, one Blood ... and all engaged in one War," he expressed their thanks for the gift of ammunition. But what good was that without guns? Were they to throw bullets at the enemy with their hands? And finally, they again requested a smith and an anvil for Onondaga so that the arms they still had could be repaired (86). In addition there was one final point the Five Nations wanted Ingoldsby to hear, since they did not expect any peace with Canada as long as the kings were at war in Europe. They did pledge to do their utmost to destroy the French and their allies, but the English needed to understand their position. The Five Nations "can be only the loosers by the continuation of the warr," and they understood how vulnerable they were. They just hoped the English did as well (87).

News of Governor Fletcher's pending arrival seemed to reenergize some in New York. One of those ready to act was Peter Schuyler. In August he announced plans for another attack on Canada "to animate the Indians and preserve their enmity against the French," which would also stimulate the local economy. That would happen since blacksmiths were soon making axes and repairing firearms while others produced the required handles and stocks. On August 12, 1692 he met with a company of 350 Indians of the Five Nations camped at Schenectady. Already on their way to Canada, Schuyler wanted to be sure they were headed for the right target. He pointed out that it was the French Praying Indians who had done them both the most mischief. It was in vain to treat or parley, therefore their "Principal Dissign" must be against them. They must "give them a Blow at once & DeStroy there Indian corn & then come to talk with them" about returning home. In terms of the French, the attackers were instructed

to "Doe what dammage yu can." To help them on their way, Schuyler provided Five Nations' warriors with additional powder, lead, flints, and a large amount of food (88).

The reply was given two days later. A Mohawk speaker, on behalf of all Five Nations, stated that they would follow English advice with respect to the Praying Indians and avowed, "we will Spare them no longer." Even so, when Schuyler wrote to Ingoldsby a few days later, he noted that in a private discussion with one of the Mohawk chiefs there was still the belief that kinship could prevail and that persuasion should be tried before force was used (89).

This time, however, Schuyler was right—the time for talking was past, and the transformation of the French Praying Indians from kin into the bitterest of enemies was nearly complete. An Onondaga example reveals how brutal and personal this intra-Iroquoian warfare had become. During the spring and summer, the famed Onondaga war chief Dewadarondore, or Chaudière Noire, led a series of raids along the Ottawa River and toward Montréal. In July his luck changed when his own party was attacked in turn by French militia from Montréal. Although Dewadarondore managed to escape, many of his men were killed or captured. Among those taken was his wife, who was brought to La Prairie. When she attempted to escape,

an Oneida Chief belonging to that Mission . . . dragged her without the fort and knocked her on the skull. He then struck his hatchet into the gate as a sign that he would not grant pardon to any one, inviting his brethren to do likewise.

For Five Nations' traditionalists, this was one more reason why the French could never be forgiven. In addition to their treachery, the French and their religion had torn the heart out of existing social relationships and replaced them with a bitterness and ferocity that allowed no quarter (90).

While Schuyler encouraged the Five Nations to attack the Praying Indians, the French ramped up their military plans. In August 1692 Frontenac and his council decided it was time to punish the Onondaga, whose town had recently been fortified with help from the English. Plans were drawn up for an invasion that fall but then abandoned for the want of troops. Frontenac was not terribly disappointed. The Onondaga would get their turn. Meanwhile French preparations were redirected toward a surprise winter attack on the Mohawk (91).

#### Running on Empty, 1693 to 1696

It was a grim letter that Governor Fletcher wrote to the Board of Trade in London on February 1693. He described the bankrupt and destitute colony that he had inherited as "utterly impossible for this poor decayed Province

## The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696

to defend themselves" without help that the other English colonies were unwilling or unable to provide. As for the economy, "Our Furr Trade is quite lost." Richard Ingoldsby reported to Fletcher that it was not much better for their Iroquois allies. He feared the French were "about to compell our Indians to a peace." Indeed, the hammer was about to fall again (92).

In January 1693, a large raiding party, composed mostly of French militia from Montréal and the Praying Indians, left La Prairie and headed for Mohawk country. Although their aim was to cause as much damage around Albany as possible, the Mohawk towns were their primary target. For Frontenac, the goal was very clear—

Though the Mohawk be not the most numerous of . . . the Five Iroquois Nations, its humiliation has always appeared a matter of importance. The most of the Indians of the Sault [La Prairie] belong to that tribe, many of whom are actually their brethren and relatives . . . Moreover, this tribe being the nearest to the English is, also, that in which most of the parties are organized against us.

The Mohawk were the weak link in the Covenant Chain, and Frontenac wanted to hit them hard enough to break them (93).

The French reached the first Mohawk town west of the English settlements in the Mohawk River valley on February 16 and quickly took it along with a second one nearby. They waited two days before surprising the largest town at night, only to find the gate open and virtually unguarded. Fierce fighting took place, the town was soon looted and burned, and the French found themselves in possession of more than 300 prisoners. For once, the English response was swift and direct. As soon as word of the French force reached Albany, Schuyler began to organize the local defenses. Word was sent to Governor Fletcher in New York and the militia



**Figure 8.21.** Representation of a French Canadian in war dress during the winter (soldier or militia). Drawing by Claude-Charles le Roy de la Potherie, 1722.

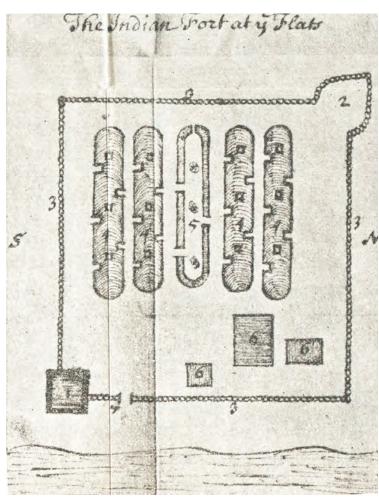
was called out to pursue the retreating French. Fletcher reached Albany in record time, arriving with additional troops on February 24, but by then the French were long gone (94). Although the attack was devastating to the Mohawk, it proved no great triumph for the French either. The return journey was difficult and nearly disastrous. Never again would the French launch a winter campaign against the Five Nations.



Fletcher addressed several Five Nations' chiefs at Albany on February 25. This was his first meeting with them, and it seemed to go well. "I came now for your releife and have lost noe time," he began. Apparently coached by Schuyler, he continued in good ritual form assuring them, "I am come now in great haste . . . to renew the antient covenant chain," and to give the Mohawk, "something to wipe off your tears for the losse of your relations, which I heartily condole." Meanwhile, he encouraged them to revenge themselves against "our enemys and yours" and to remember the king was always ready to protect them. Nice rhetoric, but it was not at all clear what this meant in practical terms (**95**).

The reply was given by the Onondaga chief Aqueendaro the following day. He addressed Fletcher as Brother *Cajenquiragoe*, explaining that this name meant "Great Swift Arrow" and had been given to Fletcher because of his speedy arrival. They had not lost the courage to attack their enemies but explained that it was their "custom first to condole the death of those who are killed by the enemy, being all one heart, one blood, one soul." Besides, you "presse us to goe & attack the French in Canida by land"

**Figure 8.22.** "The Indian Fort at y<sup>e</sup> Flats," showing five Mohawk longhouses as well as colonial buildings within a palisade. Map by John Miller, 1695.



while promising to do the same by sea. The Indians could not do this alone, he emphasized. They needed the English to do their share "because a great part of our Strength is already broke." Aqueendaro concluded with some familiar and specific requests-a need for more weapons, a need for a smith at Onondaga to repair those they had, and please, to "prohibit the selling of rum whilst the warr is soe hott, since our soldiers can not be kept within bounds when they are drunk" (96).

In spite of the new face and ritual assurances, little had changed. Fletcher was no different than his predecessors. As far as he was concerned, the value of the Five Nations was quite clear. They were the "cheifest & cheapest bulwarks against the French." As long as presents and promises could keep them in line, not much more was required (97).

## The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



From Frontenac's point of view, the attack on the Mohawk, however costly, was a success. The Mohawk had been neutralized as a fighting force and nearly destroyed as a nation. Their speaker confided to Fletcher in June, "Wee are a mean poor people & have lost all by the Enemy," and they were afraid they would never see him again after his visit to Albany in February. Now they needed to speak with him privately, because they were embarrassed. Even Schuyler, who knew the Mohawk well, worried about their reliability. As he wrote to Fletcher in August, "I never did so much suspect the fidelity of our Indians as now . . . It is as if they were disposed to goe along with the Enemy as soon as they come" (98).

For the Five Nations the risk of being split had never been greater. During the summer, Dirck Wessels went to Onondaga to learn where things stood. After talking with Aqueendaro, who was a "Cheife Sachim of Onondaga" thought to be inclined towards the English, Wessels reported back to Fletcher on the differing inclinations of the Five Nations. Aqueendaro had told him that the Mohawk were conquered, the Oneides wavering, the Seneca inclined to beaver hunt, all leaving the Onondaga in the greatest danger (99). The Onondaga leadership, Aqueendaro and Tegannisoren in particular, realized that it was increasingly difficult to keep the Five Nations together and maintain a viable position between the French and English. The real question for Onondaga was, who was the more trustworthy, Fletcher or Frontenac? When faced with equally bad choices, the only option was to pursue them both and hope that something better would turn up. Continuing to look for balance, even when it seemed impossible, was a very Onondaga response.

#### Assessing the alternatives

For the Five Nations the problem with the English was their inability to keep commitments. Since 1688, in just a few years, five governors had come and gone. Fletcher seemed all right, but how long would he last, and how far could he be trusted? In July 1693 the need for answers to these questions was made clear. When the speaker of the Five Nations and two Onondaga chiefs asked to meet privately with Fletcher prior to the Indian Conference held in Albany, there were two pressing concerns. First,

Wee are glad to see you . . .Wee have heard much about a design to subdue Canada with a fleet—O<sup>r</sup> Young men are eager & full of heat to make an end of that warr [so] pray tell us the trueth for if there be no such thing wee must manage o<sup>r</sup> Youth accordingly.

The second concern was the more personal one,

Brother Cajenquiragoe, We have often had changes of Governors here and it was a long time before they could be acquainted with our Constitution and affairs so, soon as they come to understand us, they are gone. Wee desire to know how long you will stay.

Given the candid nature of the requests, Fletcher's reply that only "The Great King my Master" could answer such questions was not particularly reassuring (100).

The conference went ahead nevertheless. Fletcher made the same vague promises and handed out more presents on behalf of the crown. In reply, the Five Nations speaker used the familiar phrases of Iroquois diplomacy to repeat their request. "You are the Great flourishing Tree of o<sup>r</sup> shelter, that keep's the Covenant Chain bright We have one request to make which is . . . be pleased to stay with us & not return to England." There was also an important piece of Iroquois diplomacy to share. "It is proposed by all the Five Nations to make Peace with the Ottawa . . . The Seneca who live nearest to them have undertaken to effect this business and doe take presents of wampum from the rest of the Nations to confirm the peace." As a courtesy, the speaker concluded that he hoped that Fletcher did not mind receiving the Ottawa into the Covenant Chain. The Five Nations might need English help against the French, but they were still quite capable of conducting their own diplomatic affairs (101).

While this debate went on in Albany, another more perilous conversation was set in motion. In June an Oneida chief named Tareha arrived in Montréal to return a French prisoner. He also brought wampum belts with him, as well as letters from Father Millet, who had offered "to mediate with the other Iroquois." All these peace overtures were conveyed to Québec for Frontenac's consideration. Although Frontenac rejected the belts, due to "the horrible perfidy the Onondaga perpetrated on the French," he left the door open just a crack. If the Upper Four Nations wished to talk, then they must immediately send two of their principal chiefs to negotiate. In terms of Onondaga, Frontenac specifically requested that his old acquaintance, Tegannisoren, be one of them. If the Onondaga refused to enter the door the Oneida had begun to open for them, then he would "pursue them until they be wholly exterminated" (102).

This opportunity to talk may have been the Onondaga intent all along. If the problem with the English was their inability to keep a commitment, the problem with the French was finding a way to begin negotiations again. These issues were certainly discussed at the previous League council of the Five Nations at Onondaga in August 1693. Indeed, the possibility of Five Nations negotiating with the French so thoroughly alarmed the English that Schuyler sent Dirck Wessels to find out news. Wessels, in turn, demanded to know how the Onondaga planned to reply to Frontenac's message—make peace or be destroyed. In reply his hosts patiently explained, "we are come heither according to our old custome to consult [on] the welfare of our Countrey." The English views would certainly be taken into consideration, but this was their business and the Five Nations would make their own decision (103).



English concerns were well founded. In addition to the Praying Indians, with their extensive kinship connections back into the Five Nations, the French had a powerful agent in Father Millet, one who was a serious threat to English interests. Theoretically a prisoner, he was securely settled in Oneida, where he exercised considerable influence. Millet's sway even extended into Onondaga, where he had served as the mission priest for several years. With that in mind, Schuyler warned Governor Fletcher of the bad consequences that could result if a League council meeting at Onondaga was devised by the French (104).

This time, however, Schuyler need not have worried. The chasm between the French and Onondaga would not be bridged easily. In fact, during the council meeting, at least two attacks by Praying Indians of Canada on nearby Onondaga fishing sites were reported. When the council was over, Wessels finally received his answer given by a messenger from "eighty Sachims" who said, "Tell Brother Caijenquiragoe [Fletcher] We have of old made a covenant which we will keep inviolate . . . We reject the desires of the Governor of Canida." For now, the Five Nations' alliance with the English remained intact (**105**).

Meanwhile, the war dragged on. In October another attempted English invasion of Canada failed, while the brutalities of border warfare continued unabated. For the Five Nations six years of fighting had taken a terrible toll, and it was increasingly clear that they could not continue at that pace. In November 1693 another council meeting was called in Onondaga to reassess the options. This time, invitations were sent directly to Schuyler and Fletcher, asking them to come to Onondaga. This was more than a polite request since they warned them, ""to hear all the news doe not fail to come for we are one flesh and blood and [as] this is a matter of great moment, we do not passe you by." For the Five Nations this was a key test of whether the English considered themselves brethren or not. There is no record of a reply from Schuyler or Fletcher, but it is certain that neither came to Onondaga. Nor were the Mohawk present, having been asked by the English to stay home. As a result, a decision was made to resend wampum belts to Frontenac (106).

The three belts of peace sent to Frontenac from Onondaga on behalf of the Five Nations are a remarkably candid statement of the difficulty of the Iroquois position. They provide a rare view into the Onondaga side of the diplomatic process. As usual, each belt came with a message—

The Ist [belt]. in which there are five black squares on a white ground, indicates the Five Iroquois Nations, who have all unanimously agreed to this embassy from the Iroquois to Kebec. They, therefore, say by this belt: Here we are, Father Onnontio, by your invitation, on your mat, and among the rest, I, whom you call te Gannisoran . . . —Here I am.



**Figure 8.23.** Reconstruction of "The 1st [belt] in which there are five black squares on a white ground," presented to Frontenac on May 23, 1694.

The IId. is a large belt and almost entirely black, says, that if Onnontio himself does not upset his war kettle, this belt of the Iroquois, his children, is for the purpose of throwing it down.

The IIId. belt, which is the longest of all, is to say, that the Iroquois desire their message be transmitted over the sea, and carried even to the Kings of France and of England . . . and that they grant them . . . such a peace as thy desire . . . not only between all the Indians but between all their relations, especially between the Kings of France and England.

In conclusion, they respectfully asked if they could have an answer as soon as possible (107).

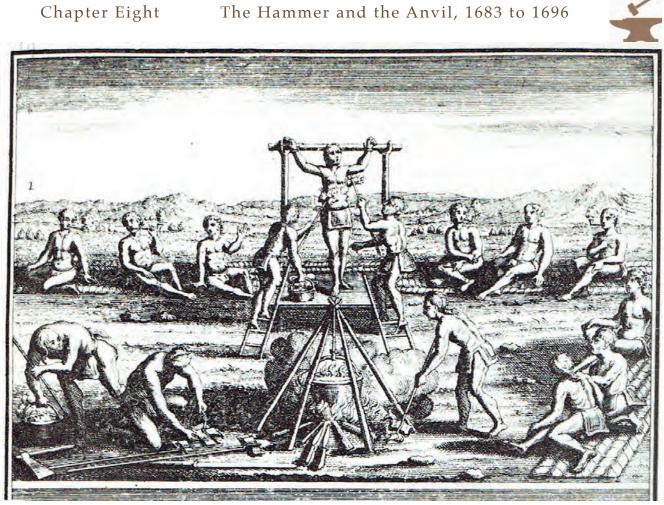
Frontenac was not impressed. In fact, he was furious and kicked away the belts as a mark of his distain and contempt for their message and said,

I am your Father, you are my Children, who have become rebels and disobedient . . . should you return to submit to me any new proposition, I protest and declare to you, that I will commit to the kettle those who shall be so rash as to dare to undertake such an embassy. Once more I repeat to you that Tegannisorens alone . . . will find their path open.

Left unsaid, but clearly implied, was that such serious diplomacy was for Europeans, not Indians (108).

## **Personal politics**

In Onondaga and throughout Iroquoia, it was understood that leadership was the duty and responsibility of those most capable of serving their community. It was also understood that leadership usually came at a personal cost. By early 1694 the price that leadership would exact was becoming clearer. As Tegannisoren emerged as the primary speaker for the interests of Onondaga and the Confederacy, it would soon be evident that no one would pay a higher price than he.



**Figure 8.24**. Torturing a captive with a war kettle in the foreground. Drawing, ca. 1712-1717, from Joseph-François Lafitau, 1724.

Tegannisoren's connection with Frontenac went back to at least 1682, when their personal interactions had been respectful, even cordial. Much had changed over the following decade, and when he replied to Frontenac's angry message Tegannisoren's tone was humble and direct. He explained why he had not yet gone to see Frontenac, which was "Father I fear your war kettle." But now the situation was desperate, and he resolved to expose himself "to destruction, to be thrown into the kettle and to die for the preservation of (*pour faire vivre*) the land of the Iroquois." But before he had to face Frontenac, Tegannisoren had another angry European to appease (**109**).

Although he had not attended the November council meeting in Onondaga, Peter Schuyler was keenly aware that negotiations were taking place between Onondaga and Québec. In January 1694 he had tried to reach Onondaga himself, but had gotten no farther than the western-most Mohawk town, where he was stopped by deep snow. In February, when the Five Nations asked for a conference in Albany, a worried and frustrated Schuyler received them. It was Tegannisoren who spoke. Knowing it would be difficult, he tried to lead Schuyler through the events of the past few months –

"Wee the Representatives of the Five Nation are come hither to acquaint you that our children the Oneydes of their own accord sent a Messenger to Canida who returning brought us a belt of peace from the Gov<sup>r</sup> but we answered him that we being dependants of this Governt could not resolve to any thing without Cayenquiragoe."

In other words, they must talk first with Governor Fletcher (110).

Tegannisoren reported that there had been much discussion. The Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida wanted to accept some of Frontenac's belts for peace and send a reply, but the Onondaga had argued this should not be done without the consent and knowledge of Peter Schuyler, whom they called *Quider*. The Upper Four Nations at the meeting had then prepared three belts for Frontenac, but agreed to tell Albany first. Tegannisoren then explained to Schuyler the proposed replies to the French, with particular emphasis on the "*Third Belt*." The most important point was that as for the Five Nations and the English,

we must tell you we are inseparable, we can have no peace with you so long as you are in warr with them, we must all stand and fall together, therefore we can doe nothing in it nor have peace except [when] our Brethren [the English] and you are in peace.

Tegannisoren chose to close with a personal plea to Schuyler. He said that whatever misunderstandings had arisen, "let them be buryed in oblivion and let our hearts [be] reestablished in love and unity as formerly" (111).

Despite Tegannisoren's effort, the anvil of English imperial authority remained unmoved. Schuyler's reply was startling in its harshness saying, "never did [I] imagine you would be so treacherous" as to meet in Onondaga instead of Albany, as they had promised. "You may be sure his Excell<sup>cy</sup> will not be satisfied with your apology and excuse" for acting without his knowledge or consent. After chastising them further, Schuyler demanded that they return to Albany in 70 days to meet with Governor Fletcher, and that Tegannisoren come with the Sachims to explain their actions. Although sympathetic to the Five Nations, Schuyler was no more willing than Frontenac to consider them diplomatic equals. It took another week of apologies and concessions to finally calm Schuyler down and to agree on how to proceed (**112**).

On May 4 representatives of the Upper Four Nations dutifully showed up in Albany to meet with the governor. This time the tenor of the meeting was quite different. After offering a perfunctory apology for talking with the French, the Five Nations' tone became much more assertive, and it was Fletcher who was chastised. What right did the governor have to tell the Five Nations not to meet in Onondaga? That was "a violation of their Antient Priviledges" and such a meeting "never was obstructed by

## Chapter Eight The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



any former Governors" in the past. Yes, they had sent agents to Canada to negotiate peace. Why was that a problem? They did not take offense when the governor sent ambassadors out, so why should the English be displeased when the Five Nations did? (113). The speaker then proceeded to give Fletcher "a Candid Account of the Proposals for Peace" that they had sent to the French governor. They had reproached Frontenac, but

they are now come & are willing that Peace & Amity shall be restored & a perpetual Friendship established. And if he consents he must come to their Country to ratify the same. —If he will not make Peace they say they are not bro<sup>t</sup> so low but they can yet defend themselves.

From a Five Nations' point of view, these were perfectly reasonable statements, the diplomatic position of autonomous nations sharing their plans with an ally. Fletcher was taken aback by such direct talk and replied that he was wrongly accused (114).

The following day the Five Nations speaker took a more conciliatory tone saying, "When the Christians first arrived in this Country we received them Kindly, though they were but a small People & [we] entered into a League with them to protect them from all Enemies." Now the situation was different –

This General Assembly Planted a Tree at Albany as soon as Christians settled there, whose Roots & Branches have overspread as far as New England, Pensilvania Maryland & Virginia.

We desire that the Ancient Covenant Chain may be renewed . . . And that when any Enemy threatens us with an Invasion, you may come up & assist us, & . . . we will come down to your Assistance . . . [However,] unless the Neighboring Colonies who are in the Covenant Chain will unanimously assist in the Prosecution of the war, which they have not hitherto done, the 5 Nations must make Peace with the French.

Apparently, Governor Fletcher did not reply to the Five Nations, but this is not surprising. By this point he no longer cared what the Five Nations said or did (115).

Even as the Onondaga tried to cajole the English into a commitment, they worked hard to keep their channels open with the French and their Praying Indians. Neither contact was easy, but if the Five Nations were to stay together, Mohawk concerns for their Christian kin had to be recognized. Controlling information remained a big problem. Thanks to Millet, any decision made in Onondaga was soon known in Québec and elsewhere. As Fr. Jean de Lamberville, now returned to Paris, wrote to a colleague, "a new attempt at peace with the Iroquois was made, but in vain. The english ... have ruined all hopes of peace." Efforts to circumvent the French

and talk directly with the Praying Indians proved equally unsuccessful. When asked if there was any way in which they could work together toward peace, the Christian Iroquois at the two major mission towns near Montréal, replied to their former kin, "Onnontio, that is to say our Father [Fontenac], has rejected your Belts . . . We have no other mind or aim than that of our Father" (116).

It was against this backdrop of mutual hostility and suspicion that Tegannisoren arrived in Québec to make his case for peace. On May 23, 1694 he had his chance. Speaking on behalf of the Five Nations, Tegannisoren laid out 10 belts before Frontenac, not in private, but "before the principal Indian Chiefs and the most influential of the Clergy and Laity" of Canada. Tegannisoren's presentation was a masterful statement of what had become the four essential points of Onondaga and Confederacy diplomatic policy—sovereignty, security, return of captives, and balance.

The first was about sovereignty. This was to be a meeting of equals. "Father Onnontio! . . . here we are on your mat, . . . to speak to you of peace in the names of the Five Iroquois Nations, and even of our Brethren" the English. If an agreement could be reached, the place where a treaty should be ratified would be in Onondaga.

The second point was about security and a plea for the fighting to stop. Tegannisoren said, "It is peace that brings me hither." In this war "You have devoured all our chief men and scarce any more are left."

The return of captives was the third point. He stated, "We present you this Belt to let you know that we have adopted Sieurs de Longueuil and de Maricourt," who could serve as agents for negotiating the return of captives. He continued speaking to the Christian Indians of the Sault and the Mountain saying, "we have mutually butchered each other. Forget what is past," and bring about peace on both sides.

Balance and mutual respect was the final point made with Tegannisoren declaring,

Father! you have, no doubt, received many insults . . . This Belt is to restore your temper . . . The Earth, even fort Frontenac, . . . is red with blood. We shall take a hoe to break the ground up well, and efface all traces of the stains . . .that we may meet there are we have heretofore done . . . We are all in darkness . . . In order to dispel all the clouds, I again fasten the Sun above our heads so that we may once more behold it and enjoy the beautiful light of peace.

It was a great performance, one that impressed all those who heard it, but would it change Frontenac's mind? (117)

## The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



The governor's response came the next day. As Frontenac laid down his seven belts in reply, it was obvious that he had ignored what Tegannisoren said. He began by saying they were right to come speak with him "submissive and repentant, as children ought to be to their Father." They had "committed against him a fault as heinous," he stormed, as any they had ever perpetrated. Where Tegannisoren's tone had been gracious, even self-effacing, Frontenac's response was the familiar mix of rebukes and demands, alternately patronizing and punishing. If the Onondaga wanted peace, Frontenac continued, they first must bring back all the captives, both French and their Indian allies. Then, because he didn't trust them, he demanded two hostages remain in Québec. In terms of any attempt by the Five Nations to play a diplomatic role, Frontenac was blunt. "Children! In answer to what you have slipped into your words respecting the Dutch and the English, I say. . . that my war with them has nothing to do with my war against you. They are two things entirely different." In terms of Tegannisoren's request, any hope that further talk could lead towards peace with the French was gone. As long as Frontenac was alive, the way to Québec was closed (118).

After a magnificent entertainment and considerable presents, Tegannisoren was permitted to leave for Onondaga so that he could do his best to induce the Five Nations to comply with Frontenac's demands, especially to return all captives. However, there was one more humiliation to undergo. Just after they set out, Tegannisoren's party encountered a large group of Ottawa and Wyandot. Not one to miss an opportunity, Frontenac had the Onondaga delegation recalled so that Tegannisoren could repeat everything that had been said in front of his adversaries. The results were most satisfying to the French-allied Indians. It was now clear that the French were not afraid of the Five Nations and had no intention of abandoning them. The Iroquois had come to beg for peace and had been sent away in disgrace. After another round of partying, the Ottawa and Wyandot delegation left for home highly pleased with the outcome (**119**).

Throughout the remainder of 1694 and into the following year, there were many more meetings, councils, and conferences between all of the above parties as well as the English, but they meant little. Most were reiterations of views that were already well established, and if anything, those positions only grew harder. The English continued to host conferences in Albany, but they were mostly for show. The reality was that the Five Nations and their concerns were no longer a priority. For Peter Schuyler keeping Albany and his growing family safe was far more important. Robert Livingston was about to leave for England, and his greatest concern was reimbursement for funds he had spent on the colony's behalf. As for Governor Fletcher, he convened meetings, dispensed advice, and sent glowing accounts of his own success back to England. He reported to the Board of Trade, "I find the [Iroquois] Sachims so far influenced by my last treaty, that they have not gone to Canada" and stopped negotiating with

the French Governor-General. He was indifferent as well as wrong about the reality of the situation (120).

While Fletcher congratulated himself, the Five Nations continued to manage their own diplomatic affairs. In spite of Tegannisoren's humiliating experience in Québec, negotiations continued with different Ottawa and Wyandot groups, and even with some success. In August 1694 Aqueendaro reported to Fletcher that a peace agreement with one group of the Ottawa had been concluded. Nor had the Onondaga given up entirely on the English, even if presents were the only tangible support the Five Nations could get from them. Fletcher's list of presents promised to the Five Nations in November included 50 guns, 2,000 pounds of lead, 1,000 good flints, and 10 barrels of gunpowder plus hats, coats, shirts, stockings, and other items. At least the English were good for something (**121**).

As for the French, Frontenac used this time to devise new ways of dividing the Five Nations and to prepare for his next military expedition. All the while he masked his intentions behind consoling words and vague promises. In January 1695, he sent a message to Onondaga via two Praying Indians proposing a meeting that spring. He promised, "I will speak of good thing's be not fearful or jealous of my ill intent." But no one in Onondaga was deceived, especially after the Praying Indians added two private messages. The first was Frontenac planned to rebuild Fort Frontenac at Cataraqui during the summer. This would serve as his forward base for an attack on the Five Nations. Second was that Frontenac, their loving Father Onnontio, had already sent the Abenaki out to fetch scalps, not beaver skins (122).

This time the Onondaga reply came from Aqueendaro instead of Tegannisoren, and it was blistering—

Onnontio, you call us children . . . What Father are you. You deale with us whom you call Children as with hogg's which are called home from the woods . . . & then put in Prisons until they are killed . . .O Onnontio, you say wee must keep the firme covenant chaine which you have broake many times.

A long list of past treacheries and deceits followed. After that Aqueendaro told them, "Onnontio, your fyre shall burn no more at Cadaracqui [Cataraqui]. . . You did steale that place from us." And he ended with, "You think yourselves the ancient inhabitants of this country . . . but no, wee warriors are the first & the ancient people" (123).

Neither Tegannisoren's gracious words nor Aqueendaro's fierce retorts could change the fundamental reality. As far as the French and English were concerned, the Five Nations were not that important and certainly not



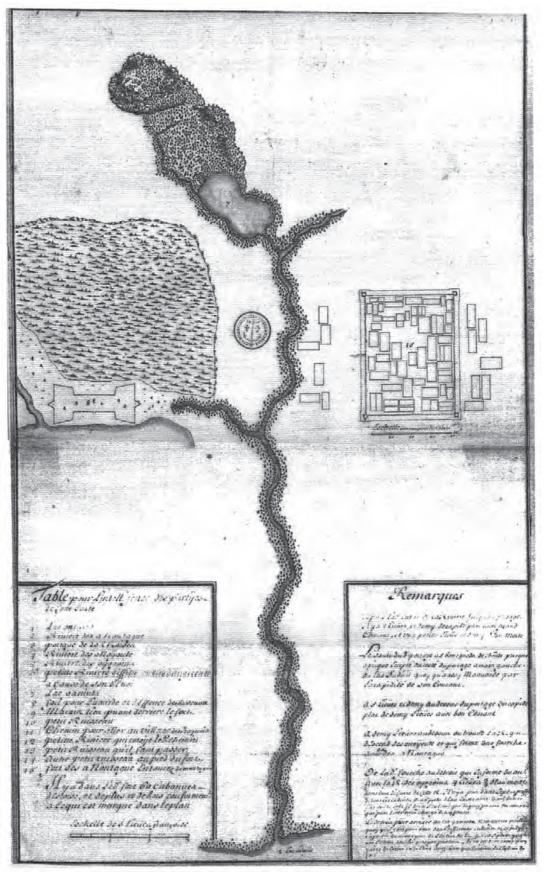
their diplomatic equals. They were pieces to be moved around the imperial game board, supported when convenient, sacrificed when not.

#### The End of the Line

By the spring of 1695 it was only a matter of time before the hammer came down on the Onondaga. The warning signs that it was coming were there, all the way back to Lamberville's comet of 1682. In fact, the last 14 years had been a series of near misses—La Barre's bluff for an invasion of Onondaga in 1684, Denonville's plan to attack Onondaga in 1688, and Frontenac's attack on the Mohawk in 1692, originally intended for Onondaga. If more troops had been available to Frontenac, it would have been Onondaga that burned instead of the Mohawk towns.

The game was almost over. As word of Frontenac's intentions to invade Onondaga spread, so did his efforts to divide the Five Nations. In February 1695 he sent a great belt of wampum to the Seneca and Cayuga, asking them to be silent as he planned to fall upon the Onondaga in the spring. Frontenac's invasion did not happen that spring, but he did reoccupy Cataraqui during the summer in spite of Aqueendaro's bluster, an action that kept tensions running high. Meanwhile, Onondaga requests for assistance from the English began to take on a desperate tone—"Let our Indians have powder and lead instead of rum," and "Let not our Enemyes rejoyce and laugh at us" (124). Fletcher's replies were predictable. To the Board of Trade he wrote that Frontenac threatened, "to destroy their Castle at Onondage for breach of promise, and because they did not return to Canada to conclude the Peace he pretends they have made." But they were not to worry, everything was under control. To the Five Nations his tone was quite different. After learning that Frontenac had indeed refortified Cataraqui in spite of Five Nations' assurances that they would never permit it, Fletcher had only scorn. "I must tell you, since I have had the honour to serve the Great King of England my Master . . . all your misfortunes have been occasioned by your own Drunken, supine, Negligent & Careless humours." And now, he complained, it was too late in the year to do anything. The door to Albany was as firmly shut to the Onondaga as was the one to Québec, despite all the English talk of chains and trees (125).

Over the winter and spring of 1696 the partisan raiding continued. Five Nations' war parties resumed their attacks around Montréal, while Schuyler wrote to Fletcher reporting that people were being scalped, killed, and taken hostage almost within sight of the city. It was no better in Indian country. The year before five French Indians had killed three of our "Sinneckes" squaws on the road between Oneida and Onondaga, and the English agent Gerrit Luycasse was advised that the road was too dangerous for travel. By early July it was more than "sculking partys of French and Indians." Frontenac finally left Montréal at the head of a substantial military force. The war had finally come to Onondaga (126).



**Figure 8.25.** Map showing Frontenac's 1696 invasion route. North is at the bottom of the map. The invaders traveled up river to Onondaga Lake and built a fortification shown on the left. The main Onondaga town is on the right. This map may be attributed to Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, ca. 1696.

## The Hammer and the Anvil, 1683 to 1696



It was no ragtag army that bore down on Onondaga. For Frontenac, now 74 years old, this was a personal as well as a professional matter. Onondaga, "the most mutinous nation," had long thwarted his plans for New France, and he intended to punish them accordingly. In all, it was a force of 2,200 fighting men, including four battalions of regular troops, four of militia, a vanguard of 500 Indians primarily from the mission towns, officers and staff, and even artillery. They took their time, advancing in battle order as they went. By July 18, 1696 Frontenac's army reached Fort Frontenac, where they rested before heading south into Iroquois territory. Instead of taking the usual land route from La Famine south, Frontenac had his force continue by water to the mouth of the Oswego River and then up through the difficult rapids into the river system beyond. By the first of August most of Frontenac's force was in place at the head of Gannentaha, or Onondaga Lake. Here they constructed a small redoubt to protect their bateaux, canoes, and provisions. That night "a bright light was perceived" in the direction of the Onondaga town, but no advance was made until all was ready. On August 4 the order of battle formed at sunrise with the army in two divisions, Callière commanding the left and Vaudreuil on the right. Between them came Frontenac carried in a chair and preceded by his cannon. Scouting ahead were the French Indians, largely from the Praying Towns. They were under the command of Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, even though he was an adopted brother of the Onondaga. It may have been an impressive force, but it was hardly one suited to the terrain. Moving the artillery across streams and ravines caused considerable delay, and it proved nearly impossible to conduct maneuvers in the woods in proper battle formation. It took the army all day to reach the Onondaga town, where they found only "dust and ashes." The Onondaga had burned their own town the night before and retreated to another settlement farther inland (**127**).

Although disappointed at being "robbed . . . of the glory of entirely destroying" the Onondaga, Frontenac was able to exact some vengeance. It took three days to destroy all the Onondaga corn in fields that stretched for miles around the town. Almost all the Onondaga caches were also discovered and their "kettles, guns, hatchets, stuffs, belts, and some peltries, were pillaged by our Frenchmen and Indians." While the French systematically laid waste to everything they could find in Onondaga, Frontenac sent a detachment of French regulars east, under Vaudreuil, to do the same in Oneida. When it came to revenge, Frontenac was nothing if not thorough. With little left to destroy, Frontenac dismantled his own base camp and led his troops home. By August 18 he and his army were back in Montréal with hardly a loss and satisfied that the Onondaga had finally been taught a lesson (128).

Only one event marred his success. Of the few prisoners taken, one was an elderly man whom Frontenac planned to spare after questioning. His Praying Indian allies had other plans, and Frontenac finally deemed

it prudent to let them burn him instead. When subjected to the usual indignities, however, the old Onondaga only replied with scorn, "Learn French dogs! [how to suffer)] and ye Savages, their allies, who are dogs of dogs, remember," because their turn to suffer would certainly come. The town of Onondaga may have been burnt, but its people were far from beaten (129).

## Chapter Nine. Material Culture Matters, 1683 to 1696







f the period between 1666 and 1682 was one during which the Onondaga were able to manage their own affairs successfully, then shortly thereafter they experienced the opposite. Up until the traumatic events of 1687, things continued much as they had since the end of the Susquehannock War 12 years earlier. With the return of open hostilities, however, the Onondaga and their Five Nations' kin found themselves caught between powerful imperial forces they could neither control nor manipulate successfully. As this conflict escalated during the 1690s, it became obvious that past solutions would not suffice. To survive, the Onondaga would have to find new ways in which their beliefs and values could help them respond to this mounting threat.

This chapter continues the examination of the archaeological evidence and what it tells us about this period. In what ways did the material aspects of Onondaga culture change? In what ways did they stay the same? How did the intensification of hostilities with the French and their Native allies affect material culture? To what degree did European influences, as opposed to other Native ones, shape Onondaga during these years? Evidence from the Weston site provides some answers to these questions.

#### **The Weston Site**

The place where Onondaga people lived during this period is known today as the Weston site. This was the new town described by Fr. Jean de Lamberville in 1682, and where the Onondaga lived until they burned it in 1696. Few historic Onondaga sites have a more confusing history. As early as 1818 DeWitt Clinton observed, "There is a hill in Pompey, which the Indians will not visit, and which they call Bloody Hill." He went on, noting with some surprise that "No old Indian weapons, such as stoneknives, axes and arrowheads are found" there. Instead, there were "French substitutes of iron." Thirty years later Joshua Clark amplified Clinton's impression, reporting that "On the late Dr. Western's farm, could be distinctly traced the remains of a small fortification, with a burying place. One grave was opened, in which were the remains of thirteen men." He also noted, "A vise and other blacksmith's tools were found here, as well as gate hinges and many trinkets." Clark, and later William M. Beauchamp, mentioned other sites in the immediate area, some of which were reputed to have produced "wagonloads of old iron" and other objects (1). Beauchamp visited the site several times, describing it and commenting on its unusual name, "Bloody Hill,"

Another name given to this locality, not often repeated, and about which there is much superstitious reserve, is *Ote-queh-sah-he-eh*, the field of blood or bloody ground—a place where many have been slain. It is said that no Indian ever visits this neighborhood. They certainly very much dislike to converse about it (2).

## Chapter Nine



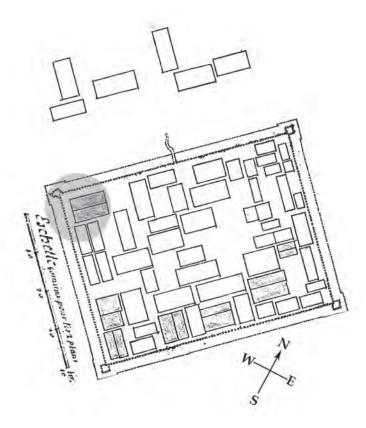
About this time another level of confusion occurred. In September 1904 Beauchamp visited Luke Fitch, a local ginseng digger and relic collector. He made drawings of several artifacts Fitch had found. Many were from a newly discovered prehistoric site on the Weston farm in the neighborhood of Bloody Hill. These included bone and stone tools, and a considerable amount of pottery and pipes. Unfortunately, Fitch decided to call this new site Bloody Hill also, even though Beauchamp pointed out another historic one nearby already had that name. For the rest of the twentieth century the name Bloody Hill was used to refer to either one or both.

Archaeologically, the two sites are distinct. As James Tuck pointed out, there is the "Chance phase" Bloody Hill site, ca. 1400, and the historicperiod Weston site. There appears to have been some spatial overlap between them, which Tuck noted during his 1967 excavation at the Bloody Hill site. There he encountered a burial disturbed by collectors earlier in the century. This burial was almost certainly related to the adjacent historic site (3). The Weston site is located on a slightly sloping terrace close to a creek, with substantially higher ground to the west. Unlike its ridgetop predecessor at Indian Hill, this is a more typical Onondaga location in that protection from the prevailing northwest wind appears to have been a more important consideration than defensive potential. When the Onondaga began to move here, this choice made sense. With the end of the Susquehannock War and relative peace after 1675, there was no need to select a defensive location or to protect it with a palisade. After 1687 the situation changed, and archaeological evidence shows that the town was substantially rebuilt to make it more secure.

#### Descriptions and interpretations

Unlike Indian Hill, there are few historical descriptions of the Weston site. This is surprising given the number of council meetings and negotiations held there, ones at which both French and English agents were present. Some of what is known comes from the previously mentioned accounts by Wentworth Greenhalgh and Lamberville. According to Greenhalgh's description of the Indian Hill site in 1677, there was a new small village being built further west. Lamberville discusses the move to this new town in 1682, but had little to say about it. Beyond that there are only odd bits until 1696. For example, Weston is almost certainly the site where the Duke of York's "coates of armes" were posted in 1684 and where the Onondaga requested "six great gunns for our Fort" three years later. It is also where the blacksmith's anvil, so often requested by the Onondaga, was finally located. More specific information came from a French prisoner who escaped Onondaga in September 1692 and reported to Governor-General Frontenac—"The fort of the Onontae which has been built by the English, has eight bastions and three rows of stockade." The best description of the Weston site comes from Frontenac's 1696 report and the detailed map associated with his expedition. Until recently, these documents were not thought to relate to the Weston site (4).

The traditional view has been that Weston was not one of the major Onondaga towns, but a small contemporaneous one. Tuck interpreted it as evidence for continuation of his large-site/small-site settlement pattern for Onondaga. Implicit in this view was that the Onondaga moved from Indian Hill to the nearby Jamesville site, and that the latter was the location of Onondaga when it was burned in 1696. This interpretation of the site sequence was first articulated by Beauchamp and subsequently repeated by Tuck and others. It remained the accepted view until 2001, when A. Gregory Sohrweide published the results of his fieldwork at Weston. In his article he demonstrated that based on settlement-pattern evidence and comparison with a contemporary French map drawn for Frontenac, the Weston site is a better candidate for the main Onondaga town, ca. 1683 to 1696. This interpretation is supported by an analysis of the material culture from the site (5).



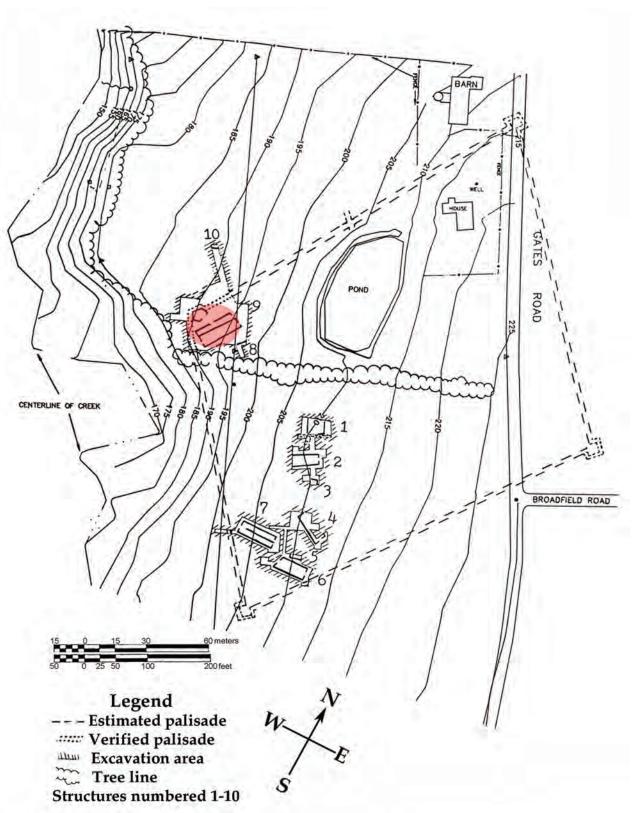
**Figure 9.1.** Depiction of the Onondaga town attacked by Frontenac in 1696. This portion of the 1696 map of Frontenac's invasion has been reoriented so that the gray-circled area corresponds to the excavated Structure 9 in Figure 9.2.

#### Archaeological evidence

During the 1990s Sohrweide completed an extensive survey of the Weston site area, followed by a carefully controlled series of excavations focused on understanding the settlement pattern. The results of this work are impressive. Not only did the excavation document 10 structures, several sections of the palisade, and a complete bastion, these features correspond to a remarkable degree to those depicted on the Frontenac map. His work also provides a basis for understanding how the town grew and changed. Chapter Nine

## Material Culture Matters, 1683 to 1696





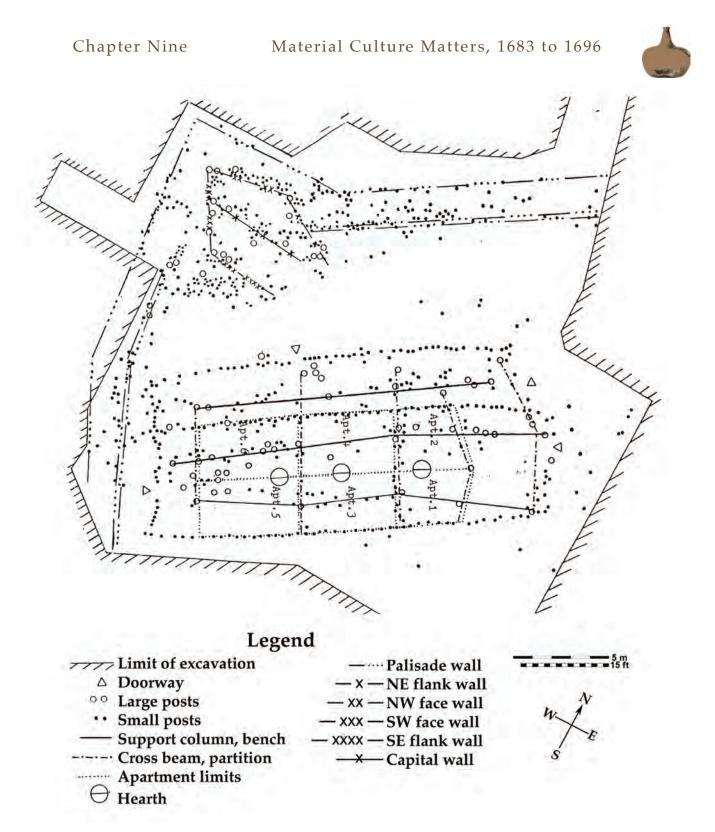
**Figure 9.2.** Plan view of the excavation of the Weston site showing the estimated palisade and 10 identified structures. Excavated and drawn by A. Gregory Sohrweide. Note that Structure 9 and the adjacent post molds have been identified by a red circle as the longhouse closest to the northwest bastion on the 1696 map.

It appears to have had two major phases. The first occurred roughly between 1675 and 1687, and it included the small settlement mentioned by Greenhalgh in 1677. This component covers between two and three acres (0.8–1.2 ha) on a flat section of terrace near an active spring. There was an extensive hillside midden adjacent to the terrace. Although Sohrweide's testing in this area was limited, no evidence of a palisade was found. It is likely that prior to 1687 there were other more-broadly dispersed portions of this town, including the adjacent Lot 6 location in Pompey mentioned by Beauchamp. That is where wagonloads of iron reportedly were removed during the early nineteenth century.

By 1687 this location had probably become too vulnerable, given the increasing level of hostilities. If the French could successfully invade Seneca territory, then Onondaga was even more at risk. It was about this time the Onondaga requested English assistance to fortify their town. The new fortification became the town center. Sohrweide suggests that since the existing area of settlement was too dispersed to be enclosed, the new fort was located on open land roughly 100 meters to the southeast. Once completed, the new stockade enclosed approximately 6.5 acres (2.6 ha), sufficient to house most of the residents. At this point the older structures outside the fort could be used or abandoned as necessary. In all, Sohrweide estimates the Weston site covers approximately 9 acres (3.6 ha), roughly the same as its predecessor at Indian Hill (**6**).

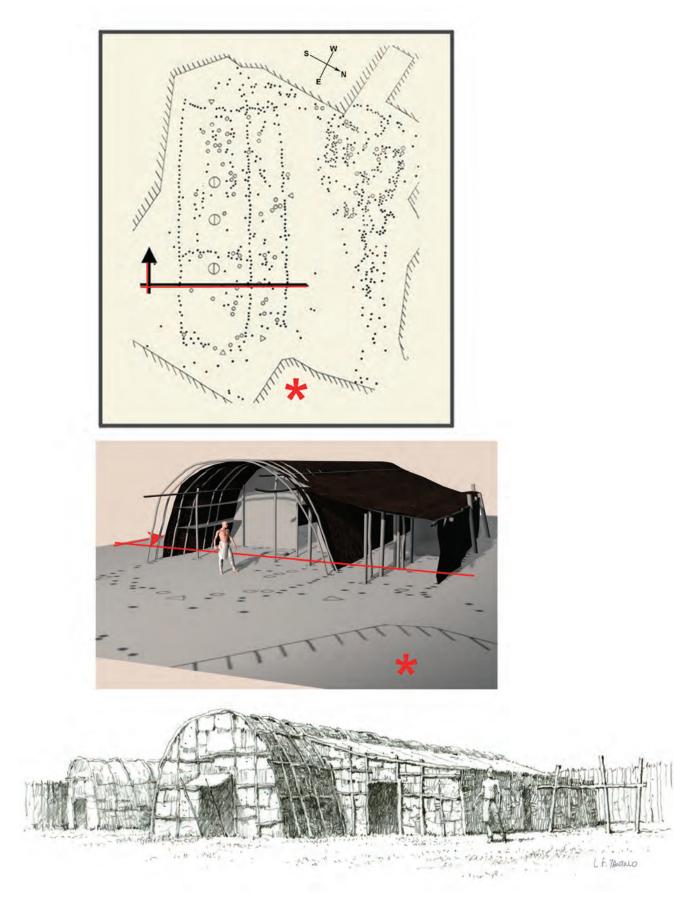
The Weston site provides the first archaeological evidence of European influence on Onondaga settlement patterns. The palisade at Weston was an unusual hybrid, European in form yet typically Onondaga in construction. For the first time palisade walls were built in straight lines rather than following natural contours. The palisade consisted of two walls of large posts set close together. A third wall of lighter posts set six feet out from the main palisade appears to have been a picket line. A roughly pentagonal bastion at each corner was another European-inspired innovation. Frontenac described the fort in a similar way—"an oblong flanked by four regular bastions. The two rows of stockades that touched each other were the thickness of an ordinary mast, and outside, at a distance of six feet, stood another row of much smaller dimensions." This is the reverse of the traditional palisade construction used at Indian Hill, where the lighter row of posts was placed inside the main wall to brace it and support a platform above (7).

Sohrweide's work at Weston highlights the changing size and configuration of the houses in the Onondaga settlement pattern. Nine structures were located within the palisade. Three were excavated completely and another six partially, and all appeared to be typical Onondaga longhouses, although some were apparently used for storage rather than residences. Constructed in the traditional manner, the houses at Weston show evidence of their decreasing size. Although size varied



**Figure 9.3.** Plan view of the Weston site excavation of Structure 9, the northwest bastion, and the adjacent section of palisade. Drawn by A. Gregory Sohrweide.

considerably, most of the excavated houses were only 50 to 70 feet (15–21 m) long. These smaller houses probably had two to three centrally located hearths and were shared by two or more families. The Frontenac map and Sohrweide's excavation data concur on two other aspects of this site. One is the degree to which the houses within the palisade were closely packed



**Figure 9.4.** Reconstructing a longhouse at the Weston site—(a) excavation plan for Structure 9, note change in orientation compared to the previous Figure 9.3, (b) digital three-dimensional reconstruction of Structure 9, note red line, arrow, and star indicating the relationship to the excavation plan, (c) artist's drawing of Structure 9. Reconstructions developed and drawn by L. F. Tantillo, 2014.

## Chapter Nine



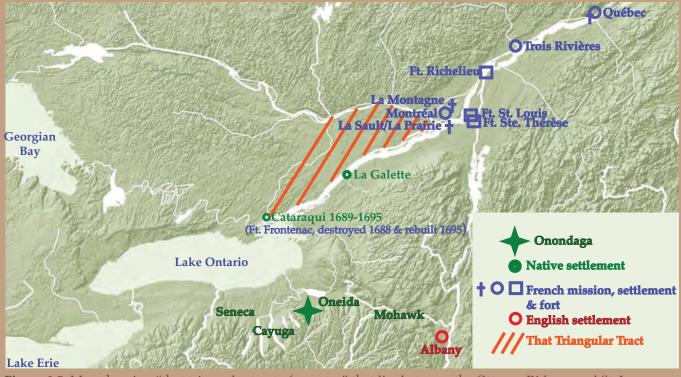
and oriented in north-south and east-west directions, creating plaza areas and narrow passages for defense. The other is the presence of structures outside the palisade. As a portion of the legend from the Frontenac map states, "There are in the aforementioned fort 60 bark huts, and in addition, 13 outside." The buildings outside the palisade appear to have been larger and more consistently 80 to 90 feet (24–27 m) long. Some, especially those on the northern side, may have been remnants of the town's earlier phase of development (8).

#### Fishing villages and outlying settlements

Two other changes in settlement pattern characterize this period. During the previous decades, Onondaga settlements had spread out to a considerable degree. After the peace treaties of 1665–1666, and especially with the end of the Susquehannock War, there is archaeological evidence for more intensive use of fishing camps. They encompassed the traditional locations from Brewerton west to Jack's Reef along the Seneca River, and from Onondaga Lake north along the eastern end of Lake Ontario to La Famine. While there is scant archaeological evidence, the historical documents clearly indicate that Onondaga interests extended even farther to the Iroquois du Nord sites in Ontario around Cataraqui and down the St. Lawrence to the head of the rapids at La Galette. After 1687 this expansion appears to have reversed due to the intensity of raids well into the heart of Onondaga territory. For example, in August 1693 at least two attacks on Onondaga fishing sites close to the main town by the Praying Indians of Canada were reported. The archaeological evidence also suggests that many of the outlying sites ceased to be used during the war years, ca. 1687 to 1701. The second change was the establishment of another settlement to the south and deeper within their territory, one that could serve as a refuge if needed. This is where the Onondaga went in 1696, when it became clear they could not defend their town successfully. Described as either 20 or 25 leagues (110-140 km) to the south of the Weston site, the location of this site is not currently known (9).

#### **Implications for population**

Once again, it is difficult to say much about the size and overall health of the Onondaga population during this period. An English survey of the population of New York in 1689 estimated the Onondaga had 500 warriors, while nine years later the number had dropped to 250. Disease was now a serious problem. For example, the smallpox epidemic that swept through New France after Governor-General Denonville's arrival in 1685 killed an estimated 10 percent of the Canadian population. Although the historical documents hint at a similar mortality among Native groups, little evidence is available. Whatever the actual numbers were, there is no question that the combination of warfare, disease, and privation between 1687 and 1696 resulted in considerable population loss (**10**).



**Figure 9.5.** Map showing "that triangular tract of country" that lies between the Ottawa, Rideau, and St. Lawrence Rivers, ca. 1696.

## Case Study 15. "That triangular tract of country," ca. 1696

After the traumatic events of 1687 at Cataraqui, few Five Nations' settlements remained on the north side of Lake Ontario. With the Susquehannock War over and hostilities with the French and their allies on the increase, there was less reason to live there. Although war parties, and occasional peace delegations, continued to travel across the western portion of the region, the focus now shifted to the east and especially "that triangular tract of country" between the lower Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers.

The Onondaga had used this area before, for hunting and fishing and to intercept fur convoys first led by Huron–Wendat and then later by Ottawa on their way to Montréal. Although those raids had ceased after the peace treaties of 1665-1666, they began again in the fall of 1687 along with attacks on Fort Frontenac at Cataraqui. The French abandoned the fort two years later, and Cataraqui became a staging area for Onondaga raids in 1689. Over the next decades some of the most brutal fighting between the Onondaga and the French, as well as with their allies from the Sault (La Prairie) and the Mountain near Montréal, took place within that triangular piece of land.

One place frequently used by the Onondaga was La Galette at the mouth of the Oswagatchie River and at the head of the first rapids in the St. Lawrence. The French had long used this area as a transfer point for moving supplies from canoes to sailing vessels that carried them on to Fort Frontenac or Fort Niagara. After 1687 La Galette served other purposes. Tegannisoren offered to meet Frontenac there in March 1690, refusing to go back to Cataraqui where the very ground had been "desecrated by the treachery perpetrated there." When peace efforts failed, La Galette was still useful as an advance base for raids on Montréal or the Sault. In 1695 Frontenac refortified Cataraqui, and he used it as well as La Galette as staging areas for his invasion of Onondaga the following year (11).

## Chapter Nine

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#### Subsistence

A significant shift during this period was the increased impact of European foods on Native people. As the historical documents make clear, bread, beer, salted meat, and other consumables were predictable gifts at the Albany Indian conferences and often in prodigious quantities. Occasionally, the Onondaga may have sought out these commodities in exchange for furs or services as well. Since these perishable goods would have left little archaeological trace, it is difficult to know how much European food actually reached Onondaga. There are two exceptions rum and domesticated animals.

Rum had become a mainstay of the English Indian Trade by 1680 and was used in ever-larger quantities during this period. Prior to 1687 before the war years began, a couple of vats were generally considered sufficient to lubricate conferences or negotiations. Afterward, it appears that 30 *runlets* (kegs) at two gallons each, were required to keep things civil, or at least sedated. Rum was an essential component of the Anglo-Dutch trader's inventory, although Native leaders frequently asked for more restrictions. As a 1689 list of prices indicates, one beaver could be exchanged for six quarts of rum in Albany. Although it is impossible to estimate the amount of rum that reached Onondaga through legal and illicit channels, the amount of bottle glass from Weston is five times more than was recovered at Indian Hill (12).

Domestic animals were the other visible component of European foodways. In addition to the bread, beer, and rum distributed at conferences, a bullock or hog was often provided. While there are no documentary accounts of livestock in Onondaga, the archaeological record provides some evidence they were there. As at Indian Hill, Sohrweide recovered a large faunal assemblage at Weston including three domesticated species—pig, cow, and sheep. Pig was the most common, represented primarily by teeth and foot bones. The most unexpected find was the upper foreleg and articulated forefoot from an adult sheep (13).

Striking as the presence of domesticated animals is, the overall faunal assemblage from Weston



**Figure 9.6.** Drawing of a reconstructed glass bottle incorporating pieces from the Weston site.

demonstrates that Natives were still using their traditional sources from hunting. But there are incremental changes. Meat consumption is still dominated by mammals although at a lower percentage than on some of the previous sites. Birds, on the other hand, comprise a larger portion of the assemblage than before, while the evidence for fish decreases.

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	Bone Fragments (% MNU) <sup>a</sup>			
Class of	Indian Castle	Indian Hill	Weston	
Vertebrate	MNU = 684	MNU = 2,036	MNU = 1,788	
Mammal	76	59	59	
Bird	13	23	31	
Fish	10	17	9	
Reptile	1	1	1	

# Table 9.1. Bone fragments found from four classes of vertebratesat three different sites, ca. 1655–1697

a % MNU-Percent Minimum Number of Units of verifiable bone fragments

# Table 9.2. Changes in percent of selected mammal species found<br/>on sites, ca. 1655–1696 (~65% of bone fragments shown)

	Bone Fragments (% MNU) <sup>a</sup>		
Mammalian Species	Indian Castle	Indian Hill	Weston
Species	MNU = 518	MNU = 1,194	MNU = 1,055
Deer	47.4	39	43.6
Elk	7.1	2.4	1.3
Bear	4.6	6.8	8.1
Dog	3.3	11.3	8.6
Beaver	3.1	4.2	1.9
Pig	-	0.3	1.0
Cow	-	-	0.4
Sheep	-	-	0.2
Percent shown	66	64	65

a % MNU—Percent Minimum Number of Units of verifiable bone fragments

For each mammalian species, specific changes become more apparent. Although apparently similar to Indian Castle and Indian Hill, the Weston assemblage indicates several trends. One is the changing frequency with which key species occur. At Weston, white-tailed deer remain the most frequently represented, however, elk have virtually disappeared by the end of the seventeenth century. Of the remaining key species, bear and beaver remain at comparable levels, while domestic dogs have apparently become an important dietary component. European domestic species pig, cows, and sheep—are a striking addition, but they are present in only trace amounts. Evidence of two others—immature moose and surprisingly bison—occurs for the first time at Weston. Finally, of more than 5,000 bones analyzed from Weston, none were human (14).



Birds represent a substantial component of the bones found at Weston. As one European observed while visiting Onondaga in April 1699, "All the Indians, young and old, were in the woods to fetch young pidgeons" (15). This observation is supported by the faunal data from Weston, where passenger pigeons are not only the largest percentage of bird remains, they are the most frequently occurring species in the overall assemblage, outnumbering even deer (16). The shift in target species, especially the decrease in waterfowl, suggests that some traditional hunting strategies may have been casualties of the ongoing hostilities after 1687.

Table 9.3. A comparison of mammalian bone by body sizefrom three Onondaga sites, ca. 1655–1696						
	Bone Fragments (% MNU) <sup>a</sup>					
Size of Mam-	Indian Castle	Indian Hill	Weston			
mals	MNU = 508	MNU = 1,177	MNU = 1,036			
Large	65	50	57			
Medium	28	30	22			
Small	7	20	21			

a % MNU—Percent Minimum Number of Units of verifiable bone fragments

Two other trends are suggested by the comparison of faunal assemblages from the Indian Castle, Indian Hill, and Weston sites. One is a set of gradual shifts in terms of preferred mammal size. During the 1655 to 1696 period, there appears to be an increase in the percentage of small mammals. A second and possibly related trend is the larger percentage of unidentifiable animal bone in the Weston assemblage. The high percentage may have resulted from intensive processing and be an indicator of dietary stress (17).

#### **European Materials**

The ups and downs of Onondaga diplomacy between 1683 and 1696 may not be visible in the archaeological record, but several of the circumstances that shaped their decisions are. One was the shift from the relative peace and affluence in the years prior to June 1687 to an increase in hardship and privation during the years that followed. Another was the degree to which changes in Europe drove events in North America and defined the available material options. The archaeological evidence from Weston provides an independent means to evaluate the choices Onondaga people made under these circumstances and some of the resulting consequences.

#### From the Indian Trade to diplomacy

The forces that drove events between 1683 and 1696 were largely European. By 1683 both England and France had constructed imperial systems and were aggressively extending them. It would only be a matter of time before

the two powers collided in Europe and also along their colonial frontiers. Located squarely between these expanding powers, the Five Nations were alternately wooed by the carrot of trade and threatened with the stick of military reprisal. In Europe the shift to large-scale warfare would not occur until 1689, when William of Orange forced a change in English sovereignty. In northeastern North America, the troubles started two years earlier. After Denonville's preemptive actions in 1687 against the Seneca, the Five Nations were drawn into a conflict that served increasingly as a proxy war between their European neighbors.

*Redefining an Anglo-Dutch assemblage, 1683 to 1696.* Control and expansion of the Indian Trade dominated English imperial policy during the 1680s. Whether as the Duke of York or the King of the Realm, James wanted his colony to prosper. A primary reason for issuing a city charter to Albany in 1686 was to confirm New York's monopoly over the Indian Trade, especially as competition from William Penn's new colony, the Province of Pennsylvania, began to intrude. The Albany Charter and subsequent ordinances reinforced many earlier restrictions, such as requiring all trade to take place within city limits. Traders were also prohibited from importing, and forbidden from directing Indian customers to a particular gunsmith or gun stock maker (**18**).

With their monopoly assured, Anglo-Dutch merchants were finally in a position to challenge French domination of the trade. Not only could they provide a better selection of the goods Indian people wanted, they could do so at cheaper prices, as the French often complained. Gov. Thomas Dongan was especially eager to see the trade expand west into the Great Lakes. Such a move could divert much of the remaining fur trade from Montréal to Albany and serve to check French ambitions in the region. In 1685 Dongan authorized an English trading party under Johannes Roseboom to travel west. Surprisingly, given the intense French opposition, Roseboom's group succeeded in reaching Ottawa and Wyandot communities around the Straits of Mackinac. Here they were welcomed and invited to return the following year. The French were as horrified by this as the English were pleased, but Roseboom's attempt to repeat his success in 1687 met a very different fate. French hostility was not the only factor that checked English economic ambitions. The market for furs in Europe had continued to decline, and as the preferred source for high-quality furs shifted north and west from the St. Lawrence drainage to James Bay, both Five Nations and Albany traders found themselves in an increasingly marginal position (19).

Changes in trade were accompanied by shifts in both production and distribution of goods, which gradually reshaped what was offered to Indian people. Inventories continued to include the axes, knives, and kettles that had long been staples of the trade, as well as the firearms, smoking pipes, and other consumer goods that had been added by midcentury. Increasingly, however, it was European cloth and clothing that

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dominated the trade lists. As Dongan reported in his 1686 summary on the state of the colony's revenue, "Merchandize commonly called Indian goods consisted of Duffels, Strouds, Blanketts, plains, half-thick, Woolen Stokins . . . [and] other Indian goods" (20). Although English production increased dramatically during this period, especially in terms of textiles, smoking pipes, and firearms, archaeologically it is unclear to what degree English goods reached Albany. Dutch families such as the Schuylers and the Philipses still controlled much of New York's commerce with Europe. As historian Patricia Bonomi has pointed out, the character of the import-export business during this period is best seen in the shipping records of wealthy merchants, such as Frederick Philipse who lived in the lower Hudson Valley. In summarizing his accounts for the late 1670s and 1680s, Bonomi observes that hides, more often deer or bear than beaver, and tobacco shipped from Virginia to New York, made up the bulk of his exports to Europe, while many of his imports originated from Amsterdam. Based on such inventories, it appears that a mix of goods produced in England and the Dutch Republic were available to Five Nations people, including linen, pipes, swords, musket barrels, tools, books, and other items (21).

Given the hostilities that dominated this period, the relationship between the Five Nations and the English changed in a fundamental way, from one based on trade to one of reluctant and awkward diplomacy. In economic terms the story was simple—the Indian Trade was a casualty of war. As Gov. Benjamin Fletcher complained in 1693, "Our Furr Trade is quite lost." Meanwhile goods were still available in Albany and at reasonable prices, but the Onondaga had little to trade for them (22).

As trade stagnated, European goods became available to the Five Nations through another source—gift giving. The Dutch and French had long used gifts to make a good impression and encourage favorable responses, and the English were quick to adopt this practice. With the collapse of the Indian Trade, gift giving became the preferred solution for the English to ensure the Five Nations' loyalty. By the 1680s foodstuffs and tobacco were often used as gifts at conferences and negotiations, in addition to the traditional axes, knives, and kettles. For example, at a September 1685 conference in Albany, William Byrd of Virginia presented tobacco, bread, rum, and a bullock to each of the Five Nations as well as cloth and wampum. As each new governor arrived or new crisis erupted, the English could be counted on to provide lavish presents. Often these were meant to impress and distract the Five Nations from the English failure to fulfill other commitments. At a June 1692 conference, for example, gifts included "400 lbs. powder, 700 lbs. lead, 15 dozen stockings, 6 grosse of pipes, 100 lbs. of tobacco, 72 shirts, 100 loaves bread, 50 gallons rum, one ox, and 2 barrels of beer," in addition to presents given to the sachems in private. A year later Governor Fletcher made even more extravagant gifts. Whether they came to Onondaga through trade or gifts, or even as trophies, English

and Dutch goods comprise a majority of the European materials found at the Weston site (23).

How are these changes in the source of goods reflected in the Weston site assemblage? To what degree are the standard classes of trade goods still present and in what forms? What is the evidence for differences in the production and distribution of those goods?

*Axes, knives, and other iron implements*. The sample of large field or utility axes from Weston is small, with only two complete examples showing heavy use. Ax shape seems variable, although the trend toward rounder eyes first seen at Indian Hill continues. Small belt axes are discussed separately later. The sample of knives is large, and as at Indian Hill, knives occur in three basic forms—blades with a tapered tang, a flat tang, and those with a folding blade. The first two forms may have come from either English or French sources. In general the Weston knives seem more lightweight in quality and lack the heft of those from earlier sites. The knives with folding blades are discussed later with the other French materials. Iron awls, like axes, are scarce at Weston.

Compared with earlier sites and contrary to antiquarian claims of finding vast amounts of iron implements, it is surprising that so few iron tools have been found at Weston. While it is not clear why this is the case, it appears to reflect several factors and more than just the harvesting of iron to be used for local blacksmithing during the nineteenth century. As the overall Weston assemblage suggests, this was a time of reduced trade and economic privation, and the evidence can be seen in several classes of material culture, not only iron.

*Kettles*. The sample of kettles from Weston is also small. As with iron tools, this may be a reflection of collecting bias, or it may indicate the degree to which materials were scarce when the site was occupied. There are a few square lugs, which have a strong French association as discussed later.



Omega-shaped lugs, generally correlated with English-sourced materials, are few at Weston, while they were the most common form at Indian Hill. There is one unusual lug that is cast rather than made from sheet metal and is the first occurrence of cast kettle lugs from Onondaga. This trend toward cast lugs would continue into and

**Figure 9.7.** Cast-brass kettle lugs from late seventeenth-century sites—

(a) partial lug, Weston site,(b) whole lug, Charlton Island, Ontario.

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expand during the eighteenth century (24).

Cloth seals and clothing. Several lead cloth seals have been recovered from Weston, and these, too, document the changing character of the Indian Trade. Gone are the familiar Dutch cloth seals from Kampen, Amsterdam, and Leiden. In their place is evidence of the increasing English imperial presence. Of the nine seals reported, only three are legible. One has a crown above a thistle and is an alnage, or inspector's seal from the reign of James II, and the other two appear to be merchant seals. Even though cloth and clothing are mentioned frequently in the historical documents, there is no direct archaeological evidence for them (25).



**Figure 9.8.** Alnage, or inspector's seal, depicting a crown above a thistle, the mark of James II, Weston site.

*Smoking pipes.* Although cloth may have shifted from Dutch to English sources, not all artifact classes followed suit. Nowhere is this clearer than in white-clay smoking pipes. There is a large sample from Weston, many of which have a maker's mark while others have decorative rouletting on the stem. All are Dutch and most appear to have been made in Gouda, the Dutch Republic's major producer of clay pipes after 1672.

Several things are distinctive about the Weston pipe assemblage. Although the EB and the orb marks found at Indian Hill continue to occur at Weston, most types occur for the first time here and represent the work of registered Gouda pipe makers. Surprisingly, the most common pipe mark HG remains the most enigmatic. It is unclear whose mark this was, and this plain HG is not listed in Duco's study of Gouda pipe makers. Although some scholars have identified it as the mark of Hendrick Gerdes, who married Edward Bird's widow in 1668 and was listed as a tobacco pipe maker until he died in 1685, it is unclear whether Gerdes marked his pipes HG or EB. The lack of any HG-marked pipes from Indian Hill, ca. 1663 to 1682, suggests the latter. Another possibility is that Hendrick Gloudjse Marté, who registered the crowned HG mark in 1694, produced plain HGmarked pipes prior to that date (26).

Heel mark <sup>a</sup>	Type of heel <sup>b</sup>	Quantity	Stem bore <sup>c</sup>	Duco# <sup>d</sup>	Likely Maker
HG	flush	5	5/64	-	
	flush	4	-	-	
	flush	1	6/64	-	
	-	1	-	-	
	-	1	9/64	-	
EB, type 2	flush	1	6/64	418	Adriaan van der Cruis, 1672–?
	low	1	-	-	
	low	1	6/64	-	
	medium	1	6/64	-	
EB, type 3	high	2	6/64	-	
EB, type 4 (EB in solid ring)	high	1	6/64	-	
Crown/HG	flush	3	6/64	474	Hendrick Gloudjse Marté
	medium	1	6/64	-	
Hand	medium	4	7/64	297	Jonas Jansz de Vriendt, 1660– 1696
	high	1	6/64	-	
Orb	low	1	8/64	29	Pieter Jansz Gleijne, 1674–?
	medium	2	6/64	-	
	medium	1	7/64	-	
Two figures	flush	3	7/64	178	Jan Sijmonsz Kunst, 1689–?
	flush	1	7/64	-	
Bell	high	3	6/64	229	Pieter Jacobsz van Elst, 1677–1726
IW/star	medium	3	6/64	632	
AIO	flush	1	5/64	794	Arij Jansz Overwesel, 1675–?
PS	flush	1	-	599	Pieter Jooste Soutman, 1675–?
Man with sword/shield	high	1	-	171	not listed, 1670-?
Man with staff	medium	1	-	-	

 Table 9.4. Marked Dutch smoking pipes from the Weston site (n = 47; 29% of sample)

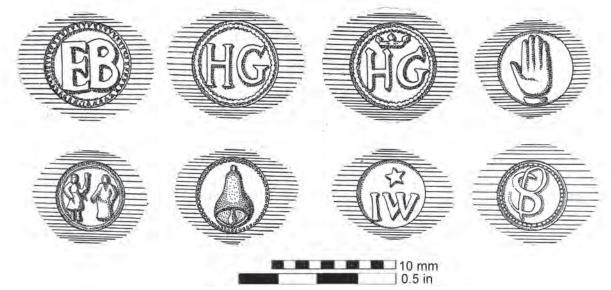
a Marks—terminology for marks, type of heel, and stem bores according to Bradley and DeAngelo (1981). b Type of heel—high, medium, low, or flush

c Stem bore—measurements in inches

d Duco# and Likely Maker—Duco (2003).

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**Figure 9.9.** Marks on Dutch white-clay pipes from Weston—(a) EB, late variety, (b) HG, (c) crowned HG, (d) hand, (e) two figures, (f) bell, (g) IW/star, (h) PS monogram.

It is noteworthy that no English-made pipes, so common on English colonial sites of this period, occur at Weston. English governors did give out large numbers of pipes at two Indian conferences —Richard Ingoldsby's gift of "6 grosse of pipes" given in 1692, and Governor Fletcher's 5.5 gross tobacco pipes the following year. However, it is not known whether these were English- or Dutch-made. While it is tempting to try to match one or more of the marks from Weston with such events, it is not really possible. The one thing the pipe evidence does make clear is, whatever their previous troubles, England and the Dutch Republic were now on the same side against the French (27).

**Figure 9.10.** Drawings of eight varieties of pipestem decoration, or rouletting, from Weston—

- (a) lightly incised line,
- (b) two to five bands of fine dots,

Chapter Nine

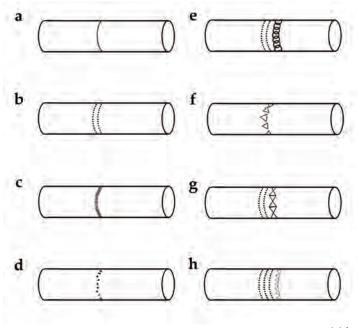
- (c) band of fine dashes,
- (d) uneven band of dots,

(e) two bands of fine dots with a chain of overlapping circles,

(f) band of wedge-shaped marks,

(g) two bands of fine dots with a band of diamonds or hourglass shapes,

(h) three bands of fine dots and a band of triangles.

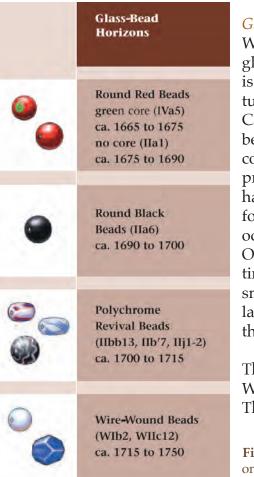


Weston (n = 1,231; 88% of bead sample)							
	_						
Rank	Kidd # <sup>a</sup>	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Quantity			
1	IIa6	R	black	462			
2	IIa1	R	red	449			
3	IVa5	R	red	67			
4	IIIa1/3	T/t	red	64			
5	Ia1	T/ut	red	33			
6a	IIIa13	R	white	32			
6b	IIa40	R	robin's egg blue	32			
6c	IIIa1/3	T/ut	red	32			
7	IIa55	R	brite navy	30			
8	IIa46	R	shadow blue	30			

# Table 9.5. Most frequently occurring glass beads from<br/>Weston (n = 1,231; 88% of bead sample)

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970

b Shape—T - tubular, R - round, t - tumbled, ut - untumbled



*Glass beads.* As on previous sites, the beads from Weston are almost exclusively made of drawn glass, but there are also significant changes. One is the continued shift in preference away from the tubular forms that dominated at Lot 18, Indian Castle, and Indian Hill toward a large majority being round forms at Weston. Another change is in color preference. As on earlier sites there is a strong preference for red beads, however, at Weston half the beads are black or dark blue. Perhaps for this reason Five Nations sites of this period occasionally have been called "Black Bead sites." One other shift is in preferred size. For the first time, circular and round beads in small and very small sizes occur more frequently than tubular or large round beads, comprising nearly 60 percent of the overall assemblage (28).

There is another minor change in the beads from Weston, a portent of greater changes to come. That is the presence of new forms of drawn beads,

**Figure 9.11.** Glass-bead horizons for beads found on Onondaga sites, ca. 1665-1750.

specifically large ovals and those with an elongated, or a peanutlike shape. Most are monochrome, but a few striped varieties occur. There are also a few small wirewound beads. These new varieties occur on other late seventeenthcentury English sites, such as Charles Towne Landing in the Province of Carolina, ca. 1670 to 1680, and Fort Albany

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**Figure 9.12.** New forms of glass beads according to their Kidd and Kidd types from Weston.

Drawn type—

(a) white oval bead, IIa15\*,

(b) black oval bead, IIa8,

(c) dark-blue oval bead, IIa57\*,

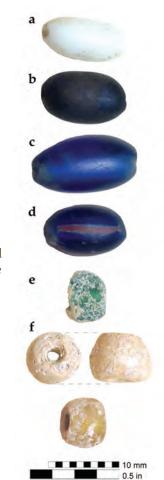
(d) red-striped brite-navy oval bead, IIbb\*.

Wire-wound type-

(e) green round bead, WIIa3,

(f) two views of a gold acentric bead with white surface oxide, and a third view showing some surface oxide removed, WIb2.

on James Bay in Ontario, ca. 1690 to 1710. The scarcity of these new forms at Weston suggests that they were introduced late in the site's occupation. They become much more common at the subsequent Jamesville and Pen sites. Although it remains unclear where these new bead forms were produced, the current evidence suggests that the Dutch Republic continued to be the primary producer of beads for export into the early eighteenth century (29).



*Firearms*. Although quantities of guns and gun parts were reported from Weston in antiquarian accounts, only a small archaeological sample is known from excellent-quality firearms, often with state-of-the-art flintlock mechanisms. These were not military muskets, but lighter small-caliber fusils or hunting guns made specifically for Native clients. As Governor Fletcher observed in 1693, "The Five Nations of Indians . . . will not carry the heavy firelocks I did bring over with me, being accustomed to light small fuzées for their hunting." This is another example of how consumer preference dictated the kind of merchandise selected for trade (**30**).

The governor 's description does not clarify where the firearms he brought or saw at Onondaga were made. The final decades of the seventeenth century were a period of rapid change in firearm production and technology. Although the Dutch produced the majority of northern Europe's armaments until 1670, it was a different situation by 1690. In England the production of high-quality arms began under the Stuart Restoration, and received a significant boost as Protestant gunsmiths emigrated from France after the revocation of the Edit of Nantes in 1685. These smiths brought more sophisticated technology as well as the Baroque style to English production. The greatest innovations occurred in high-end civilian arms and on occasion in commercial production. The

Oakes-pattern lock adopted by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1686 is an example. Major changes in military arms did not begin until William III began to modernize weaponry and established more uniform standards for production, driven by wars in Ireland and on the continent (**31**).

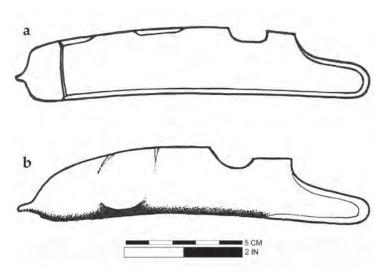


Figure 9.13. Drawings of lock-plate styles found at Weston— (a) Puype Type-VII, (b) Puype Type -IX.

In terms of archaeological evidence, there are only two relatively complete locks and one partially stripped lock plate from Weston compared with the 15 examples from Indian Hill. Still, these represent a significant shift in technology. Whereas the majority of firearms from Indian Hill had mid-seventeenth-century style mechanisms and a few of the more progressive French-inspired locks, the locks from Weston are in the most up-to-date style. Even if fewer arms reached the Onondaga during these years, they were high-quality weapons (32).

Lead shot and ball provide additional information about these weapons and support Fletcher's observation of the preference for light small *fuzées* (fusils). The sample from Weston is about half that from Indian Hill. In addition to small and large shot, the majority of ammunition are balls for pistols and muskets. There is considerable evidence of Native casting, including two cut pieces of bar lead plus numerous sprues and sows, the detritus of casting.

Wherever the arms were made in England, in the Dutch Republic, in France, or by an independent producer like Liège, they saw hard use once they reached Onondaga. Unlike previous sites, fewer parts appear to have been discarded and more appear to be worn out or broken beyond reuse. The ongoing Onondaga appeals for arms and assistance in repairing the ones they had were not exaggerations (33).

*From imperial to individual.* The shift from economic competition to border warfare redefined the trade after 1687. This change is evident in the archaeological record as well. Prior to that date, there appears to have been prosperity and expanded contacts between the Onondaga and their Anglo-Dutch neighbors. At Weston, there is a larger quantity of consumer goods than on previous sites, such as latten spoons, glass bottles, and European ceramics, as well as specialty goods like pewter smoking pipes and buckles. As at Indian Hill, Anglo-Dutch craftsmen continued to provide essential services, such as making and repairing axes, other implements,

and firearms, whether these activities occurred in Albany or Onondaga (34).

After 1687, and especially as the border wars intensified after 1689, the trade not only shrank, but changed in profound ways. With a renewed focus on making and repairing weapons, the production of luxury goods such as pewter pipes appears to have ceased. Firearms continued to be assembled throughout the period. As Stephenus van Cortlandt, a member of the governor's council, observed in 1694, while it remained cheaper to import barrels and locks, "The stocks are better made at New York or Albany." In addition to firearms, other martial equipment was produced, including ice creepers for winter fighting and belt axes or hatchets. These were smaller and lighter versions of the familiar field ax, which had been made since the 1660s. With the expansion of trade during the 1670s, belt axes had quickly found a place in the tool kit of voyageurs, warriors, and anyone else who travelled the backcountry. With the increase in hostilities after 1687, these tools found a new purpose. Deadly at close range and at a distance, they were the perfect weapon for the "skulking way of war" that would ravage the borderlands. By the 1690s belt axes had become the preferred weapon for Natives and Europeans alike. Belt axes very similar to the three found at Weston have been found in Albany and were recovered from the 1690 wreck of the *Elizabeth and Mary* (35).

Given the intensity of hostilities after 1687, one would expect the presence of medals, coins, or other markers of English identity at Weston, but none



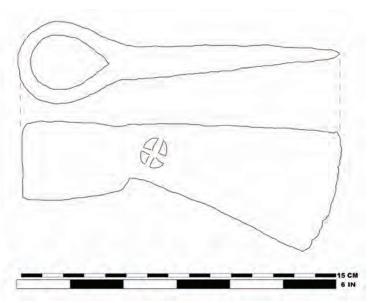


**Figure 9.14.** Europeanmade pewter objects—

(a) pewter pipe similar to examples from the Weston site, Jefferson County, NY,

(b) hourglass-shaped pewter buckle with integral center post, Weston site,

(c) part of a rectangular German silver (?) buckle with brass tongue, Weston site.



**Figure 9.15.** Tracings of a belt ax from Weston—top, view of poll and socket; bottom, side view showing mark.

have been reported. Since the documents indicate that placards, signs, and printed materials were used for propaganda and to establish claims, it is surprising that no more tangible evidence of those imperial concerns has survived. Perhaps this is another instance of a sampling problem, or it may also be an indication of how peripheral the imperial powers in Europe considered events in this corner of North America.

*Redefining French assemblages, 1683 to 1696.* Although the English imperial system grew rapidly between 1683 and 1696, it was the French who used the twin tools of trade and war most effectively during these years. By the early 1680s the French seemed poised to control most of eastern North America through a network of missions and trading establishments that spanned the Eastern Woodlands from the Atlantic through the Great Lakes and into the upper Mississippi Valley. The reality, however, was that New France was dangerously unstable. There were bitter internal divisions, such as between La Salle and the Montréal merchants, and the economy remained too dependent on an increasingly obsolete fur trade. What Louis XIV needed from his colony was revenue to support his wars in Europe, not more furs in an already glutted market.

To correct this Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's finance minister, initiated a new strategy in 1681, one designed to bring greater control and less corruption to the trade. Known as the *congé* system, this policy allowed 25 permits a year to be issued to deserving parties. Each would have permission to send one cargo into the interior. At least, that was the theory. In practice, rumors of an amnesty and the opportunity to enter the trade before more restrictions were put in place actually increased the number of men who went west. As a result, until the renewal of hostilities after 1687, the French fur trade continued at an overheated pace (**36**).

As with the English, there is documentary evidence for the trade, especially inventories. In a 1684 memo summarizing his expenses at Fort Frontenac, Sieur de La Salle noted what was needed to drive a profitable trade. The list contains many of the expected items—200 small kettles, 1,000 iron axes, 1,200 lbs. of large black beads, 2,400 *flatin* knife blades, and quantities of small iron items. La Salle's list also contained a substantial amount of European clothing, including 1,800 white shirts and 500 pairs of stockings, plus several kinds of cloth and large quantities of brandy and wine. Given the frequent Onondaga presence at Cataraqui, it is likely that some of the artifacts from Weston came from such inventories. Another valuable list was included in Lahontan's contemporary "Inventory of Goods that are proper for the Savages"—axes, knives, shoemakers' awls, iron arrowheads, sword blades, fishhooks, kettles, *fuzées* (fusils), vermillion, and "Venice beads," plus a variety of clothing items, caps, shirts, and stockings. On the diplomatic side, the French continued to use Native practices in their negotiations. This included the protocol of giving gifts during presentations as well as providing generous hospitality during conferences.



French gifts during this period were seldom as generous as those of the English, but often were used with more specific intent and greater effect. As Father Lamberville advised Governor-General La Barre in February 1684, "Presents conjoined with kindness and courtesy are arms which the Iroquois scarcely ever resist." Although it would take more than a few presents to mend relations with the Onondaga after 1687, carefully focused gift giving remained an essential component of French diplomatic policy (**37**).

While the documents give us an indication of what was available, they do not always predict, or explain, what appears in the archaeological record. This is especially the case during this period when relationships between the Onondaga and French changed so radically. Defining a French assemblage for these years remains a challenge for several reasons. We have already discussed some of them, such as the difference between who produced as opposed to who actually traded a particular commodity like glass beads. There were also huge changes in France as domestic production grew, making material goods more available for internal consumption and export. Firearms are a good example. There is also the question of markets. For whom were trade goods intended, and to what degree did different groups of Indian people want different things?

One way to identify the French-related materials from Weston is by comparison with those from contemporaneous sites closely associated with French missions and trading activities. Among them are the Marquette Mission and related sites around the Straits of Mackinac, the Rock Island site at the mouth of Green Bay, and sites related to La Salle's activities in Illinois country. Another site that has proved particularly important for comparison is the wreck of the *La Belle*, La Salle's ship, which sank off the Texas coast in early 1686, as mentioned in Chapter Seven. Its cargo of trade goods was one based largely on his experiences in the Northeast. Taken together, these materials provide a basis for the kind of French material we would expect to find at Weston.

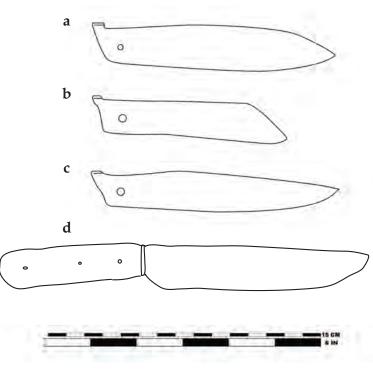
*Axes and other iron implements.* There is little doubt that a significant amount of French material reached Onondaga, at least during the years prior to 1687. Identifying that material is more challenging. For example, while axes continue to be listed in French inventories, it is not clear what they look like archaeologically. Surprisingly, very few have been reported from French-related sites in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley. The best evidence comes from axes in the *La Belle* cargo. With rounder eyes and lighter weight construction, these axes share many of the features that characterize contemporaneous Anglo-Dutch ones (**38**).

Small iron implements remain one of the most distinctive categories of French material culture, a tradition that extended back to the early decades of the seventeenth century. In some cases the forms changed little, such as

the long-tanged iron points used by the French throughout the century. Awls are another traditional implement and occur in single and doublepointed forms. Other small-scale iron objects that may be of French origin include *battes-feu* (fire strikers), iron harpoons, and fishhooks. All of these objects occur in much smaller quantities at Weston than they did at Indian Hill (39).

*Knives.* Knives are perhaps the most distinctive form of French ironwork from this period. As with firearms, French knife making increased rapidly during the last quarter of the seventeenth century, with St. Étienne emerging as a primary manufacturing center. Although both case knives and folding knives were produced, the latter were especially popular and came in several forms. Three types of folding knives characterize the period—

- *jambette* blades These were small knives with a slightly convex blade and a pointed tip. The Jesuits had used these as gifts and for exchange since the late 1630s.
- *flatin* blades A large knife with a long rectangular blade, also known as the "hawk-bill" style. It was often associated with St. Étienne makers and named in period inventories, such as the 2,400 listed by La Salle in 1684 for Fort Frontenac.
- *siamois* blades A long more-asymmetrical blade, often referred to as the "Siamese" style. These knives are primarily an eighteenthcentury form, although some examples may date from the final decades of the seventeenth century (40).



The tendency to stamp the blade with the maker's mark, initials, or even a complete name, is especially evident on folding knives. Although usually illegible due to corrosion, several knives from Weston have legible marker's marks. The survival of these marks may have been the result of the 1696 fire that destroyed the site. Canadian

**Figure 9.16.** Drawings of French knifeblade styles of the mid- to late seventeenth century—

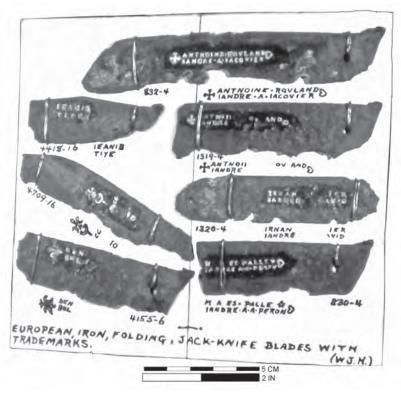
- (a) jambette-style folding blade,
- (b) *flatin*-style folding blade,
- (c) siamois-style folding blade,
- (d) case knife with a flat tang and thin raised collar.

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archaeologist Marcel Moussette has suggested the same phenomenon was responsible for the large number of marked blades that survived a 1713 fire at the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec (41). Two of the Weston blades have what appear to be complete names stamped on their left side. It is very likely that these and the other marked knife blades from Weston were made in St. Étienne and even may have been among those listed in La Salle's inventory for Fort Frontenac (42).

While there are no exact matches between the marked knives from Weston and other French-related sites at present, there are many similar examples. One item of cargo from the *La Belle* was a case of flatin-style



**Figure 9.17.** Folding-knife blades each showing a maker's mark, mounted on a board from the Haberle collection. On the right are four from the Weston site.

knives with several marked blades. Many also occur at the Marquette Mission, Lasanen at the Straits of Mackinac, and Rock Island sites.

There were at least three siamois-style blades from Rock Island from between 1670 and 1700, but there were no knife blades of this style found at either Weston or on the *La Belle*. This suggests that the siamois-style blade was introduced after 1686, at a time when Onondaga was increasingly out of the loop for French trade (43).

*Firearms*. While England struggled to catch up, France became Europe's premier arms maker, superseding the Dutch during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The primary force behind this, as in most things, was Louis XIV, who needed weaponry for his wars in Europe and for supplying his colonies. Louis dictated taste as well as policy, even in something as specific as firearms. By 1670 Paris was the leading center of design and craftsmanship in Europe, importing Italian craftsmen and training their French counterparts in the Baroque style. Although Paris was the most important and influential producer of firearms, other regional centers soon emerged. Among them were St. Étienne, ca. 1664, Charleville in 1667, and Tulle in 1691. These royally sanctioned manufactories, especially at St. Étienne and Charleville, produced massive quantities of arms during the last decade of the seventeenth century. Estimates indicate that no less than 600,000 fusils were made (44).

While the historical documents often emphasize the importance of Frenchmade firearms during this period, the archaeological evidence for them is scarce. Weston is not the only site with a small assemblage. Very few gun parts are known from the French-related sites in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley. Although an important comparative assemblage was recovered from the *La Belle*, few details have been reported (**45**).

*Kettles.* Brass kettles are another item frequently listed in inventories but difficult to identify archaeologically. As we have seen, kettles with lugs made from sheet metal with folded corners are frequent on French-related sites. While the sample of lugs from Weston is small, most are in this style. The dearth of kettles also appears to characterize contemporaneous French-related sites in the western Great Lakes. In a recent study of those sites, archaeologist Heather Walder observed that while lugs with folded corners were the most common style she encountered, most came from sites that date primarily from the early eighteenth century (**46**). There is far less archaeological evidence of kettles than might be expected, given the documentary references.

*Glass beads*. As discussed above, it is difficult to sort out where the glass beads of this period were made, much less who used them in trade. For example, round black beads are the most frequently occurring variety at Weston, and some of them are large. Are these related to the "two hundred pounds of large black beads" that La Salle ordered in 1684? At present there is no way to tell. What complicates this further is the similarity between the beads found at Weston and those from the sites of French-allied Indians in the Great Lakes, such as the Potawatomi at Rock Island and the Meskwaki (Fox) at the Bell site. This overlap of bead styles becomes more pronounced on the subsequent Jamesville and Pen sites discussed in Chapter Eleven. One way in which the Weston beads are similar to those from the Great Lakes sites is the greater emphasis on very small beads generally used for embroidery, rather than large round or tubular beads. The cargo of the *La Belle* contained a wooden box with more than 600,000 beads, all seed



**Figure 9.18.** Two French religious medals from Weston—

(a) crucifixion with three crosses,

(b) obverse, St. Loyola, and reverse, likely Saint Loyola and Saint Xavier.



beads with dark blue, white, and black as the predominant colors. When La Salle selected this inventory, he made his choices in large part based on his experiences with Native preferences in the Northeast and the midcontinent. These similarities challenge the idea that all the beads from Weston came via Anglo-Dutch networks (47).

*Religious objects*. Objects such as finger rings and medals present a different kind of interpretative challenge. In terms of context, we know there was an active Jesuit presence at Weston, at least until the summer of 1687 when Lamberville's mission came to an abrupt end. After that, there was no mission-related activity in Onondaga and substantial anti-French and probably anti-Christian sentiment for the remainder of the period.

The assemblage of religious objects from Weston is small in spite of the numerous historical references to rings, crucifixes, and medals from the site. Only seven rings have been documented from Weston compared with more than ten times that many from Indian Hill. Each of the Weston rings has a different motif, and with one exception all are of the later cast-stamped style of manufacture. Most can be replicated in the assemblages from the *La Belle* and the mission-related sites at St. Ignace (**48**). While no crucifixes have been documented from Weston, there are two French religious medals. An interesting feature of these medals is that the suspension loops have been broken off, and in each case the medal has been redrilled so it could still be worn (**49**).

Whether sacred or secular, these objects appear to represent some level of identification with the French. While the dramatic decrease in the number of these items is no surprise given the state of hostilities, why would any Onondaga choose to identify with these symbols? One possibility is they represent a continued commitment to the French. In spite of the troubles, there were still pro-French people in Onondaga. Another possibility is these objects were captured and used as trophies, as in the case of the cross that Garakontié rescued in 1661. A third explanation is these rings and medals served as an expression of personal belief. While this may have included identifying with Christian beliefs, it is more likely it reflects a hybrid view, one that used Christian symbols in a spiritual practice that was evolving as rapidly as other aspects of Onondaga culture.

*Consumer goods and curiosities.* Some categories of consumer goods at Weston are unequivocally French. This includes a small amount of green-glazed earthenware, probably from the Saintonge area south of La Rochelle on the Atlantic coast of France, and a few French coins (50). Other objects are likely to be French, including small brass bells made from sheet metal and two-piece buttons of similar manufacture. Although the sample of bells from Weston is small, they are common items on other contemporaneous French-related sites. The same is true of the dome-shaped brass buttons that were probably used on coats. We know that

items of clothing were often listed in French inventories and highly valued by Indian people. As Lamberville observed from Onondaga in 1684, "overcoats (*capots*) and shirts . . . are the most efficacious means to gain over, or to preserve public opinion." While the clothing has not survived, buttons of this style occur on both French domestic sites and Native sites such as Lasanen at Michilimackinac, which was strongly associated with French trade and mission activity. In Onondaga, these buttons first occur at Indian Hill and continue to occur at Weston although in smaller numbers. Again, one would expect to find more of these bells and buttons at Weston than on previous sites had trade continued and the war not intervened (**51**).

While comparisons between the Weston assemblage and those from other French-related sites demonstrate similarities, they also underscore some significant differences. Glass beads provide an example. As we have seen, round necklace-sized beads dominate the assemblage from Weston with a continued preference for the color red. Yet on virtually all the French-related sites, the preferences are different. Whether from Native sites in the Great Lakes, the mid-continent, or from the *La Belle*, the vast majority of the beads are small to very small with color preferences of black, dark blue, and white. There are few of the larger beads and virtually no red ones. These variations in bead size and color preference from those at Weston suggest that by the mid–1680s French merchants may have tailored their inventories to different customers. Or, perhaps the Five Nations were no longer first on the French list of clients (52).

A number of questions about French material goods during this period remain unanswered. Where are the imperial markers? While Clark reported several brass crescents from Weston bearing the inscription "*Roi de France et Dieu*," none are currently known from Weston, nor have any been reported from other sites. Secular medals are also absent. Aside from the Indian Hill example depicting Louis XIV, few if any other examples are known from sites of this period (53). Another question is to what degree did the Onondaga receive items produced in Montréal, as they did those produced in Albany? And what about the illicit trade between Montréal and Albany, so important during the 1670s and early 1680s that was happily facilitated by the Mohawk and their Christian brethren in the Praying Towns? How long did these interactions continue after 1687? At present, the archaeological data are not sufficient to address these questions.

## A material view of Onondaga

The material evidence of European trade from the Weston site demonstrates the changing nature of the Indian Trade between 1683 and 1696 in several ways. First were the years of prosperity following the end of the Susquehannock War and continuing until 1687. These were good years when Onondaga traders and raiders brought back substantial material wealth from both Anglo-Dutch and French sources. After 1687, however,



we begin to see the virtual collapse of trade and the hardships of renewed border warfare in a material assemblage increasingly characterized by scarcity, reuse, and improvisation. This is evident in the apparent decrease in French-sourced materials as well as the increase in Anglo-Dutch giftgiving items, such as white-clay tobacco pipes. For all their material wealth at the beginning of this period, the Onondaga found themselves both impoverished and abandoned by their imperial neighbors by 1696.

### **Native Materials**

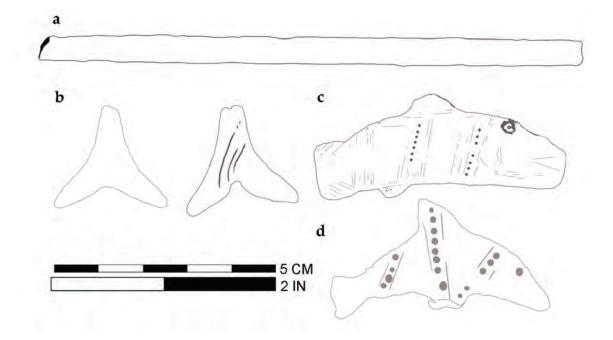
The prosperity prior to 1687 and the privation that followed are evident in the three classes of high-value materials that we have followed over the course of the seventeenth century.

### Marine shell

Although there is an overall decrease in the amount of marine shell at Weston, it remained a preferred material for aesthetic as well as ritual expression. This was a period when Europeans, especially the English, began to exercise greater control over the distribution and probably production of shell objects. It was also a time when new and distinctive forms appeared. Some of them, such as large marine-mammal-shaped runtees, provide a basis for tracking trade and how shell was redistributed as a consequence of warfare.

*Modal forms.* It appears that a precipitous decline in the production of marine-shell objects occurred during the middle 1680s. The shell assemblage from Weston certainly fits that pattern (54). Wampum is still present, but in substantially smaller quantities than at Indian Hill or Indian Castle. From the thousands of beads found on those earlier sites, there are only hundreds at Weston. This was the result of several factors from changes in production to the political upheavals in Europe and the American colonies, especially in New York. Whatever the cause, Fr. Joseph-François Lafitau observed, "Wampum has become rarer," and said that a few years later, "and is not as well worked up as formerly." Other bead styles, especially the massive, columella, and the small and very small discoidal beads seen at Indian Hill, are present at Weston but in lesser amounts. Other notable decreases include several shell forms that had characterized the assemblages from Indian Hill and Indian Castle that all but disappear at Weston (55).

In contrast, there are some noteworthy increases in some forms. One is a dramatic fivefold increase in the number of long tubular shell beads, or pipe beads. A new form is the Y-shaped, or triconcave, bead that appears to coevolve in shell and in red stone during the last half of the seventeenth century. It is well represented in shell at Weston, but does not occur in red stone. The situation is reversed at sites like Rock Island in Wisconsin, where the Y-shaped form occurs in pipestone, but not in marine shell (56).



**Figure 9.19.** Marine-shell beads and runtees from Weston—(a) very long tubular or pipe bead, (b) two Y-shaped or triconcave beads, (c) zoomorphic runtee, (d) zoomorphic runtee, style 2.

There is also an increase in the number of elaborate runtees and gorgets. Most of the runtees reported are the familiar circular shape, and a few are the new zoomorphic forms usually described as fish or marine mammals (57). Five gorgets from Weston are more consistently and elaborately decorated with incising and drilling than those from previous sites, with the exception of one large plain gorget (58). The Weston examples also document a change in the way gorgets were perforated, from the traditional Mississippian and Chesapeake styles to a new hybrid form with two central perforations. This is discussed further under Hybridization.

*Technology and distribution*. By the mid-1680s the production of marineshell objects, such as "wampum pipes and Indian jewells," became more restricted and smaller amounts of more elaborate objects were produced. There is continued evidence of Native styles and influence from the mid-Atlantic, including the ongoing presence of small and very small discoidal beads, a few *Marginella* and *Olivella* beads, and a preference for drilleddot motifs. Currently, there is little evidence that the Onondaga did much shell work at Weston with only four small pieces of partially worked shell reported. However, this may reflect sampling rather than reality (59).

How elaborate marine-shell objects moved across the Northeast and farther west is unclear. With the exception of two sites around the Straits of Mackinac, Gros Cap and Lasanen, there is little shell from western sites of this period. Archaeologist Ron Mason reported none from Rock Island, and very few shell objects have been reported from Illinois country. Some of the

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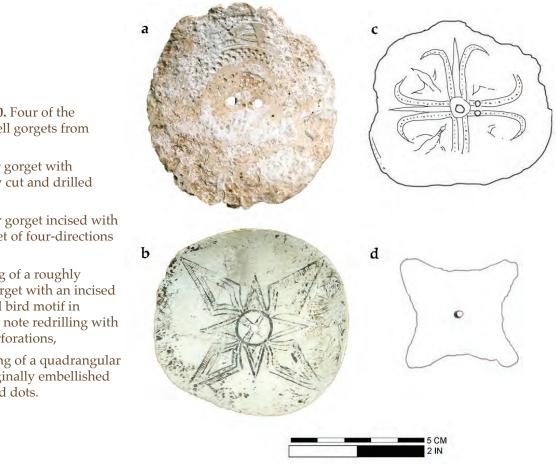


Figure 9.20. Four of the marine-shell gorgets from Weston-

(a) circular gorget with elaborately cut and drilled motifs,

(b) circular gorget incised with a double set of four-directions motifs,

(c) drawing of a roughly circular gorget with an incised and drilled bird motif in quadrants, note redrilling with double perforations,

(d) drawing of a quadrangular gorget originally embellished with drilled dots.

> St. Ignace area sites, such as Richardson and the Marquette Mission, have only small amounts of shell in their assemblages, objects that could have been acquired through trade prior to 1687. After that, it is likely the return to intertribal warfare, rather than trade, determined how shell objects were distributed or redistributed. But Gros Cap and Lasanen are different. Gros Cap has almost a dozen marine-shell objects, including effigies, runtees, and a large plain mask-style gorget. The Lasanen assemblage is larger, with nearly 50 such objects as well as more than 14,000 wampum beads, including seven belt fragments (60).

Elaborate runtees and gorgets along with wampum were probably brought back as highly prized trophies from raiding rather than trading. Although the ethnicity of the people at Gros Cap remains unknown, those at Lasanen were Ottawa and Wyandot, among the staunchest of French allies. Their warriors played a major role in Denonville's invasion of Seneca territory in 1687 and the subsequent looting of Seneca burials. The inventory of shell artifacts from Lasanen is virtually a catalog of the marine-shell objects typical of those found at the Seneca sites destroyed in 1687. Since in general, marine-shell objects are scarce on sites of this period in the Great Lakes, this suggests it is likely that the marine-shell items excavated

at Lasanen were trophies brought from Seneca country. They were used at Lasanen and eventually reburied with the families of those who had brought them back (**61**).

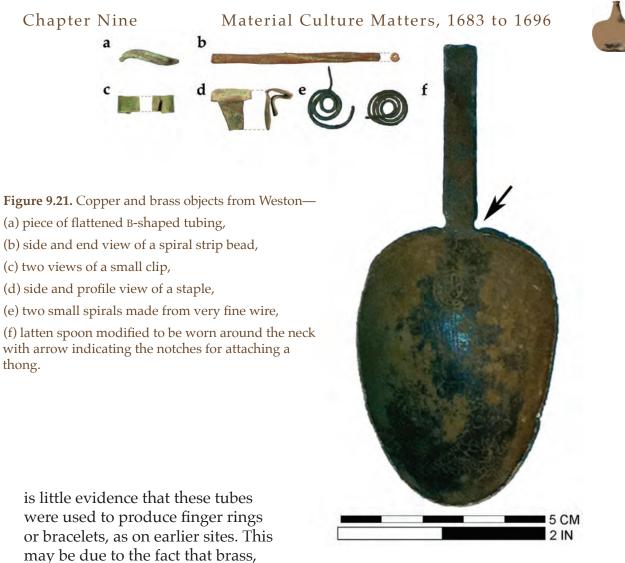
Ottawa and Wyandot warriors did not participate in Governor-General Frontenac's 1696 attack on Onondaga. However, it is likely that Onondaga burials received treatment similar to that of the Seneca. As Frontenac observed, his troops spent several days destroying the corn crop and discovering the caches that the Onondaga had left behind, which were zealously "pillaged by our Frenchmen and Indians." It is doubtful the clearly marked burial grounds fared any better. The desecration of burials, like the taking of scalps, was one of the most personally destructive and disruptive acts one could commit against an adversary. As Lafitau observed, "The Iroquois . . . have always been very religious in respect to their dead." As a result, it was "the most cruel mark of enmity" to profane their cemeteries and scatter the bones from them. We do not know precisely what Frontenac's troops and Praying Indian auxiliaries did to the cemeteries at Weston or earlier sites like Indian Hill, but it may be that the systematic desecration of burials helps explain the long-standing reluctance of Onondaga people to return to Bloody Hill (62).

### Copper and its alloys

It is a challenge to interpret the copper and brass assemblage from Weston. Like at Indian Castle, it is an impoverished assemblage compared with those from Indian Hill and Lot 18. In part, this is once again a matter of sampling. Early collectors seldom picked up scrap, kettle lugs, or even partially completed objects. Interpretation is also difficult because it is likely that copper and brass were used very differently during the earlier period of prosperity and the later years of austerity. These issues aside, copper and brass continued to be present and used in both utilitarian and ritual ways, and even made into new forms.

*Modal forms*. In terms of simple flat forms, ornamental ones such as traditional disc-shaped pendants still occur at Weston but are less frequent than at Indian Hill. The majority of flat forms at Weston are implements. The most common of these are triangular projectile points, not surprising given the hostilities of the period. The Weston assemblage also has a number of other implements in both expedient and patterned forms, including knives, saws, and awls made from sheet brass. It is unclear whether these were made out of choice or necessity (63).

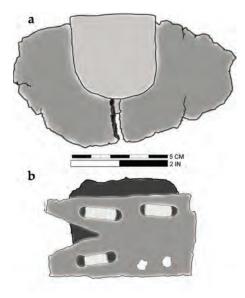
As with pendants, there are far-fewer tubular forms from Weston than from Indian Hill. Examples of simple o- or e-shaped tubes are known from Weston, and there are at least two examples of B-shaped tubing in the assemblage. There is considerable variety in the length and diameter of these tubes. Some appear to have functioned as beads, while others appear to have been components for more elaborate composite objects. There



copper, and iron wire was readily available from the Europeans and easier to work. Given the evidence for riveting, it is also likely that some tubular forms were prepared for that purpose. In contrast, conical forms, such as tinkling cones and projectile points, are better represented in the Weston assemblage than at Indian Hill (64).

Copper, brass, and iron wire was used at Weston, primarily to make small ornamental forms including finger rings, coils, and spirals. However, the finely made symmetrical double spirals and large brass-wire bracelets that characterized the Indian Castle and Indian Hill assemblages no longer occur. In comparison, the spirals from Weston are modest in size and execution. There are two small spirals made from fine-gauge brass wire and several fragments of iron-wire bracelets. Although the sample is small, the presence of these wire forms, along with clips, coils, and spiral strip beads, provides additional evidence for Susquehannock metalworking practices in Onondaga (65).

*Technology and distribution*. The degree to which sheet brass and copper were reused is another characteristic of the Weston assemblage. As at Indian Hill, the expectation was the reuse of kettle brass would decrease



**Figure 9.22.** Evidence of metal-to-wood joints from Weston. Drawings of—

(a) a brass patch on a wooden ladle or bowl fragment,

(b) an elaborate metal-to-wood joint using a long thin strip of brass for lacing.

over time as more finished European goods were available. This, however, was not the case at either site. Based on the sample from Sohrweide's excavated assemblage, much of the scrap was utilized in one way or another before it was discarded. Most of the Weston scrap showed evidence of reuse, while a small amount had been melted. Close examination revealed this assemblage contained a few partially completed objects, such as pipe-bowl liners and conical points, and examples of metal-to-metal joints similar to those

seen on previous sites. Techniques included the use of tube rivets, staples, wire lacing, and sheet-metal lacing. In addition, there was evidence of metal-to-wood joints with brass patches, staples, and rivets. There was no evidence of European-style conical rivets in the Weston assemblage. There is no question that the Onondaga utilized brass and copper in sophisticated ways to make, assemble, and repair complex composite objects (66).

#### Red stone

There are two dramatic changes in the red-stone assemblage from Weston, when compared to the previous sites. One is the quantity of red stone. Six times more red stone was found at Weston than at Indian Hill. The other is an almost a complete reversal in preference in material, away from the regionally available red slate that predominated at Indian Hill to imported pipestone. In part, this pattern may reflect the pre-1687 prosperity, when trade with the upper Great Lakes was still active. If so, the increasing hostilities after that date may have cut off access to those in the upper Great Lakes who supplied and processed this highly desirable material. There is another possibility, however. If the distribution of marine shell informs us about the hostilities of this period, that of pipestone use may tell us more about Onondaga diplomacy and exchanges with the Ottawa.

*Modal forms*. Nearly all the pipestone objects at Weston are beads, and these occur in a variety of forms, with tubular beads the most common. The pipestone pendants found were actually beads or pipe-bowl fragments that were re-perforated (67). The assumption is that these reused pieces, like their shell and copper counterparts, were worn as beads or pendants. However, we really do not know. They could have just as easily been sewn onto clothing and equipment, hung from the ears or nose, or used in elaborate composite objects.

These preferences are markedly different from those on contemporaneous sites in the Great Lakes and Illinois regions. In general, tubular beads are



**Figure 9.23.** Pipestone objects from Weston—

(a) three views of a notched and incised bead,

(b) two views of a five-sided notched pendant,

(c) outside and inside views of a pipe-bowl fragment reused as a pendant,

(d) anthropomorphic faceeffigy bead made from a pipe-bowl fragment.



less common at Gros Cap, Rock Island, and Naples on the Illinois River, where trapezoidal beads predominate. Only Lasanen has a distribution that parallels Weston. The western sites also have pendants in far greater numbers. This is especially evident in terms of zoomorphic effigy figures, usually described as beavers or turtles. They are found on virtually every site of this period in the upper Great Lakes, while none have been reported from Weston. The only representational form from Weston is a single anthropomorphic bead made from a piece of pipe bowl, an unusual form in the Great Lakes (68).

*Technology and distribution.* Pipestone was actively and intensively used at Weston, and many of the pipestone objects show evidence of salvage or reuse. All the pendants were made by perforating beads or pipe-bowl fragments. In terms of technology, the same techniques used on red slate and marine shell were employed—scoring and snapping, grinding, and perforation. Pipestone was certainly highly valued at Weston, with no discarded scrap or rejected material found there. Apparently, every possible piece was utilized. This is substantially different from the assemblages in the Great Lakes, where discarded and rejected pieces are a sizable portion of the overall pipestone assemblage (69).

This is an instance when the historical documents help provide a context for the archaeological evidence. Although increasing hostility and violence marked the years between 1687 and 1696, there were also significant efforts at diplomacy. This was especially the case with some Ottawa groups who believed an alliance with the Five Nations was preferable to continued reliance on the French. Red stone played a significant part in these negotiations. In 1689 the Ottawa and Iroquois exchanged wampum belts and smoked "red stone peace pipes" as they considered alternatives to the ongoing war. Six years later Aqueendaro made his fierce reply to Frontenac reminding him it was still "Warr between you & us." He also



**Figure 9.24.** Evidence of other red-stone objects made at Weston— (a) piece of scored and snapped sandstone, (b) triangular pendant made from the same material.

mentioned that Onondaga planned to send "two belts of wampum to the Donondades [Ottawa] in answer to their two belts and red stones they sent last year." The dramatic increase of pipestone at Weston, the intensity of its use, and strong similarities to forms associated with Ottawa and Wyandot sites in the St. Ignace area of Michigan, suggest that the pipestone objects from Weston may reflect diplomatic initiatives rather than trade or warfare (70).

It is a little surprising that pipestone dominates the Weston assemblage so thoroughly, given the extensive use of red slate at previous Onondaga sites. The one red-slate object that has been reported is a large rectangular pendant that seems out of step with the other styles and preferences at Weston. Although Sohrweide's excavation did produce three small pieces of similar red slate, none showed evidence of use. Nonetheless, stone working was certainly practiced at Weston. There were the reworked pieces of pipestone, and Sohrweide recovered a block of reddish-orange sandstone from which sections had been scored and snapped off. Also, one triangular pendant with a v-shaped base made from the same material was found. Whatever its source, it is clear the Onondaga made at least some of their own red-stone objects from regional sources (**71**).

#### Acculturation

Two very different periods are represented in the Weston assemblage, and it is not easy to separate them archaeologically. First were the years between 1682 and 1687, when the expansion of trade and diplomacy that characterized the 1670s continued. During this time, Onondaga responses to European materials, ideas, and values probably were consistent with those discussed for Indian Hill. The same is likely true in terms of how they processed these influences. Second were the years between Denonville's treachery in 1687 and the burning of Onondaga nine years later. During these difficult years trade virtually ceased, travel became dangerous, and the Onondaga found themselves under threat even in their own territory. What the Onondaga responses were to these events and their impact on the processes of acculturation is the focus of this section.



**Figure 9.25.** Six types of Native ceramic pipe-bowl fragments from Weston—(a) eagle or nesting bird, (b) small ring-bowl, (c) bear effigy, (d) anthropomorphic, (e) turtle or snake, top view, (f) eagle or nesting bird.

#### Responses

In previous chapters we looked at the ways Onondaga people responded to the material goods that Europeans brought for exchange and trade. While the scale of these responses changed over time, the responses themselves remained quite consistent. However, at Weston the great majority of the archaeological assemblage is composed of European materials and even European objects. Still, the same active, selective, conservative, and creative qualities that defined the Onondaga response since contact began, remained evident even if they were expressed in different ways.

*Ceramics.* Unlike Indian Hill, the material evidence for several traditional Onondaga practices is dramatically decreased at Weston. For instance, pottery, long a hallmark of Onondaga culture, is virtually gone. Only three small body sherds have been reported. While sampling is always a factor, it does appear that the revival in pottery making apparent at Indian Hill was over at Weston. On the other hand, the evidence for making and using ceramic smoking pipes remains strong (72).

*Lithics.* There is a substantial decrease in the number of lithic objects at Weston compared to earlier sites. While they are still present, the sample of triangular chert points is small compared with sheet-brass points. In form, the stone points retain the traditional isosceles shape. Other bifacial and unifacial tools made from Onondaga chert also occur, but in far smaller quantities than on previous sites. A few ground-stone tools also persist in the Weston assemblage. Whether these indicate the conservative tendencies in Onondaga culture or the depth of their need during the 1690s is unclear (73).

*Organic materials.* In terms of antler and bone objects, the Weston assemblage again seems impoverished compared with previous sites. There are a few bone awls and worked-antler tines, but little else. The one surprising exception is the presence of two antler combs. Two combs may not seem like much, especially when compared with the more than

two-dozen identifiable combs reported from the contemporaneous Seneca Boughton Hill site. There is also some evidence for the ongoing use of wood, especially small pieces preserved through contact with brass or copper. These indicate the continued popularity of wooden ladles and what may have been wooden boxes with sheet-metal hinges. Brass bowl liners and fragments of geometrical cast-pewter pipe fittings are another indication of the ongoing importance of wood and a reminder of just how limited the archaeological record can be for organic materials (74).

By the time Onondaga people lived at the Weston site, they had had considerable experience dealing with Europeans and their things. If the first evidence of contact occurred prior to 1550 assuming 20 years per generation, then at least seven generations of Onondaga people had grown up with European materials as part of their culture. Over roughly a century and a half, they had adjusted their responses successfully several times depending on the level of interaction. By the last decades of the seventeenth century, however, it was clear that Europeans and their goods were here to stay. They had grown too powerful to ignore and were too strong to fight. How to respond to this new situation remained the fundamental question.

#### Processes

The answers lay more in the realm of behavior as evidenced in the material culture. To get a more balanced view of this, we need to look at the Onondaga responses and processes in a cross-cultural context.

*Use, reuse, and dependency.* There is no question that European materials were now essential to the Onondaga. At Weston these materials were used and reused intensively. Unlike earlier sites such as Lot 18, there are few axes and only one of these remained intact. Most are partial, missing either the bit or poll. There are blades, which have been battered from use as wedges, and other objects that document the intensity of reuse. These include scrapers made from pieces of bottle glass and an expedient knife fashioned from a cast-iron kettle fragment. This pattern of intensive reuse is also borne out by the high portion of scrap brass and copper that was utilized and the small size of the pieces ultimately discarded. In this regard, Weston is similar to earlier-seventeenth century Onondaga sites like Shurtleff, where metal was scarce and less casually discarded (75).

In Chapter Seven, we focused on replacement, the substitution of a European object or material for a traditional one. This included the ways in which replacement can happen and the diverse behavioral implications of such actions. Here we examine another equally loaded term, *dependency*. By the end of the seventeenth century Onondaga people relied on Europeans for many of the materials they needed and could not produce themselves, from brass kettles and iron axes to firearms and gunpowder. Did this make them dependent? Of course they were, but no more so than their colonial

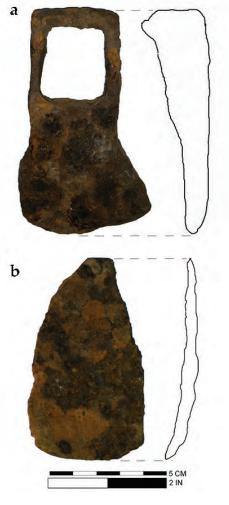
## Material Culture Matters, 1683 to 1696



neighbors, who also relied on imported goods from Europe. The more important question is to what degree did dependency equal cultural instability. As the assemblage from Indian Hill reminds us, traditional skills and practices were not necessarily lost just because we cannot see them. What the assemblages from Indian Hill and Weston suggest is the ability of the Onondaga to be flexible, to go back and forth between traditional ways and those made possible by European goods depending on the circumstances. The acceptance of European things did not necessarily change Onondaga behavior. As we have seen, the availability of firearms did not replace the use of the bow and arrow, the war club, or even the way in which war was waged. Rather than cultural instability, the large amount of reuse at Weston appears to indicate a high degree of adaptability during a time of privation and stress.

*Emulation and appropriation.* The line between emulation and appropriation became increasingly blurred as Onondaga interactions with Europeans intensified. This is evident at Weston in several ways, from novel uses of European objects and technology to redefining European symbols. Iron implements provide examples of the former, while objects cast from lead and pewter demonstrate the latter.

Although not abundant in number, a wide range of iron objects has been found at Weston, including blacksmith vises and other tools reported in the nineteenth century. We also know that smiths from Albany visited Onondaga during these years and even resided there briefly. The question is, who produced the iron objects that have been found on the site? Some are certainly of colonial origin, whether they were brought in or made on site by Europeans. They include belt axes, ice creepers, building hardware, and European-style implements, such as a framing chisel with a swaged collar. Iron implements that are likely to have been Native-made include awls made from iron-wire kettle handles, sword-blade scrapers, crooked knives, and small saws or scrapers made from ax fragments or knife blades. All these are forms the Onondaga had been making for decades. Also, there are a series of objects that could have been made by either Europeans or Onondaga—pot hooks, punches, screwdrivers, iron projectile points, and large iron thrusting spears made from both sheet and recycled iron. The Nativemade hatchet blades fashioned into war clubs, common at Indian Hill, are absent at Weston (76).



**Figure 9.26.** Expedient tools were made from exhausted European iron implements—

(a) hoe blade used down to the nub with a drawing of a profile view,

(b) scraper likely made from an opened ax socket with a drawing of a profile view. 463

Casting is another domain in which it is difficult to tell who made a particular product. Certainly, there are objects made in Albany for the Indian Trade, such as the pewter pipes and probably the buckles. There are also cast objects that are Onondaga in origin, including lead or pewter inlays for wooden pipes, collars for tools, and a small medallion. The single medallion found at Weston depicts a portrait-style individual wearing what appears to be a crown (Figure 9.32b). Like the example from Indian Castle, this small cast medallion demonstrates the appropriation of a European symbol as well as the technology for making it (77). Two other objects from Weston may have played a similar role. They are pewter finger rings that could have been made in either Montréal or Albany, or produced by the increasingly skilled Onondaga (Figure 9.33d). Initially, the two rings seem very much like the brass iconographic rings already discussed, although the material is different. A more careful look indicates that the iconography is different as well. Although each ring has a simple cross on the plaque dividing it into quadrants, there is no evidence of other Christian elements. Instead, this motif is most similar to that used on one of the marine-shell gorgets from the site. The rings have a serrated border that encircles the four-quarters motif, reminiscent of the traditional opposed-triangle pattern. In the same way, the border of short oblique lines that surround the crowned figure on the medallion echo another traditional Onondaga motif (78). We will return to the possible meaning of these cast objects with lines or rays under Identity below.

*Hybridization and syncretism.* We have looked at the development and use of cross-cultural hybrids in previous chapters. These occur when objects and symbols from one culture were redefined through contact with another and transformed into something new. In many cases, the impetus for these solutions arose from the need to communicate across cultural boundaries. Wampum, as beads and strung into belts, is an example we have followed throughout the seventeenth century. By 1680 belts had become the established way to communicate formally, whether it was to request a meeting, make a proposal, or indicate a response. During this period belts were exchanged between Native people and Europeans and also among Native people, as did the Ottawa and Onondaga off and on throughout these years.

Another cross-cultural hybrid made from marine shell appearing at Weston is a new form of shell gorget, one with two central perforations. This may seem like a minor detail, but it actually represents the combination of two distinct practices—the Mississippian tradition of dual perforations along the rim and the Chesapeake preference for a single central perforation. Whoever made these objects, and wherever it was done, this innovation was intentional and appears to have taken place during this period. Examples of both the older styles of perforation and the new hybrid style are present at Weston (Figure 9.20).



Syncretism also occurs frequently in cross-cultural settings. Here the emphasis is on reconciling differing systems of belief. The effort to resolve different ways of looking at the world can produce a wide range of results. Some will not succeed, while others produce new and successful hybrid solutions. An emphasis on finding ways to reconcile differences was a critically important aspect of Onondaga culture in the decades prior to 1701. Whether it was the desire to find syncretic symbols that bridged differences, such as the conflation of thunderbirds and doves, horns and hats, or the need to understand European values in order to protect their own autonomy, these were solutions the Onondaga had to find in order to maintain their identity. Such attempts were a fundamental part of what it meant to be Onondaga at the end of the seventeenth century.

### Identity

Unlike the previous periods, the time between 1683 and 1696 was largely one of contraction, not growth. The escalation of hostilities after 1687 resulted in nearly a decade of brutal border warfare and ultimately the destruction of the Onondaga town in 1696. In earlier chapters we looked at some of the ways that Onondaga identity changed during the years of peace and prosperity. How did these processes work during this period of disruption and conflict? In short, how did the Onondaga keep things together internally and on behalf of the League? And can we see evidence for this in the archaeological record?

#### **Strategies**

Between 1687 and 1696 the basic strategies used by the Onondaga to maintain and strengthen themselves did not change, although how they applied them did. The first was expanding kinship, the most fundamental way in which the Onondaga built social relationships. The second was to reinforce and strengthen traditional practices, even as they were realigned and moved in new directions.

*Expanding kinship*. The expansion of kinship took place at several levels and in different directions. With Europeans, this included the adoption of key individuals such as Maricourt, Charles Le Moyne's son, who was considered kin as well as a French agent. More important were the attempts to build long-term kin-based relations with the French and English via diplomacy, efforts that often seemed doomed to failure given European imperial views. With other Native people expanding kinship meant what it always had—adopting or assimilating individuals, family groups, and tribal remnants into Onondaga. What changed during this period was the application of this strategy from one designed primarily to strengthen the Onondaga to one intended to expand the League into the Confederacy.

Many historical studies of this period have focused on the Covenant Chain, an English strategy to establish diplomatic bonds with the Five Nations

and other Native groups. While this was an important policy, it is easy to overlook the parallel strategy used by the Five Nations, one in which the League was strengthened by extending the rafters, or the roots of peace, to other nations, European and Native alike. Onondaga efforts to bring disaffected Ottawa groups into the League are an example. Although the Seneca were involved, the impetus for building these cross-cultural relationships came largely from Onondaga. With the death of Otreouti and the other chiefs, the responsibility for protecting Onondaga and the League shifted to a new generation of leaders, men like Tegannisoren and Aqueendaro. By 1687 it was clear to them that warfare alone could not solve their problems, and a new strategy was required. As hostilities grew and options narrowed after 1690, maintaining balance through building new kin-based relationships became the core of Onondaga policy.

*Revitalizing ceremonial practices.* Reinforcing and strengthening traditional practices, even as they evolved, was the other basic strategy. The more diverse Onondaga became internally, the greater the need for a shared identity, a basis from which problems could be addressed. The same issue confronted the Five Nations as a whole. As their individual interests became more divergent, it was essential to have practices that tied them together. There were two related issues in which these practices had to be strong—authority and power.

*Establishing authority*. Who had the right to speak, to represent, to decide? Authority was crucial, especially in times of stress when external pressures intensified and internal divisions grew. Within Onondaga the different factions have been described in several ways—Francophiles and Anglophiles, warriors and negotiators, Christians and traditionalists. Whatever the division, it was the responsibility of the Onondaga leadership to maintain balance among them and find ways to proceed that could satisfy all sides. To keep the nation together, those in charge had to have the authority to lead. The same issues confronted those who worked to keep the League together, often in the face of dedicated European efforts to split them apart. There had to be agreement on who or which nation had the authority to speak and make decisions, or the centrifugal forces of conflicting priorities would tear the League apart.

Most of the evidence for how authority was handled during these years comes from historical documents. There are, however, material culture indicators as well. One was the ongoing use of wampum belts, the hallmark of diplomatic activity during these years. Another was the increased use of calumets in conducting negotiations and confirming decisions. As Lahontan observed, the Five Nations used a "great calumet" in their League council meetings and in negotiations with the French. When he accompanied Governor-General La Barre to La Famine in 1684, Lahontan observed that the chief negotiator, the Onondaga chief Otreouti, sat with "his Pipe in his Mouth, and the great *Calumet* of Peace before



him," drawing a clear distinction between personal- and ritual-pipe forms. We will continue to follow the use of calumets by the Onondaga at the end of the century (79).

*Power.* Closely related to authority was power, the ability to make things happen, to enforce one's authority. For Europeans, at least in imperial systems, these were one and the same. For Native people they were still separate concepts. Authority was based on respect, not power. It had to be earned, not commanded. Power did not reside in individuals. It existed in the world at large and could only be accessed through the proper channels. For this reason, it was essential to use the appropriate forms and maintain the proper ceremonies. We will examine the evidence for these evolving forms and practices at Weston below.

#### Identity at the Weston site

To what degree can we see evidence of strategies for maintaining identity in the Weston site assemblage? We know from the documentary record and the material evidence at Indian Hill that the Onondaga population became ever more diverse during the 1670s and early 1680s. Between 1683 and 1687 that continued to be the case at Weston. Aside from the desultory hostilities that occurred across the Eastern Woodlands, there were efforts to build peaceful relationships with other Native people as the web of interaction and trade moved deeper into Indian country. With the intensifying warfare after 1687, the rate at which Onondaga incorporated newcomers may have diminished, even as the need to maintain population and expand kinship increased.

*Expanding kinship.* For Onondaga during these years, the need to expand who could be considered kin was a priority for two reasons. One was to strengthen population and another was to build kin-based ties with prospective allies, whether they were European or Native. The archaeological assemblage from Weston reflects the ethnic diversity in Onondaga. As at Indian Hill, traits that once defined Ontario Iroquoians now characterized the Onondaga. Among these are the predominance of elongated ring-bowl smoking pipes, the continued practice of modifying red-glass beads to imitate red stone (**80**), antler-comb styles, and a revival of medicine-society practices, particularly the use of bone tubes and shamanistic robes.

There is also evidence of cultural influences from the western Great Lakes and upper Mississippi Valley, an area of vast cultural diversity composed of relocated Iroquoians, several different Algonquian groups, and Siouan speakers. The material assemblage from Weston indicates interactions with some or all of these people. Among the indications of these interactions are the significant increase in pipestone, the presence of bison bone, and a scattering of objects with Great Lakes material culture traits. These include distinctive pottery and bone-working technology, and perhaps changing

preferences in the size and color of glass beads. What these objects represent with respect to interactions is less easy to discern. Were the pipestone and bison-bone trophies brought back from raiding and trading expeditions, or were they material indications of friendship and alliance building? Does the presence of exotic material culture indicate the assimilation of upper Great Lakes and Mississippi Valley people into the Onondaga population? At present it is not possible to say (**81**).

While the situation beyond the Western Door was complex, there was an equally diverse set of cultural influences much closer to home. These were the numerous new communities in the Susquehanna and Delaware drainages established primarily by displaced or relocated Indian people from across the region. Communities such as Conestoga, Shamokin, Wyoming, and Tioga in the mid and upper reaches of the Susquehanna River were composed of Susquehannock or Conestoga, Conoy or Piscataway, Pamunkey, and Nanticoke people, among others. Additional new residents were the Shawnee people who arrived from Illinois country in 1692 and settled at the mouth of the Susquehanna River along with their *coureur de bois* partner, Martin Chartier. A similar process took place in the upper Delaware Valley, where small groups of Mahican, Munsee, and Delaware people settled north of the Delaware



**Figure 9.27.** Objects from Weston with material traits of the upper Great Lakes—

(a) two views of a rim fragment from a Danner-style ceramic pot,

(b) antler-tine point with hollow socket,

(c) stemless hybrid-style soapstone pipe depicting a bear or dog that is facing the smoker.

Water Gap around Minisink Island, and perhaps as far as the Port Jervis– Neversink area. The boundaries between these new communities and Onondaga appear to have been porous, with people moving freely among them (82).

Some historians, most recently Stephen Warren, tend to cast the relationships between Five Nations and these new communities in terms of the Iroquois Covenant Chain or the onset of Iroquois Dominion (83). Such statements miss the essential point. Although the historical documents say little, it was the Onondaga who worked actively to build kin-based relations with these new communities. In many ways, the Southern Door was the most secure of their borders, and given the problems they faced to the north, they needed all the friends they could get. As the archaeological assemblage from this time suggests, traits as diverse as metalworking, the continued passion for marine-shell objects, and the use of drilled dots to



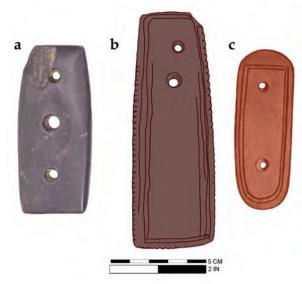
embellish pipes and combs all reflect a Southern Door influence. By the end of the century these had become established components of Onondaga material culture. As we will see, Onondaga would continue its leadership role in Southern Door issues well into the next century.

*Revitalizing ceremonial practices.* Many things changed after 1687. With Denonville's hostile actions came the stark realization that the traditional ways of dealing with European neighbors were no longer adequate, and the autonomy of the Five Nations was at serious risk. As the grim years between 1690 and 1696 wore on, the priority was less about identity and more about physical and spiritual survival. Finding ways to maintain authority within Onondaga, within the League, and with their varied allies and enemies was the defining challenge for the Onondaga leadership. However, in this new and dangerous world, authority meant little without the power to back it up. This made access to the sources of spiritual power, or orenda, all the more critical, whether they were traditional or new ways. We know less about the internal dynamics of Onondaga during these years because English visitors, even resident agents, rarely committed cultural observations to paper, and there were now no resident Jesuits sending back reports. Nonetheless, it appears that the Onondaga used the following four familiar strategies to maintain and revitalize their ceremonial activities.

*Active and regular practice.* At Weston, preferences for traditional materials, forms, and colors are reflected in the archaeological evidence. Marine shell, copper and its alloys, and red stone all continued to play essential roles in ritual practice, even when other aspects of their usage changed.

Color is a domain where continuity is evident. For example, a preference for red stone remained even though the actual material shifted from red slate to pipestone. At the same time the preferred form shifted from pendants to beads. Red, black, and white remained the predominate colors used for ritual expression. As Lamberville cautioned La Barre prior to the August 1684 conference at La Famine, do "not be troubled at the sight you will see [of] faces painted red and black," since that was how Onondaga warriors often chose to appear. Five years later Millet confided in a letter to his Jesuit colleagues that he had been nearly been killed after his capture and that his "face had been painted red and black, as a victim to the demon of war and Irroquois wrath." Fortunately for him, he was taken to Oneida rather than Onondaga and adopted by a Christian family. Such color preferences are evident elsewhere in the material culture as well. At Weston the Onondaga preference for red or black and dark-blue beads continues with little interest in white or sky-blue ones. And it is likely that the demand for pipestone was as much about color as the workability of the material. Finally, Sohrweide's excavation revealed traces of imported vermillion and a piece of hematite, the traditional source for red pigment **(84**).

*Reviving older ritual forms.* Another way to strengthen ceremonial practice was to revive the use of older ritual forms. In Chapter Seven we looked at the reappearance of club-shaped smoking pipes as an example. At Weston a large rectangular pendant made of red slate, another ancestral form, reappears. These objects usually have been interpreted as markers of status, although their actual function is not known. Similar rectangular forms often made of Taconic slate are present in the archaeological record of central New York over a long period of time. While small red-stone pendants occur on Onondaga sites throughout the seventeenth century, large examples like the one from Weston had not occurred for several hundred years in central New York (85). Along with bar-celt war clubs and club-shaped pipes, it is not clear why these ancestral forms reappear late in the seventeenth century. One hypothesis is that by reviving ancestral forms, one could better access the power and authority embedded in them. But why look back? The best explanation is, as psychologist Jeremy Greene has observed, because the best guide to the future is the past, especially in uncertain times. This is why the maintenance of traditional ceremonial practice was so important, and why it was apparently necessary to buttress those practices with the most-powerful material objects available. For Onondaga an additional reason was the pressing need to create an identity that could bring a very diverse population together. One way to do that was to use symbols that drew on the deep traditions that underpinned cultures across the Eastern Woodlands, in spite of their linguistic and material diversity (86).



**Figure 9.28.** Stone-pendant forms from central New York—

(a) photograph of a precontact slate pendant from Mud Creek, Clay, NY,

(b) drawing of a dark red-slate pendant, Weston site,

(c) drawing of a pipestone pendant, Cayuga Scipioville site.

#### Appropriation from other Native cultures.

Another strategy was to appropriate useful traditions from other Native cultures. We have discussed this briefly in terms of how calumets become an object of Onondaga authority during the 1680s. Another reason to appropriate ceremonial objects was to utilize their access to spiritual power, especially for healing. For Onondaga we have already seen several examples in Chapter Five, such as the pinchface smoking pipes used by Ontario Iroquoians, and the spiraling copper and brass forms favored by the Susquehannock. The archaeological assemblage also contains evidence of expanded medicine-society practices and the use of ritual objects not seen on the previous Onondaga sites. The years when the Onondaga lived at the Weston site were hard ones,

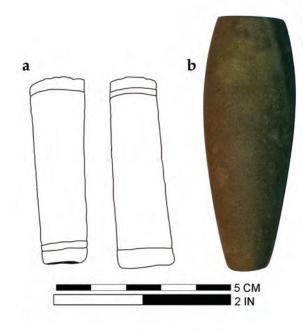
# Chapter Nine

#### Material Culture Matters, 1683 to 1696

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characterized by waves of disease and the debilitating effects of warfare. As a result, evidence of medicine-society practices was not surprising.

A striking example of ceremonial objects is the presence of four bone tubes from Weston. These are long bones from a medium-sized mammal or bird. Both ends of the bone have been cut off, scraped smooth, and some were embellished with incising (87). Bone tubes, often referred to as "sucking tubes," were used in shamanistic curing rituals to draw disease from a patient. As Fr. Paul Ragueneau reported in 1648, diseases caused by sorcery were "cured by withdrawing from the patient's body the spell that caused his sickness." Some were expelled by means of emetics, he noted, others "by sucking the diseased part." As archaeologist William R. Fitzgerald has observed, bone tubes are a diagnostic trait of Neutral cultural practice on sites occupied between 1630 and 1650. The



**Figure 9.29.** Bone and stone tubes from Weston—

(a) drawing of two incised bone tubes,

(b) photograph of a Meadowood-style sandstone tube or smoking pipe bowl.

tubes from Neutral sites near Lake Ontario and Lake Erie were made from a wide variety of animal long bones and frequently had incised motifs on the exterior. Fitzgerald argued that the large number of bone tubes found on these Neutral sites represents efforts to combat the psychological and physical trauma induced by the post-1634 epidemics. Also, Susan Branstner reported several examples of bone and stone tubes from Wyandot sites in St. Ignace. Bone tubes appear to have been a trait that Ontario Iroquoian people took with them when they moved into the western Great Lakes in 1650. The evidence for the renewed use of bone tubes among the Five Nations and the eastern Algonquians suggests that this practice was widespread and continued into the early eighteenth century (**88**).

Fitzgerald suggested that the sudden appearance of bone tubes on Neutral sites may have represented the revival of a form used 2,500 years earlier on Meadowood-related sites in the Northeast. Although the earlier stone tubes are generally considered an early form of smoking pipe, they may have been used for other purposes, including healing. In addition to the bone tubes from Weston, Sohrweide recovered one of these Meadowood-related sandstone tubes in the excavated occupation area. We do not know how this ancestral object came to Onondaga, whether as a trophy or another means for healing, but its presence at Weston was intentional (89).

Another indication that older healing rituals, whether appropriated or revived, were practiced at Weston is the presence of a modified set of dog

or wolf jaws. Modified maxilla and mandibles are usually interpreted as indicative of robes worn by a shaman. While the majority of shamanistic robes with attached cranial elements use bear, wolf, or panther, other examples with modified dog jaws are known from post-contact-period Seneca sites. This practice extended back several thousand years in the Eastern Woodlands (90). Dogs were also valued among Huron–Wendat and upper Great Lakes people as companions and as intermediaries with the spirit world, especially for healing. There are many references in the historical documents to dog feasts as one of the rituals used to heal the sick. Dogs played an important role in Onondaga ritual as well. As Lamberville complained in 1673, the Onondaga still worshiped their own gods to whom "they usually sacrifice either Dogs . . . or tobacco." Dogs were certainly present at Weston, second only to deer among the mammals in the faunal assemblage. It is not clear whether these remains reflect ceremonial practice, privation, or a combination of both (91).

#### Redefining the World Above and the World Below

An essential strategy used by the Onondaga to revitalize ceremonial practice was to create new forms and iconography that fit the needs of the times. Often this involved redefining traditional elements and practices. Nowhere was this more evident than in the changing definitions of the World Above and the World Below and how one accessed their spiritual power. The archaeological record from Weston provides another opportunity to see how the Onondaga people used European symbols for this purpose. In some iconography, such as rays and auras, comparable meanings existed on both sides of the cross-cultural divide. For others, such as thunderbirds and doves or horns and hats, the results appear to have been more syncretic attempts to reconcile what was traditional with what was new.

*Evidence for the World Above.* Previously, we saw how the combination of Christian beliefs and influences from other Native people, especially from the Great Lakes, began to redefine the World Above as a major source of spiritual power. It is more difficult to trace this dynamic at Weston, in part because there are no Jesuit reports from Onondaga during these years, and because the historical documents between 1683 and 1696 focus on worldly issues rather than spiritual ones. Nonetheless, there is enough evidence to indicate that the process of redefining the World Above, and the agents who could access its power, continued at Weston.

One indication is the expanded use of avian imagery at Weston, especially raptorial birds, as first observed at Indian Hill. There is a small sample of smoking pipes with some that depict eagles and one pipe with an owl. In a different medium, one of the shell gorgets from Weston has birds incised in each of its four quadrants. Perhaps the most unusual depiction is an eagle on the seal from a glass bottle. Given the unique nature of this motif, the choice of an eagle hardly seems to have been random (92). There are also

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**Figure 9.30.** Imagery of the World Above from Weston and other contemporaneous Native sites—

(a) applied seal from a glass bottle depicting an eagle, Weston site,

(b) dove or the Holy Spirit on a brass religious medal, Baby Point site, Ontario,

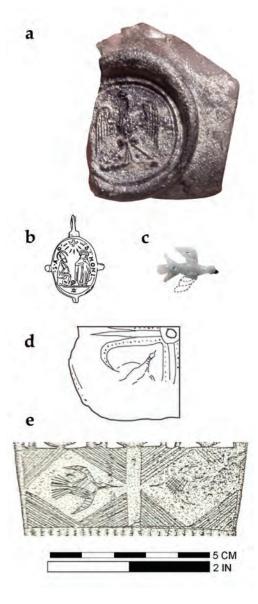
(c) opaque-white-glass dove pendant, Le Vieux-La Prairie, Québec,

(d) drawing of a portion of a shell gorget incised with a dove-like bird, Weston site,

(e) drawing of a portion of a comb with incised dove-like birds, Seneca Boughton Hill site.

hints of an association between the Onondaga and eagles in the documentary record. In the origins of the League, the "eagle . . . perched on the top of the great pine tree keeps watch." If intruders are spotted and their intent is not peaceful, the eagle can reduce them to a pile of bones. Robert Livingston's September 1687 description of the Onondaga as "The Eagle . . . flyeing to and again" suggests this association may have had substantial time depth (93).

As mentioned above under hybridization and syncretism, there was a conflation between thunderbirds and doves as agents who could access power in the World Above. At Weston this cross-cultural convergence appears to have extended to another level—the dove and the soul. Earlier in the century in his explanation of Huron– Wendat beliefs, Fr. Jean de Brébeuf observed that "one separates itself from the body at death . . . until the feast of the Dead,—after which it either



changes into a Turtledove, or . . . it goes away at once to the village of the souls." Nearly a century later, Father Lafitau observed the same belief as "In this change of the soul into a turtle dove or passenger pigeon (for they know no other turtle doves) . . . the dove was a symbol of the soul or the spirit" (94).

During this period, doves or other small non-raptorial birds were often portrayed on Native material objects, such as a shell gorget from Weston and an antler comb from Boughton Hill. While these depictions did not necessarily imply Christian belief, another contemporary object probably does—a pendant of opaque white glass excavated at the archaeological site Le Vieux-La Prairie, the Five Nations mission community across the St. Lawrence River from Montréal, ca. 1670 to 1700. This small white dove could have been interpreted as an agent of spiritual power for many reasons (95).

# Case Study 16. Imaging power, rays, and auras









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**Figure 9.31.** Mid- to late seventeenth-century European depictions of rays—

(a) the enormous gilt rays of the reliquary made for the Chair of Saint Peter by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1647-1653,

(b) *l'ostensoir*, soleil-style monstrance surrounded by the rays of the sun, given by Nicolas Perrot to the mission of St. Francis Xavier, Green Bay, WI, 1686,

(c) procession with soleilstyle monstrance at La Prairie, drawing by Fr. Claude Chauchetière, ca. 1686,

(d) type-II religious medal displaying a soleil-style monstrance, Palais de l'Intendant, Québec. During the seventeenth century, Europeans frequently used rays and auras to depict power and authority, or in a spiritual context, divine potency. Often this included explicit comparisons with the sun, as in the Sun King motifs of Louis XIV. Similar metaphors were embedded in Baroque Christian iconography from the grandiose to the personal. Among the most exuberant examples were created by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in Rome—the gilded-stucco rays in the setting for The Ecstasy of Saint Theresa, 1645-1652, and the enormous gilt rays of the reliquary made for the Chair of Saint Peter, 1647-1653. More common expressions were used in church-related artwork, as well as in prints and on portable objects such as medals. Native people would have regarded these depictions with curiosity and interest.

One object Native people would have seen was *l'ostensoir*, the soleil-style monstrance, a ritual vessel used to hold the host during the mass. Monstrances were commonly used in habitant churches and chapels as well as given as gifts to Indian missions. When the French established Ste. Marie de Gannentaha in 1656, they certainly would have brought at least one monstrance with them. Perhaps the most extraordinary example to survive is the inscribed silver monstrance given to the mission of St. Francis Xavier in Green Bay by Nicolas Perrot in 1686. Other seventeenth-

century examples survive from 1664 at Trois Rivières, and from 1668 at the Indian mission at Caughnawaga, also known as La Prairie. The latter was illustrated in Fr. Claude Chauchetiere's drawing of a religious procession, ca. 1686. The soleil-style monstrance was also among the most frequently used motifs on the religious medals given to Native people.

Rays and auras were a fundamental part of Counter-Reformation imagery with its emphasis on a personal, passionate, and intimate connections between the human and the divine. Unlike the trinity or other Christian doctrine, the use of rays to depict spiritual power was intuitive and did not require a detailed explanation (96). Rays and auras had long been used in the Eastern Woodlands to depict animacy and spiritual power, often in association with shamanism. In central New York these depictions were used on smoking pipes and incised on stone discs more than a thousand years ago (Figure 9.33a). These motifs continued to be used through first contact with Europeans and well into the seventeenth century. Iconography on pewter rings from Weston may have been an updated version of these motifs (97). A related example is the use of rays in association with hourglass figures (Figures 9.33e, 9.33f). Such motifs occur in late seventeenth-century Five Nations' material culture, and it is likely that rayed hourglass figures were used to convey spiritual and physical power (98).

Crowns appear to be another related motif and may have been interpreted as a different way to depict rays or an aura. By the late seventeenth century a crown was familiar to Native people as a European symbol of power, secular and sacred, whether it was on an English king or Mary the Queen of Heaven. As Fr. Jacques Bruyas observed in La Prairie during the summer of 1684, the Christian Indians put porcelaine colliers "about the heads of their warriors, like a crown" in order to honor them. A Native-cast medallion from Weston provides material evidence for this, and portrays a head with what appears to be a crown or rays projecting from it. For the Onondaga, crowns may have been another form of European power they could appropriate (99).

*Evidence for the World Below.* Increased references to the World Above did not mean the World Below had ceased to be important. Although meanings and agents continued to shift, the need to maintain balance remained paramount. For example, while some of the zoomorphic pipes from Weston represent beings from the World Above, others portray snakes or turtles, denizens of the World Below. The two known combs from Weston also depict creatures from the World Below—panthers and otters (Figures 9.34a, 934.b; 100).

There is also evidence that European and Native imagery had begun to converge. Just as the use of rays may indicate merging Christian and Native beliefs in the World Above, the imagery of horns and hats may have merged or syncretized into a motif for depicting power in the World



**Figure 9.32.** European- and Native-made images of crowns—

(a) drawing of a French religious medal depicting Mary as Queen of Heaven, Shurtleff site,

(b) Onondaga pewter medallion with an anthropomorphic bust facing left with a crown or rays, Weston site.

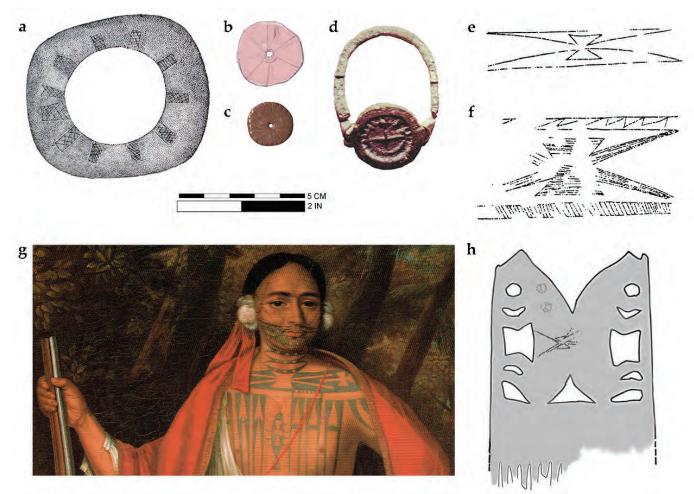


Figure 9.33. Native depictions of rays and auras—

(a) drawing of rays on the rim of a platform-pipe bowl, Jack's Reef site, ca. 1,500 and 1,100 years ago,

(b) drawing of a red-slate disc with incised rays, Onondaga Atwell site,

(c) red-slate disc with incised rays, Indian Hill site,

(d) pewter ring with rays surrounding a cross, Weston site,

(e) tracing of a rayed-hourglass motif incised on a comb, Seneca Rochester Junction site,

(f) tracing of a damaged, more elaborate rayed-hourglass motif incised on a comb, Cayuga site,

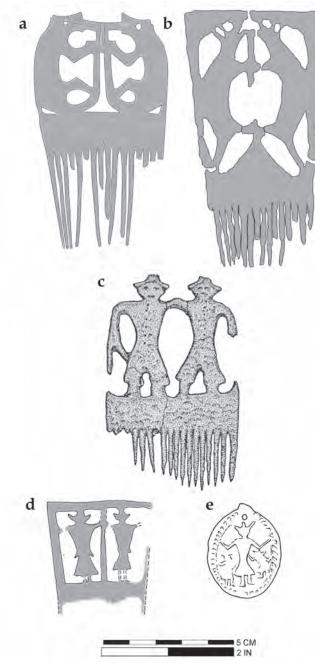
(g) rayed-hourglass tattoo across the collarbone of Brant, a Mohawk whose portrait was painted by Jan Verelst when he visited London, 1710,

(h) drawing of an antler comb with mirror-image back-to-back bears incised with a rayed hourglass, Seneca Rochester Junction site.

Below. In the Eastern Woodlands horns were a traditional way to express potency, whereas for Christians horns were usually associated with the devil. Although Five Nations people had seen hats and depicted them for decades, they were still a novelty. By the end of the seventeenth century, an anthropomorphic form begins to appear with an hourglass-shaped body and head with what could be either a hat or horns. This new imagery appears on antler combs, ladles, and occasionally on Native-cast medals. Here, too, a merger appears to have taken place between the iconography of the World Below and Christian belief (101). Chapter Nine

# Material Culture Matters, 1683 to 1696





**Figure 9.34.** Drawings of examples of Native imagery reflecting the World Below—

(a) antler comb with mirror-image panthers holding their long tails, Weston site,

(b) antler comb reassembled from fragments depicting two mirror-image horned creatures, Weston site,

(c) antler comb depicting two Europeans with hats, Seneca Boughton Hill site,

(d) antler comb with two horned anthropomorphic figures, Seneca Boughton Hill site,

(e) Native-cast pewter medal with a depiction of a horned anthropomorphic figure, Seneca Snyder-McClure site. Between 1683 and 1696, as the Onondaga population became more heterogeneous and the external threats greater, the need for internal cohesion became more essential. Yet even under these stresses, the foundations of Onondaga identity remained intact-their place on the land, the fabric of kin and social relationships, a language that bound them together, and an accepted set of material ways in which values and beliefs could be expressed. It was flexibility as well as resilience that made this possible. Language was modified as new people joined the community. Traditional objects were used for new purposes. Ceremonial practices and ritual objects acquired different meanings, even as their uses continued. All of these strategies would be needed to meet the challenges Onondaga faced in the fall of 1696.

# Summing Up

In the years at the Weston site, the Onondaga perspective of the world and their place in it changed dramatically. Once confident of their ability to manage affairs and be secure within their homeland, the events of 1696 shook their faith in the utility of alliances with neighboring Europeans. It also demonstrated how much their culture, and even their survival as a people, was at risk. The questions that faced Onondaga leadership in the fall of 1696

were difficult ones. How would they maintain a cultural identity when European materials were so predominant and the population so diverse and continually changing? How would they keep together and in balance all the issues Europeans sought to pull apart—the political, economic, and spiritual practices that defined Onondaga culture? Equally important, could the Onondaga leadership find ways to use European concepts, such as territoriality, the idea that land could be owned, and sovereignty, the need to assert control over one's own affairs, to regain control over their lives and future? To do so, they would have to learn how to beat Europeans at their own diplomatic game.

# **Chapter Ten. Rebuilding a Balance, 1697 to 1701**





he ashes of Onondaga had barely cooled before the political maneuvering began again. For Frontenac, the destruction of Onondaga had been a satisfying, if expensive, venture. It had also served as a valuable lesson, one that boosted French morale and sent a clear message to their wavering Native allies in the west. His only regret was that he had not been able to force a major battle and "slaughter a great portion of them." This would have added brilliancy to the affair, he mused in his letter to Louis XIV, but since he had destroyed their food reserves more of them would now "perish of hunger than we could have destroyed by fire and sword." In reality, Frontenac's expedition was little more than a stalemate. True, the French had demonstrated once again that they could deliver these military hammer blows anywhere within the Five Nations. It was equally clear, however, that the Five Nations could survive them (1).



**Figure 10.1.** "He (Governor Fletcher, on the right) had found the captain (a buccaneer) agreeable and companionable." Drawing by Howard Pyle, 1894. Although there are no known contemporary images of Fletcher, his notoriety resulted in later depictions such as this one. 480

For the English, Frontenac's invasion presented a more awkward situation. Gov. Benjamin Fletcher had done nothing to help Onondaga in spite of their repeated requests. After the French withdrawal, the Onondaga asked for an immediate meeting and Fletcher had to decide what he would say. As usual, he said virtually nothing. After heartily condoling "the losse our brethren the Onondaga and Oneydes have sustained," Fletcher declared that they could always count on him for protection. Then, to help "keep bright the Covenant Chain," he distributed the usual presents plus two wampum belts as a confirmation of his sincerity. He also promised that Onondaga and Oneida would receive enough corn to get them through the coming winter. After all, they were an imperial asset (2).

Behind the Onondaga's back, Fletcher's story was quite different. To the Board of Trade he boasted that it was "my march from Albany with a great army as numerous as the trees" that had caused the French to retreat so quickly. He was even more dismissive saying, "The French Count of Canada



has made a very silly business of it after three years preparation, afrighting a few naked Indians only." Fletcher's lack of interest became even clearer when on August 10, 1696, he appointed prominent Albany residents Peter Schuyler, Dirck Wessels, and Godfrey Dellius to serve as commissioners of Indian affairs with the authority to treat, confer, and consult with the Five Nations. Having delegated the anvil of imperial responsibility to the locals, Fletcher turned his attention back to more important and lucrative matters (3).

For the Five Nations, whether as a League or a Confederacy, Frontenac's expedition was a serious blow to their self-esteem. As a League, they had not been able to organize themselves to stop the French. Originally the Onondaga intended to fight, reinforced by Cayuga and Seneca warriors. This seemed like a good plan until they saw the overwhelming size of Frontenac's force. Faced with the certain loss of their town, the Onondaga made the decision to destroy it themselves rather than give Frontenac the pleasure. On the brighter side, Frontenac's efforts to divide the League had not succeeded. Still, Frontenac's Indian auxiliaries had come primarily from the mission towns of the Sault and the Mountain near Montréal. It had been their own Five Nations' kin, not the Ottawa or Miami, who had ravaged their caches and cornfields, and it was their adopted brother Maricourt who led them. (4).

The Five Nations had not been any more successful as a Confederacy. Their English brothers, once again, had not responded when help was needed. They could not even get Fletcher to admit it. When the Five Nations met with him in September, it was the Mohawk and Seneca who spoke, since the Onondaga and Oneida were the ones being condoled. While the Seneca speaker emphasized that the whole *house* had come to "renew the Covenant Chain" and confirmed that the "Tree of safety and welfare" was still planted in Albany, the Mohawk speaker pointed out that if the English would not come to their assistance, then they would make peace for themselves (5). By the end of 1696, it seemed to the Five Nations that the roads to both Montréal and Albany were closed. Clearly it was time for some serious rethinking.

# Reassessing

Before any decisions were made or new initiatives tried, the problems had to be understood more thoroughly. Of the many issues that confronted the Five Nations in 1697, three were particularly difficult.

The first problem was Frontenac. At 74 years old, the governor-general remained a vigorous and vindictive man. Nowhere was he more unyielding than in his determination to humble and punish the Iroquois whenever possible. Frontenac had little real interest in negotiating for peace, although he was certainly willing to use it as a ploy. In fact, since

his return to Canada in 1688, Frontenac had refused Five Nations' peace initiatives at least twice, in 1690 and again in 1693–1694.

Early in 1697 the time seemed right to try once again. In February a party of some 30 to 40 Oneida arrived in Montréal to honor the promise they had made to Frontenac the previous summer to resettle there. A few weeks later, two Mohawk appeared on behalf of "the entire Mohawk Nation" to inquire whether the road between them was entirely closed. Apparently it was. Frontenac was astonished that they would show "so little submission" and took them as hostages. Perhaps, however, these gestures had not been wasted. In June Tegannisoren reported to the Indian commissioners in Albany that the Five Nations had received a wampum belt from Frontenac, indicating the "inclination he has to make peace with them." The English, of course, were shocked that the Onondaga would even consider breaking their repeated promises not to talk with the French. Despite English orders to "wholly put a stop" to such negotiations, the Onondaga quietly went ahead with their own inquiry. With the Oneida serving as the intermediary, messages were exchanged and it was agreed that the representatives would be permitted to meet with Frontenac in the fall (6).

It was not until November that the Oneida and Onondaga delegation finally reached Québec. This time their leader was Aradgi, a pro-French Onondaga chief, who spoke for the Upper Four Nations. Not wanting to make the same mistake the Mohawk had, he carefully laid out his five points before Frontenac, accompanying each with a wampum belt –

- First Belt "Father, your children, the Iroquois, principally the Onondaga, in the desire they feel for peace have just opened the road with the Oneida." Hopefully, they could now talk with him.
- Second Belt Here was "a cordial to expel from your heart all the sorrow we may have caused you," and to arrest "all the hatchets of my young men." Aradgi noted that no Onondaga war parties had gone out since the previous year.
- Third Belt "The four Upper Nations acknowledge their fault," and Frontenac had "restored us to our senses."
- Fourth Belt "Following the example of my Ancestors who always maintained peace with Onnontio . . . I nail fast the Sun in order to dispel the fogs of past misunderstandings."
- Fifth Belt "I have resolved on peace, though many of my chief men have been killed," and Aradgi would not avenge them. He was there to say that the Onondaga would work to make "all the Iroquois Nations accept what we advance."

Aradgi closed with a request that the Jesuits accompany him back to Onondaga so that all might embrace the "Faith" (7).

It was another great oratorical performance, one designed to satisfy all Frontenac's demands as well as to take the blame on themselves. But it





Figure 10.2. Frontenac on route to Cataraqui in 1690. Painting by John Henry de Rinzy, ca. 1920s.

did not work. Frontenac was as harsh and implacable as ever. He did not believe them. In fact, he considered them spies rather than envoys and was tempted to treat them as such. If they really wanted peace, they should have brought all the French prisoners back with them. Meanwhile, he would keep Aradgi as a hostage while the rest of the delegation could return with his answer. Even then, Frontenac was not quite finished. Since the Mohawk had not participated in this embassy, Frontenac decided to send a force of 400 to 500 men to "visit" them, but fortunately for the Mohawk heavy snow made the expedition impossible. For Frontenac, all Five Nations were the enemy. If peace were to happen, it would have to be with all of them and on his terms. It was that or nothing. For the Five Nations, it was an unwinnable situation. As long as Frontenac was there, the door to any kind of reasonable relationship with the French and their Native allies was firmly nailed shut (**8**).

The English were the second problem. Here the trouble resided less with one individual and more with an imperial attitude that was just as absolute, inflexible, and petty. Officially, the governor was the voice of royal authority, but under Fletcher most of the responsibility had been delegated to the commissioners in Albany. While this may have made administrative sense, it brought local personalities, and therefore partisan politics, into the picture. Schuyler and Wessels were already known to the

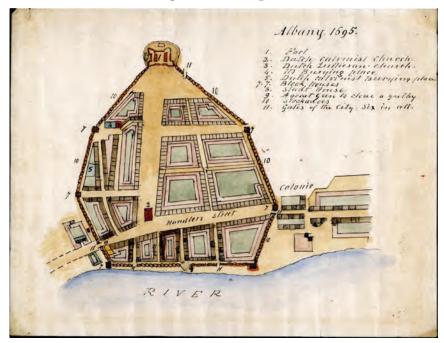


Figure 10.3. Plan of Albany in 1695. Painting by James Eights, ca. 1850.

Five Nations. The third commissioner, Godfrey Dellius, was the pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany and had taken on missionary responsibilities for the Mohawk. What the Five Nations could not appreciate was the depth of partisan loyalties following Leisler's rebellion in New York City. The Leislerians tended to represent popular and commercial interests and would soon become Whigs following the pattern in England.

The three new commissioners were not just Fletcher's friends, they were strong anti-Leislerians who would soon become Tories, the party of the landed aristocrats. Although not immediately apparent, anti-Leislerian imperial politics would soon have a profound impact on English policy toward the Five Nations.

There was no doubt that the commissioners took their new responsibilities seriously. Whether this was from political conviction, self-interest, or a mix of the two was less obvious. What was clear is that the commissioners saw their authority as imperial, coming directly from the king, and therefore was not subject to discussion. In early June 1697 an Onondaga delegation came to Albany to ask the English for help in "the rebuilding of our Castle." Headed by Tegannisoren, a moderate in no rush to take up either the French or English banner, this visit was also an opportunity to update their English brothers on events within the Five Nations. One such event had been the receipt of a belt from Frontenac. A subsequent Five Nations' council meeting had been held to consider whether to answer it or not. Tegannisoren reminded Schuyler that Governor Fletcher "gave us leave about 2 years since to make peace" with the French. He reported that the Five Nations resolved to send a message back to Frontenac about his offer of peace. They had asked him, "Father is that true," while they observed that "at the same time you knock our people on the head." Tegannisoren then emphasized to Schuyler that the Five Nations were not negotiating with the French. Now he was acting only as a messenger relating to the English what had occurred. Schuyler's response was irritated and angry. He replied that such an independent action was not only another broken promise not to treat with the French, but a breach of the Covenant Chain. And as for Tegannisoren's claim that they had permission to speak with the



French, Schuyler replied that had been just a test, "only a way of discourse to try your affection." Trying indeed. Under Schuyler the anvil of English imperial arrogance had not become any easier to bear (9).

Things fared no better when the Cayuga went to Albany in September. Having suffered several recent defeats by the French and the Miami, the Cayuga begged the commissioners for additional powder and lead to defend themselves. The reply was totally unsympathetic. Why did they need those necessaries of war when they and the Onondaga were sending messengers to the French, "our enemies and yours . . . with Belts of Wampum, desireing to make peace"? For the English, it was all about obedience. There was no place for questions or debating the issue. The king's subjects did what their betters told them to do or suffered the consequences. In this case, while the door to Albany may have been open, the price for entry was very high (10).

The third problem was the renewal of hostilities between the Five Nations and the Praying Indians, as well as with all the other French-allied tribes. Before Frontenac's raid, the borderlands had become relatively quiet, in part because the complex web of Native alliances the French had created in the Great Lakes and Midwest was starting to unravel. As a result, several of the Western nations did not want to antagonize the Five Nations, especially their neighbors the Seneca. Peace was the result of sheer exhaustion on all sides. But Frontenac's successful attack on Onondaga changed this. By demonstrating how vulnerable Onondaga was, Frontenac raised French morale and that of their Native allies as well. By the summer of 1697 the now familiar pattern of cross-border warfare began again. Small groups of Five Nations' warriors prowled along the St. Lawrence, while raiding parties from the Sault and the Mountain brought back scalps and prisoners to Montréal. While it is easy to dismiss these small-scale encounters as insignificant, they were the heart of problem. Because these hostilities often occurred between kin, they were frequently marked by a ferocity seldom equaled in border warfare. In August, for example, a small Five Nations' party attacked La Prairie where they killed one person and "scalped two others, one of whom survived." This man later "revenged himself honorably of his wounds" by killing two other Iroquois, "who had in like manner lost their scalps" (11).

At the same time, a few of the French-allied nations in the West began to renew their attacks on the Five Nations. Here again, Frontenac was the driving force. In early September he hosted a major Indian conference in Québec with Antoine Laumet (*dit* de Lamothe Cadillac), the commandant at Michilimackinac, and several principal chiefs to discuss the "great confusion throughout all those countries." After reassuring his allies, Frontenac told them to stop squabbling among themselves and go fight the Iroquois instead. "You see I love war; the campaign I made last year against the Iroquois is a proof of it." He said he was "always laboring to annihilate

the Iroquois," and he wanted his allies to do the same. It is clear that there would be no peace until Frontenac was gone (12).

Individually these small engagements may not have seemed important, but their cumulative effect was devastating. Sometime during the spring of 1697, an influential Onondaga chief was captured and apparently killed near Schenectady. At the Québec conference the following September, Cadillac reported, "more than one hundred Seneca Warriors . . . have been killed or captured" since the spring by war parties from the four Ottawa nations, the Potawatomi, Sac, and Wyandot. In the spring of 1698, a party of 30 to 40 Onondaga, under the command of Dewadarondore, the famous *La Chaudière Noire* or *Black Cauldron*, stopped at Fort Frontenac on their way to hunt farther north. Instead, they encountered a large Algonquian war party. A fierce fight ensued in which Dewadarondore and four other chiefs were killed. Their scalps were sent to Montréal along with eight Onondaga captives to be imprisoned there. The loss of so many people and leaders was a staggering blow to Onondaga, a community already under considerable stress. It was a real threat to the stability of the League (13).

#### **Finding a Way Forward**

If the Five Nations were to survive, these problems had to be solved. As it turned out, all three situations would change dramatically over the next few years. Meanwhile, the Five Nations had to agree among themselves on a way to proceed in the face of a situation that looked desperate. In October 1697 they assembled in Onondaga for a League council meeting. Little is known about what transpired at this meeting, but the resulting actions indicate that several important policy decisions were made or reaffirmed. Whatever the pressures, whatever the threats, the Five Nations needed to stay together, get their people back, assert their sovereignty, and perhaps most important, regain their own internal balance (14).

The first priority was to keep the whole house together. The risk of being split up was real and nowhere more so than with the Mohawk. This was an old problem. Contentious relations between the Mohawk and Onondaga had marked much of the seventeenth century, and although that rivalry had faded under harsh pressures from imperial neighbors, there was still a tendency for the Upper Four Nations to think of themselves as separate, as "us Sinnekens." This inclination to think of the Mohawk as different was dangerous, especially since the few Mohawk who remained in New York were considering a solution of their own. Ever since Frontenac's attack in 1693, the Mohawk had struggled to retain their identity and the remainder of their population. While many of the surviving leaders were dedicated to the English, others were not so sure. In June 1697 a small group of Mohawk chiefs sent a wampum belt to their kin at the Sault to say, "they were weary of fighting and had resolved to come and reside with them . . . but secretly, lest their coming be prevented by the English." Although this defection did



not take place, the threat of losing the Mohawk entirely was real (15).

The challenge for the League, and therefore the Onondaga leadership, was to find ways to counter the threat of Mohawk defection. One way was to continue asserting their unity, even if the reality was shaky. As Aqueendaro told Dirck Wessels, the Upper Four Nations would not abandon the Mohawks by making a separate peace with the French, "because we are still one body, one head, and one blood." The pressure to stay together had to be exerted internally as well. When a group of Oneida refugees arrived in Montréal, they explained that more might have come if they had not been "prevented by the Onnontaques and the Mohawks who retained them right and left." Tradition was one of the centripetal forces that kept the Five Nations together as one house. Regular council meetings at Onondaga played an important role, as did the process of internal decision-making within each nation. When the majority of Oneida chose to stay rather than go to Canada, the decision "was resolved by a generall vote of old and young, men and women" (16).

A similar dynamic operated at the League and Confederacy level when hard choices had to be made. It is easy to mistake the factions, partisanship, and extended discussions as indications of failure or the inability to make decisions. Actually, the opposite was true. As the contemporary observer, Claude-Charles le Roy de La Potherie, noted when the League was faced with a difficult decision they

form two parties, the one agrees and the other opposes it: if the first party succeeds in its plans, the other approves and supports what has been done: if its intentions are thwarted, it joins the other party; so that they always attain their goal.

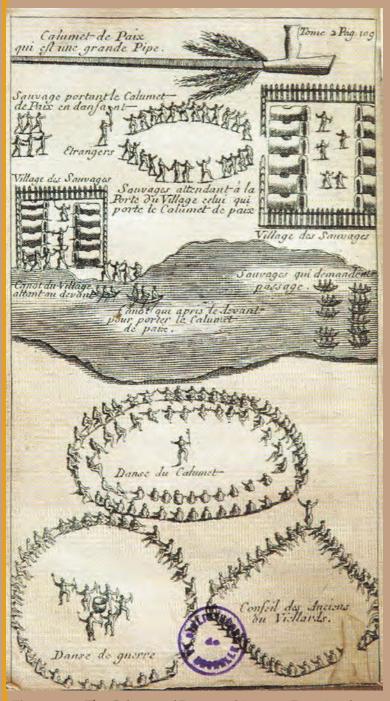
Seen in this light, the division into factions was not a sign of political weakness, but rather a method of increasing the room in which to maneuver, as historian Gilles Havard has pointed out. Although he questions whether the Five Nations were capable of such a subtle strategy, by the end of the seventeenth century this was and probably had been the heart of the council process for a very long time (17).

Chiefs did not impose a decision. They did not have that kind of authority. Instead they helped to frame issues for discussion. As Aqueendaro concluded in his presentation to a League council, "You have heard my opinion, I refer the rest to the brethren" to discuss and decide. The observance of these and other rituals, such as condolence and the raising up of new chiefs, were essential elements in the system of kinship and responsibility that kept the Five Nations linked together (18).

Another priority was getting their people back. There were two components to this. Most important was freeing those who had been

# Case Study 17. Calumets in Onondaga

The calumet and its uses by Native people were an ongoing source of fascination for European observers. Fr. Louis Hennepin, travelling with La Salle in 1679, described the calumet as "a large Tobacco-pipe made of red, black or white marble . . . finely polished, and the quill [stem] . . . commonly two foot and a half long, [and]



**Figure 10.4.** The Calumet of Peace and its uses. Drawing from Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, 1703.

adorned with feathers of all colors," noting that "every nation adorns the calumet as they think fit." As Fr. Jacques Marquette had observed while among the Illinois, "The Calumet . . . seems to be the God of peace and of war" and serves as "a safeguard among all the Nations."

It is unclear when the Onondaga begin to appropriate this Siouan form in their own diplomatic negotiations. As we saw in Chapter Five, calumets began to occur on Five Nations sites during the 1660s. By the early 1680s the Five Nations used a calumet during League council meetings. As Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan observed, "Every year the five Cantons send Deputies to assist at the Union Feast, and to smoak in the Great Calumet, of Peace of the Five Nations." The calumet was also used in the emerging diplomatic protocols of the Confederacy, as Governor-General La Barre discovered at La Famine in 1684. There he met Otreouti sitting with a large wampum belt and "the great Calumet of Peace before him." Nor was the use of calumets restricted to negotiations with Europeans. As mentioned in Chapter Nine, during the treaty talks between representatives of the Ottawa and Five Nations in 1689, wampum belts were exchanged and "red stone peace pipes" were smoked. By the time the Great Peace of Montréal was signed in August 1701, smoking of the large calumet brought by Chichicatalo, the chief Miami representative, was an expected part of the ratification process. Just as Europeans had their crowns and swords to designate authority, the Five Nations had wampum belts and calumets (19).



captured. Everyone in the Five Nations agreed on that. More contentious was any desire to reestablish relations with Christian kin in the Praying Towns. This was a difficult and sensitive issue given the degree of violence that had taken place. An August 1696 report to the Board of Trade summarized the dire conditions along the border. After noting the continued raiding and "sculking through the woods" by the Iroquois from the Praying Towns, the report observed, the "Five Nations hate mortally those of themselves that are joined with the French" (20).

The issue of sovereignty was also fundamental. Much as the French and English ignored or tried to deny it, the Five Nations continued to assert their right as a Confederacy to make their own external agreements, even during these difficult years. It was essential to keep their options open with the French and the English, to find a middle course. Neither the French nor the English seemed very trustworthy, nor was there consensus within the League or Onondaga as to where the Five Nations' external loyalties should be. Until some kind of consensus could be reached, Confederacy policies would be based on three stalling tactics of the Upper Four Nations' ambassadors—

- Be agreeable—say, "Yes Father Onnontio . . . ", "Certainly Brother Corlaer."
- Tell them what they want to hear—tell Frontenac, "We have always loved the French," or have Aqueendaro tell Dirck Wessels, mayor of Albany, "they never were intended to make any separate peace with the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada."
- Be patient—wait for a better opportunity.

In terms of their Native neighbors, Five Nations' sovereignty meant the ability to negotiate with other Native groups in spite of the hostilities. This was a particular concern of the Seneca and Cayuga, and not only because they were the ones most affected by warfare in the west. Most of their captive kin were held by those French-allied nations. However, there were some encouraging signs. During the summer of 1697, a small group of Wyandot under a leader called Le Baron left Michilimackinac in hope of settling near Albany. The ongoing peace overtures with the Ottawa continued, even if the timing was occasionally awkward (21).

In the end, it all came down to balance. Whether internal or external, between those favoring the French or the English, between those who wanted Christianity and those who opposed it, balance was the key. At some point, the factions had to coalesce around a solution. Otherwise, a sense of balance could not be restored, and the heart of what it meant to be Iroquois, to belong to the League, would be lost.

#### **Changing faces**

Before any improvement in relations could be made things had to change, and by the end of 1698 they had. The war was over, at least for the



**Figure 10.5.** Louis-Hector de Callière, governor-general of New France. Drawing by Francis Back, ca. 2001 © Raphaëlle & Félix Back.

Europeans. Both Frontenac and Fletcher were gone. When Frontenac died, Callière, who had been the governor of Montréal, took over as governor-general of New France after receiving his appointment from Louis XIV in March 1699. Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, had been replaced in 1697 by Richard Coote, 1st Earl of Bellomont. However, a member of his family, John Nanfan, acted as governor until Bellomont arrived in New York City in April 1698. These replacements were men who saw things differently than their predecessors had.

Callière was no friend of the Five Nations, and he had long been one of their most formidable opponents. A trained military man and governor of Montréal since 1684, he understood how the Five Nations fought and therefore he knew how to fight them. He also understood the value of political rhetoric, warning the Five Nations in March 1699 that "his kitle boyl'd still, & that his hatchet was very sharp." However, unlike Frontenac, Callière carried no personal grudge against the Iroquois. As governorgeneral, he understood Canada's need for stability, and that meant making peace with the Five Nations. With Frontenac gone, he had the opportunity to do so (22).

Callière was not the only person in Canada who understood the Five Nations and their concerns. By 1698 he had a cadre of agents who could travel between Canada and Onondaga as emissaries. The first of these formidable men was Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, who had been adopted by the Onondaga, and was a son of Charles Le Moyne. A veteran of the border wars, fluent in Iroquoian languages, and equally at home in the longhouse or the governor's house, Maricourt was an influential force in Onondaga and often represented pro-French interests. Another of Callière's agents was Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, who had been adopted by a Seneca family and played a similar role. And, although Fr. Jacques Bruyas had not been adopted by the Mohawk, he had lived among them since 1670 and his influence was profound. When Bruyas left to take charge of the Mission at La Prairie in 1679, a large number of Mohawk went with him. By 1698 there were at least as many Mohawk in Canada as remained in their ancestral homeland. With men like Maricourt, Joncaire, and Bruyas

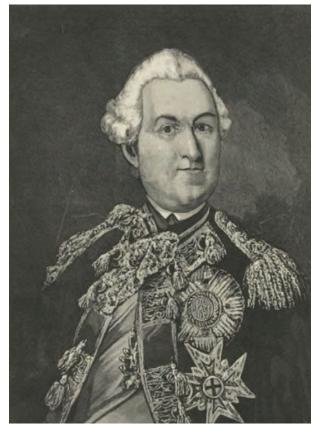
# Rebuilding a Balance, 1697 to 1701



to advise him, Callière had the ability to manipulate the Five Nations in ways that Frontenac could not have imagined.

Circumstances had changed profoundly on the English side as well. Bellomont was appointed not only to supersede Fletcher as governor of New York, but also as governor-general to oversee unification of all the northern colonies. His instructions were to protect the Indian Trade, and should the opportunity arise, purchase any "great tracts of land for his Majesty from the Indians," preferably for small sums. When Bellomont reached New York in April 1698, he was soon drawn into the colony's intensely partisan politics. As a liberal Whig, he quickly became allied with the Calvinist Leislerians, and this relationship strengthened as he began to investigate allegations of corruption against the previous governor Fletcher and Fletcher's imperial-minded cronies (23).

Although more sympathetic to Five Nations' concerns than Fletcher, Bellomont proved no more effective in doing anything to help them. This resulted from his hostility toward the men on whom Fletcher had relied, specifically the Albany Indian



**Figure 10.6.** Richard Coote, 1st Earl of Bellomont, first governor-general of England's northern colonies. Engraving by Samuel Kilburn, ca. 1777.

commissioners. As Bellomont confided after his first Indian conference in July, "I was strangely surprised and discouraged at the behavior" of the Five Nations. They seemed "so sullen and cold." Bellomont later discovered that "they had been tampered with by Mr. Dellius" along with Schuyler and Wessels, whom Fletcher had appointed commissioners of Indian affairs. The discovery that the same men, charged with protecting the Five Nations, had also enriched themselves through the fur trade and the fraudulent purchase of Indian lands outraged Bellomont. Besides, he admired the Five Nations. The Indians, he reflected, "being a people who have naturally a great quickness of understanding," recognized that he was the king's governor and soon he "retrieved their affections." However, whether Bellomont liked the Albany commissioners or not, they were the ones who had been mediating English imperial relationships-diplomatic, economic, and spiritual—with the Five Nations. As he became obsessed with ridding New York of Fletcher's "Cabals and clubbs," he promoted his own solution for the Iroquois, such as building a fort in Onondaga. As a result, New York's Indian policies degenerated into an endless squabble that drained the colony of financial resources and political will (24).

#### Trials and choices

Meanwhile, the problems facing the Five Nations had not changed. Most dangerous was the pressure to split up, to go their separate ways. For the Mohawk, the fundamental choices had already been made, and many had left for Canada. Those who stayed were so dependent on the English that, as two of the remaining Mohawk chiefs said, "they stuck fast to Corlaer's orders . . . and gave their vote soe as his Lordship was pleased" to instruct them. The Seneca were pulled in a different direction. As the nation most involved in hostilities beyond the Western Door, they were distrustful of negotiations with the French, and when the other four nations sent messengers to speak with Governor–General Callière in February 1699, the Seneca declined to participate. All this made things difficult for the Onondaga, who were the ones charged with keeping everyone together. Nor were they helped by the intra-Iroquois intrigues that came from Canada. That same February several Praying Indians from the Sault sent belts to Onondaga, pointing out that "the Cayouges & Oneydes. ... are ungrateful creatures." The Onondaga had often worked to bring back their captive people, but "now when your people of Onnondage & Sinnekes are prisoners, no body lookes after them." This kind of pressure, especially from kin, was powerful and no one used it more skillfully than Maricourt. When asked if he could help return the Onondaga captives remaining in Montréal, his response was to ask why their English allies were so ineffectual. He taunted, "we have fought & taken severall of [your] castles," but never saw any English there to assist you. They call you "Brethren but you are treated like servants . . . who are punished for the least offense." Frankly, he said they did not deserve his help, they were "no better than Slaves to y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York." For some in Onondaga, this hit way too close to home (25).

While the Five Nations struggled to get their captives back, the hostilities continued. The war between the French and the English may have ended in Europe with the Treaty of Ryswijck back in September 1697, but it ground on without pause for their Native proxies. In September 1699, Aqueendaro and the rest of the chiefs at Onondaga sent an urgent message to Peter Schuyler, informing him of yet another hostile incursion. They reported,

This is the fourth time the five nations have had their people killed since the peace, three times by the French Indians called Rondex and now by the Dowaganhaes Indians in league with the French of Canada, wee desire to know of Corlaer how to behave . . . for wee can endure it noe longer.

A decade of warfare had taken its toll. The census of New York's population commissioned by Fletcher in 1697 showed a grim reality—between 1689 and 1698 the Five Nations may have lost 50 percent of their people. For Onondaga, the warrior count dropped from 500 to 250 during this period (**26**).



Nor were all the hostilities external. Peter Schuyler reported to the lieutenant governor and the governor's council that the Nations were full of factions, and occasionally the result was serious internal violence. Not even the leadership was exempt. At some point during 1698 one of Aqueendaro's sons became ill. Fearful that he had "been bewitched as well as poisoned," Aqueendaro felt "forced to flee" Onondaga and took refuge on Schuyler's farm at the Flatts, north of Albany. The woman accused of the crime was Tegannisoren's wife, a Praying Indian from Canada where many believed she had been "taught to poison as well as pray." During a trip to Albany, a young Mohawk recognized this unfortunate woman, and after charging her with the death of a friend seized a club and "beat out her brains." Distraught at this turn of events, Tegannisoren tried to resign his chiefly duties and go "live solitary in the country." But the need for leadership was too great, and in spite of his personal loss he agreed to resume his responsibilities on behalf of the nation. Such violence threatened the very fabric of Onondaga society. Aqueendaro was correct, this could not continue much longer (27).

All these factors put even greater pressure on the Five Nations to choose, to take sides. Yet, this was the one thing they could not afford to do. As Tegannisoren explained to Peter Schuyler 's brother Johannes in May 1699, the French "will not put up the sword, till we come to Canada . . . [yet] if we goe, then you say we break the covenant chain. This is a great hardship on us." Of all the problems the Five Nations faced as a League and as a Confederacy, the pressure to choose sides was the most difficult (28).

#### Toward a solution

Nowhere did these pressures weigh more heavily than on the leadership in Onondaga, a leadership severely depleted by war. When writing to the French governor in July 1698, the League council at Onondaga had to request "Onnontio not to lose patience." They had been slow in replying because "all their chiefs and wise men are dead." The following March when Callière asked the Iroquois envoys, "if they were of the Cheife Sachims of the Five Nations," they replied, "They were the cheifest att present because the others were dead." Yet, not everyone had been killed. Two of the most important Onondaga chiefs, Aqueendaro and Tegannisoren, remained active and involved. Equally important, the process for replacing those who had been killed remained intact. The dead were condoled and new chiefs raised up to replace those who had been lost. This was especially important in Onondaga, where everyone had bewailed the death of Dewadarondore and the other people who had been killed or captured (29).

Whether they were old and established chiefs like Aqueendaro and Tegannisoren, or new ones such as Ohonsiowanne and Kachwadochon, the Onondaga leadership and the Onondaga themselves remained deeply divided. There were those who favored the French. These included

younger chiefs, like Ohonsiowanne and Aradgi, who preferred to trade at Cataraqui, advocated for a resident Jesuit in Onondaga, and wanted closer ties with the mission communities in Canada. For them, the English had proved not only arrogant and inept, but increasingly grasping, especially for land. Maricourt's taunt summed up their doubts about the English as allies. The French had their faults, but they were kin, and that was what mattered most in the end (**30**).

On the other side were those who favored the English. Although often described as pro-English, it is probably more accurate to think of them as passionately anti-French, and therefore willing to go with the English as the best of the unpalatable alternatives. This group included Aqueendaro and his younger allies, such as Kachwadochon and Tagatsehede. They wanted to continue trading at Albany and receive the governor's regular gifts of firearms, powder, and other necessities. For them, the French were treacherous and deceitful. How many times had they broken their word? Who had invaded Five Nations' territory repeatedly? It was not just the French they distrusted. If they had to have a Christian teach them religion, it would be an Anglican minister, not the Jesuits, "who whip their Proselytes with an iron chain, cut the women's hair off, [and] put the men

**Figure 10.7.** Women cutting their hair at La Prairie. Drawing by Fr. Claude Chauchetière, ca. 1686.



in prison" for committing a single sin. For all their failures, at least the English were not trying to make Five Nations people into something else (31).

Caught in between were those like Tegannisoren, who liked neither option and preferred to remain nonaligned. Although his position has often been described as neutral, this is an unfortunate word choice. Neutral implies passive, and few in Onondaga were more active than Tegannisoren. His objective was balance, not neutrality. Maintaining balance, like polishing the chain or burying the hatchet, was an active and ongoing process, one that required constant effort. Consensus might be the goal in Iroquois politics, unanimity the desired outcome, but balance was often the realistic choice. In this sense, Tegannisoren was the voice of tradition, an appropriate role for a senior Onondaga chief.

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By 1700 both the English and the French considered the Five Nations part of their imperial system, not a sovereign people capable of managing their own internal affairs as a League or making external decisions as a Confederacy. This denial of sovereignty was not acceptable to traditional Onondaga leaders like Tegannisoren. For him, the Five Nations would not become either English "dogs" or "mindless chickens," as the French Mission Indians had. Nor would they be split up. There had to be another way, one that maintained a balance, did not force a choice, and kept the paths open to both Montréal and Albany (32).

#### **Serial Resolutions**

The problems that confronted the Onondaga and all the Five Nations at the end of the seventeenth century were difficult ones. What did sovereignty mean in a world dominated by imperial neighbors? What were the responsibilities of an ally in that world? How had the conception of land and ownership changed as Europeans staked out claims and put marks on maps? Where did Christianity, whether Catholic or Protestant, fit with the traditional cosmology and spirituality that defined Onondaga values? No single treaty or even set of treaties could resolve these issues.

With the turn of a new century the situation began to look different, and finding solutions, rather than complications, began to seem possible. Onondaga might be full of factions, for or against various degrees of engagement with their neighbors, but to the leadership it seemed that now there might be ways to bring them together. Intense negotiations occurred over the winter of 1699–1700, and events proceeded in 1700 along two roughly parallel tracks—one focused on negotiations with the French and the other with the English. It was the goal of Tegannisoren and his allies to be sure those tracks converged (33).

#### Making up with the French

Discussions with the French began in mid-March 1700, when two emissaries again made the trek to Montréal to see if any negotiations were possible. Governor-General Callière accepted their proposal for wider talks and invited them to return at Strawberry Time, or early summer. By mid-July a larger delegation of four Seneca and two Onondaga, Aradgi and Ohonsiowanne, returned to Montréal for what Gilles Havard has rightly called, "A turning point in the peace process." Eight belts were presented by the Seneca spokesman as he made proposals for peace with the nations of the west and for the return of prisoners, and asked that representatives be sent to Onondaga so that negotiations might continue. When Callière replied that he was disappointed not to see representatives from the other three nations present, the Seneca speaker replied that these proposals were made in the name of "The Onondaga, my eldest brother," in other words, on behalf of all Upper Four Nations. He also noted, "The late Count de Frontenac" had told them, "we could transact business independent of the Mohawk." Left unsaid was that the Mohawk would be brought into

the process when it was appropriate. Although not completely satisfied, Callière agreed to send Maricourt, Joncaire, and Bruyas to Onondaga within 30 days to continue the talks, and he requested a follow-up meeting in September. Callière wanted all of the Upper Four Nations represented then. For the first time in more than a decade, it looked like the Tree of Peace might actually flourish again (34).

The August meeting at Onondaga proved to be another key event in the Confederacy's evolving diplomatic stance. The French delegation arrived first and was greeted enthusiastically. Within a week, representatives from all Five Nations were present for the League council that would hear Father Bruyas's proposals. The English were alarmed at the prospect of such a meeting, and Bellomont sent an interpreter, Jan Baptist van Eps, to forestall the talks. A more tactful man might have handled it better, but Van Eps simply laid down the English imperial line, telling his hosts that Corlaer, the English governor, forbade them from meeting with the French and that they should not even listen to what they had to say. To this, Tegannisoren replied bluntly that they were the Corlaer's brothers not his vassals and would conduct their affairs as they saw fit. After all the other nations voiced their approval, the council proceeded to hear what Bruyas had to say. The contrast with Van Eps could not have been greater. Bruyas began by condoling their losses during the recent hostilities, then continued saying that since peace had been declared, "between the great kings over the great Water, Lett it Likewise be peace Between you and us." With another belt, he offered to plant the Tree of Peace in Onondaga. The obvious next step would be an exchange of prisoners, although exactly how and when this would happen had yet to be determined. Finally, Bruyas requested permission to live in Onondaga and instruct them in the Christian faith (35).

On the surface, there was not much new here. The proposals being exchanged in 1700 were essentially the same ones that Aradgi had made to Frontenac three years earlier, and those Tegannisoren had presented for a general peace and the return of captives in May 1694. Three other points, however, made these French proposals very different. First, by replanting the Tree of Peace and Welfare at Onondaga, Callière reached out to the Five Nations' leadership in a personal manner. It was a small gesture, but a significant one. Second was the surprising suggestion that the Five Nations "keep fast to the Covenant Chain," which they had with the English. Bruyas explained that he understood the Five Nations were "one heart, one head and interest" with Corlaer, the English governor. What Bruyas did not understand was why were the English "against your corresponding with us," when the French did not oppose them talking with the English? In closing, he added one more key distinction almost in passing. Onnontio, the French governor, "did not claim a right to their land as Corlaer did, he left them to their liberty; but Corlaer pretended a superiority over them." Bruyas also suggested the Onondaga ask the English why treaty



conferences are held in Albany, "not to be kept at Onnondage according to the ancient custom?" The Onondaga reply was cool and considered. The council was not ready to have the Jesuits return to their towns just yet. Tegannisoren spelled out the Confederacy's position during the final session. Yes, he would go to Montréal, "where my father Onnontio has lit the fire of peace," and he would go to Albany if called. Beneath this measured response lay the basis for a fundamentally different relationship with the Europeans, one very much in line with what Tegannisoren and the other Onondaga leaders sought. Perhaps a solution that kept both roads open was possible after all (**36**).

On September 3, 1700, the next critical step took place as 19 representatives from all the Iroquois nations met with Callière in Montréal. This time, representatives from the Praying Towns of the Sault and the Mountain were also present, along with their Abenaki allies. Before the conference ended, ambassadors arrived from Michilimackinac. There were also Wyandot delegates led by Kondiaronk, Onondaga's old enemy, and others from the four Ottawa nations. The Tree of Peace seemed to be spreading its roots. Although the main points for an agreement had been established at the previous meeting, the Five Nations speaker laid them out once more, each with an accompanying wampum belt –

- First Belt They had stopped fighting the Farr Nations "because you and the English Governor had told us that it was a General Peace . . . it was not because we were afraid."
- Second Belt "When we came here last [July 18], we planted the Tree of Peace; now we give it roots to reach the Far [Farr] Nations, in order that it may be strengthened; we add leaves also to it, so that good business may be transacted under its shade."
- Third Belt "The best proof of Peace is the surrender of Prisoners; we afford such proof to you in bringing you back thirteen . . . though we have experienced pain . . . having long since adopted them as our nephews."

Additional requests were that trade goods be priced fairly, that a blacksmith be available to them at Cataraqui, and that peace efforts continue with the other Algonquian nations (**37**).

Callière replied in kind, "I am very glad, my Iroquois children, to see you," he began, and "I am happy to open my arms to you . . . as a good father," since you have "kept the promise you gave me" to bring deputies from your towns and make "a general peace between all my allies and you." Then, in proper ritual fashion, he condoled their dead, buried the weapons of war where they could not be found, and made firm the Great Tree of Peace, which they had planted. The only disappointment was that so few prisoners had been returned. To remedy this Callière invited them to another conference the following August, and he asked that all the remaining prisoners be brought back at that time (**38**).

The Five Nations' response was equally gracious thanking "Onnontio, for the treatment we have received from you. You must have examined all the old affairs to speak as you have done. Such is the way to act when there is a sincere desire to bring matters to a happy termination." Although not stated aloud, the comparison between the French, who had learned the importance of Native protocol, and the English with their rude and imperious ways, was certainly noted. The speaker continued, "For ourselves, we promise to obey your voice." On September 8, after all the preceding articles had been accepted by the Iroquois deputies and representatives of the other nations, Callière had them sign "the same with him and the Intendant, each making the mark of his Nation, in the presence of the entire assembly." With this signing, what might be termed the dress rehearsal for the Great Peace of Montréal was over. All that was needed was to ratify this treaty in a year's time (**39**).

#### Keeping the English at arm's length

While relations between the Five Nations and the French grew more cordial, those with the English became increasingly distant. Concerned about the reliability of the Onondaga, "who have a greater leaning to the French than any of the other Nations," Governor-General Bellomont began to push hard for his solution. As he wrote to the Board of Trade, "A fort should be immediately built [at Onondaga] where their castle stands." This should be "a good sod Fort well stockaded and palisaded" with "100 Souldiers constantly in Garison . . . employed in making tar and pitch during peace time. Hopefully, this would draw some English families thither and maybe a minister as well." Of course, this was a plan designed to fulfill Bellomont's goals, and had little to do with what Onondaga needed or wanted. The problem for Bellomont was that few others shared his enthusiasm for this project (40).

In April 1700 Bellomont sent a party headed by Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston to Onondaga. Their primary mission was to scout out possible locations for the proposed fort. It did not go well. Even though they met with Aqueendaro, who assured them, "We are firmly linked into the Covenant Chain" and had nothing to conceal from one another, most of the important chiefs were away. Schuyler spent much of his time denying rumors that the English planned to poison them causing them to dwindle away to nothing. Unable to get anything accomplished, Schuyler invited the chief sachems of all the Five Nations to meet with Bellomont in August, when he would provide them with good presents, especially "a good number of fuzils & a proportionable quantity of powder and lead" (41).

Meanwhile, Robert Livingston was busy recording his own observations on the Five Nations, their condition, and usefulness. He found the Indians at Onondaga "much dejected and in a staggering condition, tho' they are so proud and will not owe it." He concluded that presents alone would not do, something must be done to win back their confidence. Livingston

#### Rebuilding a Balance, 1697 to 1701



was one of the wealthiest traders in New York, and in his private report to Bellomont he humbly offered his own imperial vision. Perhaps the best thing would be to "perswade the Oneydes & Onondages to desert their habitations and remove nearer us." Then a fort could be built, not at Onondaga but in a more useful location for the trade. He suggested that place was De Troett (Detroit) between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie. There, in "the most pleasant and plentifull inland place in America," a fort could be built that would control the interior trade and keep the French away from the king's plantations in Virginia and Maryland (42).

For Livingston, the Five Nations were little more than gaming pieces to be moved around on the imperial board. He liked them well enough, describing them as, "the same I always tooke them to be, a subtle, designing people, and there is nothing has the ascendant over them but fear and interest." In a near perfect statement of imperial condescension, Livingston summarized their status for Bellomont –

The French they fear, having felt the smart of their blows often. Us they love because of the good that daily receive frome us. They owne there is a God and a Devil. God is a good man they say, and lives above, Him they love because He never do's them any harme. The Devil they fear and are forc'd to bribe by offerings, &<sup>e</sup> [etc.] that he do them no harme. I take it that they compare the French to y<sup>e</sup> latter, and the English to the former.

The implications were obvious to him. If the Five Nations could not take care of themselves, then it was the duty of their betters to do so. Such was the burden of empire. Besides, the lands they occupied were much too important to be put at risk. It must have come as something of a shock when at the end of June a delegation from the Five Nations announced to the Albany commissioners that they had just concluded a treaty of "perpetual peace and friendship" with three of the Ottawa nations that now lived on the northern side of Lake Ontario. As the speaker on this occasion, Tegannisoren noted that it had been three years since the end of the war, and they were tired of waiting for the Europeans to act. Now, rather than have war continue to "devour us both," the Five Nations and Ottawa can "grow old and grey headed together." Apparently, the Five Nations were not as debilitated as Livingston thought (43).

Against this backdrop, Bellomont's Indian conference took place at the end of August 1701. It was the second time he had met with them, and as he confided to the Board of Trade, it was "the greatest fatigue I ever underwent in my life." He was fatigued for good reason. Bellomont had been working tirelessly to put the northern colonies in order, and the conference was difficult because he and the Five Nations were working from very different scripts. Almost from the beginning, Bellomont hit the wrong tone. He started out with the usual blithe assurances that the king

would support them against all his and their enemies. Then he shifted to a very different topic saying, "I have thought fit to begin my conference with you [on] . . . the subject of religion." He said to not listen to those "lying artifices which the Jesuits teach and practise," and told them that soon they would have real ministers of the Protestant religion to instruct them. He concluded that then all their friends and relations, now in the Praying Towns, could come back to their homeland and live with you again (44).

Aqueendaro gave the Five Nations' reply the following day, "Wee were ordered this Spring to come here and wait upon your Lordship." Here were 50 chiefs representing all Five Nations. Yes, they would be willing "to be instructed in the Protestant religion," but that was not the priority. Would the English help them resolve the critical issues of peace with the western nations and the return of their captives? Frankly, they had nothing more to say until the governor made some specific proposals. What Aqueendaro did not say out loud was, since the Five Nations were also in negotiation with the French, it was time for the English to be forthcoming and offer more than the usual platitudes and promises (45).

Bellomont mistook Aqueendaro's reply for agreement. Pleased that they had decided to become "Christians and faithfull subjects to his Majestie," he plowed ahead with his plans for a fort at Onondaga. Increasingly, however, Bellomont was off the mark. When the Five Nations asked for assurances that "the goods be as cheap as formerly" and the trading be fair, Bellomont encouraged them to send some of "your Sachems sonns" to the English for schooling instead. To this Aqueendaro patiently explained that the women made decisions about the education of children, not the men. When the governor finally addressed the issue of bringing in some of the Western nations with them in the Covenant Chain, he sabotaged his own credibility by telling the chiefs to order their young men to help build his fort. Finally, he insulted them by offering to pay 100 pieces of eight, or Spanish silver, for every popish priest and Jesuit they brought to him. As Aqueendaro drily observed the following day, although the subjects Bellomont had addressed were "of great moment and consequence," his proposals "do not well consist and agree together." The discussions dragged on until even Bellomont, having reported being "shut up in a close chamber with 50 Sachims, who besides the stink of bear's grease . . . were continually smoaking tobacco or drinking drams of rum," sensed that things were not going well (46).

Finally it was over. The last presentations were made and the promised presents handed out. In closing, Bellomont stressed his main points— "steddy adherence" to the Protestant religion, "speedy orders for the fortifying [of] the fronteer," and above all, "an inviolable fidelity and obedience to the King our Master." He also asked for a summary of what the French had proposed to them. Once again Aqueendaro gave the reply,

# Case Study 18. Renaming the Creator

By the end of the seventeenth century religion had become one aspect of the imperial struggle for control over the Five Nations. Fifty years earlier the issue for the Jesuits was whether Five Nations people believed in the Christian God. By 1700 such theological niceties were long gone, replaced by tactical concerns, such as who had the right to send missionaries and build chapels in Onondaga and other Five Nations communities. As far as most Europeans were concerned, the name of the Creator was obvious. Robert Livingston observed, the Five Nations "owne there is a God and a Devil," and compare the English to the former and the French to the latter. Undoubtedly, Jesuits Pierre Millet, Jacques Bruyas, and the resident French agents would have framed this differently.

Amidst all the imperial arm-twisting, it is difficult to know what the Onondaga thought as they continued to use the familiar phrase "the master of life" as well as other such terms. Describing the Five Nations during the 1680s, Lahontan observed, "They look upon themselves as Sovereigns, accountable to none but God alone, whom they call The Great Spirit." By the 1690s the language had changed again, especially among the Mohawk. As their speaker addressed Gov. Henry Sloughter in May 1691, "The Great God of Heaven has opened our eyes, that we discerne the difference betwixt Christianity and Paganism." Three years later Tegannisoren addressed "the Indians of the Sault, whom I formerly called Iroquois," urging them to make peace. Otherwise, he said, "He who is above, and who is the arbiter of life-meaning God . . . would punish you as christians more severely than us." By 1700 even Aqueendaro used this phrasing in his reply to Governor-General Bellomont saying, "God Almighty hath been pleased to create us, and the Sunn hath shined long upon us." Names were important to the Five Nations, so what did this gradual shift in terminology mean? Was the use of Christian terms an indication of changing beliefs, or simply a way for the Onondaga to speak with Europeans in the hope they might better understand each other? Since most contemporary accounts were translated and transcribed by Europeans, it is not possible to know (47).

God Almighty hath been pleased to create us, and the Sunn hath shined long upon us . . . let us therefore goe hand in hand and support one another. Wee were here before you and were a strong and numerous people when you were but small and young . . . therefore when wee propose any thing to you, if you cannot agree to it, let us take councill together that matters may be carry'd on smooth, and that what wee may say may not be taken amiss.

From here Aqueendaro reviewed the essential points. With the exception of being instructed in the Protestant religion, the requests were quite similar to those made to the French—peace with the Western Indians, fair prices and trading practices, and a blacksmith to live at Onondaga. There was one other request. Given the European obsession with boundaries, Aqueendaro asked that "limitts and bounds" be established between them as subjects of the king and the French of Canada in order to prevent future disputes and controversies. In conclusion, Aqueendaro summarized the proposals

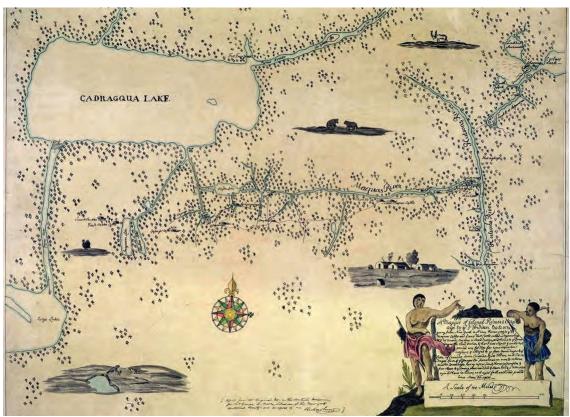
Bruyas had made in Onondaga a few weeks earlier, as Bellomont had requested. Although English answers to some of the questions posed by the French might have been expected, apparently none were provided (48).

Although the historical documents do not record the thoughts of the Five Nations' leadership following this meeting, there could not have been much joy in the pro-English camp. Once again the English had failed to demonstrate any respect for their Five Nations' brethren and their concerns. Instead it had been the same old formula of promises and presents, all designed to keep them in their proper place within the English imperial hierarchy. Little more than a week passed between the end of Bellomont's conference and the signing of Callière's treaty in Montréal. As Bellomont himself had observed, it was a mistake to underestimate those "old crafty Sachems of the Five Nations" (49).

# **The Two Roads Solution**

By the beginning of 1701 the situation had changed significantly from that of a year before. While Callière was able to report his success in making peace with the Iroquois according to their custom, the English continued to squander what good will they still had in Onondaga. After the Albany conference, Bellomont had sent another survey party to Onondaga to select a site for his fort. Not trusting Schuyler, the governor sent the king's engineer, Wolfgang William Romer, in the company of two lessexperienced men. It was a bad mistake. Romer was a man in a hurry and

Figure 10.8. "A Mappe of Colonel Römers Voyage to ye: 5 Indian Nations." Drawn by Wolfgang William Römer, ca. 1700.





quickly became impatient when things did not go his way. The harder he pushed, the slower and more deliberative the Onondaga became, until at last Tegannisoren suggested that the whole business be put off until the following year. Romer returned to Albany in a huff, and Bellomont blamed Schuyler for the failure. The Onondaga, too, "were not well pleased and went away angry" (50). Then Bellomont died on March 5, 1701, throwing the government of New York into chaos again. With the lieutenant governor John Nanfan away in the West Indies, the governor's council was left in charge, and they were bitterly divided between Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. It would be some time before any coherent Indian policy was to come from Albany (51).

Things were bumpy on the French side as well. In March two Onondaga ambassadors went to Québec to complain to Callière that the Ottawa had attacked a Seneca hunting party that winter, in violation of the September treaty. After listening, the governor-general reassured them he would do his best to have any prisoners released and reminded them about the upcoming August meeting. Cadillac's plan to build a fort at Detroit that summer was a bigger bump. When word reached Onondaga in May, Tegannisoren, Aradgi, and several other chiefs went to Montréal to demand an explanation. Tegannisoren told Callière that the French had no right to build there and asked that construction be delayed until after the August conference. He also pressed the governor-general to honor the treaty they had signed in September, 1700. Callière had promised to enforce the peace, and Tegannisoren was there to report more violations including one other issue. He said, "Wee hear they are going to warr in Europe tell us the truth of that matter" (52).

Callière answered with three belts. With the first, he promised to investigate the attacks Tegannisoren had reported. With the second, he explained that yes, the new fort at Detroit would be built. It was, however, there to serve the Five Nations as much as anyone else and would supply "all the necessaries when you are a hunting." Finally, in reply to the question about war in Europe, Callière answered in a careful and deliberate way saying, "Itt is now peace with all you Five Nations . . . do not harken to any ill discourse." If war comes again, do not get drawn into it, he advised. Then "you shall have two Roads to goe in safety while wee bee at warr, one to your Brother Corlaer, and another to us in Canada." Although Tegannisoren's reply was muted, he must have felt a surge of relief. A solution that kept both roads open had just been placed on the mat (53).

It was one thing to see a solution and quite another to implement it. In mid-June 1701 colonial representatives from Canada and New York met again at Onondaga to address a League council meeting. In some ways, it was a replay of the summer before. Maricourt, Joncaire, and Bruyas led the French delegation. In turn, Acting-Governor Nanfan dispatched two representatives to keep an eye on things and to invite the Five Nations to

a conference in Albany in July. Although the French arrived with the usual pomp and ceremony, the council meeting began with League business. The Cayuga then the Onondaga announced the recent deaths of important chiefs. After each had been condoled and their successors acknowledged, the meeting proceeded. First on the agenda was Tegannisoren, who reported on his trip to Montréal and discussions with Callière. As usual, he reiterated his own requests and the governor's replies word for word. Maricourt went next, reminding the Five Nations that Callière had called them to come to him again in 30 days and that they were expected to bring all prisoners with them at that time. He reported that the new fort at Detroit had been built, and announced the death of the king of Spain. He added that there would likely be "a great deale of adoe about itt" (54).

After these opening statements, the League council meeting adjourned for private talks and negotiations. Not surprisingly, Tegannisoren found himself under intense pressure from the English. As the English representative Johannes Bleeker reported, "They were much confused in their meeting and extreamly divided, some will have a priest on the one side of the Castle and a Minister on the other side." When Tegannisoren confided that they were afraid the French might make war on them again, the English told him, "Be not affraid of the French, speake like men and behave yourselves like soldiers, for which you have always been famous" (55).

Three days later the League council reconvened, and Tegannisoren, after two sleepless nights, gave his reply. Once again he refused to be pushed into a decision about religion saying, "Wee are desired by both parties to turn Christians," but since they did not know what side to choose, he would not speak anymore of praying or Christianity. They had, however, come to the conclusion that "those that sells their goods cheapest whether English or French of them will wee have a Minister." He told them not to expect a decision about that until winter. Finally, Tegannisoren warned both the French and English delegates, "wee will hold fast to the peace, and if there be any breach itt will be your faults not ours." The League council at Onondaga was over, but there were still two major conferences ahead (56).

#### Albany, July 1701

Ten days later more than 30 chiefs from all the Five Nations met with John Nanfan, Peter Schuyler, and the Albany elite in their City Hall. Having already informed the Board of Trade, "Our Five Nations of Indians are at present in good disposition," Nanfan saw this as an "opportunity to confirm them in their obedience to his Majesty and friendship to this and the neighbouring Plantations." It probably did not occur to him that the Five Nations might have an agenda of their own. Things started off well enough. Nanfan noted the passing of Bellomont and announced his royal commission to serve as acting governor. He continued, "I am not a stranger

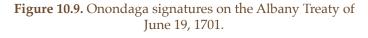


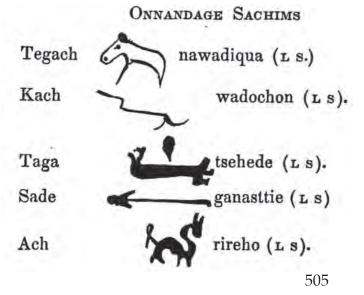
just come among you," but if he was to help, he needed to know about the negotiations they had had with the French and "their practices and wicked artifices to deceive and seduce." The reply came two days later. The tone was agreeable, perhaps too agreeable for those familiar with Onondaga rhetorical skills. The speaker began saying they were glad to see "a young active man expert in war . . . a Governour fitt for service and that can travell and endure fatigue, wee will all have our eyes fix't upon you." He added, "Wee doe with all sincerity acknowledge the great kindnesse, that His Maj<sup>ty</sup> our great King has for the five nations . . . Wee will endevor to behave ourselves" (57).

Nanfan apparently took the flattery at face value, adding that he was very thankful they were "soe well satisfyed" with him as governor. Warming to his theme, he could not approve of their negotiations with the French and was surprised they were not more zealous in opposing the new French fort at Detroit. He warned, "you can never expect to hunt beaver any more in peace if you let them fortify themselves att that principall pass." He also cautioned them against Callière, who cared nothing for them and their happiness and would actually encourage them "to sitt still if a warr should happen between us and the French." What an interesting thought. Nanfan droned on, telling them all the things they should and should not do. At last, after asking for their "inviolate fidelity and obedience to the King," he distributed the expected presents (**58**).

But it was not quite over. Behind the scenes, another solution to the issue of the French in Detroit and relations with the Farr Indians, the Frenchallied tribes in the Great Lakes, was about to emerge. The next day the Five Nations speaker formally replied to Nanfan, condoling Bellomont's death and assuring him of their intentions, which were "to cleave close to you and never to seperate our interest nor affections from you." Beyond

the rhetoric was a specific request to send the secretary, Robert Livingston, directly to the king, asking him to protect them from the French. In return the Five Nations would "give and render up all that land where the Beaver hunting is." Specifically, these were the lands on the north side of Lake Ontario and further west. There were some additional requests for cheaper prices, fairer trading practices, and the promised ministers, but security from the French was the primary concern. The speaker proclaimed that they had no power to resist the "Christian enemy", and therefore they must





depend upon their brother Corlaer. The gravity of this request was soon evident. Later that day, 20 of the Five Nations' chiefs, Aqueendaro prominent among them, signed a deed that gave the King of England title to their "Beaver Hunting Grounds." Although Nanfan was pleased, he was undoubtedly surprised by this turn of events. His predecessor had been instructed to purchase "great tracts of land for his Maj<sup>ty</sup> from the Indians for small sums," and now the English had just been given a vast territory for nothing. The real winners, however, were the Five Nations. Now it was the English who had the responsibility to protect the interests of the Crown and the Five Nations people traveling to the west. Furthermore, a European treaty now guaranteed the Five Nations "free hunting for us and the heires and descendants" on those contested lands forever. If the English wanted territory to which they had no right, the Five Nations were happy to give them lands they did not own (**59**).

There was one last private meeting at which Aqueendaro spoke for the five chiefs who were present. In many ways, this was a last attempt by him and others who preferred the English, at a time when those who favored the French were making serious progress. Lest the important issues "slip out of your memory," Aqueendaro reviewed them for the governor one more time. Their captives had not been freed, as Bellomont had promised. Why hadn't the English been able to do this? He continued, "What shall we doe if the French continue to draw away our people." Their solution, as they had requested publicly during the conference, was to send Livingston to the king and send him now "in a good large canoe." They needed an answer, and they needed it soon. Once again, the governor temporized, not sure how to handle such an unusual request. Clearly he did not realize what was at stake. At a time when the pro-English leadership in Onondaga needed tangible results, all Acting-Governor Nanfan could say was that he would consider their proposition. Technically the road to Albany remained open, but in brushing off his allies Nanfan had made the road to Montréal more attractive (60).

#### Montréal, August 1701

While Aqueendaro was trying to salvage the Five Nations' partnership with the English, a large party of as many as 200 people accompanied Bruyas, Maricourt, Joncaire, and the rest of the French delegation back to Montréal for Callière's grand treaty council. This was a very different delegation than the one that had met with Nanfan, and it contained a much larger contingent of Seneca, three of whom served as speakers. It is interesting to note who did not go. The only Onondaga chief present was Ohonsiowanne. Tegannisoren did not attend, nor did Aradgi or any of the other pro-French Onondaga chiefs. Apparently, they were content to let the events they had set in motion play out (61).

The Five Nations' contingent was the first to arrive, but within a few days more than 1,000 Indians representing as many as 40 different nations



Figure 10.10. Settlement map of Eastern North America including the "Beaver Hunting Grounds," ca. 1701.

had assembled in Montréal. Formal meetings between Callière and the different delegations began on July 25 and continued for several days. Of the many concerns voiced, two stood out. First was the rapid depletion of beaver throughout the Great Lakes. This had caused huge disruptions in traditional hunting and settlement patterns. All too frequently the result was competition that fueled animosities and ignited violence. Second was the return of prisoners. This was a sensitive and difficult issue, especially for the Five Nations who had been trying to get their captive kin released



**Figure 10.11.** The Great Peace Treaty of Montréal, August 1701. Painting by Francis Back, ca. 2001 © Raphaëlle & Félix Back.

for years. The return of former captives was complicated by the fact that many had been adopted and now considered themselves different people. Finally, there was little willingness to go first when it came to returning captives, since neither side trusted the other to honor the agreement (62).

Although much has been made of the Great Peace of Montréal, the conference itself and the treaty it produced were essentially a replay of what had been agreed upon the year before, albeit with a much larger set of participants. There were no surprises. On August 4, after more than a week of consultation and negotiation, Callière addressed the multitude of Indian people as well as the "people of quality" from Montréal. It was at this general meeting where he reiterated the accords that had been made. Callière spoke as Onnontio, their patient yet firm father, who greeted them saying "I am exceedingly rejoiced to see all my Children assembled here." After naming each and reminding them that all had agreed to have "deposited your interests in my hands," he proceeded to the terms in the peace agreement. There would be no more talk of war or of the attacks made during the war. To ensure this, he continued, "I lay ahold anew of all your hatchets and other warlike weapons and put them, together with my own, in so deep a trench that no one can take them up again." He then asked them to treat each other as brothers when they met while hunting in the previously contested lands north and west of Lake Ontario. In conclusion, Callière reaffirmed the treaty commitments made the previous Chapter Ten



September, emphasizing that there would be no more revenge. Instead, he instructed them to "not take vengeance . . . but . . . come and see me in order so that I may have justice done" (63).

Callière's appreciation for the sensitive cross-cultural nature of this event was reflected in the care with which protocol was followed. After he finished speaking, his words were translated, put into writing, and distributed to each delegation along with a wampum belt to seal his words (64). The leader of each delegation was then invited to reply. After the last speech, Callière had the peace treaty brought out, so that all the participants could follow the European tradition of signing their names in witness, each with his distinctive pictograph. Most were figures of animals. Then, to "confirm this great Alliance . . . and to do it with all possible circumspection," the participants performed the calumet ceremony, "smoking the big peace pipe [Calumet of Peace] that Chichicatalo [a Miami chief]" had given to Callière earlier in the conference. Finally, the Christian chant, Te Deum, was sung, and everyone settled down to the feast that had been prepared (65).

The Montréal conference was a great success. Everyone seemed pleased with the outcome. There had been no fighting among the participants, only a few harsh words, and the celebrations had not degenerated into drunken brawls. No one had been killed. Only one factor marred the proceedings the death of several of the participants from a deadly fever that spread among the Native delegates, especially those from the western tribes. At the end of the conference the requisite presents were distributed from the king's storehouse, and the delegations began to head home.

Callière met with the Five Nations' delegates one last time on August 7, 1701. There were still issues to finalize. One was a plan to exchange the last of the captives. Another was Detroit. The fort would stay where it was, Callière told them, and assured them that Five Nations people would be "well received and find merchandise at a reasonable price" there. Finally, Callière asked the delegates to respect the promise Tegannisoren had made earlier in the year to not to take sides if the Europeans went to war again. He advised, "sit peacefully on your mats," and do not get caught up again in our misunderstandings. It proved to be good advice. In Europe, the first hostilities in what would quickly become the War of the Spanish Succession had already started. That war would not end until the spring of 1713 (66).

As many scholars have argued, these two treaties signed during the summer of 1701 fundamentally redefined the relationship between the Five Nations and their neighbors, both European and Native. While there has been much discussion as to who won and who lost, I agree with historian Allen Trelease. He concluded that although both Callière and Nanfan each believed they had won significant victories, the real triumph belonged

L'es Gens Du Cault Mous n'ignoret yeas vous autres Troquois que nous ne Soyons attachets a nostre grere nous qui demeurons auceluset qui sommes dans Son Sein, vous nous envoyaste un collier il y a trois and your nous inuiter a vous procurer la graix nous vous en envoyasmes un en reponse, nous vous donnon encorre celuy cy your vous dire que nous y auons travaille nous ne demandons quas mieux qu'elle Bit de Durée faire aussy devosive Coste ce qu'il faut grour Cela, Les Gens dela Montagnes Your quet fait assembler icy nostre greve toutes Les -Nations your faire un amas de haches et les mettre -Jans laterre, quec la vostre, pour moy qui n'en auoit pas Hautre, ie me rejouy de ce que vous faires auiourd'hury, et Tinuite Les Troquois a rous regarder comme leurs freres & 90409 onneidst (7) P. les staouast dusable, abanakis delocades

**Figure 10.12.** The first of many Native signatures on the Montréal Treaty of August 4, 1701. Note that the Onondaga Ouentsiouan (Ohonsiowanne) signed first.

to the Five Nations. Actually, the 1701 treaties were a Five Nations' triumph in two ways. One was a success for the Confederacy. With these treaties, the Five Nations now had the means to finesse French and English imperial demands and keep the roads to both Montréal and Albany open. As historian Timothy Shannon aptly put it, the Five Nations "remained autonomous, arms linked with [both] the French and English but still standing firmly on their own two feet." Equally important, these treaties were a success for the League, providing agreements that kept them together and maintained an internal balance among their diverse interests. It was no surprise that the Mohawk had been prominent at the Albany conference, since that conference dealt primarily with Eastern Door issues. In the same way, it was the Seneca who spoke for the Five Nations in Montréal, since the peace agreements signed there were primarily with western nations, a Western Door matter (67).

If the treaties of 1701 were a triumph for the Five Nations, both for the Confederacy and for the League, the real winners were the Onondaga. For nearly 50 years it had been the goal of the Onondaga leadership to keep the Five Nations together, while finding a way to balance the competing demands of their European neighbors. This desire had led to the cultivation of the French in the 1650s as a counterbalance to the Dutch-Mohawk alliance. That provided the basis for the 1665–1666 peace treaties that ended the hostilities following the collapse of Ste. Marie and had structured their diplomatic thinking ever since. As Tegannisoren had told Frontenac in 1682, I have "two hands, one for peace and another for war." By 1701 those two hands had learned to reach out to brother Corlaer and father Onnontio, to the traders in Albany and in Montréal, to Christianity, whether by priest or minister, and to whatever it took to maintain a political, economic, and spiritual balance. Across the previous two difficult decades, it was Onondaga leadership that guided the process and brokered the arrangements that brought the treaties of 1701 into being. What was needed now was time for things to settle (68).

## Chapter Ten



## Settling In

Initially, things did not change much, regardless of the treaties. The English remained clueless about the events taking place around them. In late August, Nanfan reported to the Board of Trade that all was well, writing, "I have fixed our Indians in their obedience to his Majesty and in their friendship" to New York and the neighboring English colonies. He had just entertained Tegannisoren, "the great Indian of Onondage" in New York City, and sent him home extremely satisfied with some small presents. Meanwhile, Callière was busy consolidating his gains in Canada. Although he had made peace with the Five Nations, he was actively planning for the coming war with New England (69).

In early September the Five Nations met again at Onondaga for a League council. The English delegation was there, anxious to "hinder the French [from] debauching . . . our Indians" and eager for word on the decision Tegannisoren had promised in June. Whose belt would the Five Nations accept in terms of Christian instruction and trade? The proceedings got underway when the French delegation arrived a week later. Once they were present, Tegannisoren asked them to repeat the proposals that Callière had presented in August. In brief, the French message was,

Children, it is now Peace all over the world. Probably wee or the English will be the cause of a warr and if it so happens there be a warr you are by no means to intermeddle. Let us and the English fight alone—Come freely and fetch of mee as you do of your brother Corlaer Powder and Lead, and do not love one better than the other (70).

Tegannisoren listened carefully and expressed his overall approval. There remained the unfinished business from the June council meeting. Which of the wampum belts that hung in the longhouse would the Iroquois accept—the one from Callière that would bring back the Jesuits, or the one from Bellomont promising a minister? In his reply Tegannisoren addressed both the French and English representatives saying, "wee are now come to a conclusion & wee doe now tell you wee will have no Jesuit in our Country," nor any minister either. Why did the Five Nations say no to these offers? He said, "because you both have made us drunk withall your noise of praying wee must first come to our selves again." However, his response was not only about religion. In terms of trade, the answer was much the same. They would keep their Covenant Chain with their brother Corlaer because it was trade, which had induced them to make the Covenant Chain in the first place, not the promise of a military alliance. Besides, Tegannisoren concluded, "You are both to [too] dear with your goods" (71).

Yet it was not just about prices. The real issue was whether either the French or English were willing to treat the Five Nations with the respect and fairness due to an ally, and more importantly, a sovereign people. If not, then the Five Nations were prepared to go their own way.

#### Onondaga in 1701

By the end of the year things were in a fundamentally different place than they had been at the beginning. Or perhaps it is more appropriate to say, they were now on very different trajectories. For the English, the disconnection between their Indian policy and reality would continue to grow. At the end of December Nanfan informed the Board of Trade, "Our Indians are in great temper and I hope will so continue." It did not. The next spring in May 1702, the new governor-general finally arrived, and Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, had little interest in Indians or Indian policy. Unlike his predecessors, Cornbury hardly bothered to go through the motions of diplomatic etiquette. For the French, things played out much as Callière had predicted. At the same time the Great Peace was signed in Montréal, King William III of England was assembling a second Grand Alliance against Louis XIV in Europe. Serious fighting soon followed and then spread to North America. This time it did not include the Five Nations. As Callière reported back to his superior in France, the Count de Pontchartrain, the peace he had concluded last year with the Five Iroquois Nations and the Indians allied with the French was working well. Both sides had gone to Montréal to thank him and let him know that "nothing has since transpired between them to mar the Treaty." The Five Nations "will remain neutral during the war between us and the English ... they will smoke in quietness on their mats without taking sides." Although Callière died the following year, his successor, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, continued his policies (72).

For the Onondaga, things were looking better by the end of 1701. A few revenge killings still took place despite the Montréal treaty, but the grinding cross-border warfare between kin was over. In terms of trade, the roads to both Montréal and Albany were open, even if prices were high and the trade stagnant. Whatever problems remained, the Onondaga now had breathing space to rebuild their population and set their own priorities for a new century.

The situation was similar across the Five Nations, as each nation had its problems and priorities and the world around them continued to change in complex and unforeseeable ways. What made the treaties of 1701 possible was that the Five Nations had learned to adjust their decision-making to meet those changing circumstances, internally through the League and externally through the Confederacy. These changes succeeded because they were based on the values of the Onondaga leadership that guided the process—patience, respect, consensus, and when that was not possible, balance. Whether the challenges came from the Eastern or Western Door or were conflicts between Christians and traditionalists, or demands from Albany or Montréal, this was a strategy that could work.

# Chapter Eleven. Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701



hings looked grim for the Onondaga in the fall of 1696. They had survived Governor-General Frontenac's invasion, but now faced even greater privation with their crops destroyed and winter approaching. Meanwhile, the hostilities continued, and while the Treaty of Ryswijck ended the European fighting in September 1697, the proxy warfare in North America continued unabated. The trade was in ruins, and both the French and English were too preoccupied with their own affairs to pay much attention to their Native clients. By 1701, however, the Five Nations were able to negotiate treaties with their European neighbors, treaties that permitted the Five Nations to begin the new century under much improved circumstances.

This chapter looks at the material culture from a very brief period of time, the shortest we will consider but one during which momentous events took place. Although the historical documents have much to say about those events, they say less about the Onondaga themselves. The archaeological record for this period is unique. For the first and only time for Onondaga sites, both occupation and mortuary assemblages are present. Taken together, these sites give us a unique opportunity to see who and what was Onondaga at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

#### The Jamesville Site

The town built by the Onondaga after the French invasion of 1696, known today as the Jamesville site, is where they lived during the years prior to the treaties signed in Albany and Montréal in 1701 and for at least a decade after. For more than 150 years, this site has played an important, if largely mistaken, role in the history of central New York. While DeWitt Clinton probably visited it early in the nineteenth century, it was Henry Rowe Schoolcraft who published the first description of the site in 1846. He identified it as the ruins of "a square fort, with bastions" and accompanied his observations with a sketch of the site and its surroundings (Figure 11.1a). According to Isaac Keeler, on whose farm the site was located, the outline of this fort could still be traced when settlers first came into the area, and at every plowing "cedar pickets, which had been burned to the ground" were encountered. While Schoolcraft speculated about the relationship between this site and French activities during the seventeenth century, he did not link it to Frontenac's invasion. Schoolcraft's primary local informant was Joshua Clark, who devoted several pages to this ancient fort and burying grounds in his book, Onondaga, published three years later in 1849. Clark provided a more detailed description of the palisade, a different plan of the site (Figure 11.1b), and descriptions of many of the objects that had been found. He, too, mused on what might have happened on this site where French troops, "with nodding plume and rattling cuirass," existed "side by side with the dusky Onondagas," and "the Black Robes with their trembling neophytes" (1).



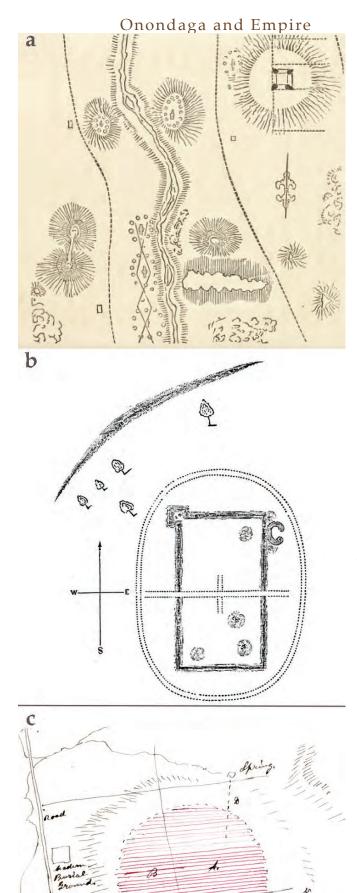
William M. Beauchamp appears to have been the first person to conclude that this site was the one burned during Frontenac's invasion in 1696. By 1900 his conclusion had become an accepted fact. As Beauchamp reported in his statewide catalog of sites, "The stockade burned at Frontenac's invasion was on the Watkins farm a mile south of Jamesville" (Figure 11.1c). One reason this interpretation has remained so ingrained is that the Jamesville site has produced considerable evidence of burning. In addition to the nineteenth-century reports, numerous melted-glass beads, large blobs of brass, and fire-spalled gunflints occur in virtually every collection from the site. As a result, there was little controversy over this identification until Sohrweide published his findings in 2001 on the Weston site as the target of Frontenac's attack, challenging Beauchamp's conclusion (2).

The Jamesville site is located on a broad slightly rolling terrace on the east side of Butternut Creek. As Clark noted, this location overlooks the entire valley and would have been a commanding presence when occupied. The damming of the Butternut Creek in 1872 created the Jamesville Reservoir, a change that dramatically altered the landscape but did not affect the site. Jamesville is only a short distance (2.5 km) from the previously occupied Weston site. This seems a very modest shift, especially compared with the Seneca, who relocated their towns some 30 to 35 km east of their traditional homeland in the Genesee Valley to the western Finger Lakes after Governor-General Denonville's invasion in 1687 (3). There may have been several reasons for the choice made by the Onondaga. The land had already been cleared for cornfields and the Butternut Creek valley offered easy access north and south for the resources needed for new construction. In addition to Butternut Creek, there is a spring just north of the site. Finally, there was lots of room for the town to grow once circumstances made it possible.

#### Descriptions and interpretations

There are no contemporary descriptions of Onondaga during this period. Once again, this is surprising given the number of Europeans, both French and Anglo–Dutch, who visited and even resided at the site. It is not known when the Onondaga began to build this new town. It does seem clear that after burning their old town they retreated south to one or more refuge locations on the Allegheny Plateau in the upper reaches of the Susquehanna drainage. Since their crops and caches had been destroyed, they were probably not in a hurry to return. In February 1697 the French learned that the Onondaga "were hunting on the river of the Andastes [Susquehannock] within 3 or 4 leagues of their ancient village . . . and that they . . . intended to return for the purpose of planting their fields which we [the French] had laid waste last year" (4).

It seems likely that the Onondaga returned to the Butternut Creek valley in the spring of 1697 to plant their corn. By June they had sent a request to the



New York governor, Benjamin Fletcher, along with "7 hands of wampum ... to desire you to assist us in the rebuilding of our Castle, . . . for we do not reckon that it is peace though there is discourse of it." Although no English reply survives, the result, according to sketches drawn in the nineteenth century, was a compact fortified town similar in plan to the one built a decade earlier at the Weston site. The ongoing hostilities proved the Onondaga right in their request, and it is likely that they did not spread out far beyond their new town. Some cautious use of traditional fishing sites probably occurred, but it was dangerous to stray too far. After Peter Schuyler and his party, including Robert Livingston, arrived safely in Onondaga in April 1700, they were congratulated for having avoided "the Dianondados [Miami] who often kill their people near their Castles." Until the peace treaties of 1701, it seems likely that the Onondaga were effectively bottled up in their new town and would not be able to spread out beyond a tightly nucleated settlement. Such concentrated living arrangements may also explain Livingston's observation that "The Onondages . . . must leave their Castle speedily [because] the firewood . . . was near being consumed," even though they had only lived there for four years **(5)**.

**Figure 11.1.** Three different nineteenth-century plan views of the Jamesville site—

(a) ancient site of the Onondaga in the Valley of the Kasonda, or Butternut Creek, Jamesville, drawn by Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, ca. 1846, with his imagined depiction of a fort,

(b) plan of the ancient fort on the farm of Mr. Isaac Keeler, drawn by Joshua Clark, ca. 1849, based on evidence of post molds in the plowed field,

(c) plan of the fort site on the Watkins farm showing the occupation area, drawn by William M. Beauchamp, August 27, 1879.

A

#### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701



#### Archaeological evidence

Little archaeological excavation has been done on the site, and this limits any attempt to understand its size and internal configuration. Unlike Indian Hill and Weston, where Sohrweide's careful recording has given us a basis for comparison with the documentary record, no such work has taken place at Jamesville. At present, Kurt Jordan's work on the contemporaneous Seneca sites provides us with the most relevant information on this period, ca. 1688 to 1715 (6).

A complicating factor is the multicomponent nature of the Jamesville site. As was the case for Weston, in addition to the historic component there is a much earlier site that archaeologist James Tuck briefly described as the Keough site, ca. 1400. Virtually everything known from Jamesville and the earlier site has been surface collected. Unlike Indian Hill, where the prehistoric and historic components are separate, the Jamesville and Keough sites overlap to a significant degree. This is quickly evident in assemblages where cord-marked pottery rims and broad triangular projectile points occur along with European kettle fragments, glass beads, and musket balls. This has resulted in mistaken interpretations, with Native materials sometimes attributed to poor Indians and European objects associated with the rich ones (7).

The complex series of events that took place on this site during the early eighteenth century are another source of confusion. While we will focus on the time between its establishment in 1697 and the peace treaties of 1701, Jamesville remained the primary Onondaga town for at least another decade. Although technically at peace, these were stormy years in Onondaga. The French continued their efforts to maintain a strong presence in what they considered to be the Confederacy's capital. Most important were Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt's ongoing efforts to reestablish a Jesuit mission and to build support facilities, including a residence, a chapel, and a blockhouse. At the same time, Peter Schuyler, his brother Abraham, and others worked equally hard to keep the French out and build comparable structures of their own. Since the French and English periodically destroyed each other's work, there are several possible explanations for the evidence of burning at the site (**8**).

It is archaeologist Peter P. Pratt's excavation of the nearby Pen site that makes it possible to discuss the archaeology of this brief period in Onondaga at all. Although the accounts by Schoolcraft and Clark mention many burials on and around the Jamesville site, they provide little specific information. This changed in the fall of 1949 when the farm manager at the nearby Onondaga County Penitentiary accidentally uncovered one or more historic-period burials while harvesting potatoes. Although no fieldwork was done at the time, the site was reported to the archaeological community, and during the summers of 1961 and 1962 Pratt undertook an excavation. With its name derived from the penitentiary, the Pen site

## Case Study 19. The Pen site, an Onondaga burial ground

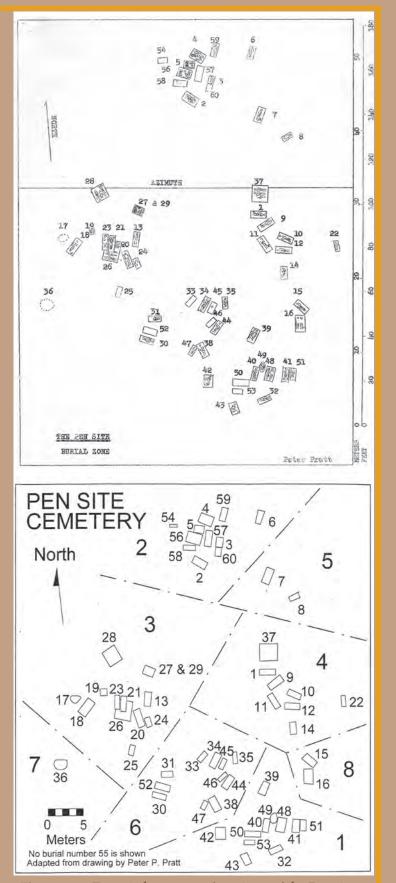
*Discovery and excavation.* During the summers of 1961 and 1962, a large historicperiod Onondaga cemetery was excavated under the direction of archaeologist Peter P. Pratt, then a doctoral candidate at the University of Michigan. The site was located on the grounds of the Onondaga County Penitentiary in Jamesville, New York, and soon became known as the Pen site. In all, 60 burials were excavated, including the remains of as many as 120 individuals. The actual number remains uncertain. One reason was the Native practice of using secondary burials, in which the body is exhumed later and the remains reburied at a new location. The people buried at Pen represent a wide range in terms of age, sex, and physical health, and appear to be a cross-section of the general Onondaga population rather than a specific subset. The burials also included a substantial quantity of associated funerary objects of both European and Native manufacture.

*Interpretation.* From the beginning, Pratt has interpreted the Pen site as one of the burial grounds associated with the nearby Jamesville site, assumed to be the location of the Onondaga town attacked by Frontenac in 1696. The association between the Jamesville site and Frontenac's invasion has a long history based mostly on the evidence of extensive burning on the site. From William M. Beauchamp onward, historians and archaeologists alike have believed this to be the case. However, with the identification of the Weston site as the more likely location of Onondaga in 1696 as described in Chapter Nine, it is time to reevaluate this interpretation of the Jamesville and Pen sites. It is probable that the Pen site burials date from the critical period starting at 1697 when the new town was established to replace Weston. After the tense years of border warfare and negotiations with the

Europeans, the treaties of 1701 were signed. With the peace, the Onondaga were free to expand their town and trade, which was demonstrated in the subsequent enlargement of the Jamesville occupation site and addition of other cemeteries. For example, while the Pen site is situated to the north of the Jamesville occupation site, at least one later burial ground to the south has been reported.

In support of an argument that Pen was used only from 1697 to 1701, nearly all objects present at Pen can be duplicated in the Jamesville site assemblage. In turn, there is much from Jamesville that does not occur at Pen. These Jamesville-only objects correspond more closely with ones found on early eighteenth-century sites, and thus help to define the post-1701 occupation of the Jamesville site. As such, it is likely that we have an extraordinary snapshot of this brief, but crucial, period from 1697 to 1701.

*Controversy.* The excavation of human remains for research purposes is a controversial subject, especially for the descendant population. Who has the right to make the decision to excavate? Although Pratt did not contact the Onondaga prior to excavation in 1961, he was visited on the site several times by Chief George Thomas, then the Tadodaho, senior Onondaga chief. Pratt reports that Thomas was very interested in what was found and gave the project his blessing, although no formal statement of Onondaga consent was ever made. Whatever Onondaga feelings were at the time of excavation, they were substantially different after 1990. With the passage of the Native Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), the human remains and associated funerary objects from the Pen site located at the Rome Historical Society were returned to the Onondaga and reburied near the original site in 1998 (9).



**Figure 11.2.** Twentieth-century plan views of the Pen site— (a) original site map drawn by Peter P. Pratt, ca. 1962, (b) site map redrawn and divided into clusters by Thomas Jamison, 1998.

## Matters, 1697 to 1701

project has been the subject of debate and controversy ever since (**10**).

Excavation of the Pen site raised a series of ethical and legal issues. However, the focus here is on the available unique and extremely significant archaeological information that pertains to who and what was Onondaga at the end of the seventeenth century. It is the only Onondaga burial ground that has been systematically excavated. Unlike the materials that have been surface collected or excavated from occupation areas, burials indicate intentional behavior—a set of specific choices and actions people made. As such, they are the clearest statement we are likely to have of their beliefs and values. Burials also permit us to see individual people and sometimes kin groups, as opposed to the general trends visible in other types of assemblages. (11).

### Implications for population

While there is no question that ongoing hostilities and disease continued to deplete the Onondaga population, actual numbers are difficult to estimate. It is somewhat surprising that so little information is available, given the imperial predilection for keeping accounts and the number of visits made to Onondaga by French and English agents. The few comments made in the historical record suggest a steep decline in population, an

observation based largely on the English governor Fletcher's census of 1697–1698 that reported 250 Onondaga warriors, compared to 500 men 10 years earlier. Based on this, one estimate of the Onondaga population in 1698 was around 3,750. As discussed previously, it is not clear how reliable these numbers are or how readily the number of warriors translates into an estimate of overall population. Regardless, the Onondaga had certainly suffered serious loss of population. As Tegannisoren explained to Peter Schuyler in February 1699, we "have suffered extremely & had many people killed since the proclamation of peace" in Europe in 1697. Three years later Fletcher's successor, Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont, confirmed this noting, "The Onondaga Nation . . . being the most warlike of all the Nations, except the Mohawks . . . are dwindled to nothing almost" (12).

The Pen site provides a different source of information on population size and health. Approximately 120 individuals were interred at the Pen site beginning in the spring of 1697 and into the first decade of the new century. While this is valuable information, it still remains difficult to extrapolate to any estimate of the overall Onondaga population. Pen may have been one of several cemeteries used during this period, and many Onondaga died far from home and were buried elsewhere. The health and physical condition of the Onondaga buried at the Pen site showed significant evidence for disease, nutritional deficiencies, and trauma. However, this indicates a population under stress, not one in collapse. Even if the Onondaga population did decrease by half, it was a gradual process (13).

#### Subsistence

Contrary to Frontenac's hope, the Onondaga did not starve during the winter of 1696–1697. They survived just as their Seneca brethren had after Denonville's invasion nine years earlier. As one French observer noted, the destruction of "the Indian corn belonging to the Seneca, subjected them to but a small inconvenience. Not one of them perished of hunger, as two arrows are sufficient to enable a Savage to procure meat enough for a year's support, and as fishing never fails." We do not know how quickly the Onondaga rebounded, but by 1700 it appears they had. That February the English authorities expressed concern over reports "that the French at Cadaraque [Cataraqui] fort are supplied with Provisions from our Onondaga Nation" (14).

To what degree had European products become a component in Onondaga foodways by the end of the seventeenth century? Based on the historical documents, the impact appears small with two exceptions—alcohol and domesticated animals. There is little mention of food commodities as trade items other than corn. Surviving account books from the period, such as that of Dutch trader Evert Wendell, brother to Johannes, scarcely mention European food products. Alcohol was a different story, especially rum, which remained a staple at English Indian conferences and was usually



provided in lavish qualities, often as much as 40 kegs. By the end of the century, rum was also an essential commodity in the trade. Evert Wendell's account book indicates that rum was second only to clothing in terms of goods purchased. For example, on June 20, 1699, Wendell recorded, "A small cask of rum for a beaver," and "3 bottles of rum for 2 martens" to "a Shawnee . . . who stays with the Onondaga." A year later, he added that the same man had returned and "owes an otter on a small cask of rum." As we have seen in previous chapters, the effects of alcohol could be dire. On their way to scout out possible fort locations in October 1700, Col. Wolfgang William Romer's survey party went "within a half a mile of Onondage" and then stopped for the night, "because most of the Indians were drunk in the Castle & . . . our people & Mahikanders [Mahicans] were unwilling to go further" (15).

What does the archaeological evidence indicate? Kurt Jordan has examined the topic of alcohol based on the occurrence of bottle glass from Seneca sites and concluded that consumption varied over time given the proximity of suppliers and the prosperity of Seneca consumers. The pattern may have been similar in Onondaga. As we have seen, bottle glass first occurs at Indian Hill and increases in quantity at Weston. Although a comparable amount of bottle glass has been found at the Jamesville site, no glass bottles were present at Pen. There is a question as to whether bottle glass is an accurate proxy for alcohol consumption, especially since rum was often traded in casks. Even so, Jordan is correct that alcohol played a complex role in Five Nations' culture (**16**).

Evaluating domesticated animals in Onondaga presents a similar challenge. No evidence of domestic animals was found in the Pen burials, while the modest faunal sample from the Jamesville site included the presence of a butchered and calcined humerus from a cow and a partial humerus from a pig. Although this faunal sample was surface collected, these findings are consistent with the presence of domestic animals at the preceding Weston site. The real significance of the Jamesville faunal sample lies in its continuity with previous sites with respect to native sources. White-tailed deer remained the most utilized species, followed by dog and beaver. Other species represented were horse, elk, rabbit, large and small birds, fish, and freshwater mussels. Many familiar native species were also present at the Pen site. Whatever influence European commodities and domesticated animals had on Onondaga, by the beginning of the eighteenth century their foodways remained firmly grounded in traditional and largely local resources (17).

#### **European Materials**

Confusing as New York's politics were between 1697 and 1701, they were but a shadow of the infighting in England, as Whigs and Tories brawled over control and domination. Trade in the American colonies was one of the casualties. For the Five Nations, this was apparent in many ways. One

was they were no longer the most important clients. In terms of furs, the market had moved west with the focus now on the nations of the Farr Indians. Another complaint was the unequal treatment they received from their English brethren. While the English continued to trade with the French in Canada, especially after the peace of 1697, they insisted that the Five Nations were not permitted to do the same. Worse, when they went to the English as directed, they were met with high prices, limited availability, and poor quality of goods. This was not acceptable, as Onondaga chief Aqueendaro pointed out to Governor-General Bellomont and Peter Schuyler in August 1700, since it was "the trade which induc'd us at first to make the Covenant Chain." Even the English had to acknowledge that things were a mess. Later that year Bellomont reported, "The beaver trade here . . . is sunk to little or nothing, and the market is so low for beaver in England that 'tis scare worth the transporting" (18).

#### From trade to trinkets

In May 1696 William III reorganized the Board of Trade to promote commerce in the colonies. While the intention was to link diplomacy and trade more closely, the reality was quite different. As the trade stagnated, diplomatic promises and presents were used increasingly to cover the indecision and infighting that consumed a series of English colonial governors. Presents at Indian conferences had always been generous and designed to impress. After 1696 they grew even more elaborate, as "blew Coats [laced with broad Lace], laced hatts, and pair shoes with buckles" were handed out along with kettles, firearms, tobacco pipes, and rum. By 1700 it often seemed the primary reason to attend a conference was to receive the presents. In addition to the formal gifts given in 1701 by the acting governor John Nanfan, there were always, "private presents of gunns, strouds, Blankets, shirts, powder, lead, etc. given to the Sachims" (19).

*Redefining an Anglo–Dutch assemblage, 1697 to 1701.* One result of this imperial largesse was a greater emphasis on English-made goods. As the Hudson's Bay Company had learned two decades earlier, it was easier to control price and quality when the suppliers were English. Another result was a continued shift toward a more standardized and uniform set of trade goods. Increasingly, the commodities imported by Albany merchants for the Indian Trade—knives, scissors, hoes, smoking pipes, ember tongs, and glass beads—mirrored those used by merchants in Virginia and Carolina, and even those purchased by the Hudson's Bay Company. Comparing the assemblages from the Pen and Jamesville sites with the earlier Weston site, and with other contemporaneous Native and European sites, provides an opportunity to examine some of the changes in production and distribution of trade goods that occurred during this volatile period (20).

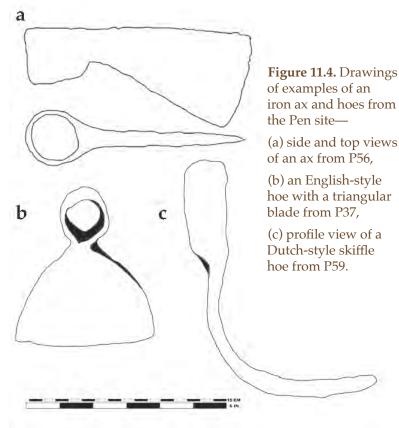
This is the only time when materials from an occupation site are compared directly with those from an associated burial ground, each assemblage



**Figure 11.3.** Pen and Jamesville together (green) with English-related archaeological sites (red) of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

representing a different aspect of Onondaga culture. What is presented here is a summary of the available information on the material classes we have been following, beginning each discussion with the more narrowly dated Pen site.

*Axes, knives, and other iron implements*. At the end of the seventeenth century, iron implements were still a fundamental component of the Indian



Trade, even if preferences in size and shape continued to change. From the Pen site, at least a dozen axes were recovered, and they have lighter blades and rounder eves than those from earlier sites. Knives occur in three basic forms—case knives with a tapered or flat tang from either English or French sources, and folding blades from the French. This is the first site on which the number of case knives and those with a folding blade occur in equal numbers. Iron awls from Pen follow a pattern seen on earlier sites. All of the Pen site forms of axes, knives, and awls occur in the Jamesville

assemblage. Other iron implements from Pen, not presently known from Jamesville, include hoes and drawknife blades (21).

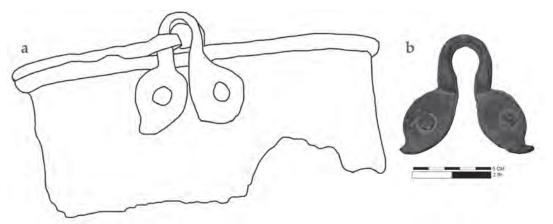
*Kettles*. Pratt recovered a substantial assemblage of brass kettles from the Pen site, and it is the largest assemblage of complete kettles known from any Onondaga site. Most are either large or medium in size and many have square sheet-metal lugs with folded corners or omega-style lugs. A few lugs are made of cast brass or sheet metal with clipped corners. A surprisingly large number of kettles either had no lugs at all or the style was not discernable.

The evidence for kettles from Jamesville is quite different. There are no complete kettles, although there is a large sample of kettle lugs, the majority of which are the omega style. This different distribution probably reflects the fact that the occupation at Jamesville extended in time beyond the Pen site's use as a burial ground (22).

As observed previously, there appears to be a connection between omegastyle lugs and English commercial activities. This is evident on sites as geographically diverse as Fort Albany on James Bay in Ontario and the English Trading House site in Macon, Georgia. The presence of cast-brass or bronze omega-shaped lugs and those made from sheet metal appears to be another indicator of English-sourced material, especially after ca. 1700. Although not common, cast lugs have been reported from both the Pen and Jamesville sites (23).

## Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701





**Figure 11.5.** Cast-brass kettle lugs—(a) drawing of a lug on a fragmentary kettle from P43, Pen site, (b) photograph of a similar isolated lug, Jamesville site.

*Clothing and cloth seals.* Shirts, stockings, and coats were frequent gifts at Indian conferences. They were also among the most requested items in the Wendell account book. Mentioned equally often were woolens, such as strouds and duffels, usually in the form of blankets. Important though these materials were, there is little archaeological evidence for them at Pen. One burial contained an adult male who appeared to be wearing a jacket, while portions of a "dyed red blanket . . . [with] green trim" were preserved in another. The majority of the evidence for clothing is indirect, most often as metal buttons. While they come in a wide variety of types, one group of buttons stands out—dome-shaped, two-piece sheet-copper buttons with a U-shaped eye. This style was found frequently at Pen and also at Jamesville, and these buttons may have been attached to garments as fasteners or used as embellishments. While there is little to connect these buttons directly with English production, they tend to occur primarily on English-related sites elsewhere across the Eastern Woodlands.

The presence of elaborate metallic braid is another likely indication of English influence at the Pen site. Although only a few pieces have been reported, they are similar to examples from other English-related sites, including Conestoga Town in Pennsylvania and Fort Albany in Ontario. Lead cloth seals are one of the few items not included in the Pen site assemblage, but they are present at Jamesville. Most are small merchant seals similar to those from Weston (24).

*Smoking pipes.* While the Pen and Jamesville sites share many material traits, there are a few distinct differences. One is the distribution of whiteclay smoking pipes. Surprisingly there are more Native-made smoking pipes than European ones present at the Pen site. In contrast, hundreds of European pipe fragments have been found on the Jamesville site and only a few of Native manufacture. The Dutch and English marks identified on the Jamesville pipes include all of those found at Pen and at least a dozen others.

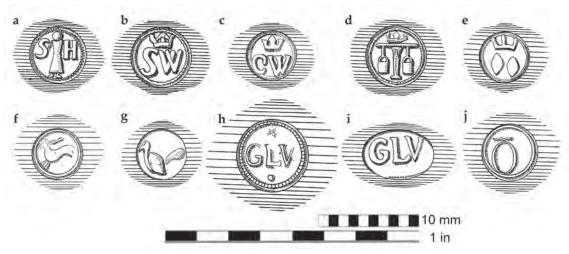


Figure 11.6. Dutch smoking-pipe heel marks from the Pen and Jamesville sites— (a) SH with figure, (b) crown over SW, (c) crown over CW, (d) pair of scales, (e) crown over two diamonds, (f) deer, (g) bird, (h) GLV, variety 1, (i) GLV, variety 2, (j) crown-like mark over O.

Marks <sup>a</sup>	Type of heel <sup>b</sup>	Quantity	Stem bore <sup>c</sup>	Duco# <sup>d</sup>	Likely maker
Heel					
SH & figure <sup>e</sup>	medium	5	5/64	179	Steven Hendriksz 1667–1675+
two figures	medium	2	6/64	178	Jan Sijmonsz Kunst, 1689–?
set of scales <sup>e</sup>	high	2	5/64	250	Jan Thielen Proost, 1683–1688 & 1709–1711
GLV	low	1	6/64	_	
GLV	medium	1	7/64	_	
EB, type 3	medium	1	6/64	418	Adriaan van der Cruis, 1672–?
GAV	medium	1	6/64	874?	
deer or hart	medium	1	5/64	88	Jan Willemsz, 1688–?
bird	high	1	5/64	_	
crown/SW	medium	1	6/64	638?	
crown/HG	medium	1	6/64	626	
crown & two diamonds	high	1	5/64	_	Bartholomeus Pietersz, 1682– 1717
crown/O	medium	1	5/64	_	Andries van Houten, 1689– 1721
Stamped bowl					
TO <sup>e</sup>	NA	4	6/64	_	Thomas Owen
RT <sup>e</sup>	NA	8	7/64	_	Robert Tippett
Molded bowl					
Starburst on side of bowl & GLV on heel	medium	1	5/64	_	
Six molded dots	medium	2	6/64	_	Utrecht maker
a Marks—term stem bores (		narks, type of ł DeAngelo 1981		tem bore—n Duco#—Duc	neasurements in inches o (2000).

#### Table 11.1. Marked Dutch and English smoking pipes from the Jamesville site (n = 34).

e Four marks also found on Pen site pipes.

526 b Type of heel—high, medium, low, or flush

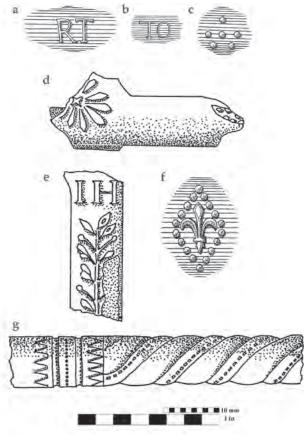
## Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701



**Figure 11.7.** Drawings of smoking-pipe bowl and stem marks from the Pen and Jamesville sites—

- (a) RT bowl mark,
- (b) TO bowl mark,
- (c) Tudor-rose bowl mark,
- (d) star-burst bowl mark,
- (e) IH and foliage stem mark,
- (f) molded fleur-de-lis stem mark,
- (g) spirally fluted stem.

The differences between these assemblages demonstrate the dramatic change in material wealth between the occupation phase of Jamesville concurrent with the Pen site burials and the period of occupation that postdated the Pen site. The limited number of pipes from the Pen burials may be a material indication of the privation the Onondaga endured before and after the destruction of their town at Weston, the subsequent hostilities, and the collapse of the trade.



The much larger pipe assemblage from Jamesville probably postdates the treaties of 1701 and indicates the improved conditions after the trade resumed. The pipes from Jamesville also document the evolving nature of the Anglo–Dutch trade. Over half of the marked pipes were Dutch, primarily from Gouda, while the remaining ones were English, primarily from Bristol (Table 11.1). It was a testament to the strength of Dutch mercantile connections that pipes from the Dutch Republic continued to play such a prominent role in a market that had been under English imperial control for decades (25).

*Glass beads*. Although of great interest to archaeologists, glass beads were not considered important trade goods. They were seldom included in lists of presents or inventories and were described only in generic ways, such as "221 lbs. of beads" (26). As we have seen, however, glass beads are one of the most sensitive indicators of consumer taste, as well as changes in production and distribution. At the Weston site, several significant changes were first evident in the glass bead assemblage, including different preferences for bead shape, size, and color, along with the introduction of new types and technologies. All of these trends are present in the Pen and Jamesville bead assemblages.

<u>Beads from the Pen site</u>. Glass beads were a significant presence at the Pen site and occur in almost half of the burials. On most of the previous sites, shapes are clearly differentiated, but distinct shapes for drawn beads are

blurred in the Pen site assemblage (Table 11.2). Continuing the trend first observed at Weston, the shape of drawn beads presents as a continuum from round to oval to elongated. A second trend in preferences is the continued shift toward smaller-sized beads. As at Weston, small to very small beads, both round and flat circular, are at least as numerous as medium and large-sized ones. Small beads may account for at least half of the total assemblage and were probably sewn onto clothing and other regalia.

The third shift is in color preferences. As at Weston, the most frequently occurring beads from Pen demonstrate an increased preference for black and other dark colors. What is different is a substantial reduction in red beads and an increase in white ones, along with an increase in new lighter colors such as light gold and light blue (27).

Table 11.2. Thirteen most frequently occurring glass beadsfrom the Pen site (n = 4,674; 92% of bead sample).							
Bead Description							
Rank	Kidd # <sup>a</sup>	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Quantity			
1	IIa6-8	R/0/E	black	1,857			
2	IIa13-15	R/0/E	white	1,157			
3	IIa9-10	R/0/E	light gray	421			
4	WIb6	R/tr	light gold	322			
5	IVa1	R	red	215			
6	IIa1	R	red	162			
7	IIa39	0	aqua blue	141			
8	IIa52, IIa54-7	R/0/E	dark blue	120			
9	IIa61	R/0	dark rose	81			
10	WIIc10-12	multi	dark blue	65			
11	IIj1-4	R/f	black with white wavy lines	49			
12	IIa43-44	R/0	cerulean blue	48			
13	WIIc2	multi	light gray	36			

a Kidd # - Kidd and Kidd 1970; W denotes wire-wound beads

b Shape – R -> round, 0 -> oval, E -> elongated, tr -> truncated, multi -> multifaceted, f -> flat

A striking feature of the Pen site assemblage is the quantity of two new glass-bead types. The first of these are drawn beads that are large or elongated ovals. They occur in a variety of monochrome and striped

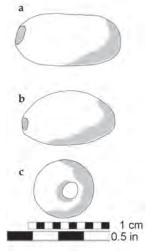
#### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701

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styles and show much less adherence to any standardization of bead forms (28). The other new type is a wire-wound bead, which represents a different technology of bead making. Here a thread of molten glass was wound around a metal mandrel to produce a bead. While soft, the glass could be pressed to give it a particular form. Among those that occur at Pen are multifaceted, raspberry, melon, and ridged shapes, as well as truncated cones. Only a few of these beads were present at the Weston site, while at Pen they comprise a significant portion of the assemblage (29).

**Figure 11.8.** Drawings of white-glass beads typical of those from the Pen site according to their Kidd and Kidd types—

(a) elongated, IIa15\*,(b) oval, IIa15,(c) round, IIa13.



*Beads from the Jamesville site.* Although they come from a different context than the beads from Pen, the glass beads from Jamesville tell pretty much the same story (Table 11.3; **30**). One similarity is the continued blurring of the distinction between round, oval, and elongated shapes first seen at the Weston site. There is a similar dynamic in bead size with a trend toward small and very small beads evident on both sites. One trait where the Jamesville and Pen assemblages diverge is in color preference. At Jamesville, red remains the most common color, with black and dark blue next. These varied preferences may be a reflection of the difference between assemblages from an occupation site and a mortuary one. Another factor that differentiates these assemblages is the high percentage of older bead



jancesvine site (ii = 572, 7170 of beau sample).									
Bead Description									
Rank	Kidd # <sup>a</sup>	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Quantity					
1	IIIa1-3	T/t	red	218					
2	IIa6-8	R/0/E	black	205					
3	IIa1-3	R	red	155					
4	IIa13/15	R/0/E	white	76					
5	Ia1	T/t	red	64					
6	Iva1/5	R	red	60					
7	IIa52-54	R/0/E	ultrama- rine	50					
8	II40/42	R/0	robin's egg blue	37					
9	IIa9/10	R/0	light gray	29					
10	IIb'2	R/0/f	black with 8 white stripes	28					
11	WIb6	R/tr	light gold	26					
12	WIIc10-12	multi	dark blue	24					

Table 11.3. Twelve most frequently occurring glass beads from the	
Jamesville site (n = 972; 71% of bead sample).	

a Kidd #-Kidd and Kidd 1970; W denotes wire-wound beads

b Shape—T - tubular, t - tumbled, R - round, 0 - oval, E - elongated, f - flat, tr - truncated, multi - multifaceted

types at Jamesville. This is especially evident in the substantial presence of tubular red beads, types not seen in quantity since the time of the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites, 40 to 50 years earlier (**31**).

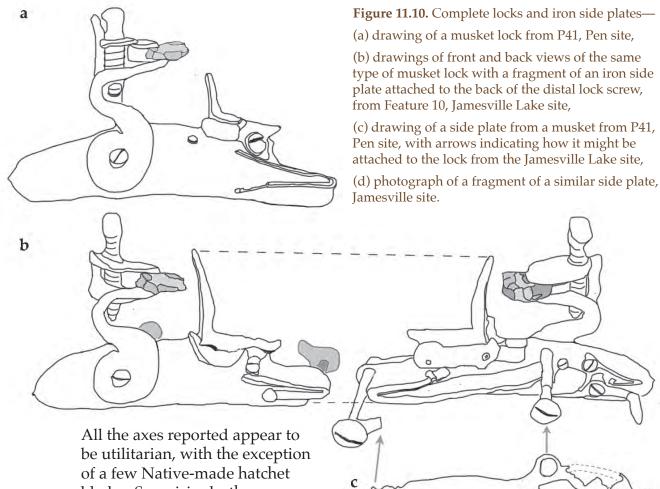
*The case for Anglo–Dutch origins.* In Chapter Nine, new bead types were tied to probable changes in production in the Dutch Republic, specifically Amsterdam. Traditionally, this is where most of the beads that came to northeastern North America during the seventeenth century were produced, at least until the 1670s. By the last quarter of the century, however, Amsterdam had become a different kind of city, one of passive brokers rather than active traders, or as historian Geert Mak has observed, middle-class bankers who regarded consumption rather than production as central to their lives. This did not mean production ceased. An infusion of French Huguenots after 1685 helped to stimulate new business, as did the Treaty of Ryswijck in 1697. Two glasshouses established between 1697 and 1699 were among these new enterprises. Based on early eighteenth-century advertising, glass beads were frequently offered for sale, but it is not known whether beads were produced in these new glass houses (**32**).



Several lines of evidence suggest that Amsterdam was the distribution, if not production, source of new bead types. One is timing. Their first appearance was at Weston, and their increased presence at Pen suggests that this change took place during the mid-1690s and intensified over the next several years. This was the period when Anglo–Dutch merchants attempted to revive the trade after the end of King William's War in 1697. Another line of evidence is archaeological. While no production sites have been reported, these new bead types have been found at several locations in and around Amsterdam (33). The recovery of several of the new beads from Dutch-related shipwrecks, as well as from sites in Africa and Asia, strengthens the case for Dutch production. This includes the Dutch East India Company Oudepost I site in South Africa, ca. 1686 to 1732, where comparable drawn and wire-wound beads were recovered (34).

Archaeological data from English-related sites across the Eastern Woodlands provides additional evidence for an Anglo–Dutch origin of the new bead types. Aside from other Five Nations sites, they occur on several others in the Northeast, especially the newly emerging multiethnic communities like Conestoga Town in Pennsylvania (35). Other evidence comes from English-related sites in the Southeast. Charles Towne, now Charleston, South Carolina, was one of the most important. This was the center of English-trade activity in the Southeast and probably the supply point for Native sites as diverse as the Yamasee Altamaha Town, the Lower Creek Ocmulgee Trading House and Tarver sites in Georgia, and the Upper Creek sites like Woods Island in Alabama. Similar beads have been recovered from the Occaneechi Fredericks site and other Late Saratown Phase sites in North Carolina. These new bead types may have been traded initially from Charles Towne or possibly Virginia (36). Another set of similar beads has been recovered from Fort Albany on James Bay, the northern edge of the English empire in North America. While only a few wire-wound examples have been reported, the drawn beads have many similarities with those from Pen and Jamesville, especially the roundto-oval-to-elongated continuum of drawn forms. While all this makes a good case for an Anglo–Dutch origin, archaeologist Marvin T. Smith has cautioned that wherever they were produced, many of these beads also have a broad distribution on French-related sites (37).

*Firearms and other weapons.* Four complete muskets were present at the Pen site. All were high-quality firearms and could easily fit Governor-General Fletcher's description of light small fusils (**38**). All had high-quality locks with up-to-date lock plates, sinuous iron side plates, and primarily iron hardware (Figure 11.10). All had stocks made of local hard maple (*Acer saccharum*), indicating that they had been assembled in either Albany or in Onondaga using imported parts (**39**). Many gun parts have been recovered from the Jamesville site as well. In general, these mirror the weapons from Pen, although many examples are of older styles and were broken and discarded pieces (**40**).



of a few Native-made hatchet blades. Surprisingly, there were no obvious Weston-style belt axes in the Pen site assemblage. However, the new halberd-style tomahawk was recovered from the Pen site in 1949 by William J. Gallipeau (41).

*Imperial and individual.* The presence of an increasingly homogeneous set of consumer goods at Pen is another indication of English economic interests. In addition to the items already mentioned, there were scissors, thimbles, needles, strike-a-lights, fishhooks, pipe tongs, sheet-brass bells, iron mouth harps, and small circular boxes of sheet iron, turned wood, or brass. The boxes were often used for tobacco, vermillion, or small mirrors. Examples of similar or identical consumer goods occur on other contemporaneous sites with strong English connections. Still, there are significant differences between the Pen and Jamesville sites. There were no European spoons or glass bottles in the Pen assemblage, and only two fragments of European ceramic. This stands in contrast to Jamesville, where these material classes are all well represented (42).

d

Along with these imported items, regionally produced goods were an important component of the material culture at Pen and Jamesville.

#### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701



Ironwork is the most visible of these goods and included utility axes, belt axes, standard broad-blade and scuffle hoes, as well as ice creepers. It is possible that some of these objects were made on site by European or skilled-Native smiths. Others were produced in Albany, Schenectady, or other trade-oriented communities and brought to Onondaga by European vendors or the Onondaga themselves. Among these regionally produced articles were cast-lead, pewter, and brass items, such as smoking pipes, buckles, and brooches, which are present at both the Pen and Jamesville sites, but are not common (43).

Given the intensity of diplomatic maneuvering between 1697 and 1701, it is surprising that no English imperial markers, such as medals or presentation muskets, are known from either site. The English certainly understood the value of these objects. As Robert Livingston wrote to Bellomont after returning from Onondaga in 1700, it would be useful to have "a badge or the King's armes cut in silver to hang about the necks" of some of their chief sachems. This failure to use a known diplomatic tool may be one more indication of how preoccupied the English were with their own internal problems (44).

*Refining the French assemblage, 1697 to 1701.* If the English economic situation was bad, it was worse with the French. While Louis XIV's 1696 edict to suspend the fur trade and destroy the western outposts made sense in imperial terms, it left New France's economy in chaos. The situation stabilized somewhat with the revised decision to leave four key outposts open and to accept a small amount of beaver at a reduced price. This only aggravated the problem of oversupply in France. Peace between France and England in 1697 complicated the problem in a different way. Convinced that trade between New France and the English colonies would only benefit the English, French policy makers became more restrictive until all such commerce was prohibited. This simply revived the illicit trade. A proposal from the Mohawk Praying Indians of Caughnawaga, also known as La Sault or La Prairie, to the Albany commissioners in June 1700 illustrated this—"We are come to trade with you as formerly, and therefore desire you to use us well, and receive us kindly." The commissioners' acceptance was equally gracious and accompanied by "a fatt hog, some venison, and a barril of strong beer." This was a remarkably courteous exchange, given that for the past dozen years each side had struggled hard to exterminate the other (45).

Strangled as the fur trade was, it was still a powerful economic engine. The four remaining outposts defined French interests across the Great Lakes and into the upper Mississippi Valley. Coupled with continued Jesuit missionary activities, French influence remained pervasive. With Frontenac's death in 1698, Louis-Hector de Callière quickly demonstrated his diplomatic skills as governor-general as well as his economic savvy. He understood that it was vital for New France to keep the trade alive, and

in June 1701 he authorized a new outpost at De Troett, the strategic strait between Lake Huron and Lake Erie. Callière was careful to make clear to the Onondaga and Seneca that this new outpost was open to them as well as to Canada's traditional Native allies, noting that while the English governor liked beavers, "I like Moose & Elk skins which you may sell to me." He added that he would send a smith to Cataraqui, "who shall make every thing for you," as well as provide "all necessary merchandize fit for your trade." Through these actions, along with generous presents at Indian conferences, Governor-General Callière hoped to demonstrate that the door to the French really was open (**46**).

The extent of French influence is evident in the archaeological assemblages from this period, although interpreting that evidence is more difficult. What is certain is that French material can be documented on a large number of sites, ranging from the king's storehouse in Québec to Native sites across the Eastern Woodlands. Taken together, this information provides a basis for identifying the kinds of French material goods that occur at Pen and Jamesville (47). How those goods reached Onondaga is less clear. Despite the betrayals, internal divisions, and suffering the French had caused, there were still many in Onondaga who preferred them to the arrogant and aloof English. Trade may have all but ceased during this period, but French goods were still sought out and brought back one way or another, sometimes as trophies, sometimes as gifts, sometimes as loot.

*Axes, knives, and other iron implements.* As seen in previous chapters, some classes of ironwork are culturally distinctive, while others are less so. In general these distinctions grew less clear over the course of the seventeenth century. One reason was the tendency of both French and English merchants to use generic rather than specialty merchandise for overseas markets. That is, goods were no longer made specifically for trade in North America. Axes, adzes, hoes, and other large iron implements appear to fall into this category. Another factor was the colonial practice of reproducing whatever goods were in demand. At the Pen site for instance, there are examples of the iron scrapers and points with a long tang that are distinctly French forms that had been used in trade since the early decades of the seventeenth century. By the end of the century, however, it was just as likely that these popular forms were appropriated by colonial Anglo–Dutch smiths and produced in Albany or even in Onondaga.

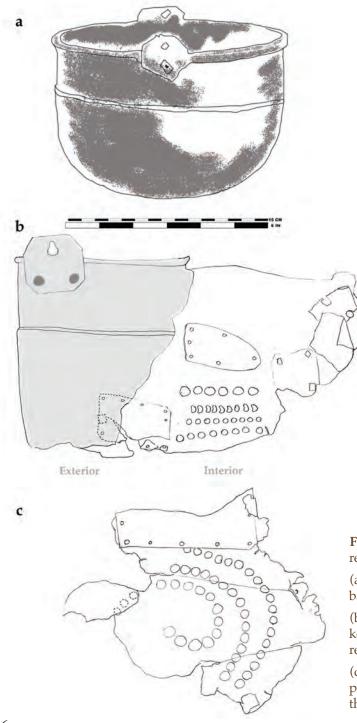
Knives are the most distinctive form of French ironwork at the Pen site, and they appear in nearly two-thirds of the burials. While the case knives from Pen may, or may not, have been of French origin, the folding knives certainly were. Most have flatin-style blades and occur in the same range of forms as at Weston, although the preferences differ. Similar styles of knife blades have been recovered from Jamesville, although nearly all are fragmentary (48).



**Figure 11.11.** Pen and Jamesville (green) together with French-related archaeological sites (blue) of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

Folding knife blades nearly identical to those from Pen are welldocumented on French sites of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. An important assemblage was recovered from the Palais de

l'Intendant in Québec, where a large number of flatin-style blades were found in one of the storerooms destroyed by fire in January 1713. Many of these blades were well-preserved as a result of the fire, and the names and marks for at least five different makers were identifiable. While St. Étienne in France has often been recognized as the source of these knives, archaeologist Marcel Moussette suggests they may have come from Thiers, another traditional center of cutlery production in the Auvergne. The same assortment of French folding-knife blades also occurred on Native sites with French connections (49).



*Kettles*. Just as omega-style lugs tend to occur on Englishrelated sites, the occurrence of sheet-brass kettle lugs with folded or clipped corners correlates with French-related sites across the Northeast occupied during the last half of the seventeenth century. This pattern continued well into the eighteenth century on French-related sites from the Straits of Mackinac to the lower Mississippi River valley (50). Also, some significant changes in French kettles took place before the end of the seventeenth century. One was the introduction of a new form of kettle with a distinct shoulder, slightly constricted neck, bulbous body, and folded-sheet lugs. The second was a revived use of patterned battery work to embellish kettles, a trait last seen on Ontario sites such as Grimsby,

**Figure 11.12.** Drawings of examples of Frenchrelated kettles from the Pen site—

(a) kettle with a slightly constricted neck and round base from P20,

(b) exterior and interior of a similar, but larger, kettle with patterned battery work and numerous repairs, likely from P23,

(c) bottom of the same kettle showing extensive patterned battery work and a large repair patch at the top.



ca. 1630 to 1650. These traits would become distinctive French markers during the first half of the eighteenth century, with at least two examples of this new style of French kettle present at Pen. To date, no examples have been identified from Jamesville (**51**).

*Firearms.* The changes in firearms around the beginning of the eighteenth century were especially dramatic. Ongoing wars in Europe had increased the demand for higher-quality weapons. One result was a period of experimentation that took place between 1690 and 1705, although it would take another decade before standardization of military firearms would occur. The changes in French trade-related arms probably took place in production centers such as St. Étienne and Tulle, although it is difficult to document this with archaeological evidence from North American sites of this period. What evidence there is suggests that French muskets tended to have cast-brass trigger guards, butt plates, and particular styles of side plates. On the other hand, a substantial amount of iron musket hardware was recovered from the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec. Interestingly, none was directly comparable to the Pen site muskets. Comparisons are also difficult, because there is a general lack of gun parts from contemporaneous French-related Native sites of this period (52).

*Glass beads*. Glass beads were an essential component of the French trade assemblage wherever they were produced. This tradition continued well into the eighteenth century, as French traders and missionaries expanded their contacts throughout the mid-continent from the Great Lakes to Louisiana. For example, in March 1702 Fr. Jacques Gravier, stationed at Kaskaskia in Illinois country, wrote to his superior requesting items for the mission. Among these were "ten livres [pounds] of large glass Beads—black, white, and striped, and ten livres of small glass Beads—white, green, and transparent." In February 1710 he sent a similar request, this time from Fort Louis in Louisiana (53). In discussion of the Anglo–Dutch assemblage earlier, we mentioned several of the newly popular bead types that characterize the Pen and Jamesville assemblages. While a good case can be made for the distribution of these beads through English networks, the archaeological evidence demonstrates that these same beads occur just as frequently on French-related sites of the same period (54).

*The case for French distribution*. The issue of production aside, there is no question that French traders and missionaries used these new bead types as aggressively as they did the older ones. They occur on contemporaneous sites across the length and breadth of New France, from Montréal and the Praying Indian towns along the St. Lawrence Valley to those in the upper Great Lakes, and from Native sites in the mid-Mississippi Valley south to Old Mobile, the first French settlement in Louisiana (55). To summarize, it is likely that many of the beads that characterize the Pen and Jamesville assemblages probably originated in the Dutch Republic, in or near Amsterdam. Whoever transported and traded them across eastern

North America is a different matter, and as good a case can be made for the French as for the English. In fact, it is likely that the English and French used many of the same beads because that is what their Native allies wanted (56).

*Religious objects*. Among the most distinctive French materials at Pen and Jamesville are brass finger rings, crucifixes, and medals. These were present in about one-third of the Pen site burials and are equally well represented at Jamesville, especially compared with the small number of rings and medals found at the previous Weston site. What does this dramatic increase mean? At Pen the context often suggests they were considered trophies, worn for display and prestige, rather than as a demonstration of piety. Still, there were many in Onondaga with pro-French and even Christian sentiments. Whatever these religious objects meant to those who wore them, they were sufficiently popular with the Five Nations that the English even considered using them for trade. After visiting Onondaga in April 1700, Robert Livingston reported to Governor-General Bellomont that it would be convenient for the Anglican ministers "to have some toys to retaliate ... [with, since] the Jesuits at Canada are so cunning" in using religious objects. We will examine the question of the meaning for these objects in more detail under Identity later in this chapter (57).

In terms of distribution, nearly every style of ring, crucifix, and medal reported from Pen has been found at Jamesville. On the other hand, many of the styles found at Jamesville do not occur at Pen. This is not surprising since the Jamesville site was occupied for at least a decade after 1701, when French Jesuits were again resident in Onondaga between 1702 and 1709. While the Jesuits continued to order and distribute rings, there were significant changes in the way eighteenth-century ones were produced and the kinds of motifs they bore. The most notable was a shift away from the cast or stamped rings used by La Salle in favor of a new set of rings, with large oval or geometric plaques and more abstract incised motifs (58). Of the many brass finger rings found at the Pen site, about one-third have the earlier cast or stamped motifs seen at Indian Hill, Weston, and from the La *Belle*. About one quarter have the newer style of large oval plaques with incised motifs (59). At Jamesville, a smaller assemblage of rings has been documented, with most having cast or stamped motifs and the later incised style. There were also two examples of the much earlier incised-IHS style, not found at the Pen site (60).

The French-related archaeological site Le Vieux-La Prairie, a Five Nations mission community across the St. Lawrence River from Montréal, ca. 1670 to 1700, yielded only three rings, including examples of the cast and both the early and late incised styles found at Pen and Jamesville. Other French-related sites that have cast or stamped rings, but lack the later incised styles, are Lasanen and Gros Cap in the Great Lakes and the Hotel Plaza site on the south side of the Illinois River. All three sites seem

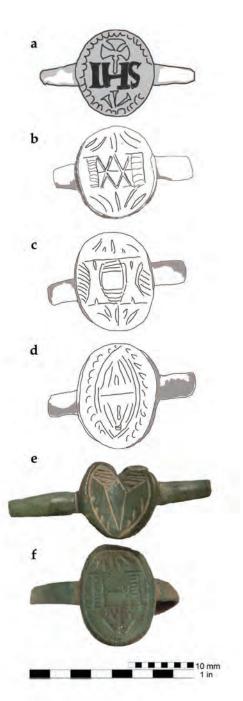
#### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701

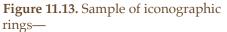


to date to shortly before the end of the seventeenth century (61). Other sites in Wisconsin and Michigan have assemblages composed entirely of the later style of incised rings and appear to date primarily from the early eighteenth century and are comparable to those found in the Palais de l'Intendant assemblage in Québec, destroyed in 1713 (62).

Crucifixes are a distinctive material trait at both Pen and Jamesville, and they occur in several different forms (63). Although the numbers are small, virtually no crucifixes are known from the previous Onondaga sites, which is surprising. Even more curious is that crucifixes are not reported from any of the contemporaneous French-related sites along the St. Lawrence, in the Great Lakes, or in the upper Mississippi drainage. There appears to have been something special about crosses during this period in Onondaga, and probably across the Five Nations as well. We will return below to the cross as a symbol with multiple meanings.

While medals had been present in small numbers on Onondaga sites for most of the seventeenth century, they occur at Pen and Jamesville in greater numbers than on any previous site. Another difference is that while religious medals from the previous sites largely reflected Jesuit motifs, those from Pen and Jamesville are more diverse and include generic styles and medals depicting saints from other orders. This diversity reflects changes within the Roman Catholic Church and the Jesuit community at the beginning of the eighteenth century. By 1701 the Jesuits were as much political agents of the Crown as they were missionaries (64).





(a) cast or stamped ring with IHS motif, Pen site,

(b)-(d) three rings with large oval bezels and incised motifs, Pen site,

(e) ring with heart-shaped bezel and incised motif, Jamesville site,

(f) ring with a large oval bezel and incised-H motif, Jamesville site.

#### A material view of Onondaga

These difficult years marked the end of a half century of intensified crosscultural interactions between the Onondaga and their European neighbors. During those years, the Onondaga became ever more reliant on material goods produced in Europe, while demonstrating a sophisticated ability to assimilate these objects into their culture on their own terms. Given this, how do we evaluate the impact of European materials on the Onondaga at the end of the century? One way is to use a set of four scales for measuring status and identity—Francophile to Anglophile, Christian to traditional, innovative to conservative, and rich to poor.

*Francophile to Anglophile.* In his 1992 book, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, historian Daniel Richter used the terms "Francophile" and "Anglophile" to identify the pro-French and pro-English factions that emerged within the Five Nations. To what degree is this tug of war between the French and English evident in the archaeological record? Since the Pen site gives us a specific and controlled look at the Onondaga as individuals, it provides a unique opportunity to examine whether there is any material basis for identifying them as pro-French or pro-English. In brief, the answer is no. There is no evidence for individual burials that show a bias for exclusively French or English trade goods, nor is there evidence that burials cluster in that manner. By 1701 the Onondaga remained as selective and opportunistic in terms of the choices they made as they had a century before. At Pen this is reflected in mortuary assemblages that could contain English smoking pipes and French folding knives, or English firearms and French religious crucifixes and medals. In other words, from a material culture perspective, Francophile and Anglophile are not useful terms for describing Onondaga identity (65).

Christian to traditional. Archaeologist Thomas Jamison suggested another scale for interpreting the archaeological evidence from Pen. After examining the Rome Historical Society portion of the assemblage prior to its repatriation and reburial, Jamison presented an initial analysis of his findings. One of his conclusions was that the Pen site could be subdivided into a series of eight spatial clusters that appeared to reflect temporal differences, kinship, or some combination of factors. Jamison proposed a scale of "Traditional" versus "Instructed" traits as a means for measuring the degree to which Christianity had infiltrated Onondaga culture. In other words, did Roman Catholic religious objects occur only with certain individuals, while others had turtle-shell rattles, medicine pouches, or other traditional material expressions of spirituality (66)? Even with the limited information available, Jamison felt the patterns he observed were clear. Most clusters and many individuals had a combination of Christian and traditional objects. In fact Jamison concluded, "This heterogeneity of affiliation within and uniformity between clusters suggests a well integrated community without major factions" (67). This still leaves the question of what the dramatic increase in religious objects compared to



Weston, especially crucifixes and medals, meant to those who used them. That is a question we will address below.

*Innovative to conservative*. To what degree are traditional Native preferences in material, object form, color, and directionality evident in the Pen site assemblage? How do we distinguish traditional Native-made objects made from European material? Was the appropriation of European technology an innovative act, or was it a continuation of the traditional practice of using whatever resources were available, and therefore, a conservative action? In previous chapters we have addressed these questions under Acculturation, and we will do so again below.

*Rich to poor.* The fourth scale looks at the variation in distribution of associated funerary objects across the Pen site. Some burials have lavish amounts of funerary offerings, while others have few or none. What does this imply? One previous study of another site focused on social structure and status as the key variables and concluded that the largest number of funerary objects represented "the highest or most important social

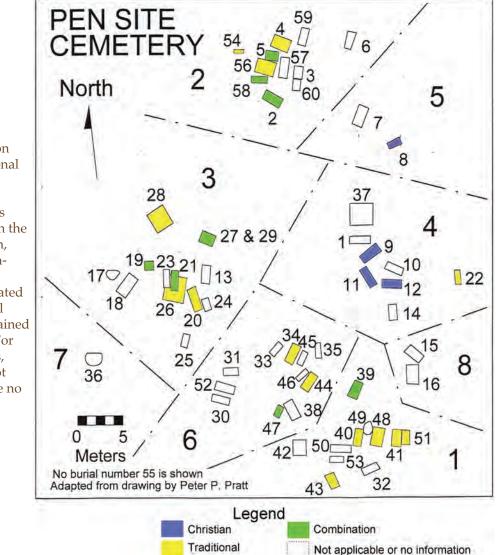
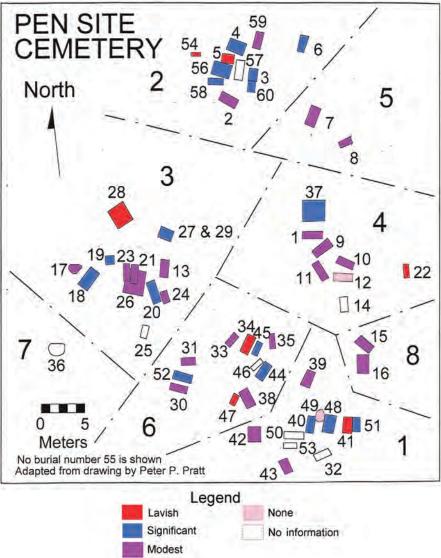


Figure 11.14. Distribution of Christian and traditional burials in the Pen Site cemetery. Of the 51 burials for which there is information as shown on the map by Thomas Jamison, four contained Christianrelated objects only, 14 contained objects associated with traditional spiritual practices, and nine contained a combination of both. For the 24 remaining burials, these categories were not applicable, or there were no contents listed.

positions in the society" (68). This may have been the case at Pen, however, there could have been other factors. By the end of the seventeenth century the western values associated with personal property and possessions were beginning to exert an influence. Therefore, is it appropriate to consider those individuals who were buried with substantial material wealth as rich and those without as poor (69)? Or does the lavish presence of material goods reflect a different set of values, such as the extent of community grief and concern for an individual? For instance, could the individual buried in P34 have been the "very influential Onnondaga chief" killed in the spring of 1697, or the "Chief Capt<sup>ns</sup>" who died in the winter of 1701 (70)? At this point, it is not possible to say. What does seem clear is that Onondaga society was more egalitarian than hierarchical. Even if the distribution of mortuary offerings was not equal, those who received more were buried in the same cemetery and clusters as those who had less or none at all.

While these scales of interpretation are far from comprehensive, they do provide a valuable basis for understanding Onondaga values and beliefs at the beginning of the eighteenth century and serve as a caution against simplistic explanations.



**Figure 11.15.** Distribution of rich to poor burials in the Pen Site cemetery. In 59 of the burials the associated funerary objects in seven were lavish, in 17 they were significant, in 25 they were modest, two had none, and in eight there was no information available.

### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701



### **Native Materials**

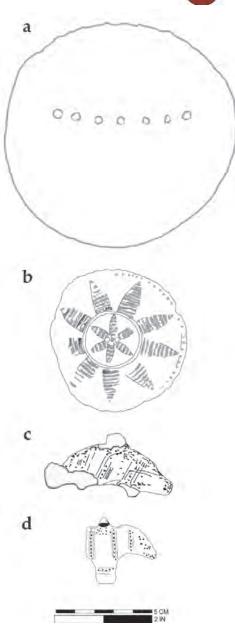
The high value placed on objects of marine shell, copper and its alloys, and red stone was a constant in Onondaga culture throughout the seventeenth century, as it had been among Native people across the Northeast for thousands of years. By the end of the century, some of the forms remained virtually unchanged, although novel expressions of these materials did become important components of Onondaga material culture.

#### Marine shell

The shell assemblage from the Pen and Jamesville sites continues several of the trends seen at Weston with wampum and other traditional forms represented. Although the quantity of shell objects is less than on previous sites, it remained highly valued. For example, nearly half of the Pen site burials contained items made from marine shell, and there were exotic forms from Jamesville, some of which had caught the eye of chroniclers such as Schoolcraft and Beauchamp (**71**).

*Modal forms*. The assemblages from Pen and Jamesville, with their long tubular beads, gorgets, and runtees are strongly reminiscent of those from the Weston site. These forms also appear to match contemporary descriptions of the popular "Indian Jewells" of the period (72). Wampum is still present, but in much smaller quantities than on previous sites, occurring in only a quarter of the burials at Pen. Although no obvious wampum belts were present, at least two examples of sashes or other constructed forms were reported. In a small number of burials there were several types of shell beads, including long tubular, triangular to triconcave, and discoidal ones. From Jamesville, the shell beads are similar in style to those from Pen, but there is even far-less wampum (73).

At both Pen and Jamesville, there is an increase in the number of figurative forms, especially pendants, as well as several examples of the elaborate runtees and gorgets seen previously at Weston. At Pen and Jamesville, most pendants are zoomorphic (74). Runtees at Pen occur in both circular and zoomorphic forms and are restricted to only a few interments. Similar examples have been recovered from the



**Figure 11.16.** Selected marine-shell objects from the Pen site—

(a) large gorget with seven lateral perforations from P19,

(b) gorget with two central perforations and incised motif from P48,

(c) marine-mammal runtee from P28A,

(d) raptor pendant, possibly a thunderbird, from P51.

Jamesville site (75). Gorgets from Pen include both plain and elaborately embellished examples with central double perforations characteristic of late seventeenth-century hybrid styles (76).

*Technology and distribution.* For Jamesville, a preliminary isotopic analysis indicates that a range of sources was used to make the shell objects. Of the four pieces analyzed by Darrin Lowery, three probably originated from the mid-Atlantic coast, while one may have come from the Gulf of Mexico (77). Wherever they were made, and whoever did the work, the marine shell from Pen and Jamesville reflects the ongoing production of shell and shell objects as a commodity for the Indian Trade. One measure of this is the similarity of forms across the Eastern Woodlands. The same basic set of pipe beads, gorgets, and circular and zoomorphic runtees found at Pen and Jamesville occurs on sites in the adjacent mid-Atlantic drainages, and as distant as the western Great Lakes and the Georgia-Carolina Piedmont. Similarity, however, is not the same as standardization. A comparison of the gorgets from Weston and Pen with those from contemporaneous sites reveals a wide range in overall size and embellishment of the final forms. Whatever gorgets meant to those who made and wore them, they were a highly individualized means of expression (78).

Although most of the finished shell objects from Pen and Jamesville appear to have been made elsewhere and imported, there is evidence that shell was worked and reworked on the site. At Pen, this includes a





**Figure 11.17.** Marine-shell objects from the Jamesville site—

(a) worn marine-mammal runtee,

(b) reworked runtee, originally 2.4 cm in diameter with drilled-dot motif and sides ground to oblique angles,

(c) partial Y-shaped bead made from a runtee fragment,

(d) two imitation marine-shell beads made from white-clay pipe-stem fragments.

one partially formed and drilled bead. There are several similar examples from Jamesville, including reworked runtees, an incomplete loon pendant, and small pieces of worked and unworked *Busycon* shell from the mid-Atlantic coast. Another indication of the demand for

large unworked piece of *Strombus* shell, possibly from the Caribbean, and at least

indication of the demand for marine shell is the presence of two imitation-shell beads made from white-clay pipe stem pieces. These clay beads from Jamesville are the first examples known from an Onondaga site (79).

## Copper and its alloys

No class of material underwent a more profound transformation during the seventeenth century than copper and its alloys. It has

#### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701



been argued that copper lost much of its association with spiritual power over the course of the century. However, if you consider the quantity of rings, crucifixes, medals, and shiny brass buttons at both Pen and Jamesville, it indicates the contrary. The forms may have changed, but the material still mattered.

*Modal forms.* The archaeological evidence demonstrates that copper and brass continued to be used for ritual, ornamental, and utilitarian purposes, although the distribution of forms at Pen compared with Jamesville differs substantially. At Pen, the number of flat forms included only one pendant and a small number of implements—triangular points, a knife, and half of a perforated weaving needle. In contrast, the Jamesville assemblage contained several pendants and a large inventory of Native-made tools, primarily triangular points, as well as saws, unperforated awls, perforated weaving needles, and a knife. The differences in quantities are probably a function of the contrasting nature of the two sites, one a burial ground and the other a primary occupation area (**80**).

The pattern is similar with tubular and conical forms of metal. At Pen, the numbers are small with only a few tubular beads and no examples of sheetmetal finger rings or bracelets. At Jamesville, the occurrence of tubular and conical forms is much more in line with previous sites. Conical forms such as tinkling cones and conical projectile points are well represented, and a few wire forms, including an asymmetrical spiral, are also present (**81**). The assemblage from Jamesville indicates that in spite of the availability of European counterparts, at least some Onondaga chose to continue making the copper and brass objects they wanted.

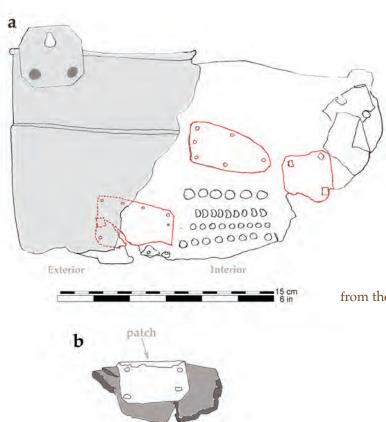
*Technology and distribution.* Even though preferences in form were changing, the evidence from Pen and Jamesville makes it clear the Onondaga were increasingly comfortable with and skilled at working copper and brass. At Pen, the evidence includes repaired objects as well as tool kits and caches of reusable material.

By the end of the seventeenth century it is increasingly difficult to differentiate European repairs from those made by Native people. In general, Europeans used conical rivets or solid ones cut from heavy gauge brass wire, while Native workers tended to prefer tubular rivets or lighterweight wire pins. All these techniques were used in the repairs evident on objects from the Pen site. At least three of the kettles from Pen have patches or other repairs. One large kettle has several irregularly shaped patches that covered holes and a rectangular patch secured with a large solid rivet that reinforced a crack in the rim. A second large kettle has at least four patches secured with what have been described as "rivets that were formed like small rolled tinklers and inserted through the holes and hammered flat/spread out," which is a good description of conical rivets. A third set of repairs is evident on a kettle recovered from the surface and probably

plowed out from a shallow burial. Although badly mangled, this kettle has at least four large patches, some attached with conical rivets, others with tube rivets, and one with a combination. Kettles were not the only objects that were repaired. A fragment of a wooden ladle from one burial has a brass patch over a crack in the rim, a repair virtually identical to those seen at Weston (82).

It usually has been assumed that Europeans had done most of the kettle repairs. However, with the assimilation of Susquehannock and other Native refugees who had metalworking skills, it is equally likely that many of these repairs were done in Onondaga. This is supported by the fact that several of the Pen burials contained an assortment of the tools as well as materials used for making repairs, including reusable conical and tubular rivets. This indicates that Onondaga craftsmen, or women, were as likely to have made these repairs as their European counterparts (83).

There is also considerable evidence for Native metalworking in the Jamesville assemblage. There is an abundance of Native-made objects in the collections, utilitarian as well as ritually related, and half of the scrap shows evidence of use. Several examples of incomplete objects, such as partially wrapped tubes and conical forms, are present (84). The evidence for sheet-metal work, especially metal-to-metal joints, also complements that from Pen and includes several examples of tube rivets and staples (85).



In addition to the appropriation of European metalworking techniques by the Onondaga, the Pen and Jamesville assemblages demonstrate the ongoing assimilation of other Native metalworking practices. Fifty years earlier, forms such as hair coils made from B-shaped tubing, asymmetrical brass spirals, and iron-wire rings would

**18.** Drawings of sheet-metal repair work from the Pen site—

Ig of a kettle likely from P23 showing three utlined in red), some repaired using tube s kettle, shown previously in Figure 11.12b, th patch on the bottom (Figure 11.12c),

ig of a brass patch on a fragment of a split idle from P56.

### Material Culture Matters, 1697 to 1701

have been considered exotic Native traits. By the end of the century, all were well within the definition of what was Onondaga.

#### Red stone

Like copper, the use of red stone fluctuated markedly during the last half of the seventeenth century. Neither red slate nor pipestone was present in quantity at the Lot 18 or Indian Castle sites. Red slate then becomes an important material at Indian Hill, while very little pipestone is present. At Weston that pattern reverses, and the Pen and Jamesville sites mark additional shifts in this dynamic. At Pen, pipestone is a significant presence while no verifiable objects of red slate are known. At Jamesville, pipestone objects are frequent, but there is also evidence that comparable forms were being fabricated from red slate on site (86).

*Pipestone, modal forms*. As at Weston, almost all of the sizable pipestone assemblage from Pen is made up of beads with only a few other forms present. The pipestone occurs in about one-third of the burials. Other changes in form are incremental. For the first time, triconcave examples of beads are present. The Pen site assemblage

- **Figure 11.20.** Sample of surface-collected pipestone objects from the Jamesville site—
- (a) two views of a fragment of a ring-shaped runtee,
- (b) two views of a unique diamond-shaped bead,
- (c) three views of a trapezoidal bead damaged by abrasion,
- (d) three views of an irregularly shaped bead made from a larger pipestone object,
- (e) two views of an acentric tubular bead.



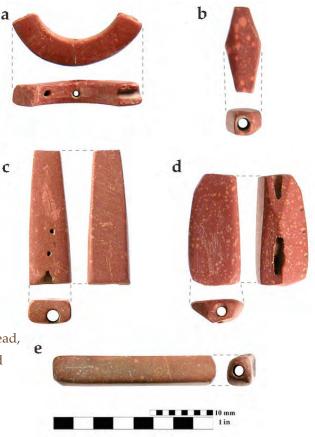
**Figure 11.19.** Native sheet-metal work from the Jamesville site—

(a) piece of tightly rolled e-shaped tubing from which rivets have been cut,

(b) piece of sheet metal with a knife-cut perforation,

(c) diamond-shaped piece of sheet metal that could be used as a staple or rolled into a conical rivet,

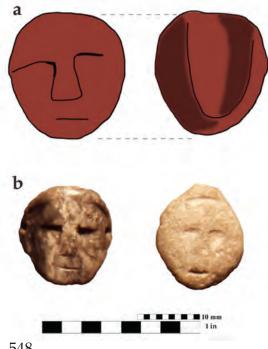
(d) small rectangular staple joint on a fragmentary circular cut-out.



does not contain any of the distinctive Y-shaped or very large triangulartrapezoidal beads that would become more common on eighteenth-century sites (87). There is also a sizable pipestone assemblage from Jamesville, one with a range of forms similar to Pen. Here too, the large majority of objects are beads, half of which are tubular along with a few triconcave examples and a large Y-shaped bead fragment. There is a much greater variation in the bead forms at Jamesville than at Pen or Weston, which may reflect extensive working and reworking of pipestone on the site (88).

Although beads are the predominate form in which pipestone occurs at both Pen and Jamesville, the presence or absence of other forms provides a basis for comparison with contemporaneous sites elsewhere in the Northeast. For example, geometric pendants are surprisingly scarce with none reported from Pen. There is only one small triangular example known from Jamesville, while triangular and trapezoidal pendants are familiar objects on Great Lakes and mid-continent sites such as Lasanen, ca. 1685 to 1696, and Naples, ca. 1693 to 1700. Zoomorphic pendants, with figures often described as beavers, are diagnostic objects on Great Lakes sites in the pre-1700 period and have been documented as far east as the Praying Town of La Prairie near Montréal. Yet only one is known from the Pen site in Onondaga. Smoking pipes are another example. While pipestone pipes often occur on Great Lakes sites, none were present at Pen and only one example is reported from Jamesville (89). At the same time, small

Figure 11.21. Anthropomorphic pendants— (a) drawing of the obverse and reverse of a pipestone pendant from P22, Pen site, (b) two soapstone pendants, Jamesville site.



anthropomorphic pendants are a defining trait at Pen and Jamesville, but appear to be scarce outside of the Five Nations. These facelike pendants vary widely in size and degree of finish and often appear to have been made from a pipe-bowl fragment with the concave interior still evident. Finally, the ring-shaped runtees found on Great Lakes sites such as Lasanen occur for the first time at both Pen and Jamesville (90).

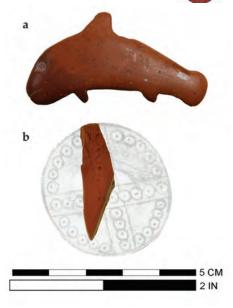
# *Pipestone, technology and distribution.* As at Weston, there is considerable evidence that pipestone was worked and frequently reused, especially at Jamesville. Some pieces show evidence of previous shapes, and there are several examples where abrasion had worn the surface down sufficiently to expose a perforation. Apparently, pipestone was too highly valued to waste. There were no unused pieces from Pen and only two small fragments from Jamesville.

It remains unclear how the pipestone reached

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Onondaga, given the state of hostilities prior to 1701. One would expect that a highly valued material largely under the control of French-allied Indians would be scarce, but this does not appear to have been the case. The Onondaga may still have been at war with several of the French-allied tribes, especially their Christian brethren in the Praying Towns, but not all of them. For their part, most of the Wyandot and Ottawa groups in the upper Great Lakes, where pipestone was processed, did not participate in this later phase of the border wars. While the historical record does not document whether diplomatic negotiations continued between the Onondaga or Seneca, and these Great Lakes groups, the archaeological evidence for pipestone suggests that they did. One indication of interaction was the tendency to copy marine-shell forms in pipestone, such as triconcave and Y-shaped beads. A striking example is a runtee depicting a marine mammal made of pipestone from the Seneca Snyder-McClure site.





(a) pipestone copy of a zoomorphic runtee, Seneca Snyder-McClure site,

(b) one of two fragments from a red-slate copy of a circular runtee, Jamesville site.

In terms of quantity, the Pen site has less pipestone than the Lasanen site in Michigan, although the range

of forms is similar. And the Onondaga had substantially more pipestone than the adjacent eastern groups, such as the Munsee in Delaware and Conestoga in Pennsylvania. This stands in sharp contrast with marine-shell objects, where the assemblages from these eastern sites are more equivalent to those from Pen and Jamesville (91).

*Red slate, modal forms.* One marked difference between the Pen and Jamesville assemblages is the renewed presence of Taconic-slate beads and pendants at Jamesville. Although slate objects are much less common than those of pipestone, they demonstrate a strong desire to replicate pipestone forms in this more available material. Given that the Onondaga had learned earlier in the seventeenth century that slate was not well suited for making beads, it is not unexpected that flat triangular and trapezoidal pendants were the most common result (92). While these new triangular and trapezoidal forms dominated production, other more traditional shapes were made as well. These include a small disc, a perforated-disc pendant, and three large rectangular pendants, reminiscent of the one large red-slate pendant from Weston. Finally, at least one anthropomorphic pendant of red slate similar to those made from pipestone is known from Jamesville (93).

*Red slate, technology and distribution.* The Onondaga continued to use the traditional techniques of scoring, snapping, and abrasion to shape objects from slate. While a few perforations appear to have been done with a



**Figure 11.23.** Sample of surface-collected slate objects from the Jamesville site—

(a) triconcave red-slate bead,

(b) fragment of a long trapezoidal bead where abrasion has exposed the perforation,

(c) scored and partially ground preform that was broken in process,(d) scored and partially ground preform,

(e) mid-section of a large trapezoidal bead with a raised central ridge,

(f) trapezoidal bead of blue slate,

(g) perforated and partially ground purple-slate pendant.

lithic drill, most indicate the use of metal tools. The renewed production of red-slate beads and pendants at Jamesville would expand dramatically at the subsequent Sevier site, ca. 1710 to 1725 (94).

It is not known whether slate copies of pipestone forms were produced primarily for local consumption or as a commodity for exchange. They probably served as both. On one hand, red slate appears to have functioned as the poor man's pipestone, an available material from which almost anyone could make geometric or anthropomorphic pendants. The dozen pieces of unused red slate from the site underscore its availability, while the evidence

of failed and partially worked pieces indicates that many attempts were made. On the other hand, finished pieces appear to have been a valuable commodity and have been recovered from several sites in Pennsylvania, including Conestoga Town, Lancaster County Park, and Conoy Town. Not only are these forms virtually identical to those from Jamesville and the later Onondaga Sevier site, many display the same production problems and salvage solutions. Notably, Pennsylvania archaeologist Barry Kent observed that no production debris implying local manufacture has been found on the lower Susquehanna Valley sites. Therefore, it is likely that these red-stone objects were imported from somewhere else, probably the contemporaneous Onondaga or Seneca sites (95).

### Acculturation

How did Onondaga responses and strategies change as English and French attitudes became more imperial and demanding? To what degree does the archaeological record help us reconstruct how the Onondaga continued to deal with these pressures, internally and externally, and whether they were successful? Although momentous events occurred between 1697 and 1701, this is a short period of time in archaeological terms. Fortunately, the Pen

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**Figure 11.24.** Surface-collected pipestone and red-slate objects from the Onondaga Sevier site, ca. 1710-1725—

- (a) large pipestone bead,
- (b) small piece of discarded pipestone,
- (c) completed trapezoidal red-slate bead,
- (d) trapezoidal red-slate bead with abrasion flaw,

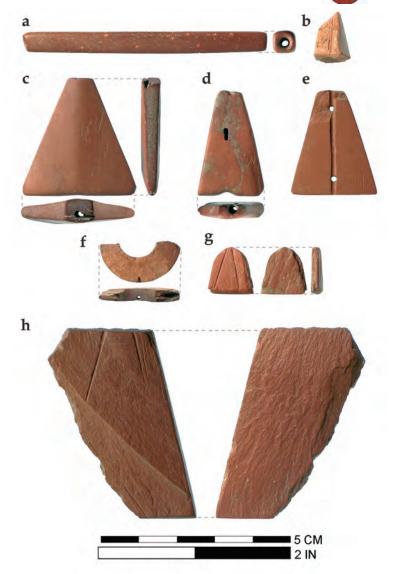
(e) split trapezoidal red-slate bead salvaged by redrilling,

(f) fragment of a split circular red-slate runtee,

(g) red-slate scored to make a small trapezoidal bead,

(h) red-slate partially scored to make a large trapezoidal bead.

and Jamesville sites provide us with different but complementary ways to view these years. While the Pen burials reflect specific behaviors and intentional choices in a narrow time frame, the Jamesville site gives us a broader view of the ongoing impact of European materials on their culture. Taken together, these sites provide an archaeological end point, one that coincides with the historical events that produced the treaties of 1701.

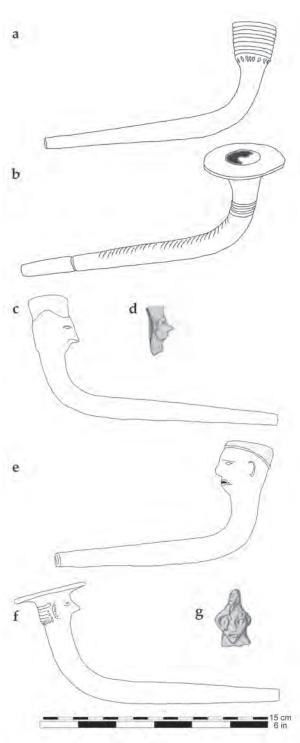


#### Responses

In previous chapters, we looked at how the Onondaga reacted to European materials, objects, technology, and ideas. We have tracked four attributes of the Onondaga response—active, selective, conservative, and creative. Throughout the last half of the seventeenth century Onondaga people were active, traveling broadly across the Eastern Woodlands to collect information, trade, fight, and negotiate. The evidence for these activities can be seen in the materials and forms present in the assemblages from sites of this period. Although tastes and preferences changed over time, the archaeological evidence indicates that Onondaga people continued to be *selective* consumers of what was available, whether it came from European or Native sources. Onondaga people were also *conservative* and retained a preference for traditional materials, forms, and symbols, even as circumstances changed internally and externally. The conservative nature of their response was counterbalanced by an equally strong *creative* quality. In part, this reflected the pragmatic rather than nativistic character of Onondaga culture, perhaps resulting from the increasing heterogeneity of their population.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Onondaga people had a much greater repertoire of materials and styles with which to express themselves. The assemblages from Pen and Jamesville give us an opportunity to evaluate these acculturative responses.

*Ceramics*. By the end of the seventeenth century, the tradition of making pottery vessels appears to have ended. Only one possible historic-period fragment is known from Jamesville, and there were no ceramic vessels



present at the Pen site (96). In contrast, Native-made smoking pipes of clay continued to play an important role in Onondaga material culture. These pipes demonstrate strong stylistic continuities with those from Weston and the preceding sites, as well as the occurrence of new nontraditional and hybrid forms. The elaborate trumpet-style pipes with anthropomorphic faces from Pen are an example. The importance of Native-made pipes is especially significant given the dramatic increase in European pipes (97).

*Lithics*. The assemblage of Nativemade lithics from Pen is small. Only two triangular points were reported, and a dozen or so irregularly shaped flints that appear to be local Onondaga chert may have served as strikers for fire making. There were a few ground-stone implements, including hammerstones, half of a bar celt, and whetstones. At least one European gunflint appears to have been reworked as a drill or burin.

Figure 11.25. Drawings of Native-made clay pipes—

(a) ring-bowl pipe from P56, Pen site,

(b) elaborate trumpet-style pipe from P28, Pen site,

(c) hybrid ring-bowl pipe with an anthropomorphic face from P28, Pen site,

(d) fragment of a pipe with an anthropomorphic face similar to c, Jamesville site,

(e) well-modeled face on an anthropomorphic pipe from P43, Pen site,

(f) hybrid trumpet-style pipe with an anthropomorphic face from P56, Pen site,

(g) detached head from a shamanistic-style pipe with inlaid eyes of thick copper, Jamesville site.



At Jamesville the multicomponent character of the site complicates evaluation of the lithic assemblage, a substantial portion of which appears to relate to the much earlier Keough component, approximately 300 years earlier than the historic occupation. Still, the presence of a few Nativemade gunflints and triangular points, either made from exotic material or with seventeenth-century dimensions, indicates the continued use of lithic technology (98).

*Organic material.* In contrast to lithics, there is a surprisingly large and diverse assemblage of bone and antler objects from the Pen site. A few are traditional implement forms—bone awls, an antler flaking baton, an antler-tine pressure flaker, and half of a flat double-pointed weaving needle. There are also several examples of Native-made antler and bone handles on iron knives, awls, and other implements. A small assemblage of similar bone and antler implements is known from Jamesville, although some of these may be related to the earlier Keough component. Other bone implements from Pen, such as conical antler and bone points, as well as a set of very long and thin bone needles (example shown in Figure 11.33c), reflect the influence of other cultural practices. These objects are more at home in the Great Lakes than in central New York (99).

In addition, there is substantial evidence for bone and antler objects intended for ritual or social signaling purposes in both traditional and exotic forms. At Pen, traditional forms include box turtle-shell rattles and evidence of medicine pouches or other ceremonial regalia. Similar fragmentary examples have been reported from Jamesville. The exotic objects from Pen are of interest since they represent very different cultural traditions of social signaling. There is a bone armband embellished with deeply incised lines and rows of drilled dots, and examples of large antler pins or awls, both carefully finished and perforated (Figure 11.33; 100).

Combs made from antler and bone are among the most distinctive features of the Pen site assemblage. For whatever reason, very few combs are known from the preceding Onondaga sites. Stylistically, the Pen site examples are extremely varied and highly individualist in expression. Many are representational and utilize cut-outs to depict anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures (Figure 11.26). Other combs are characterized by geometric motifs, and several have additional incised motifs on the figures or in the panel above the teeth. Combs from this period were not only a mortuary trait, since fragments of similar examples have been recovered from the Jamesville site (101).

Carved wooden ladles are another outstanding component of the Pen site assemblage, revealing an aspect of Onondaga material culture not welldocumented previously. Ladles were present in close to half of the Pen burials, making them the most prevalent Onondaga-produced object from the site. The numbers demonstrate the importance of wooden utensils,



Figure 11.26. Drawings of antler and bone combs—

(a) anthropomorphic comb with representations of two Europeans beneath an arch from P18, Pen site,

(b) anthropomorphic comb from P54, Pen site,

(c) zoomorphic comb depicting a horned rattlesnake from P30, Pen site,

(d) inverted-trapezoid-shaped comb with a motif that may represent the seating arrangement for a Grand Council meeting from P60, Pen site,

(e) comb fragment with a crown/hat/horns motif, Jamesville site.

something only hinted at on earlier sites. They appear to have been fairly consistent in form although variable in size. Most are plain, but two had anthropomorphic finials and two had zoomorphic finials similar to effigy ladles reported from Seneca sites. One ladle had been repaired with a brass patch. While several appear to be white pine, at least one example is black ash. What is especially striking is that no European spoons are present in the Pen assemblage, even though fragments of pewter and latten spoons have been found at Jamesville. This is a strong statement of cultural preference. Whatever the reason, traditional wooden ladles were considered appropriate for the deceased, while European spoons were not (**102**).

### Processes

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, European objects dominate the archaeological assemblages from Onondaga sites, a fact that is descriptive but does not tell us much about how the Onondaga used those objects or why. Once again, the Pen and Jamesville sites provide a unique opportunity to look at the dynamics of use and reuse, appropriation, and hybridization from different, but complementary points of view. In turn, analyses of these assemblages provides a basis for assessing Onondaga culture in terms of its stability and flexibility, its resilience, and its ability to adapt at the end of the seventeenth century.

*Use and reuse.* What do the Pen and Jamesville assemblages tell us about how the Onondaga used, reused, and adapted European materials and objects? Selectivity remained one of the most significant characteristics of Onondaga material usage at the end of the seventeenth century, as it had been since the beginning. Of all the European goods available, the Onondaga continued to choose some for use, while declining others. Evidence of this selectivity is very clear at the Pen site. Certain European objects such as iron kettles, metal spoons, glass bottles, and European ceramic vessels were not considered appropriate mortuary offerings, while

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brass kettles, iron knives, and glass beads were. What differentiated these objects, or what factors underlay these decisions?

One reason why brass and copper rather than cast-iron kettles may have been preferred was that brass and copper could be repaired and ultimately reused in other forms. Other comparable European objects, such as ceramic vessels, may have been considered less adaptive. Both the Jamesville and Pen sites have a substantial number of sheet-metal objects that appear to have been locally produced and repaired. What evidence is there to support this? The evidence from Jamesville includes the reproduction of traditional forms made from sheet metal, a such as triangular chert points and centrally perforated double-pointed bone needles. It seems unlikely that Europeans would have bothered to replicate these Native forms. In addition, the presence of partially made objects and discarded material provides evidence for production on-site, rather than for importation from somewhere else. At Jamesville, nearly half of the discarded pieces of brass and copper showed evidence of intentional reuse. Although the frequency of reuse is less than on earlier sites, it still represents a significant practice.

At Pen, evidence for the use and reuse of sheet metal differs from Jamesville in that specific tool kits can be documented. At least two varieties were present-those intended for the maintenance of particular objects such as firearms and those intended for production and repair. To keep a flintlock in working order, one needed spare parts and specialized tools, such as screwdrivers, files, and a vise to remove springs. Most of the interments that contained muskets also had such tool kits. Of particular interest is the presence of caches of materials frequently associated with more generalized tools intended for repairing and making a variety of objects. One cache contained an unusual assortment including building hardware, two iron-sword hilts, complete and cut bars of lead, and two

the Pen site—

lugs,

rivets,

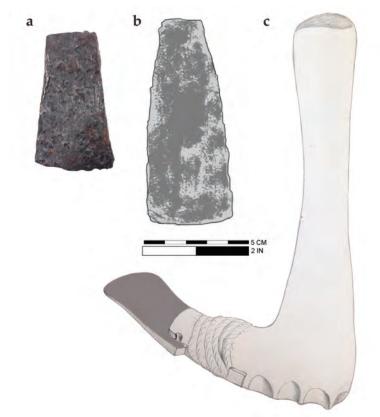
brass.

sections of European clay-pipe stems. Also present were materials needed to repair kettles—a variety of lugs, rivets, and pieces of cut sheet metal. These latter materials would have been considered scrap had they been found at Jamesville. This assemblage of reusable materials and tools suggests an individual who could adapt and create objects as well as maintain and repair them (103).

Figure 11.27. Drawings of objects from the tinker's cache in P37 at C (a) four detached kettle (b) five solid and conical (c) a piece of cut sheet

*Appropriation.* By the beginning of the eighteenth century appropriation appears to have superseded emulation as one of the primary ways in which Onondaga people processed European objects, materials, technology, and symbols into their own cultural framework. In some instances, this was as straightforward as adopting a European object for a different purpose, such as using a brass compass case to carry vermillion or in one case seven cherry pits. Sometimes the reason for appropriation is not clear. For example, why was a fragmentary figurine of a Staffordshire dog included in a burial? We will return to this unique case below under Identity. Here let us focus on iron objects that we have traced over the previous material culture chapters. To what extent did the Onondaga use iron and ironworking technology by the end of the seventeenth century (104)?

By 1701 iron had become an essential material to the Onondaga, and one they utilized in a variety of ways. Some appropriations were as simple as converting a European knife into a crooked knife or a small saw. Increasingly, appropriation meant using some of the requisite technology along with the metal. Three kinds of iron implements—celts, hatchet blades, and scrapers—provide us an opportunity to examine Onondaga



**Figure 11.28.** Iron celts including an ethnographic example— (a) photograph of a small celt, Jamesville site,

(b) drawing of a large trapezoidal celt from P41, Pen site,

(c) drawing of a hafted iron celt from Schoharie County, NY.

ironwork at the end of the seventeenth century (105). Celts were among the first implements the Onondaga made from iron, appropriating a new material to emulate a traditional ground-stone-tool form. Given the array of other iron tools that were available, it is a little surprising that iron celts were still in use at the end of the seventeenth century. Their presence, however, underscores the conservative side of appropriation. If a traditional form worked well, there was no need to reinvent it.

Iron-hatchet blades are another form we have followed since the Lot 18 site, 50 years earlier. With the availability of belt axes, one might ask why did the Onondaga persist in making these blades? Apparently the

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Figure 11.29. Iron hatchet blades—(a) drawing of a blade from P20, Pen site,(b) photograph of a blade, Jamesville site.

answer is because they chose to and because they could. The examples from Pen and Jamesville are similar in form to those from the preceding sites and reflect the same or an improved ability to work the material (106).

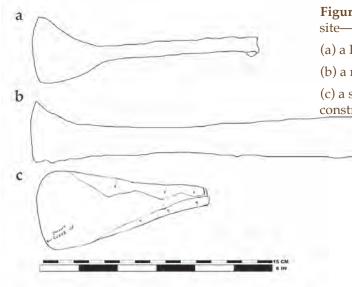


Many other styles of iron tools and equipment may have been appropriated and made by 5 CM 2 IN

Onondaga craftsmen at the Jamesville site. In his catalog, the early twentieth-century collector Warren J. Haberle identified a harpoon, spears, an iron knife made from scrap, punches, chisels, and scrapers from Jamesville that he believed were Native-made (107). There are also several iron implements from Pen that could have been made by the Onondaga. How can we tell?

One way is to compare known European-made versions with those from the site that appear to be copies or adaptations. There are three specific examples of scrapers from Pen that can be compared (Figure 11.30). One is the French-style scraper, or *gratter*, introduced early in the seventeenth century and still popular at Pen. Although still traded by the French, this simple tool, with its curved spatulate blade and simple haft, could easily have been copied by either Anglo–Dutch smiths in Albany or by Native craftsmen. Another type of scraper made from a section of musket barrel occurs in Onondaga for the first time at the Pen site. One example was carefully drawn out and tapered into a curved spatulate bit. The other has no taper and is less skillfully shaped at the bit end. Other shorter examples of these musket-barrel scrapers also suggest different levels of skill in their fabrication. Perhaps a European smith produced the first, while the others may have been local copies. The third variety of scraper has a more generalized form and was described as being made from "beaten scrap metal." Different degrees of skill are evident in them as well. In this case, the form and workmanship are more consistent with that seen on earlier Onondaga sites than with European practice.

Were these appropriated forms or simply opportunistic ones? Whether made by Europeans or Natives, it is not entirely clear how they were used, and they may not all have had the same purpose, since the term *scraper* can be used to describe a wide variety of forms. Whatever the answer, the assemblages from Pen and Jamesville demonstrate that by the end of the seventeenth century Native smiths were capable of maintaining, if not



**Figure 11.30.** Drawings of iron scrapers from the Pen site—

(a) a French-style scraper (gratter) from P41,

(b) a musket-barrel scraper from P37,

(c) a scraper from P59 indicating details of its construction— "short curve up".

making, many of the iron tools Onondaga people wanted and needed (108).

Casting is another European technology the Onondaga had learned to use with increasing skill and sophistication. The

evidence for casting at Pen is similar to that from Weston and is marked by the presence of a variety of objects made of lead or pewter—inlays for pipes, collars for tools, and small medallions. At Jamesville medallion styles are more diverse, and small circular brooches have been added to the repertoire. Cast medallions exemplify where the appropriation of European symbols and technology overlap, and we will examine them and their iconography in more detail under Identity below (109).

*Hybridization and syncretism*. Of all the ways Onondaga people responded to Europeans and processed their influences into their own cultural framework, hybridization and syncretism were the most complex. The ability to create new solutions, ones that drew on the traditional and the novel, was a hallmark of Onondaga problem-solving at the end of the seventeenth century. These traits are evident at several levels, from creating new tools and redefining the ways in which kinship and belief could be expressed, to expanding condolence practices into protocols for successful diplomacy. The results of syncretic thinking were key in keeping the Five Nations together and allowing external solutions to emerge, as exemplified in the treaties of 1701.

One familiar hybrid tool is the crooked knife, first evident archaeologically early in the seventeenth century at the Onondaga Pompey Center site, ca. 1610 to 1620, and present in virtually every subsequent site assemblage. At Pen there appear to be several examples, all from different burials. Most occurred with men and have changed little in terms of form from those on previous sites. While the number of crooked knives may not seem impressive, the number of wooden ladles those knives produced at the Pen site is (110).

Native-made iron-hatchet blades represent a particular example of hybridity, illustrating stages in a process that refined and redefined war clubs and their uses. Probably derived from the hafted bar celts discussed

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**Figure 11.31.** Halberd-style tomahawks— (a) drawing of a tomahawk found by William J. Gallipeau in 1949, Pen site,

(b) photograph of a tomahawk from Kingston, NY,(c) drawing of a tomahawk from Fort Bull, Rome, NY.

in Chapter Three, simple Native-made hatchet blades appear to have transmuted through a series of forms during the last half of the seventeenth century. Although the largest sample comes from Indian Hill, they were still in use at Pen and Jamesville.

The popularity of war clubs with iron blades paralleled the evolution of another weapon form, which was the reprocessing of iron axes into belt axes and then into tomahawks. By the end of the seventeenth century, two distinct axes had emerged—a heavy utilitarian one and a lighter one designed for mobility and warfare. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the halberd-style tomahawk was produced, a new variety of ax designed only for warfare. An example of the form was among the objects recovered by William J. Gallipeau in 1949 from the first Pen site burials (111).

Although the halberd-style tomahawk never caught on, its successor, the spiked tomahawk, did and remained one of the most widely used edged weapons during the eighteenth century. Both forms occur primarily within the English sphere of influence in New York and New England. The final iteration was the pipe tomahawk, one of the most iconic crosscultural hybrids, whose popularity lasted well into

the nineteenth century. Where and when some Anglo–Dutch craftsman first forged a hatchet with a pipe bowl on the proximal end is not known. However, the inspiration may have come from two sources. One was the experimental nature of hatchet forms at the turn of the eighteenth century. The other was the revival of club-shaped stone pipes in Onondaga during the late seventeenth century. The dual message of war and negotiation embodied in this ancestrally inspired hybrid form quickly became a fitting material representation of eighteenth-century diplomacy in the Northeast (112).

While hybridity focuses on objects, syncretism emphasizes the process of reconciling or attempting to unite differing systems of belief. Nowhere was the need for reconciliation more crucial for the Onondaga than in the

spiritual realm. For half a century, Christianity had challenged traditional beliefs. By 1701 it had created deep and lasting divisions in Onondaga and threatened to continue doing so. As Tegannisoren explained to English and French representatives on June 26, 1701, "You both have made us drunk with all your noise of praying." Before any decision could be made on the subject of ministers or missionaries he concluded, "We must first come to ourselves again" (113). Nor was Christianity the only problem. During the last half of the seventeenth century, Onondaga had become a repository for a diverse set of spiritual beliefs and practices as a consequence of its ever more heterogeneous population. How were all the various forms and expressions of belief to be accommodated within some agreed-upon definition of what was Onondaga?

#### Identity

The Onondaga of 1701 were a different people than they had been 50 years earlier. The Pen and Jamesville sites provide us with a unique opportunity to examine this and the degree to which identity and its ever-shifting definitions can be found in the archaeological record. We are able to do it in large part because of the Pen site, since mortuary sites are by definition a statement of community. Here we can see how the Onondaga viewed themselves and the ways in which their world should be organized. With the addition of comparable classes of information for the Jamesville site, we have a basis for examining who and what was Onondaga in 1701, when the strategies devised by Tegannisoren and others played out.

#### Dismembering identity

More than people were dismembered during the border wars that occurred between 1687 and 1701, not to mention all the hostilities of the seventeenth century that shattered cultures and dispersed people. What dismembers and shatters a culture, breaks it into pieces, and compromises identity? Threats can include a range of external and internal factors, from environmental change and cross-cultural contacts, to how internal dissent and receptiveness to change are handled. Any number of combinations can result in a loss of population and the destabilization of cultural values and social structures.

In terms of the Onondaga, we have tracked some of these factors over the last half of the seventeenth century. They include the corrosive effects of disease, alcohol, Christianity, and exposure to alien European values. There was also the dilution of traditional Onondaga identity as large numbers of Native people from other traditions were adopted or assimilated. We have looked at the processes of maintaining, strengthening, and revitalizing the values that defined Onondaga identity, even as that identity morphed. By 1697 these strategies were under strain, and it became as necessary for the Onondaga to rebuild their identity as it was to rebuild their town.



During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Onondaga leadership faced two challenges. One was to maintain balance within the League, to find ways to keep the Five Nations together in the face of external threats and internal dissension. Only then could they attempt to build an acceptable relationship with their pushy European neighbors. We have already looked at the latter process in the historical narrative, one where the documents provide significant information on how the disputeresolution mechanisms of the League were expanded into the diplomatic policies of the Confederacy. The other pressing need was to reestablish a sense of balance and shared identity within Onondaga. This meant finding an identity that acknowledged what had changed and what had not. In other words, the challenge for Onondaga was not so much to create a new identity as much as it was to remember who they were (114).

#### Remembering identity

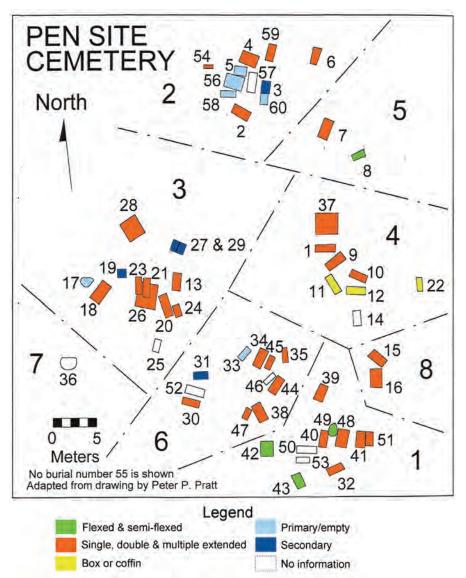
How does a culture remember itself, literally and figuratively? How does it put the dismembered pieces back together, maintain internal cohesion, and rebuild a collective sense of itself? For Onondaga, strategies for remembrance were a combination of the traditional and the new. As we review Who and What is Onondaga at the beginning of the new century, the strategies for remembering and maintaining identity in Onondaga had not changed. As reflected in the mortuary practices from Pen and the material culture from both Pen and Jamesville, they focused on the familiar efforts to make Them into Us, to build a shared identity, to strengthen traditional ritual practice, and to create new ways to express shared beliefs. What had changed were the ways in which their cultural values could be expressed, especially in material terms.

Who was Onondaga in 1701? While we can infer a great deal about behavior from material culture, nothing tells us more about the people than the people themselves. Up to this point, we have looked to the historical documents for information on who lived in Onondaga, and that still applies during this period. For example, in June 1699 Evert Wendell recorded in his account book a transaction with "Tankarores, a Shawnee savage who stays among the Onondagas," noting that he "has a tattoo [of a turtle] . . . on his head." A few years later, another transaction was recorded with a young Onondaga who had been "a prisoner of the Tweghtteghen [Miami]" and "can barely speak Onondaga." These references tell us how diverse the population in Onondaga had become and highlight one of the most difficult problems faced by the leadership—the return of captives. In September 1699 Governor-General Callière met with several Five Nations' representatives in Montréal. After renewing their pledge to plant the Tree of Peace, the spokesman broached this sensitive issue. While the French insisted that all prisoners be returned, the Five Nations' spokesman pointed out this would be very painful, as they had "long since adopted

them as our nephews." For the Onondaga, those who had survived and been adopted were kin, not captives (115).

If the Pen site is a snapshot of the Onondaga during the years between 1697 and 1701, its most salient feature is the sense of shared identity amidst striking diversity. A cemetery was more than just a place to bury the deceased. It was a place where the community that had supported and sustained itself in life could be reestablished in death. By definition all those buried at the Pen site were Onondaga, wherever they were born, whatever language they first learned, however they got there. But who was Onondaga at the end of the seventeenth century? Given the use of multiple mortuary practices, the answer is a very diverse group of people (**116**).

This diversity of people at Pen is demonstrated specifically by how they were buried, where they were interred within the cemetery, and with whom. Five Nations' burial practices tended to follow a particular pattern over the course of the seventeenth century. Early in the century there was a strong preference for single interments with the individual in a flexed



position, often facing west. Extended (supine), bundled, and multiple burials were rare, although these became more common over the course of the century (117). In contrast, burial practices at Pen were heterogeneous, including both flexed and extended treatments, and the use of coffins. In addition, at Pen there appear to

**Figure 11.32.** Distribution of burial practices in the 59 Pen site burials shown in the cemetery map by Thomas Jamison included four with flexed individuals, 33 with extended individuals, three with a box or coffin, six were empty primary burials, five were secondary burials, and for eight there was no information.

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have been primary and secondary interments with no preferred orientation for individuals, either within or among the clusters of burials. It appears there were as many acceptable ways to be Onondaga in death as there were in life (118).

Mortuary treatment provides a powerful way to see kin relationships. As the plan of the Pen site illustrates, different mortuary practices were distributed across the site, not clustered in specific groups. At the same time, there appear to have been specific sub-clusters of burials within the larger cemetery. Given the range of age and gender within these clusters, it is possible they represent familial, clan, or other kinship groups. Since these clusters also include different forms of interment, it is likely that the diversity in mortuary practice was a direct reflection of the variety within these kin-based groups.

The occurrence of primary and secondary burials provides evidence of a mortuary tradition not usually associated with the Onondaga. In this practice, the remains of individuals previously buried were ritually disinterred, then reinterred often with others in a new location. By 1701 at least two populations who utilized this mortuary practice were represented in Onondaga. One group was the Wyandot living in the upper Great Lakes, who were descended from Ontario Iroquoians. Many of the burials at the Lasanen site in northern Michigan reflect this tradition and share similarities with the primary and secondary burials at the Pen site. Coastal Algonquian people, especially from the Chesapeake region, were the other cultural group who used primary and secondary burials as a principal form of mortuary practice, especially the bundling of remains. During the seventeenth century, several Native groups from the Chesapeake area relocated north as colonial pressure for their lands increased. In some cases, as with the Piscataway and Nanticoke, they brought their burial practices with them, as is evident at sites such as Conestoga and Conoy Town in Pennsylvania, and perhaps at Pen as well (119). If one of the goals for accommodating changing circumstances was to extend kinship, the Pen site demonstrates how successful the Onondaga were in expanding the definition of who they were by including a wide variety of traditions and practices.

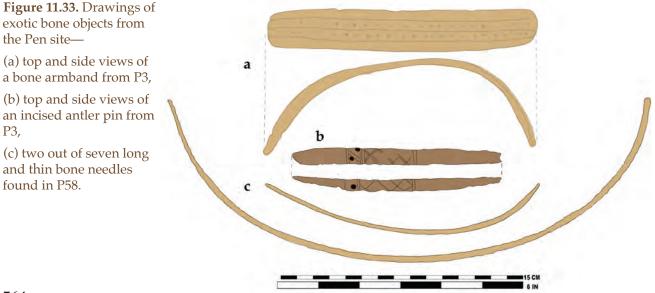
*What was Onondaga in 1701?* Just as the Pen site gives us a basis for understanding how diverse Onondaga people had become, it also provides an opportunity to see how that diversity and sense of shared values were expressed in material terms. Earlier in this chapter we looked at a set of scales used to interpret the material culture from Pen—Francophile and Anglophile, Christian and traditional, innovative and conservative, rich and poor—to see if they shed light on status, identity, and the influence of European goods. Some of these scales are more insightful than others, and there are certainly many more ways in which this information can be analyzed. Can the material culture from the Pen and Jamesville sites

tell us about how the Onondaga sought to reestablish ways to remember themselves in material terms?

*Make Them into Us.* More than just extending kinship, this meant constructing an identity that was broadly inclusive in practice. The diversity of mortuary traditions evident at the Pen site exemplifies this. In addition, the associated funerary objects from the Pen site indicate a wide range of Native cultural preferences and practices, ones that span the Eastern Woodlands. The more limited evidence from Jamesville supports this as well.

*Influences from the south.* There is considerable evidence of influence through the Southern Door, a reflection of Onondaga's strong ties with the newly formed multiethnic communities in the Susquehanna drainage. Among these communities were Conestoga Town and smaller towns with mixed populations of Susquehannock, Shawnee, Munsee, Piscataway, and Nanticoke people. Archaeological evidence includes the ongoing presence of Susquehannock-related objects such as smoking-pipe forms, metalworking practices, and Chesapeake marine-shell preferences. Other material evidence of connections to the south includes a *Busycon* shell dipper, the upper and lower jaws of an ivory-billed woodpecker, and the first depictions of the eastern diamondback rattlesnake, a species not native to central New York. All these traits have strong roots in Mississippian cosmology and may reflect the lingering effects of the Mississippian Afterglow (120).

*Influences from the north.* Material culture traits related to upper Great Lakes Algonquians as well as Wyandot and Huron–Wendat people are also evident at Pen. While midwestern archaeologist Charles Cleland's observations on the dynamic similarities between the Lasanen and Pen sites serve as a general statement, two of the Pen burials provide more



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specific examples. One appears to have been a secondary burial containing five individuals and a series of unusual Native-made objects, including a highly embellished bone armband and two large antler pins. The second was a primary burial from which most of the human remains had been removed. Among the materials left behind were eight very long and thin needles made from fish bone, another large incised-antler pin, and a set of otoliths from freshwater drum fish that may have been used as gaming pieces. In terms of unfamiliar mortuary treatment and exotic associated-funerary objects, these burials suggest cultural practices more at home in the upper Great Lakes than in the Five Nations (121). Other Great Lakes traits from the Pen site include the presence of conical-bone projectile points, a small soapstone micmac-style pipe, and comparable metalworking, especially the use of B-shaped tubing (122).

*Influences from the west.* It is somewhat arbitrary to distinguish between Native influences from the upper Great Lakes and those from the midcontinent, or Mississippi Valley, as they frequently overlap. Nonetheless, there is evidence in the material culture of Indian people from these specific regions, even if we cannot specify whether they were Shawnee, Illinois, or Siouan. We have already looked at pipestone, the most obvious example of influence from the west. Shared metalworking forms such as objects made from B-shaped tubing, especially circular hair rings or coils, are difficult to separate as either an upper Great Lakes or Mississippi Valley influence. The examples from the Pen site are very similar to those from Gros Cap in Michigan and Illinois sites such as Illiniwik and Zimmerman in the Mississippi Valley (123). Among the most distinctive objects that indicate connections to the west are small triangular cast-glass pendants made by Native people, usually from crushed blue beads. Although these pendants are found frequently on late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sites in the upper Great Lakes and mid-continent, they occur for the first

time in Onondaga at Jamesville. Since there is no evidence of these glass pendants from Pen, it appears that these postdate 1701 (**124**).

**Figure 11.34.** Native-made glass pendants from the Jamesville site—

(a) two fragments of an opaque robin's egg blueglass pendant showing a possible alignment,

(b) translucent dark-olive-green glass pendant.



The presence of material culture traits from across the Eastern Woodlands, from the Atlantic Coast to the Mississippi Valley and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, provides another basis for understanding who had become Onondaga by the end of the seventeenth century. Between 1650 and 1701, the Onondaga needed to create indicators of identity that integrated elements from the many diverse peoples who had become

part of Us rather than Them. As we have seen, marine-shell gorgets were one example, but there were many others—bone combs and smokingpipe styles from the Huron–Wendat, metalworking forms and the skills to produce them from the Susquehannock, and the use of pipestone and calumets from Siouan people. Whatever their origin, by 1700 these were Onondaga traits as well.

*Build a shared identity*. The evidence from the Pen and Jamesville sites indicates the Onondaga sought to rebuild identity in several ways. One was the continued preference for certain materials, colors, and agents. In terms of material, the traditional substances associated with ritual and spiritual power that we have been following—marine shell, copper and its alloys, and red stone—remain the ones used most often in a ritual context even when the forms changed. For example, although copper may have lost much of its association with spiritual power during the seventeenth century, it remained one of the most frequently occurring material classes at Pen, occurring in two-thirds of the burials. The forms may have changed to a preference for finger rings, crucifixes, medals, and shiny buttons, but given copper's prevalence it is clear that the material still mattered (125). Other traditional materials, along with their new proxies, remained in use. Among them were quartz crystals and what may have been their European analogs, clear-glass decanter stoppers (126). Glass mirrors may have served as another contemporary analog for the traditional "light, bright, and white" substances of ritual power. Five of the Pen burials had rectangular sheet-glass mirrors and several more had smaller circular mirrors in round sheet-iron boxes (127).

Color was another realm in which traditional preferences continued to play a prominent role. The best examples are the ongoing use of white marine shell and red stone. However, color preference is also evident in the choice of glass beads and even in materials we seldom see archaeologically, such as textiles. Lists of the presents given out at Indian conferences often specify the color as well as the type of cloth, and those lists clearly indicate Native preferences. Pigments were another important indicator of color choice, and vermillion was a regular item in trade inventories and lists of gifts. At the Pen site it occurred in small containers or was scattered over an interment. Even with the popularity of imported pigments, there is evidence that the traditional sources of red paint were still used, including a piece of graphite schist and pieces of hematite paint stone. Therefore, it is possible that some of the reported red pigment from Pen was regional hematite rather than European-sourced vermillion (**128**).

As we saw in Chapter Three, our conception of what was white and black differed from that of the Onondaga and other Native people. Sky blue was perceived as a component of white, while purple and dark blue were included in the definition of black. After 1650 the definition of white appears to have expanded to include lead, pewter, and tinned objects. By

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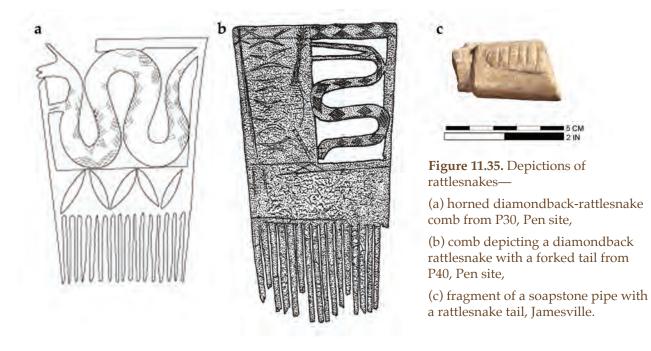


the end of the century another new material was added to this list—silver. The importance of this material was reflected in diplomatic terms, such as the silver chain that bound the English and Five Nations together. The silver metaphor applied to the French as well. In February 1699, when Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt refused to release Onondaga prisoners, Tegannisoren chastised him of having "clinched them with silver nailes." Given its significance, it is a surprising that no silver objects were present at the Pen site. In 1699 a series of special Indian fusils were produced for presentation purposes. Made in London, these high-quality firearms were finished with a silver escutcheon stamped with the crown and WR cipher. A year later, Robert Livingston recommended some of the "Chief Sachems" be given "a badge or the King's armes cut in silver to hang about their necks." Whether these silver objects were ever made or not, there is no evidence of them from Onondaga. Only a "fancy silver plated tack" from Jamesville was reported by Haberle (129).

There is strong evidence from Pen that traditional spiritual agents or emissaries continued to play an essential role even as the influence of Christianity increased. As George Hamell has suggested, it may have been the influx of people from the upper Great Lakes and elsewhere that helped to recharge their usage. Although there is no evidence of animal-skin headdresses or bone tubes at Pen, there are turtle-shell rattles, medicine pouches or comparable regalia, and the frequent presence of animal friends, often depicted in shell or on bone combs (130).

*Strengthen traditional ritual practice.* One way to reinforce and strengthen traditional practices was by drawing on deeply shared roots as a basis for maintaining identity. Examples from the Pen site discussed above were the inclusion of half of a beveled bar celt in one burial, a much older form whose revival we have traced across the seventeenth century, and the interment of an incised-bone armband. Prior to their use in the upper Great Lakes and Ohio Valley, similar bone armbands with incised cross-striated bands were a hallmark on sites of the Jack's Reef mortuary tradition from over a thousand years earlier. Even the popularity of elaborately incised combs at Pen may be an echo of those ancient mortuary practices. The evidence from Jamesville supports this revival of ancestral forms with the continued use of slate gorgets and pendants first seen at Weston (131).

Another way to strengthen traditional practice was to allow, or even encourage, greater flexibility in expression. We have seen this process already in the World Above as eagles and other raptorial birds have morphed into thunderbirds and even doves. From the World Below, the Rattlesnake Man-Being was one of the most powerful Grandfathers in Onondaga cosmology. As the prototypical shaman capable of using its power to kill or cure, rattlesnakes were portrayed in Onondaga material culture well before Europeans arrived and throughout the seventeenth century. At Pen the change is the depiction of a new species, the non-local



eastern-diamondback, rather than native northern-timber and easternmassasauga rattlesnakes (132).

Onondaga could also strengthen traditional practice by appropriating spiritual agents from other Native cultures. Dogs were apparently an increasingly important presence in Onondaga during the final decades of the seventeenth century. It is unclear whether this was a reflection of ceremonial practice, the need to alleviate privation, or both. Dogs had long been considered to be spiritual messengers among the Huron–Wendat and Great Lakes Algonquian people, and their increased significance in

**Figure 11.36.** Drawing of a fragment of a Staffordshire ceramic dog from P5, Pen site.



Onondaga may have been an assimilated value. However, dogs may have been important spiritual agents for another reason. As the influence of Christianity increased, so did the need for analogies that could span cultural boundaries. The Christian use of sheep as a literal and metaphorical vehicle for sacrifice made little sense to Native people, and dogs may have served as a more appropriate proxy. The importance of dogs to Ottawa and Wyandot people of the Great Lakes was emphasized by Antoine Laumet (dit de



La Mothe Cadillac) in his description of a mortuary ceremony sometime between 1694 and 1697 –

at the same time they kill a large number of dogs which are their sheep and which are beloved among them more than any other animal. They make a great feast of them, but, before eating, they set up two long poles and fasten, clear at the top, a dog that they sacrifice to the sun and the moon, praying to them to have pity and to care for the souls of their relatives (133).

Is there any evidence that such practices took place in Onondaga? There are hints. One of the most unusual objects interred at the Pen site was a fragmentary small ceramic dog. This Staffordshire-style figure was one of only two pieces of European ceramic at the site. Other compelling evidence was the emergence of what would become known as the White Dog sacrifice around this time. An essential component of Mid-Winter ceremonial practice in Onondaga, this was part of the ritual for reviving Sky Holder at the darkest time of the year so that light, warmth, and life could come back into the world (134).

*Create new ways to express shared beliefs.* Given the threats and challenges posed by Christianity, and the European insistence that they accept either French priests or Anglican ministers, it was no longer a matter of just assimilating and adjusting traditional elements and practices. By 1697 the need to produce new material forms and iconography was a key tactic for demonstrating shared values and a collective identity. These new forms needed to unite, or at least reconcile, the diverse systems of belief that circulated through Onondaga. An example was the Onondaga production of cast medallions with iconography that blended trees and poles with crosses, and Sky Holder with Christ. That is, the new creations were hybrids that attempted to syncretize the expressions of beliefs and values. As Tegannisoren had told the English and French representatives, the Onondaga needed to "first come to themselves" before any decisions on spirituality could be made (135). For the process of remembering to succeed, the pieces of Onondaga identity had to be put back together.

#### Toward a new cosmology

Given the traumatic events that threatened to destroy Onondaga during the last decade of the seventeenth century, it was hard to argue with their Christian kin who warned, "the present form of this world is passing away," and a new one would soon arrive. This made it all the more important to decide what it meant to be Onondaga in spiritual terms. The historical documents are of little help here, since they seldom convey a Native point of view. Robert Livingston's self-serving assessment of Iroquoian beliefs in 1701 is an example mentioned previously. After returning from Onondaga, he reported to Governor-General Bellomont –

They owne there is a God and a Devil. God is a good man they say, and lives above, Him they love because He never do's them no harme. The Devil they fear and are forced to bribe by offerings, etc. that he do them no harme. I take it that they compare the French to the latter, and the English to the former.

A few months later, when the Five Nations sent condolences for the late governor expressing their hope that "his soul is in heaven," they were being polite not theological (136). So, what did the cosmological world look like to the Onondaga in 1701? To what degree can we reconstruct some sense of it during these dynamic and rapidly changing years?

*Revisiting the World Above.* One reality that did not change was the presence of a World Above and a World Below. Who now inhabited those realms was a different matter. In many ways, the familiar components were still there. Eagles and other raptorial birds made sense in the Christian world as well as in Onondaga, especially if they occasionally morphed into thunderbirds, doves, or angels. In both cosmologies, thunder and lightning were understood as manifestations of great spiritual authority and power, even if the agents who wielded them were different. Still, there were significant changes in Native cosmology. By the end of the seventeenth century the World Above was populated more by anthropomorphic beings and less by zoomorphic ones. Significantly, the World Above was increasingly identified with Good, not just with pro-social forces, whereas the World Below was now the domain of demons and devils (137).

*Revisiting the World Below*. If the World Above was becoming heaven, then the World Below was destined to become hell. Here the transition can be seen in documents from the period, although once again it is easy to mistake the language used to communicate across cultures for the language of belief. As early as 1689 Five Nations speakers observed that if the French "can Ruine the tree of Peace" that had been planted, "then he will be the Devill." By 1700 the devil had become a familiar participant in diplomatic parlance. When Governor-General Callière wanted to indicate his sincerity for peace he declared, "Now I throw the axe in a hole, & so throw him to the Devil." The English, too, had a fondness for this language, often warning the Onondaga not to believe the Jesuits and "their Father the Devil," or to have "underground darke dealing . . . with the French" (138). On the Native side, there appears to have been less change in who occupied these nether regions. The traditional beings of power remained present and active in their many manifestations—rattlesnakes, Piasas, Manitous, and other long-bodied long-tailed creatures. Here, too, the distinction between European and Native influences was nebulous and the meanings ambiguous. The Jesuits had long used images of "serpents and dragons tearing out" the entrails of the damned. So what did the depiction of a snake indicate in 1701? In both Christian and traditional cosmology,



serpents could play many roles, from the agent of death to the wielder of life-restoring life-renewing power (139).

**Reestablishing balance**. A key challenge for the Onondaga was to attain some level of balance between these cosmological realms. This paralleled the need for balance within the League if it was to survive. An essential point was that Tegannisoren and the rest of the Onondaga leadership understood all too well the potential for spiritual differences to create factions that could dismember Onondaga. They had seen this happen to the Mohawk, whose population was divided between the Praying Towns in Canada and the traditional communities in the Mohawk valley. This threat was real. As Tegannisoren explained to Robert Livingston in 1702,

There are great divisions in Onondaga, one half . . . are inclined to have a French Jesuit among them, the other half are against it, and many of those that are for the Priests seem inclined to hearken to Corlaer [the English governor] and to take a minister to instruct them in the Christian faith.

As a result, "Wee Sinnekes [Upper Four Nations] are minded to have one

**Figure 11.37.** "A discussion of cosmology between Monsieur baron de Lahontan and a Native chief." Engraving from a drawing by Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, 1728.



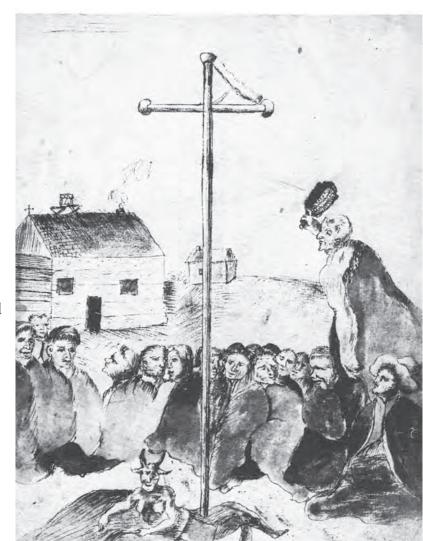
faith." In other words, spiritual expression had to be a component of shared identity, not another source of friction and division (140).

Actually, this was not as unrealistic as it sounded. Christianity and traditional practice agreed on several key points. One was the importance of spirit over flesh, expressed as a fundamental Christian conviction that Jesus Christ was "put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit." While an Onondaga might say it differently, the underlying conviction was the same. Another shared belief was the power of names and renaming as a means of creating a new identity. So was the veneration of relics, whether they were the bones of saints, martyrs, or ancestors. Finally, although the practice and theological underpinnings may have been different, a belief in ritual cannibalism was fundamental to both belief systems. In Christian practice, the consuming of consecrated bread and wine is the body and blood of Christ (141). The challenge for Onondaga was to articulate a balance between these different, but overlapping, cosmologies and to come up with a set of agreed-upon symbols for expressing it.

#### Finding solutions

We have already looked at some of the Native solutions to this dilemma, such as expanding the role of traditional agents as well as creating new ones. Shared imagery, including rays, auras, and halos, was already used in both cultures to express spiritual authority and power, whether it was called holiness, grace, or orenda. As we discussed in Case Study 16, it may have been the spiritual imagery of rays around

> **Figure 11.38.** Banishing drink and the devil at La Prairie. Drawing by Fr. Claude Chauchetière, ca. 1686.





the head of a saint, or worshipping angels surrounding a monstrance, that gave French religious medals value to the Onondaga. That perhaps explains their increased presence at Pen and Jamesville.

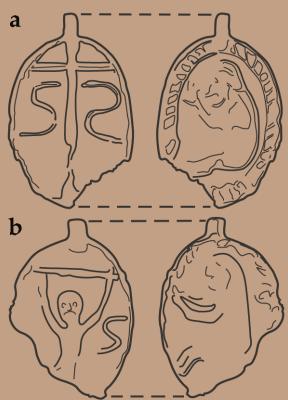
Shared symbols were as essential in reconstructing a collective identity as the beliefs they represented. If one wanted a symbol with meaning in all the competing systems of belief, the cross was an excellent choice. In a Christian context, the cross was the obvious image of renewal, representing not only the death of Jesus but also his resurrection as Christ. At a more subtle level, the cross also stood for Christianity's triumph by taking a symbol of humiliation and death and turning it into an icon of redemption. This part of Christianity Onondaga people could understand, "I lay my life down in order to take it up again . . . I have authority to take it up again." This could easily be understood as the sentiments of Sky Holder at Mid-Winter. Recognizing a European symbol as one of transformative power also may explain the sudden increase in crucifixes at Pen and Jamesville.

As a symbol, the cross played a complex role in Native cosmology. Trees, poles, and crosses served as interchangeable metaphors for the spiritual axis of the world, connecting the World Above with the World Below, and permitting communication between them. These synergistic connections had grown stronger across the Eastern Woodlands during the seventeenth century. Whether it was the ever-growing Great Tree so fundamental to the Five Nations, the red-striped pole of the Mississippian world, or a cross-like pole depicted at La Prairie, this was a symbol whose importance was widely understood and recognized as spiritually powerful (142).

What did these shared symbols of transformative power and remembrance look like? Thanks to a remarkable group of small Native-made lead and pewter medallions, we actually know. The best known examples from the Pen and Jamesville sites depict the hope for renewal through suffering and sacrifice. By 1701 the Onondaga had certainly experienced the suffering and sacrifice part.

Although the evidence for these Pen I- and II-style medallions currently is strongest from Onondaga sites, similar examples from contemporaneous Seneca and Mohawk sites indicate that these examples of syncretism occurred across the Five Nations. In each case, the iconography differs slightly, suggesting that while some of this imagery followed an accepted convention, there was considerable latitude in how beliefs could be portrayed. Just as the early Christians took the cross as a symbol of oppression and turned it into one of redemption, the Five Nations appear to have transformed it from a Jesuit threat into an affirmation. This was not as great a conceptual leap as it may seem. After all, the cross of Christianity is the same as the four cardinal directions of Native cosmology depicted in a slightly different way (143).

# Case Study 20. Imaging redemption and renewal



**Figure 11.39.** Drawings of Native-cast medallions from the Pen site—

(a) Pen I-style medallion with a cross and a pair of s-shaped figures on the obverse, and a crouching anthropomorphic figure on the reverse,

(b) Pen II-style medallion with an anthropomorphic figure holding a horizontal bar, possibly a Sky Holder motif, on the obverse, and a crouching anthropomorphic figure on the reverse. serpentine figure to the right. The whole is surrounded by a plain raised edge. The reverse depicts a crouching anthropomorphic figure similar to that of the Pen I style, but not identical. The figure is surrounded by a less distinct or discontinuous band of small dashes slanted right to left in a counterclockwise direction. Examples have been reported from both the Pen and Jamesville sites (144).

While many scholars from Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Joseph Campbell have

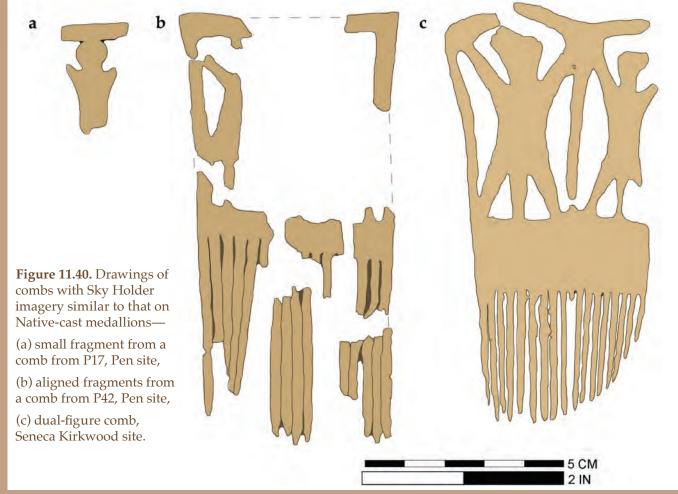
commented on these medallions, William M.
Beauchamp summarized the usual interpretation as "a representation of our Savior on the cross." George Hamell has pointed out that
Beauchamp was partially correct. These simplelooking medallions depict, "a complex chain of associations between the physical and supernatural attributes of Christ, Sapling–Sky Holder, and the Great Horned Serpent or Rattlesnake Man-Being."

These small medallions are material evidence of a revitalization process, or a way to restore balance, through the appropriation of new practices and the revival of traditional ones. What makes them so distinctive is their shared iconography, incorporating motifs that can be understood in two ways. One can be interpreted as the Great Tree that links the World Above and the World Below, under whose branches the people live in peace and plenty and whose roots reach out to connect with kin. This motif can also be interpreted as a representation of the cross. The cross is a metaphorical tree, in this case transforming an instrument of oppression and death into a symbol of triumphant new life. The second motif with shared iconography can be interpreted as Sky Holder, or the Good Twin, who dies each fall as his

Small Native-made medallions are tangible evidence of one way in which Onondaga people attempted to rebalance the changing forces of the spiritual world. These medallions depict newly syncretized motifs that provided the latitude of expression required to create a shared identity. Although these medallions were made in many styles, the most common are two closely related varieties that are well represented at the Pen site.

The first style of medallion, Pen I, has a cross or pole with a crossbar on the obverse with mirrorimage s-shaped figures facing one another on either side. The whole is surrounded by a plain raised edge. The reverse depicts a crouching anthropomorphic figure facing left with a hand in front of the face, and the border has a band of small dashes slanted left to right in a clockwise direction. Several examples have been reported from the Pen site.

The second style of medallion, Pen II, has an anthropomorphic figure holding or hanging from a horizontal bar on the obverse with a



Evil Twin undoes all his work, but is resuscitated at Mid-Winter so that the processes of life can begin again. An equally viable interpretation of this figure is of Christ, whose death is the prerequisite for resurrection. Whether one favored traditional cosmology or Christianity, these were symbols with powerful meaning.

In addition to the associations between Sky Holder and Christ, the other powerful presence on both varieties of these medallions is the Great Horned Serpent from the World Below. In Iroquoia he is the most powerful of the Great Spirit Beings, one with many names and guises. He is the Rattlesnake Man-Being, taker and giver of Life, who is the respected and revered processor of the dead. Yet through his ability to shed his skin, he is the manifestation of rebirth and renewal. He is also the traditional guardian of the Great Tree from which the serpent staff of the Iroquois is symbolically derived. A Christian interpretation of the serpent's presence on these medallions would, of course, be based on the bible. What is important is that serpents are depicted on both varieties of these medallions, and, as with the other motifs, could be interpreted in multiple ways. The reverse sides are more enigmatic, depicting two versions of an ambiguous crouching anthropomorphic figure, one that may portray a robed shaman in a trance, someone in a shawl praying, or even the infant Jesus (**145**).

Taken together, these medallions represent a conscious effort to syncretize traditional and Christian beliefs. For both Sky Holder and Christ, there was no salvation without suffering, no redemption without loss, drawing on the iconography of suffering and redemption from both traditions. As a syncretic blend of symbols, these medallions depict the spiritual realm and its most important agents in a manner open to different interpretations. Embedded in this imagery is a value fundamental to both traditional and Christian belief, which is the need for sacrifice to maintain order and initiate renewal.

Just as the World Above and the World Below needed to be balanced, so did other factors. The medallions at Pen convey the need to balance sacrifice with renewal, and the same medallions occur at Jamesville and the contemporaneous Seneca Snyder-McClure site. There are also medallions from these two sites that depict the duality of authority and power. For example, on one side there is a depiction of a "Man on Horseback," or a kingly portrait, while on the reverse is a long-bodied serpent man-being, a hocker figure, or other long-bodied creature. These juxtaposed European and Iroquoian figures may have been another way to mark the changing nature of authority and power. The syncretic character of these symbols can be read in a secular, Christian, or traditional Iroquoian context. In secular terms, the king was the embodiment of his subjects and of the nation, as when Louis XIV declared, "L'état c'est moi," he spoke on behalf of all his

Figure 11.41. Six Native-cast medallions. Three from the Jamesville site—

(a) Pen II-style medallion with an anthropomorphic figure holding a horizontal bar, possibly a Sky Holder motif, on the obverse, and a crouching anthropomorphic figure on the reverse,

(b) medallion depicting a "Man on Horseback" over a cross within a dashed border on the obverse, and a long-bodied serpent man-being facing left within a dashed border on the reverse,

(c) pewter medallion of a "Woman with a king-like portrait" facing right within a dashed border on the obverse, and what appears to be a female hocker figure within a dashed border on the reverse.

Three from the Seneca Snyder-McClure site—

(d) Pen II-style medallion with an anthropomorphic figure holding a horizontal bar, possibly a Sky Holder motif, on the obverse, and a crouching anthropomorphic figure on the reverse,

(e) medallion with an anthropomorphic figure with hat/horn/crown motif on the obverse, and a large cross with attending long-bodied creatures on the reverse,

(f) medallion with a more complete figure of Christ or Sky Holder holding a horizontal bar.





people. In Christians terms, it was understood that "The body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body," a sentiment that would have resonated with Onondaga in 1701. To traditional Five Nations people, these sentiments also applied to kinship, all those to whom one was related regardless of differences. To be of "one voice, one mind, one heart" was the Onondaga social ideal long before it became a diplomatic metaphor (146).

Of all the material culture forms that could have been used, why were these small lead and pewter medallions chosen as a preferred means for expressing syncretized messages of identity and belief? Clearly medallions were important, since many come from the Jamesville and Pen sites, as well as from contemporaneous Mohawk and Seneca sites. Some of the reasons have already been mentioned, such as the transformational quality of the casting process, and that lead and pewter had become an acceptable proxy for the light, white, and bright materials of ritual power. But why cast medallions, instead of a cross or some other shape? Coins and medals, secular and sacred, had been available to the Onondaga for decades, and by the 1680s the importance Europeans attached to these objects was well understood. Perhaps this was one more attempt to capture some of the orenda Europeans seemed to have in such abundance. In addition, medallions are made for public display, and they have two sides, each with a distinct motif. This made them the perfect vehicle to portray the fundamental dualities that structured the Onondaga world, even as it changed around them.

These small tokens of remembrance exemplify the processes that the Onondaga used to establish a diverse, yet shared, identity at the end of the seventeenth century. They embody the much larger story, one of rebuilding cultural identity in the midst of overwhelming adversity and change. Native-cast medallions were a cross-cultural hybrid that was European in terms of material, technology, and form, yet Native and traditional in terms of color preferences, directionality, and balance. The same applies to the iconography, a syncretized blending of European and traditional motifs. If one group of objects of material culture epitomizes Onondaga in 1701, it is these small personal depictions of belief.

#### Summing Up

At the turn of the century, the Onondaga were a different people than they had been in 1650. The composition of their population had changed radically. The forces that threatened them were different, as was their conception of where they stood in a rapidly changing world. But for all the factors that changed, the core of what it meant to be Onondaga remained intact. Prior to 1650, Onondaga had focused on assimilating and adapting the material wealth brought to them by European traders, missionaries, and settlers. Whether it was iron axes, brass kettles, or glass beads, they had shown a remarkable ability to integrate these new things into their

own culture, largely on their own terms to reinforce traditional practices. During the second half of the century, the dynamic was different. Here the challenge was assimilating a much larger influx of European goods and people, along with adapting European concepts and values. The goal was to maintain control over their homeland and preserve a measure of political, economic, and spiritual independence from their imperial European neighbors.

In the diplomatic realm, this meant using new concepts, such as territory and sovereignty, to negotiate the treaties of 1701. In broader cultural terms, it meant adapting aspects of Christianity to reestablish a workable balance in the spiritual realm and rebuild a shared identity for an ever-changing and diverse population. In the end, it was the need to integrate all these factors—control of their land, maintaining kinship, and restoring spiritual balance—that defined what it meant to be Onondaga.

# **Chapter Twelve. Into a New Century**



he treaties of 1701 brought a degree of stability to Onondaga. With peace and a lessened threat of attacks, the Onondaga began to move out of their fortified town and settle more broadly across their territory. This included nearby locations along Butternut Creek, a return to traditional fishing sites on the Seneca, Oneida, and Oswego Rivers, and to settlements in the upper portion of the Susquehanna drainage. Still, the Jamesville site appears to have remained the primary Onondaga town for at least another decade. Although it is clear from the documents that Onondaga remained the location for League and Confederacy business, there are no descriptions of the town or indications of where it was located. It is likely that by 1711 many Onondaga left this site, although some may have stayed as late as the end of Queen Anne's War in 1713 or even later (1).

The process of implementing these treaties was neither quick nor simple. Rather than a "Grand Settlement," as it has sometimes been called, the treaties of 1701 provided a precarious framework from which a new series of cross-cultural relationships could be built. Prior to 1701 the goals of Onondaga diplomacy had been to establish their sovereignty and maintain their identity. As they had come to understand, sovereignty meant the right to make their own decisions and to control their own affairs, a kind of autonomy the Onondaga had always taken for granted. Sovereignty was also linked to security from physical attack and the ability to get their people back—captives, hostages, and even Christian kin—if possible. To do this, it was essential they stay together and speak with one voice. Their internal differences were not anyone else's business. In terms of maintaining identity, the key was finding ways to extend kinship individually and collectively, to continue making Them into Us, and to demonstrate that a shared identity could also be flexible, even heterogeneous. With the treaties of 1701, the Onondaga leadership felt they had accomplished their goal-a balance in their external and internal affairs. The question was, could that balance be maintained? To do this would require recognition of their equal status by their European neighbors and the authority to manage their internal differences. Both would prove to be serious challenges (2).

During the first decade of the new century, these goals shifted in subtle but critical ways as circumstances and personalities changed. While the Five Nations felt their sovereignty and their right to choose had been acknowledged in the 1701 treaties, it was not clear that Europeans saw it the same way. Equally important, it was no longer just the French and the English. "English" now meant dealing with the conflicting demands of administrators in New England, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and New York. Then there was the question of whether Europeans recognized the Five Nations' right to control their affairs with respect to other Native people across the Eastern Woodlands. Could they be reconciled with their



Canadian Iroquoian kin? These issues hinged on whether Europeans recognized the Five Nations as sovereign. Would Europeans abide by the treaties they had signed? Increasingly, security meant who had access to and control over the land. This was a problem with which Five Nations people had yet to come to terms. Although the Onondaga had been the architects of their own success in 1701, they had been fortunate that their goals happened to overlap with those of their imperial neighbors—the English appetite for land and French governor Callière's desire to keep them neutral. When it came to sovereignty, would the Onondaga be as lucky in the new century, especially when their goals and those of their European partners diverged?

If sovereignty was the external challenge for Onondaga, maintaining their cultural identity would be the great internal challenge. Here the issues were familiar. The threats posed by Christianity, other European values, rum, and disease would increase as the Onondaga had more frequent and direct contact with their French, Dutch, English, and Quaker neighbors. As these relationships expanded, especially south into Pennsylvania and beyond, the Onondaga population would grow even more diverse. In addition to a wide range of Indian people from across the Eastern Woodlands, there were runaway slaves and people of mixed ancestry, all of who brought their own values and beliefs (**3**). Would the previous

**Figure 12.1.** Figures of the Indians of the Iroquois and Huron tribes clothed in modern style, a man and woman. Drawing, ca. 1712-1717, from Joseph-François Lafitau, 1724. Note the man has a facial tattoo and is holding a wampum belt, the central necklace of Y-shaped beads with an attached shell gorget, and the wampum cuff below it. Both the man and woman wear wampum cuffs, described by Lafitau as a "Bracelet of wampum worked in little cylinders."



strategies of extending kinship, building and maintaining a shared identity, still work under these circumstances?

## Maintaining a Middle Ground

One of the most difficult aspects of understanding these years is that any kind of accurate Native perspective is elusive at best. For example, how did the Onondaga view the treaties of 1701 and what they meant? Most historians use the Covenant Chain to explain Five Nations' policies and motivations in the early eighteenth century. I prefer to use the Tree of Peace as the metaphor for unity, strength, and proper living, since this is the term they used. Historian Gilles Havard shows how fundamental the Tree of Peace was at the Montréal Conference of September 1701. As Aouenano, a Seneca chief and the delegation's speaker, proclaimed,

Here we are assembled, our father, as you wished. You planted last year a tree of peace and you gave it roots and leaves so that we would be sheltered there. We now hope that everyone hears what you say, that no one will touch that tree, for we assure you, by these four collars [belts], that we will comply with everything you have arranged.

For the Five Nations in general, and Onondaga in particular, the Tree of Peace meant even more. It had "deep roots so that it could never be uprooted." The weapons of war were buried beneath it where they could not be found. Its branches and leaves, which rose "to the heavens," provided shade and protection where people could be refreshed and "sheltered from any storms that might threaten them." This is where people could gather to talk and "do good business," where discussions were held, and decisions made. The roots of the tree extended out in the four cardinal directions connecting kin, friends, and neighbors. Implicit was, wherever else a Tree of Peace was planted, the one that mattered most was in Onondaga (4).

Compared with previous decades there is less information on Indian people in the historical documents from the early part of the eighteenth century. While the record is full of the imperial maneuvering by Europeans, it is difficult to see the dynamics of what was happening in Onondaga. Although there are general references to factions, there are few specific observations. During the first decade of the new century, it appears the English and French had lost interest in the internal politics that continued to take place within the Five Nations. What mattered to Europeans was adherence to imperial policy. Aside from their allegiance, their souls, and their land, Europeans had little interest in the people themselves (**5**). Because of this lack of information, some historians have suggested that the policies of the League did not even begin to stabilize until after ca. 1710. In reality, the policies of balance were in play all along (**6**).

# Into a New Century



**Figure 12.2.** Late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century depictions of Native people by Native people—

(a) drawing of an antler comb incised with a pictograph of a large head with headdress and tattoos, two animals, and a hocker figure, Seneca Snyder-McClure site,

(b) a powder measure made from a modified deerphalangeal-bone cone incised with a pictograph of a large head with headdress and tattoos, along with two sets of incised lines on the obverse and two opposing sets of triangles with an incised rectangle between them on the reverse, Onondaga,

(c) facial tattoos of a Seneca man, drawing by Evert Wendell, ca. 1706.

Who made the decisions that guided Onondaga through these difficult years? One way to get a sense of this is by following those Onondaga leaders who were named in the documents and the choices they made. There still appear to have been three groups those who favored the French, those who favored the English, and those who sought to maintain a balance between them. Although the members of the third group are usually described as neutrals, they are better described as pragmatists, who believed it did not serve Onondaga interests to ally too closely with either the French or the English.

Among the Onondaga names mentioned in the early eighteenth century, some are familiar to us because they were in the leadership up to and during the events of 1701. Among those usually identified as pro-French was Ohonsiowanne, or *La Grand Terre*, as he was called by the French. His ties with the French, like those of many Onondaga, stemmed from family connections. Ohonsiowanne's father lived in one of the Praying Towns near Montréal, and he often served as an envoy to Callière and other French officials while visiting him. Ohonsiowanne was the first Onondaga signer of the 1701 Montréal treaty, and two years later was described by Callière's successor, Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, as a "zealous . . . partizan of the French" (7). Why would one choose to be pro-French? In spite



b

C



of all the faults and failures of the French, many Onondaga felt they shared two fundamental values with them. As Catholics, the French understood the essential spiritual quality of life as a personal and direct connection to power beyond our understanding or control, something that might be revealed through a dream or vision. The French also understood the depth of kinship obligations. In contrast, the English seemed to place their trust in paper documents rather than personal commitments. The same was true with their religion, as arid and devoid of spirituality as their contracts, inventories, and treaties. Given a choice between English arrogance and the often overbearing but familial demands of the French, it was no surprise that many Onondaga preferred the latter. Even so, being pro-French did not supersede being Onondaga. Rather, it was thought that Onondaga's best advantage lay with the French.

There were those in the leadership who favored the English. Among the best known was Aqueendaro, who had been an Onondaga chief since the late 1680s. Although his activities are a challenge to reconstruct because he was known by two names, Aqueendaro and Sadegenaktie, his politics were quite clear. He played a major role in Onondaga diplomacy, from his fierce reply to French governor-general Frontenac in February 1695, to serving as one of five Onondaga chiefs who signed over the beaver hunting lands to the English king in July 1701. Between 1700 and 1701, the name Sadegenaktie is listed nearly a dozen times as "speaker for the five nations," while Aqueendaro is mentioned at least three times as "ye Cheiff Sachem of onnondage." Seen as partisan for the English, he refused a summons from Callière in July 1702 until he had heard from the English "captain-general and governor-in-chief," Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury. Why choose the English? For more than 50 years, the French had tried to undermine Onondaga values and beliefs and to dominate them militarily. Whatever their flaws, the English were a necessary counterweight to the French. There were also positive reasons. The English had more material goods, even if they were stingy with them. Good relations with the English also meant better relations with the Mohawk, who lived almost completely in the shadow of their English neighbors. Finally, Aqueendaro and some others thought they could outsmart the English and use them to their advantage, as opposed to the French, who were more difficult to manipulate (8).

In between were those who sought to maintain a balance between French and English interests. Although often described as "Neutral," this is too passive a term, as mentioned earlier. These were dangerous times to be neutral. It took a tough and decisive person to be sure that Onondaga, or the Five Nations, did not become too beholden to either the French or the English. There were several in the Onondaga leadership who fulfilled this role (9). The best known before 1701 and after was Tegannisoren. If anyone exemplified the politics of balance, he was the one. From the first time he appears in the documents, as "one of the principal Onondaga war



chiefs" addressing Frontenac in September 1682, he was the "man with two arms and two hands, one for peace and another for war." More than 30 years later the message had not changed. In October 1703, when in Canada to condole Callière's death and to ask for assurance that the 1701 peace agreement be honored, the French observed, "He comes to exhort the French, as he has done the English, not to break this general peace." It was always about balance, and not becoming either the "chickens" of the French or the "doggs" of the English (10).

Just as the Onondaga struggled to understand the real intent behind European diplomatic rhetoric, there were aspects of Onondaga leadership that the French and English never quite grasped. One has already been mentioned. While Native leaders had the authority to speak, they did not have the power to enforce. Another was the collaborative nature of leadership, not a trait encouraged in imperial systems. It is not clear what Europeans thought of the frequent changes in who represented Onondaga at meetings or served as speaker at conferences. For the Onondaga, however, this was an essential part of establishing and maintaining balance. Different faces could address different issues more effectively, as in the signing of the treaties of 1701. Aqueendaro presided in Albany, while Ohonsiowanne signed in Montréal. Tegannisoren was present at neither. Over the next decade or more, alternating the visible Native leadership would remain an important component in maintaining balance.

How successfully did the Onondaga leadership, as represented by these individuals, navigate the treacherous years when Onondaga was located at the Jamesville site? How well did they maintain a middle ground between the French and the English? Was their hard-won sense of sovereignty real or an illusion? How long would they be able to keep control over their people, their land, and their own affairs?

#### The View from Onondaga

As Callière had predicted, war between France and England was declared in April 1702. It became known as the War of Spanish Succession in Europe, and since King William III had died the month before this conflict, it was called Queen Anne's War in the colonies, after his successor. With the Five Nations having agreed to remain neutral at the Montréal treaty of 1701, Callière shifted his focus to preparing "Projects against New England," or more specifically, plans that could "easily conquer and ruin New England." At the same time, Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, a well-known soldier and older brother of Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, wrote in his memoirs an equally visionary set of plans for taking Boston. In the English colonies, New York received Cornbury, a trained soldier and royalist, as its new governor-general. Soon after his arrival, Cornbury visited Albany to inspect its fort and ordered the stockade to be rebuilt in stone. D'Iberville also met with several Indian delegations. Technically, the Five Nations were at peace, content to "smoke in quietness on their mats without taking



**Figure 12.3.** Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardillières. Painting by an unknown artist.

**Figure 12.4.** The new governor-general of New France, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil. Painting by Henri Beau, 1923.



sides," but practically they were about to be drawn into Europe's imperial struggles once again.

The effects of the war were quickly felt in Onondaga. During the summer of 1702, Callière sent Fr. Jacques de Lamberville to Onondaga with a lay brother and a smith to encourage the French faction. Jacques was the brother of Jean de Lamberville, who had lived among the Onondaga from 1671 until 1687. With the assistance of Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, who was in Onondaga when Jacques arrived, a dwelling and chapel were soon completed. Maricourt reported back to Callière that the French were "very well received by all the Indians of that village, except those of Tegannisoren's family which is greatly devoted to the English." So began the relentless tug of war for influence that would dominate Onondaga for the rest of the decade (11).

Callière's death in May 1703 presented a challenge in the French struggle for dominance in Onondaga. Tegannisoren and Ohonsiowanne were part of a delegation that went to Québec that October. Whatever their respective preferences, the Onondaga leaders were there to condole the loss of Callière and get assurance from the new governor-general, Vaudreuil, that the treaty commitment to peace would be honored. It was so in terms of the Five Nations and New York, but New England was a different story. Other plans had already been made, and in February 1704 French militia and their Indian allies attacked Deerfield, Massachusetts. This and other attacks on the Maine settlements were apparently meant to reignite the border warfare, and try to "ensnarl members of the Five Nations in the conflict" between France and England again (12).



As cross-border hostilities began again, Onondaga was often the place where European agents clashed. In addition to Jacques de Lamberville and his assistants, the French had a powerful advocate in Maricourt. While his death in 1704 was a blow to French interests, he soon was replaced by his oldest brother, Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, an even tougher and more experienced veteran. Between fears that Albany would be the next Deerfield and French plotting in Onondaga, the English decided they needed a resident agent as well. Their choice was Lawrence Claessen van der Volgen. As an interpreter Claessen was a good choice, although he spoke little English, having been raised Dutch. As an agent, however, he was not. While he understood Iroquoian rhetorical and gift-giving protocols, he had no adoptive kin in Onondaga and therefore little understanding of what was taking place. His first report was worrying. In May 1704 Claessen wrote that a party of 23 Frenchmen and a second Jesuit, Fr. François Vaillant, had arrived in Onondaga to condole Maricourt's death, and had brought many "admirable" presents. This was one of several attempts by the French to use a meeting at Onondaga to strengthen their influence with the Five Nations. In response to such moves by the French, Onondaga leadership often requested that "quider [Col. Peter Schuyler] will make all hast to bee there forthwith." This invitation was to ensure that English interests balanced those of the French (13).

In Europe events took a decisive turn in August 1704, when English forces defeated the French at Blenheim, establishing English military superiority on the Continent. In Onondaga, however, little had changed. The atmosphere remained tense with both French and English agents in residence. In November, a confrontation occurred between Schuyler and French agent Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire and Father Vaillant, but "each having managed his friends, nothing was decided." In his November report to the Board of Trade, English governor-general Cornbury pleaded for munitions and presents for the Indians and observed, "till Canada is reduced, we shall never be able to keep the Indians steady without presents" (14).

The following year brought more problems for Onondaga efforts to maintain a peaceful balance. In May 1705 the Seneca warned that the French had encouraged "4 Nations of the farr Indians" to take up the hatchet against the Five Nations, a pressure tactic they had used for more than 30 years. On the other hand, a June delegation from the Praying Town of Caughnawaga (La Sault or La Prairie) arrived in Albany and offered "strings of Wampum to wipe away all Blood which hath been shed by them." Perhaps there was still an opportunity to keep the peace. That August another Five Nations' delegation met with Vaudreuil in Montréal, requesting he abide by the 1701 agreement to raise the Tree of Peace "so high that it would pierce the heavens," and specifically not to involve "our brothers of the Sault [La Prairie] and the Mountain" in hostilities with New England. Vaudreuil replied he never promised that, only that he would not turn his "hatchet" toward Albany, nor toward Manhattan (15).

Throughout 1706 the situation remained much the same. Both the French and English agents based in Onondaga circulated throughout the Upper Four Nations, pressing their case. In addition to Joncaire and Vaillant, Vaudreuil sent another Jesuit, Pierre de Mareuil, to Onondaga. Meanwhile, Claessen tried to disentangle the various reports of skirmishes between the Five Nations and various Farr Indians from the Great Lakes area. The Onondaga, too, were trying to understand where things stood. In August 1706 they reported to the commissioners in Albany that, yes, as a sovereign people they did inform the French of their affairs and ask their advice, just as they did for the English. Apparently, this was not the right answer, since when they requested the commissioners have a representative at the upcoming League council meeting in Onondaga, none was sent (**16**).

Some 50 years later, when England's Indian secretary, Peter Wraxall, compiled his abridgment of the commission's records for 1678 to 1751, he observed that the Five Nations constantly made three requests. First was to have "a Prudent & Capable Person who understands their Language & invested with proper Powers from the government . . . reside at Onondago, the Place of their Grand assemblys." Second was to have a smith "with proper Tools, good Steel & Iron" reside at Onondago. And third, was that powder and shot be kept at prices they could afford. To Wraxall, these seemed like reasonable requests from a valuable ally, and he concluded the lack of response, "seems to evince . . . that they were neglected" and that this seemed very impolitic on the government's part. The Onondaga leadership certainly would have concurred (17).

Things were no more satisfactory the following year. According to reports, the French Jesuits at Onondaga continued to stir up the Five Nations against the Farr Indians over the winter and spring to keep them from coming to Albany to trade. The English were distracted by events at home. In May 1707 England became Great Britain by the Treaty of Union with Scotland and Ireland. Back in Albany at the Indian conference in June 1707, the British continued to warn the Five Nations that sending their men off to fight the Farr Indians in the Great Lakes or the Indians at the "back of Carolina" was just a French device to make them vulnerable (18). On the positive side, an Indian trader of mixed descent named Montour had come over from the French and brought several of the Farr Indians with him to Albany. Given this confused state of affairs and the need for some guidance from the British, the Five Nations asked for a meeting with Cornbury in July 1707. The governor-general replied that the queen's service had called him elsewhere, and that he would see them in September. Annoyed, they told the commissioners they could not wait that long. They had been told to keep the British informed and they needed advice on two issues they could not prevail upon the Praying Indians to stop fighting in New England, since Vaudreuil "would not accept . . . the Mediation of the Five Nations between him & New England," and also, if Cornbury wanted to prevent their young warriors from going south to war, then he must



"send a fit Person with Belts of Wampum to each of the 5 Nations." The commissioners replied that they would pass these messages along (19).

In September 1707, Cornbury finally found time to meet with the Five Nations in Albany. Meanwhile, more issues had come up. The Five Nations had been approached by Shawnee people who lived "toward Maryland," who asked to come settle among them in New York and live under their protection. To confirm this request, the Five Nations presented the governor-general with a belt from those Indians. In addition, while Cornbury finally had met with the Five Nations to renew the Covenant Chain with them and the people of New York, the people of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania had not done so. As Queen Anne's representative for North America, the Five Nations asked if he could request that his British neighbors fulfill their responsibilities, just as the Five Nations were fulfilling theirs.

For once, Cornbury's reply seemed satisfactory. He approved of "those Indians who are desirous of settling under their Protection," as long as they "behave themselves with that Duty & Obedience to this Government." He also agreed to consult with the other British colonies. Perhaps the British did intend to treat the Five Nations as equals after all. Later that fall, Claessen reported there were still a great number of warriors out fighting the Catawba in the Carolinas, and he renewed the Five Nations' request to Cornbury to send belts to each nation if he wanted those hostilities to end (20).

While the British had little interest in the complexities of intertribal affairs, the Five Nations had concerns in all directions. To the east, their Praying Indian kin and the Abenaki continued to ignore the 1701 peace agreement and attacked New England. To the west, French agents stirred up old animosities, causing some groups to take up the hatchet against the Five Nations, while others negotiated for trade and peace. To the south, while their efforts to extend the Tree of Peace to the Conestoga and other mixed communities had been successful, the neighboring English colonies expressed concern over the Five Nations' intentions. While 1707 seemed to end quietly, it was unclear what the coming year would bring.

Initially, things got off to a good start. In January 1708 Five Nations' representatives informed Cornbury that a group of western Indians living near Niagara "desired they might be in all respects united with the 5 Nations. This was accepted by the 5 Nations & the proposed Union ratified with all the Solemnities usual amongst the Indians." Once again, as they had promised, the Five Nations informed the British when they invited a new nation to sit beneath the Tree of Peace. There was more good news in May when five Praying Indians from Caughnawaga came to Albany "in consequence of a belt . . . sent to them from this government" and offered to "bury the Hatchet," because they "desire to have Goods Cheap & a good

price for their Bever." Not surprisingly, the commissioners agreed, since they were in large part the traders (21).

Back in Onondaga, the situation was not so good. All spring, French and British agents tried to sabotage each other by stealing and hiding each other's blacksmithing tools. More serious was news that Claessen brought to Albany in late May. The Onondaga had learned that the French planned to build "Two Forts & post Garrisons therein." One was proposed for La Galette on the St. Lawrence at the mouth of the Oswegatchie River, a location the Onondaga considered theirs. The other was proposed at Niagara, which was in Seneca territory. By giving the governor-general timely notice, the Five Nations hoped the British would prevent this from happening. In admonition, the Onondaga pointed out that the Jesuit in Onondaga, Jacques Lamberville, had a "Considerable Store of Goods, which he daily distributes to the Indians to gain their affection," and he wondered if Cornbury had even heard their requests, "since they have been so long slighted & no care taken of the Covenant." This time, even the commissioners were concerned and informed the governor-general, "We cannot but acquaint your Excellency that we find the Five Nations very cool in their Fidelity & truly no Wonder since the French are daily with them." Apparently, there was no written reply (22).

In July 1708 an annoyed Cornbury summoned Tegannisoren, "a cheif Sachem of Onondaga," and demanded to know why all the chiefs of the Five Nations had not arrived in Albany. He had waited several days, and now the queen's affairs required him to return to New York. Tegannisoren thanked Cornbury for his patience, but noted that the matter was serious. If the French built a fort at Niagara, the Five Nations would be as good as "gone & dead and . . . expect it to be your turn next," he warned the governor-general. He concluded that they were one people, "One Heart, One Head, One Flesh, One Blood," with the British, and the Five Nations needed their help to stop the French. In reply, Cornbury said he was "sorry the Indians had neglected meeting him at the appointed time." Undeterred, Tegannisoren replied that in the past when the French had threatened the Seneca and Onondaga, they had never gotten any assistance from their British brothers and hoped "that better care may be taken in the future" (23).

When the rest of the Five Nations' delegation finally arrived in Albany in early August, they found Governor-General Cornbury gone. The result was a less than satisfying meeting with the commissioners. It was not only the governor-generals's patience that was wearing thin, as the propositions from the apparently irritated Five Nations speaker made clear. Last winter when Cornbury sent a message to not go south to fight the Flatheads (Catawba) and Cherokee, he only sent along hanks of wampum,



but . . . you ought to have sent Belts, not hanks of Wampum, and you ought not to have sent it by a common Messenger but by one of your own Body. Such Proceedings look as if you were not very eager to have Requests complied with—however we have done it & remained home.

Left unsaid was that the French had no trouble following the proper protocol. Tegannisoren continued, saying that they were told not to disturb the Indians who live near Maryland, even though they had made arrangements five years ago to make "Everlasting Peace" with them. All their requests to Cornbury had proved futile. Tegannisorens concluded that by waiting for the British, "We are become Poor therefore desire you will order our Guns & Axes to be mended." Once again, the commissioners replied they would pass these important messages along. Either Cornbury did not understand what was at stake, or he did not care. He reported to the Board of Trade on August 20 that Tegannisoren, chief of the Onondaga, and a chief of the Oneida bid him welcome. However, he wrote "That they had no business [of consequence], but came only to Trade" (24).

In September the Five Nations came to Albany again for a scheduled conference with Cornbury. Once more, "The Queens Affairs oblige him to remain at New York," and Peter Schuyler had to cover with a speech and presents at another unsatisfactory meeting. In their replies, the Five Nations speakers asked Schuyler why they had not received answers to the serious issues they had raised. For example, they had suggested Albany be "a fixt Place . . . for the Bretheren of New England, Maryland & Virginia to meet" with them. Had "the government . . . taken no notice" of their request? Unfortunately, Schuyler was in no position to answer and everyone went away unhappy. Later that fall, Schuyler tried to appease the Five Nations with generous presents—

fifty pieces of cloth, half scarlet and half Iroquois (*estoffe à l'Iroquoise*), fifty guns, ten barrels of powder, some lead, three hundred shirts, one hundred and sixty kegs of rum, being two quarts per man, ten bundles of stockings, three hundred hatchets, and three hundred knives.

Meanwhile, rumors of British treachery swirled through Indian country. Then in December 1708, Cornbury was recalled to England, and Sir John Lovelace was appointed to take his place as governor-general (25).

#### **Pushing and Shoving**

In the eight years since the peace treaties of 1701 had been signed, things had muddled along. French and British colonial administrators may not have treated Five Nations' delegations with the courtesy they expected, but no serious breaches had occurred. While the Europeans may not have recognized Five Nations' sovereignty, the Indians had been able to act in an autonomous manner. They had continued their own diplomatic initiatives, extending the Tree of Peace in several directions. There had been hostilities,

some serious, but not at the scale that had ravaged the countryside during the 1690s. This was about to change. One of the first indications of Queen Anne's policy was an order for the new governor-general to plan an attack on Canada in 1709.

It was a volatile situation that greeted Governor-General Lovelace. As Claessen informed him in March 1709, the French had agents everywhere and had spread rumors that the British secretly planned to "Cut Off the 5 Nations" and take their land, and that was the real reason why powder and lead were so scarce. The result was "a great Confusion," especially among the Seneca, many of who felt they might have to abandon their homeland. Not all the news was dire. In April the Five Nations informed

the commissioners that a group of Ottawa, once again, were coming to Onondaga to conclude a peace. This was the result of long negotiations, and would the governor please send "some fit Person" and proper presents to mark the occasion? Before Lovelace could organize a proper response, he died in May 1709, leaving Peter Schuyler as the acting governor (26).

Under Cornbury and Schuyler, the British had been slow and dismissive toward the Five Nations, while the French agents Joncaire and Longueuil were active, aggressive, and completely ruthless when necessary. Two days after Lovelace's death, word reached Albany that Joncaire had publicly murdered Montour to discourage the Farr Indians from establishing relationships with Albany. The year before, the English had induced a young Onondaga to kill a French deserter from Detroit. Canada's governorgeneral Vaudreuil had accepted apologies from the chiefs for this act since for the

**Figure 12.5.** Acting governor of New York, Peter Schuyler. Painting by Nehemiah Partridge, 1710.





French, Onondaga was the key to success in dealing with the Five Nations. Vaudreuil had reported the year before to Pontchartrain, Louis XIV's chancellor –

I direct all my attention to the due cultivation of Neutrality with them. For that purpose I employ every year Sieur de Joncaire, who, having all possible influence among the Senecas and a great deal at Onnontagué, is of great assistance in counterbalancing the British part, which does not fail to be considerable principally at Onnontagué.

If the British wanted to succeed in North America, they would have to be equally decisive. Onondaga would be the stage on which events frequently played out (27).

Schuyler understood this and was quick to respond. As acting governor, he sent his brother Abraham and a force of men to Onondaga, where they had a long conversation with the two resident Jesuits, Jacques de Lamberville and Pierre de Mareuil. Abraham Schuyler persuaded Lamberville to return to Montréal to report that the British had called the Indians to war against the French. Meanwhile, Mareuil was escorted to Albany "for his own safety." Before leaving, Schuyler's party made sure that the French chapel and dwelling were properly pillaged and then burned. The French were not pleased. As Joncaire alerted his fellow soldiers in June, "The Rev<sup>d</sup> Father de Lamberville has placed us in a terrible state of embarrassment by his flight" from Onondaga. These were only the warm-up rounds, however. The serious action was planned for that summer with the invasion of Canada under the direction of the British lieutenant-general, Sir Francis Nicholson (**28**).

While the British organized, the Onondaga agonized. What should they do? Not surprisingly, they tried to remain non-aligned. In June 1709, four Onondaga chiefs, including Carachkondie and Tegannisoren, had authorized belts to be sent to the two mission towns near Montréal to warn them of the pending invasion and suggest that the Praying Indians "should Return to the land of their ancestors, where they had been born." It was never too late to reach out to kin. As Claessen reported back to the commissioners, the "Indians are divided there as well as among ye 5 nations, ye one half is for ye English & ye our half for ye French." As Schuyler organized his forces, the Onondaga leadership stalled for time. At the July Indian conference, the newly appointed English governor-general, Richard Ingolsby, presented the plans for "Reducing Canada, whyou have So much Long'd for" After the speeches, orders were given to bring out the presents, but the chief sachem of the Onondaga, Aqueendaro, asked that this be deferred until the next day. It would not do for everyone to become too excited or drunk. In the end, the Five Nations contributed 443 warriors to the expedition, with the smallest number coming from Onondaga. The Seneca did not participate at all (29).



**Figure 12.6.** "Four Indian Kings." Mezzotint by John Simon, after paintings by Jan Verelst, ca. 1710.

Like its predecessor in 1690, this attempt to invade Canada proved a fiasco. The 1709 plan was the design of the solder and trader Samuel Vetch, who had received approval directly from Queen Anne to conquer New France. In April Nicholson's troops marched north to Lake Champlain, ready to attack Montréal, while Vetch waited in Boston until October for word of the British fleet coming to support their attack on Québec—word that, like the fleet, never arrived. The failure of this venture only intensified the desire to break the status quo and achieve some sort of decisive resolution over who controlled eastern North America. On the British side, Schuyler and Nicholson were confident that their plan would have worked with proper support. They were prepared to travel to England with four Natives, who would

become known as the "four Indian Kings," to solicit the queen's help to try again. For the French, the failure of the "Canadian Expedition" was a gift, the best thing for strengthening their own position with Indian people. The Onondaga were left hanging, especially those who had urged support for the British (30).

Once again, the jockeying for advantage began. Over the winter of 1709– 1710, Vaudreuil reported the Onondaga had sent deputies to solicit his friendship and organize an exchange of prisoners. Meanwhile, the British agent Claessen sent word in May that after considerable discussion the Five Nations had made an important decision. They now desired Queen Anne to "take possession of their Land at Onondaga with such officers &



Men as are willing to stay & build a Fort there . . . to the end the French may be kept out." With repeated French attempts to build in Onondaga, Bellomont's idea from a decade earlier, to build a fort in Onondaga, now made sense. Finally, the chiefs gave notice of a "general Meeting to be held at Onondaga" with an Ottawa delegation in June 1710 and asked for proper English representation. This time, a small delegation was sent to Onondaga, along with a blacksmith William Printup (**31**).

All started out well. The British representatives were properly met outside the town and welcomed. When they were admitted to the League council, they found three Ottawa "singing the Song of Joy" with "long Stone Pipes in their hands . . . hung with Feathers as big as Eagles Wings," which were smoked in "Token of Friendship." With the British there to witness, the Seneca delegates then addressed the assembly and invited the Ottawa to "Go with us to your Brother Corlaer, The Door stands open for you." The next day, the Ottawa replied, "You have taken us into your Covenant Chain . . . We accept the Peace in the Manner you have offered it." On June 10, with the formalities over, the whole assembly met and spoke to the Ottawa, "You have given us your Heart & we promise to . . . lay it next to our Own. Leave your Country and come live near us" (32).

On the surface everything seemed fine, but two events hinted at the problems that lay just beneath. On the evening of June 6, several Indians who opposed peace with the Ottawa got into the rum. When the British asked the chiefs to put the rum away lest it cause a disturbance, they got an earful in return. As Claessen reported,

They replied it was our own fault. They had so often desired that Rum might not be sold to the Indians, that the Bevers they had given to enforce this request . . . would almost reach to the Clouds . . . Our Young Indians are ungovernable when they get Drunk . . . [and] we again beg you . . . that no Rum may be hereafter sold upon any Account.

Rum was as serious a threat as the French. When would the British finally understand that?

The other issue facing the Five Nations highlighted the problem of maintaining a balance internally, within the League, and externally, with the French and the British. After most of the business was done and peace with the Ottawa ratified, the Seneca asked to address the whole assembly –

It is reported of us that we are inclined to the French, but what would you have us do. If we keep not ourselves Neuter, the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada [will] destroy us, & assistance [from the British] as you well know we cannot get . . . If there is anything to be done for the general Good are we not always ready to do our utmost?

To this plaintive request, the Onondaga replied that the situation was indeed difficult and that was why they must meet and "Weigh all Matters for the general Good." It had never been easy to balance the needs of the Eastern and Western Doors, and it certainly was not now. Otherwise, things appeared to have gone well. The Onondaga leadership had helped to broker an agreement with the Seneca and Ottawa that extended the Tree of Peace beyond the Western Door. Furthermore, they had done this with the consent of the British. Perhaps the Five Nations would finally achieve the recognition they had earned as a sovereign people and faithful ally of the British (33).

In June 1710 Robert Hunter had arrived to be the new governor-general of New York and New Jersey. He was a Scot and a career soldier who came with extensive instructions for getting the colony back in order. He was ordered to encourage the Five Nations to renew their "Submission to our Government," but to abandon plans for a fort in Onondaga, since the priority was to repair the fortifications in Albany and Schenectady. There was a spirit of renewed camaraderie when the Five Nations and Hunter met for the first time in Albany that August. In their opening statement,



**Figure 12.7.** Governor-general of New York and New Jersey, Robert Hunter. Painting attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller, ca. 1720.

the Five Nations welcomed the new governor. Acting as speaker, the Onondaga chief Carachkondie set the tone—"We are glad . . . that we See one another's face in Peace" since there were important issues to discuss. Hunter's reply was equally gracious. He was there "to renew the Covenant Chain, on behalf of all Majesty's subjects on the north continent of America" (34).

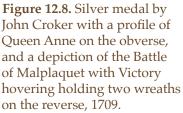
With the formalities over, it was down to business on August 16. Of the many issues to discuss, the first was the threat made by the "French of Canada . . . to draw you off from you[r] fidelity to her Majesty and raise divisions among you." Hunter especially wanted to know how the Five Nations had replied to Vaudreuil's demands, and why Claessen was not always informed of their answer. And he had a few demands of his own—they must not receive any more French priests or emissaries, they must not fight against the Flatheads (Catawba) to



the south, and they should continue to encourage alliances among the Farr Nations to the west, giving them free passage to Albany.

Hunter also had "exciting news to share." The queen's armies had "year after year, routed all his [Louis XIV's] forces." The queen would send troops to North America to act against the French, so that the Five Nations and the British could now "joyn our forces together." Then Hunter asked if the Five Nations would be willing to receive Anglican missionaries and to have "a Garrisons Planted in one or more of your Castles . . . for your defence and Protection." This was a disingenuous request in terms of Onondaga, since Hunter's instruction specifically told him to abandon such a project there. Finally, he told them that in token of her affection and protection Queen Anne had sent "a medall for each Nation with her Royall effigie on one side, & the last gain'd battle on y<sup>e</sup> other . . . [to] be kept in your respective Castles for ever." Finally, there were the expected presents of guns, powder, blankets, knives, hatchets and tobacco (35).





The Five Nations did not reply until three days later, when Onondaga Aqueendaro spoke in his most agreeable manner. He began with compliments of how glad the Five Nations were that the queen had appointed Hunter, a man of good character and "a good Soldier to be Gov<sup>r</sup> over y<sup>e</sup> Christians and the Indians in this Country," who had called the "5 Nations together to renew the Covenant Chain which . . . we renew most solemnly." Yes, they would let the Farr Indians through to trade, and no, they would not continue to fight against the Flatheads. Yes, they were very thankful for the offer of missionaries and "a garrison of Soldiers planted in each of our Castles," and frankly the sooner the better. Yes, some of their people had been in England and thanked the Queen for her pledge of protection. He ended with one small request. Could the governor "intercede with her majesty that goods may be cheaper and Bever dearer." At present, they got so little for them that it was hardly worth hunting (**36**).

After another few days of wrangling and side meetings, the conference ended with apparent success. The problem was that the serious issue of French intervention in Onondaga had not been addressed. Claessen later reported that in July 1710, Joncaire, Longueuil, and 10 other Frenchmen had discouraged the Onondaga and Oneida chiefs from participating in any British invasion. Their message had been blunt. The Frenchmen forbade,

y<sup>e</sup> five nations to joyn with them [British] upon any account whatsoever, and if you do, we will not only come ourselves but sett the farr nations upon you to destroy you your wifes and Children Root & Branch, . . . you must not assist y<sup>e</sup> English upon any account, if you do we tell you plainly we must destroy you.

This was a serious threat, and from people quite capable of carrying it out. For Onondaga, the problem was how to respond. Claessen could only report what he saw, since he had no kin to tell him the subtleties of what was going on. What he observed was that the leadership was divided, but those favoring the French had made the reply. He was told what to pass on to his masters, the British. First was that unless the selling of rum to the Indians was absolutely forbidden, it would be impossible for them to "live in peace in their Castles, [and] they will be necessitated to separate themselves & break up and be no more a nation, and all of the 5 nations are of the same opinion." Second, they hoped the British would build a Fort and Garrison it to prevent all the French intrigues. Little did they know that Hunter had already been instructed to abandon such a project. Finally, they again asked to have resident blacksmiths (**37**).

Although the August meeting with Hunter had been a success, it also raised some new problems. In his opening remarks, Hunter mentioned that the queen was so pleased with New York that she had sent "a great number of people with me to settle here." Where were these people going to live? The day after the conference, a Mohawk delegation expressed their unhappiness about being pressured to give up the land they called "Schohere" (Schoharie). Hunter replied they had already signed a deed for the land and chastised the Mohawk for trying to back out of the deal. Although they finally consented to give up the land, the Mohawk continued to complain that there had been underhanded dealings (38). Further offstage, things were even less agreeable than they appeared. The issue of Five Nations' sovereignty had been resolved as far as the British were concerned. Back in June 1709, as plans for the Canadian Expedition got underway, Queen Anne had received a report from the Board of Trade assuring her of their "Right of Sovereignty over the Five Nations." In the British view, the Five Nations might be useful as allies, they might even be Brothers, but they certainly were not a sovereign people (39).

Meanwhile, Onondaga had pressing issues from other directions.



Always attuned to matters in the south, Tegannisoren led a Five Nations' delegation to meet with Pennsylvania and Conestoga leaders in July 1710. The purpose was to discuss the possible resettlement of the Tuscarora "under the Confederacy's protection in the Susquehanna watershed." Things also were in flux to the west. Although one group of Ottawa had concluded a peace agreement with the Five Nations in June, other groups remained allied with the French and continued to be deeply hostile. In October near Montréal, the struggle for the Praying Indians continued with messengers returning to Hunter. He had asked them to lay down the hatchet against New England. Surprisingly, they had agreed and sent back a belt "as a Sanction of their Sincerity." Meanwhile, Vaudreuil assured Pontchartrain, back in France, that his agents remained active in Onondaga since the "Newly arrived governor at Menathe [Manhattan]... is . . . desirous to induce the Iroquois to wage war against us." There were ample grounds for paranoia on all sides. With discontent and rumors still circulating in the aftermath of the failed expedition, colonial officials were concerned that the Five Nations might be involved in some grand uprising of Indian people throughout the mid-Atlantic against the British. As the year ended, Lawrence Claessen was sent back to Onondaga once more to keep an eye on the French and the Onondaga (40).

#### Another Attempt to Invade Canada

If 1710 had been a year of preparation, 1711 looked to be the time when decisive events would finally take place. They did, although not in the expected manner. On January 24, a Five Nations' delegation reported to the Albany commissioners that as they had promised Hunter, they "had sent some chosen Men" to Caughnawaga "to endeavor to prevail on those Indians to return to their Native Country to live." They also had some shocking news that the Ottawa had murdered several of their people. Although the French certainly instigated it, they were determined "to take Revenge & are going out to War against them." With this happening, they really needed a smith at Onondaga and ammunition from the British. The commissioners quickly replied that it was good work on trying to bring the Praying Indians back, but that the Onondaga ought to hold off on going to fight the Ottawa. Another invasion was planned, and "once Canada was destroyed the Ottawa would fall an easy prey to them." In terms of the smith, sorry, perhaps they could go next door to the Oneida for the needed repairs? (**41**).

By April 1711 the situation was once again critical. The commissioners received an emergency dispatch from Claessen saying, "A French Interpreter [Longueuil] with an Officer & 30 Men are arrived at Onondaga." In response, the pro-British faction in Onondaga urgently requested that Peter Schuyler come immediately. Now 54, and undoubtedly weary of travelling between Albany and Onondaga, Schuyler received his instructions from Hunter and headed west. Stopping in one of the Mohawk towns, Schuyler learned more details, and they were not

good. He wrote to Hunter that the French "are bussy building a house of Planks," and "they are designd to stay there about 2 months or Longer." The Indians were making a house for Longueuil "in the midle of their Castle . . . to live in it when he comes there at any time" (42).

About the same time Schuyler reached Onondaga, Claessen returned to Albany with the details of what Longueuil had proposed in April to the Five Nations at Onondaga. This was the French at their most dangerous, cajoling rather than threatening, and using all the leverage that protocol and years of experience had taught them. Longueuil had laid out seven propositions, each with an appropriate wampum belt—

#### Children

I do condole the death of your old & young men women & Children, who dy'd Since I was here Last, and gave a Large belt of wampum to wipe of their tears,

#### Children

Yow have been Last year in Canada with our Gov<sup>r</sup> and told him at that time, that, he should not hearken nor give Credit to any Storries or false news w<sup>h</sup> might be brought there of you by any one, but that you would Live in peace with him gave a belt of wampum –

#### Children

I hope that y<sup>e</sup> will keep this your promise & Covenant inviolable w<sup>h</sup> you made with the gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada, gave a Large blak belt of wampum –

#### Children

I do warn yow not to take ye Hatchet in hand from Corlaer, [Governor-General Hunter] on any Expedition ag<sup>st</sup> us, . . . it is best that wee remain good friends as wee are now, . . . therefore I warn you to Stay at home and Assist no body, gave a belt of wampum –

#### Children

I Desire that the young men shall be Obedient and do what the old Sachims shall order them for that is the Safety & Security of yourselfs & Country gave a Large blake Belt of wampum –

#### Children

meaning the Squas, that they should give good advice to the young men & their husbands, that they stay at home & not go out to warr, and be obedient to y<sup>r</sup> Sachims give a belt of wampum –

#### Children

I desire that two Sachims of Each nations shall go with me to Canada five days hence . . . all nations of my Indians are expected there now, . . . we shall keep a Gen<sup>11</sup> Land meeting, and then you shall see whose fault it is the farr Indians Kill Every year your People, gave a great belt of wampum –



In closing, Claessen noted that Longueuil had made a present of about  $\pounds 600$  worth of ammunition and had built a 30-foot long blockhouse to be manned by some 24 soldiers and officers (43).

Beneath all the diplomatic rhetoric, Longueuil had upped the stakes considerably. Building a blockhouse in Onondaga was a provocative act and Schuyler's response would be critical. Here was an opportunity to break the cycle of escalating hostilities by negotiating directly with the French. Longueuil had withdrawn to nearby Gannentaha, the fishing site at the head of Onondaga Lake, and he waited to see what Schuyler would do.

Schuyler arrived at the main Onondaga town that evening and was pleased to be received in a friendly manner by the chiefs. The next day he was invited to hear from the assembled Five Nations. Following council protocol, the speaker put forth their concerns. The evil news they heard was that the governors of New York and of Canada had made an agreement to destroy the Five Nations in order to get their land. They said that they did not believe it. However, when they had confronted Longueuil about these plots, he replied the French would never do such a thing, but the British would. Then the speaker asked why was powder so expensive if there was no war imminent?

They repeated to Schuyler all that Longueuil had said. The French had told them, on behalf of all the other nations of Indians in alliance with them, to forgive and forget, to renew their covenant, and to ignore the evil British. In a lengthy address, they were told not to take the "Hatchett in Hand" against the French, since this was a war between them and the British. Let them fight it out. Do not join with the British.

Then the Five Nations speaker presented to Schuyler the reply they had given to Longueuil. They had agreed to not take the hatchet in hand, but had reminded the French that they had been used and attacked by them, which had not so far occurred with the British. They were worried that the French had "some evill design by sending for the Waganhases [Ottawa]," since they were known to be "deceitful and not to be trusted." If Longueuil wanted the Five Nations to stay neutral, then the French must take away the hatchet from the Praying Indians, otherwise they could not expect the Five Nations to sit quietly (44).

Schuyler was invited to reply the following day, and he did so in his usual brusque manner. He thanked them for the notice that the French had arrived, but he reminded them of their promises not to allow any priest or agent from the French to come to them. The rumors they had heard were false, and the British would defend them against any attack from Canada. He refused to leave Onondaga before the house built for Longueuil "be

broke clear down & destroyed," and he offered them the queen's coat of arms as "a token that the French have no jurisdiction in your country." At their next meeting, the Five Nations speaker told Schuyler that when Longueuil had threatened that he "had other naçons [nations] besides the Waganhases [Ottawa] at their command," their chiefs had replied that they, too, had "more nations . . . in Covenant with us." After careful deliberation, the choice of whether or not to destroy Longueuil's blockhouse was left to Schuyler. He immediately ordered his men to tear the house down.

The next day, before Schuyler departed, the Onondaga speakers met with him once more, pointing out that they had cooperated with him, and now they hoped he would do the same for them. They emphasized that merchandize was very expensive, especially powder, and the British must prohibit the sale of rum. Schuyler's reply was brief but telling. He cautioned them, "They must be carefull for the future, and not admit any French into their Castles, much less to erect any buildings." He then "bid them farewell presenting them with one keg of Rum." A keg of powder would have been more appropriate.

Schuyler concluded his report with a postscript –

After I went about 3 or 4 hundred yards, Dekannisore [Tegannisoren] came after me & desired to know the mean<sup>g</sup> of the Queens coat of Arms I told him that that signified her Majesties authority there and that y<sup>e</sup> French ought not be permitted amongst them on any account whatsoever, and so departed from Onnondage to Oneyde.

These entries from Schuyler's journal provide an unusual opportunity to see into the personalities and politics at this critical point in time, the spring of 1711. Between Longueuil's polished guile and Schuyler's blunt, often abrasive tone, the Onondaga once again had to decide where to stand. That choice, as it long had been, was to not take sides and maintain the balance as best they could (45).

The ability to maintain the balance would be sorely tested during the remainder of 1711, but it appears that the Onondaga wasted no time in trying to keep their options open. After informing Schuyler of their intent to stay out of any upcoming hostilities, Tegannisoren sent "three strings of Wampum" to Governor-General Vaudreuil, warning him of the pending British invasion. Meanwhile, Governor-General Hunter began to assemble his forces, confident that he understood the political landscape thanks to Schuyler's timely intervention in Onondaga. The arrival in Albany of six Farr Indians, in response to a belt they had received two years before, pleased Hunter even more. After all, his goal was "to have all their Nations in the same Covenant with him as the 5 Nations." This assurance was only jarred slightly when he met with the Five Nations in June. This time the message was a little-less cordial than it had been the year before.



The unnamed speaker reiterated that the French had been to Onondaga, asked them to stay neutral, and agreed that Christians should fight Christians. As for the Five Nations, they wished to have no war between the British and French, which would result in loss of their people. The queen's coat of arms was no defense. What they needed was gunpowder. They had constantly requested of every governor that goods be sold cheaper and no governor had ever complied. While public presents were very nice, they were "but Trifling." Finally, unless goods, especially powder, were made cheaper, the existence of Onondaga as a nation was seriously threatened, and they would no longer be able to support the British against the French.

If Hunter was taken aback by this directness, his reply did not show it. He understood that the Onondaga decision to meet with him acknowledged the one Covenant Chain, and that they would obey orders from him. He encouraged the display of the queen's coat of arms, and he hoped they would defend it against any who invaded. To help them do so, he gave them "a good Quantity of Powder and Lead." Hunter was sorry that the price of furs was so low while goods were so high. But if they felt cheated he suggested, they could go to the commissioners "to see Justice done."

After the public conference was over, a delegation from four of the Five Nations approached Hunter privately. They confessed that although they had told the French they would stay neutral, "they did so out of Fear, not with Sincerity or Inclination." They assured Hunter they would "follow his orders & keep the Covenant Chain inviolable." Notably, no Onondaga representatives were present (**46**).

As summer progressed, so did the plans for the next British attempt on Canada. In mid-June word reached Albany that Lieutenant-General Nicholson had arrived in Boston with troops and was ready to plan his invasion with Hunter and Schuyler. A week later, a congress took place in New London, Connecticut, to discuss troop strength, supplies, and coordination of the two prongs of the invasion. Interestingly, no mention of the Five Nations occurs in the planning documents, although British agents traveled across the Five Nations to drum up enthusiasm. They brought back the message that Schuyler wanted to hear—the Five Nations joyfully agreed to join them. It is not clear whether they agreed so readily, since the Five Nations only sent 682 warriors, or about one third of their force. An Indian conference in Albany in late August was to be the culminating event, the opportunity to fuel the excitement and launch the land portion of the invasion. In this tense atmosphere, the opening comments from the Five Nations at the conference, presented by Tegannisoren as speaker, were quite cool and focused on serious issues of kinship and authority.

Tegannisoren reminded the British of the French Praying Indians in Canada who were kin. It was hoped they "may be pardoned and received

again as friends." There was the issue of handling prisoners. Would they be given to Indian families who had lost relatives or used in exchange as the Europeans do it? A speedy answer was requested. Now that they had agreed to join together, and the British would have the chief command, they advised that the old warriors knew how to instruct the young soldiers best in the art of war. In conclusion, the Five Nations promised to bring over 600 men, including 98 from Onondaga. Others needed to stay to protect their homes from the French. By the way, they asked, how many Christians were going (47)?

Undeterred, Hunter replied that he was glad to find them ready to march with Nicholson. And look, Nicholson had brought them a nice present (Figure 12.6), "the Pictures of the 4 Indians that were in great Britain last year, . . . to be hung up in the Onnondage Castle the center of the 5 nations where they always meet." One can almost see the Onondaga roll their eyes at this exciting news. To answer their questions, the Praying Indians that would come over to the British would "be received with open arms." Nicholson promised to give to the Five Nations any Indian prisoners taken, and they were to give over the French prisoners to the British. In terms of planning for the expedition, Nicholson was willing to consult with the elders regarding the young Indians. And, as for the number of Christians who would go, he would tell them that the following day. In the meantime, Hunter told them "to hang on the kitle [kettle] of War" and rewarded them with five oxen and five barrels of beer with more presents to come. Finally, as requested, Queen Anne had ordered Hunter and Nicholson to build "Forts, Chappells and House for the Missionaries in your Country," after the expedition was over. To end on a festive but suitably martial note, Hunter ordered several mortars to be fired "in the presence of the Indians, at which they were much amazed having never seen the like before." Shock and awe have long been used to impress friends as well as enemies (48).

The following day, Tegannisoren gave a brief and subdued reply. Yes, they had requested forts and chapels, but since they might be going to their death could they talk about it after their return? Left unsaid, but clearly implied, was that if they defeated the French, they really did not need the forts, chapels, and missions.

The next day the promised presents were handed out and they were generous—200 guns, 360 hatchets, 682 knives, plus some less martial gear including cloth, looking glasses, pipes, and tobacco. Afterward, an exuberant Hunter concluded with the presentation of five wampum belts and what he hoped were suitably stirring words, "I do now engage you to persevere in the Warr, till it comes to a happy conclusion, & do overset the kittle of Warr" (49).

Having accepted the belts as speaker, Tegannisoren was obliged to reply. He did so the following day, August 28. In good Iroquois fashion he



began by repeating what Hunter had said the day before, with one small correction—"We desire that the kettle may not be oversett nor turn'd upside down, but remain boyling wh<sup>ch</sup> is our custom, meaning that the War may continue." Here Tegannisoren emphasized his point by returning the five wampum belts to Hunter, underscoring to his British brethren the need to listen more carefully and to do things properly. Speaking of proper protocol, there was one more important matter. They did desire forts and ministers. However, that did not mean that they would give up their land just because the British built on it. It would take another day of talking and allowing the Five Nations' warriors time to retrieve their "Gunns & Hatchetts" from the local smiths, but finally the great expedition of 1711 was underway (50).

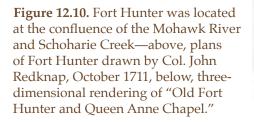


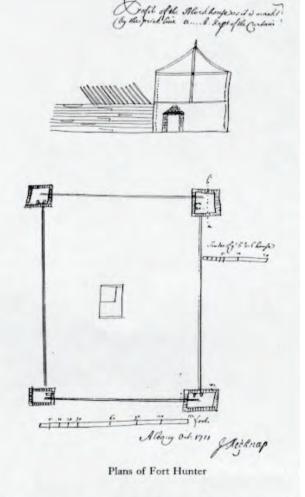
Figure 12.9. Drawing of a spiked tomahawk from the Schoharie Valley, NY, dated 1711.

It was only days before Hunter received the bad news. The letter from one of the commanders began, "Prepare your Self to hear a melancholy account of the disasters that have happened to us." Once again the naval portion of the invasion had foundered, leaving the land forces without support. Upon hearing this news, Nicholson apparently was so enraged that he tore off his wig and trampled on it. Hunter was left in a difficult position, since he and Nicholson were charged with informing the Indians without losing them as allies. It was equally gloomy on the Indian side. Before heading back to their towns, the Five Nations addressed Nicholson, Hunter, and the commissioners saying, "Brethren, We have now tried twice with you to go to Canada in order to reduce it . . . We are therefore now so ashamed that we must cover our Faces." There were still many important and difficult issues that needed discussion, but this was not the time (**51**).

It was a somber Indian conference in Albany that October. Tegannisoren was again speaker, and although his initial comments apparently have been lost, the tone was clear from his follow-up. He said, "We see god is against us and that we shall Receive the first Punishment from him for we Cant go forward to Reduce Canada having Returned twice." Hunter was

gracious in his reply, stressing that the failure was in no way their fault and promised to proceed with building forts for their protection. Two days later contracts were issued to build forts in Mohawk and Onondaga country. While Fort Hunter was constructed the following year, a British fort would not be built in Onondaga until 1756. As for the gift of a silver communion set that Queen Anne had sent to her Indian chapel of the Onondaga, it went instead to the new Anglican parish in Albany, now St. Peter's Church, where it resides today. In the end, the Onondaga got nothing (52).





OLD FORT HUNTER AND QUEEN ANNE CHAPEL





Ithough the Onondaga story continues well beyond this point, it is time to wind down this narrative. Where did things stand a decade after the treaties of 1701? Had anything changed for the better from an Onondaga point of view? To leaders such as Tegannisoren and Aqueendaro the years between 1701 and 1711 must have seemed like a dreary replay of the previous decade. From the French, it was the same mix of cajoling and bullying. From the English, now the British after 1707, it was the same litany of presents and promises from distracted administrators with more bungled attempts to invade Canada. And from Europeans in general, the same threats to the internal stability of Onondaga persisted—alcohol, disease, Christianity, and imperial meddling.

Still, the treaties of 1701 had been a success. For all the problems that remained, the Five Nations had found a way to maintain an independent position between their intrusive imperial neighbors. For the Onondaga there had been time to rebuild their town and their population. In May 1712, when Governor-General Hunter ordered a census of Five Nations' warriors, the Onondaga count was 350, a substantial increase from Benjamin Fletcher's count of 250 in 1698. Population increase certainly had not occurred among warriors only. As a report to Hunter indicated, there were also a "considerable number" of Five Nations people to the south along the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers. As we have seen, these Southern Door communities were closely tied to Onondaga, so this was more than just population growth. Between 1701 and 1711, the Five Nations had continued to expand their diplomatic affairs to other tribes. In addition, there were over 2,000 Indians to the south and west who were "Tributaries" under the command of the Five Nations. Strip away the imperial language, and it is clear that the Five Nations had been successful in doing what they long intended, extending the Tree of Peace beyond the Southern Door (1).

Even with these successes, the hard reality was that neither of the imperial neighbors of the Five Nations would treat them as equals. To the French, they would always be children, while the best they could expect from the British was to be treated as subjects, and that relationship would continue to be complicated. For example, in mid-September 1711 the Tuscarora in Carolina executed a British explorer named John Lawson. Within days, the first attacks in what would soon become known as the Tuscarora War took place. As Tegannisoren explained to the British representatives at a September 1713 conference in Onondaga, the Tuscarora had been with us in the past, but went and settled in Carolina. Now they were besieged by the British colonists there. Governor-General Hunter was asked to be so good as "to act as mediator between the English of Carrelyna and the tuskaroras . . . for they are no longer a Nation with a name." The polite request having

# Chapter Thirteen

Afterward



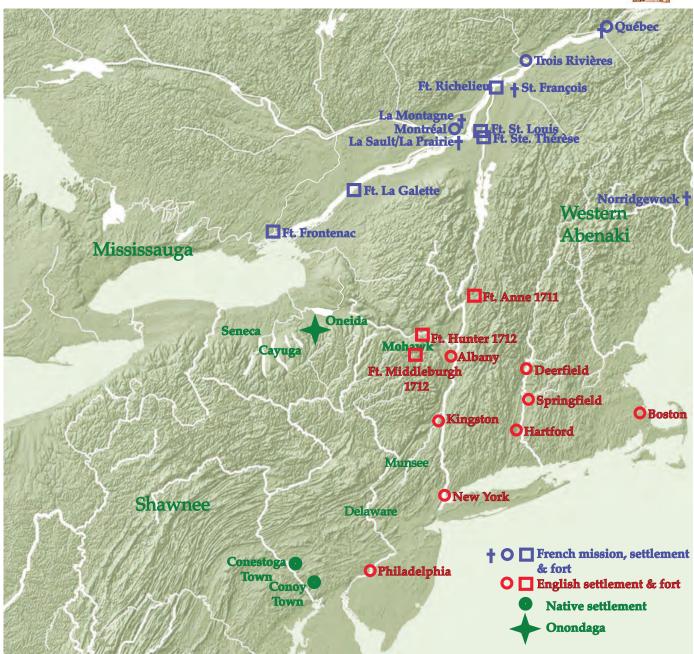


Figure 13.1. European settlement in the Northeast, ca. 1715.

been made, the Five Nations then proceeded to act as they saw fit. A year later in 1714, Tegannisoren informed Hunter, "the Tuscarore Indians are come to shelter themselves among the five nations." Sometime after 1722 the Tuscarora were invited to join the League, now the Six Nations. As far as Onondaga was concerned, loyal subjects still had the authority to make such independent decisions (2).

The year 1713 would also bring an end to Queen Anne's War, the second of the colonial wars between the British and the French, establishing the balance of power in North America for the next 30 years. Although the

treaties of 1701 guaranteed the Five Nations' trading rights with both Britain and France, it explicitly declared the Iroquois to be subjects of the British crown. The following year Queen Anne died, and George I ascended the British throne. Then in 1715 Louis XIV passed on, leaving behind an exhausted France and an empty treasury (**3**).

In Albany, the Indian conferences droned on with the same propositions and replies that had been made year after year. Tegannisoren, now in his mid-fifties in 1717, was still speaker. He thanked "Brother Corlaer" for the presents from the "Great King" and acknowledged that the Onondaga were the king's subjects. They had entered into a covenant with the British to have "continuall trade & commerce together . . . & had good satisfaction." But lately, the goods had been too expensive, and they would continue to ask for cheaper goods until it was granted. He concluded, "our children after us will always insist upon the same subject till it be granted." Perhaps it was still possible to shame the British into fulfilling their commitments.

While the Onondaga were still willing to assist their British brothers when necessary, there was one more point to be made. The Five Nations reserved the right to withhold their help if the British "of Pride or malice should be the agressors & fall upon their Indian neighbors Without cause." Sovereignty may have become illusory, but that did not mean giving up all control, especially when it came to their right to negotiate with other nations and protect their land (4).

#### **Increasingly Encircled**

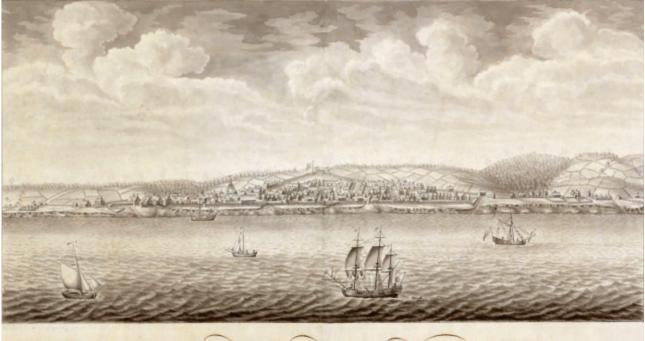
By 1717 it was increasingly difficult for the Five Nations to protect their land from the encroachment of settlers and land speculators (Figure 13.9). More and more, land had become part of the price the Five Nations had to pay for security. While they continued to resist any sale of their land, over the next several decades the Five Nations found themselves increasingly encircled by new fortifications. The first was Hunter's promised fort, built on the eastern edge of Mohawk territory in 1712. A small French outpost on Irondequoit Bay in Seneca territory soon followed in 1717. A large outpost was reestablished at Niagara in 1720, and six years later the French constructed a substantial fortification nearby on the shore of Lake Erie, now known as Fort Niagara. Not to be outdone, the British established a corresponding outpost at Oswego in 1722, and expanded it five years later naming it Fort Burnet after the next governor-general. The same tit-fortat process took place to the northeast. The French built a small outpost on Lake Champlain in 1731, enlarging it into Fort St. Frédéric by 1734. As hostilities increased by mid-century, the French and British each built new forts in 1755—Fort Carillon at the foot of Lake Champlain, and Fort William Henry at the foot of Lake George. While the Onondaga policy of balancing off competing French and British interests would continue, it would not be sufficient to retain control over their land (5).

# Chapter Thirteen



Who in Onondaga ever thought that maintaining balance or keeping the community together was going to be easy? Besides, the alternative was to leave their land and disperse as the Huron–Wendat, Susquehannock, and others had done. It was the responsibility of the leadership, especially in Onondaga, to make sure that the Five Nations stayed together to protect themselves, their culture, and their land. That meant being as resilient and adaptive as possible and maintaining the fundamental values of respect and balance as best they could. That is what the Onondaga leadership would do as long as they were able.

In July 1719 Robert Hunter returned to England after a long and successful tenure as governor-general. His hand-picked successor, William Burnet, would not arrive until the next year, leaving a 14-month gap during which Peter Schuyler would again be acting governor. Even as Hunter left, events continued to churn ahead. That same week in July, Tegannisoren came before the Albany commissioners to warn them that the French were building a fort at Niagara, near the great falls. Having come to visit as a private person, he could not speak officially, but he suggested that if the commissioners acted quickly, they could destroy this fort just as they had done with the blockhouse in Onondaga eight years before. With Hunter gone, however, Schuyler had more pressing concerns, and it was not until the following year that the agent Lawrence Claessen was sent west to investigate. By then it was too late. The French outpost had been built. Apparently, the Seneca, who were most affected, had decided it was prudent to pay more attention to the wishes of the French governor than to the British (6).



**Figure 13.2.** A view of the City of Albany from across the Hudson River. Engraving of a watercolor and ink drawing by William Burgis, ca. 1720.

PROSPECT of the CITY of ALBANY in the PROVINCE of NEW YORK in AMERICA .

At the Indian conference in September 1720, which the Seneca had chosen not to attend, Schuyler chided the other four nations for listening to the French. Tegannisoren and the other speakers replied to these stock complaints with the standard responses—they would honor the treaty and the Covenant Chain, not fight the Flatheads to the south nor the Farr Indians to the west, tell them of any French incursions, and hunt in peace and quiet. However, the British must not issue a "Patent" for land in Mohawk country, stop selling rum, and stop cheating them on the price of goods. In terms of issues, little had changed over the last twenty years (7).



**Figure 13.3.** William Burnet, colonial governor-general of New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. Painting by John Watson, ca. 1726.

The new British governor-general, William Burnet, finally met with Five Nations in September 1721. The face may have been different, but the rhetoric was the same—

Brethren, I am come hither to meet the five Nations who have so great a name above other Indians and to speak to you as a brother sent by the Great King of Great Britain . . . [who] loves and values you because you are a free People and will loose your lives rather than be slaves . . . He has therefore ordered me to renew the Old Covenant Chain.

Having dispensed with the niceties, it was time for the instructions—do not listen to the French, do not trade with the French, and do not interfere with the Indian policies of Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania. The Five Nations' reply came two days later and was probably delivered by Tegannisoren. It was a model of humility and rectitude—"We are Brethren indeed & hope to live and

dye so." The presents were distributed, and officially everyone went home "well Satisfyed." In his report to the Board of Trade, Burnet struck a very different tone. He accused Tegannisoren of being a French spy, said that he had requested another speaker be chosen, and claimed that the Indians had readily complied. Just as sovereignty may have become an illusion, it was clear among the Onondaga that no act of loyalty to the British would go unpunished (8).

As it turned out, both Tegannisoren and Aqueendaro still had roles to play. Three years later at the close of an Indian conference in September 1724,

# Chapter Thirteen

MYNDERT SCHUYLER.

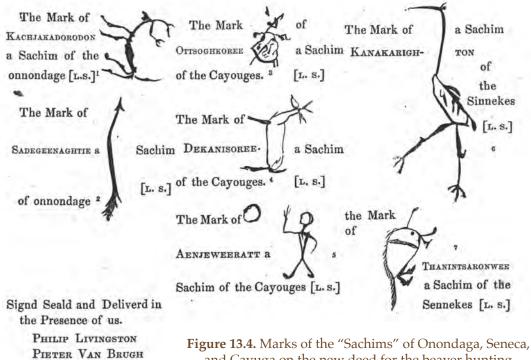
LOURENS CLAESEN.

#### Afterward



Tegannisoren was again speaker, this time for the Six Nations. Apparently, he had dismissed Burnet's attack on his character and understood that as a chief one needed skin "seven inches thick." One's responsibilities were to kin and community, not to some puffed-up imperial administrator. Many important issues were discussed—the location for a blockhouse in Onondaga, the need for a smith, another request for fairer prices, and the British request that the Six Nations take up the hatchet against the Abenaki in New England. In conclusion, Tegannisoren observed that the Six Nations had expressed their wishes on these topics, and he asked politely if the governor was willing to "accept the advice of D'Kannasore [Tegannisoren] in matters of consequence for the Public Welfare" in the future. After Burnet's perfunctory agreement, Tegannisoren wished his "Excellency a good Journey home." This is the last we see of Tegannisoren in the documentary record (9).

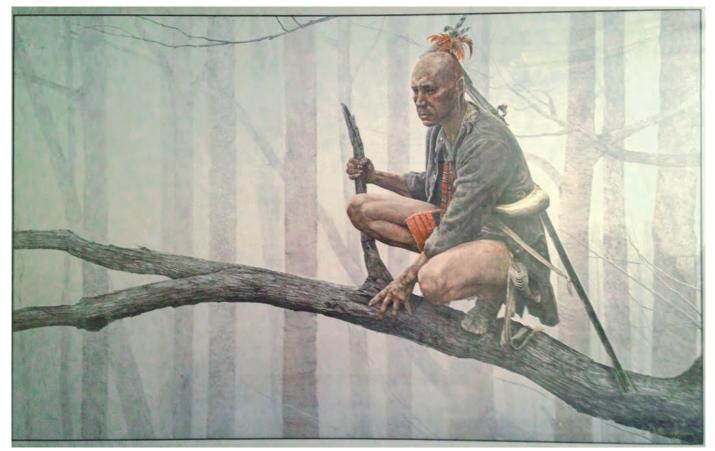
Aqueendaro's last appearance in the historical documents came two years later at the Indian conference in September 1726. The speaker was Ajewachtha, an Onondaga chief who had accompanied Tegannisoren in 1720. This time Ajewachtha did the verbal fencing with Governor-General Burnet. After the conference was over, Burnet asked a group of Seneca, Cayuga, and Onondaga sachems to sign a new deed for the beaver hunting lands that had been given to the English in 1701. Two of the Onondaga representatives present, Aqueendaro and Kachwadochon, had signed the original deed along with the Seneca and Cayuga delegates. Sometimes, it was best to sign the paper and then do what you had already planned. As they had learned, this was the way their European neighbors operated (10).



and Cayuga on the new deed for the beaver hunting grounds, September 14, 1726.

Onondaga's struggle to maintain control over its land and lives would continue long after Tegannisoren and Aqueendaro had passed on, and so would the legacy they and their predecessors had established. It was the community that mattered, since no one would survive for long on their own. The strength of the community lay in its diversity as well as in its traditions, but maintaining community was hard work. There would always be differences and disagreements, factions, and failures. Different problems required different solutions, and who knew where those solutions might come from. Leaders had the responsibility to uphold traditional values and teach them to their people, and also to the Europeans. In June of 1744 another Onondaga chief, Canasatego, made this clear to the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland at a conference in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In response to Maryland's claim that they had possessed the land for over 100 years, Canasatego corrected the governor pointing out, "What is one hundred years in Comparison of the length of Time since our Claim began? Since we came out of this very Ground?" While some historians have belittled this as another example of overblown Iroquoian rhetoric, it was made as a statement of fact. As an Onondaga chief with a responsibility to adopted kin, Canasatego was simply stating the obvious. If Europeans wanted to play the game of land ownership, Indian claims would always take precedence over those of Europeans (11).

Figure 13.5. The Branch, a mid-eighteenth-century Iroquois warrior in his chosen attire. Print by Lee Teter, 1993.



## Chapter Thirteen



Canasatego had a second point to make, this one directed at his Native audience,

Indeed we have had some small Differences with the English, and, during these Misunderstandings, some of our young Men would, by way of Reproach, be every now and then telling us, that we should have perished if they had not come into the Country and furnished us with Strouds and Hatchets and Guns and other Things necessary for the Support of Life; but we always gave them to understand that they were mistaken, that we lived before they came amongst us, and as well, or better, if we may believe what our Forefathers have told us. We had then Room enough, and Plenty of Deer, which was easily caught; and tho' we had not Knives, Hatchets, or Guns, such as we have now, yet we had Knives of Stone, Hatchets of Stone, and Bows and Arrows, and those served our Uses as well then as the English ones do now.

This was not a nostalgic view of the past, but a statement of conviction. The decision to accept European things had been a choice, as was Onondaga's ongoing belief in its own autonomy and the values on which it was based (12).

### **The Balance Shifts**

During the 1740s, two circumstances would challenge these convictions and radically alter the balance established by the treaties of 1701. The first



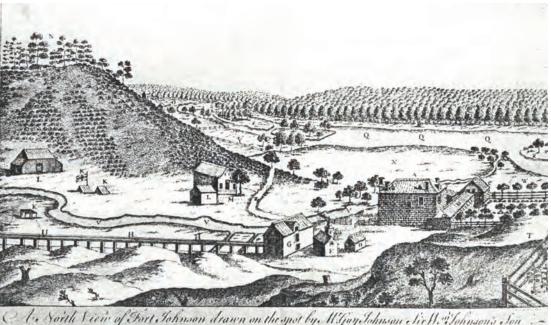
came in the unlikely guise of a young Irishman who arrived in the Mohawk Valley in 1738, looking to make his way between different cultural worlds. Like Arent van Curler and Peter Schuvler before him, William Johnson built his success on a Mohawk foundation. In doing so, he would tilt the Confederacy away from its policy of non-alignment and toward the British. During the early 1740s, Johnson began to build his base of operations as a landowner and trader on the north side of the Mohawk River. He developed close ties with the neighboring Mohawk communities, was adopted and given the Mohawk

**Figure 13.6.** Sir William Johnson. Painting by John Wollaston, ca. 1751.

name "Warraghiyagey," signifying "a man who undertakes great Things." Indeed, he would (13).

The second circumstance was resumption of the imperial conflict between the British and the French. After more than 30 years of peace, those interests were about to collide again in what is known as King George's War, from 1744 to 1748. Even if the driving factor was a dynastic feud over the throne of Austria, the implications in North America would be profound. Many things had changed during the past three decades. One was a shift in imperial interests away from the Six Nations to the west and the largely unclaimed lands of the Ohio Valley. While the Six Nations, especially the Seneca, remained powerful players in the Northeast, they were no longer the only ones. By 1750 Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, Ottawa, and Potawatomi people, among others, were significant participants in a new calculus of Native-European relationships.

The outbreak of war with France in 1744 provided Johnson with the opportunity to recruit first the Mohawk, then all the Six Nations, to the British side. Over the next dozen years, he implemented this strategy with great personal and political success. In August 1746 the governor-general of New York, George Clinton, appointed Johnson colonel of the warriors of the Six Nations and local militia. Johnson was directed to conduct war parties into Canada and the borderlands. Although these raids had little strategic value, they and the reprisals they engendered had a significant consequence. There was a return to the vicious frontier warfare that had characterized the northern borderlands during the 1690s. This included reviving the practice of paying bounties for scalps, a practice that Johnson encouraged. Although the war ended in 1748, Johnson continued



**Figure 13.7.** "A North View of Fort Johnson drawn on the spot by M<sup>r</sup> Guy Johnson Sir W<sup>m</sup> Johnson's Son," ca. 1759.

## Chapter Thirteen

Afterward

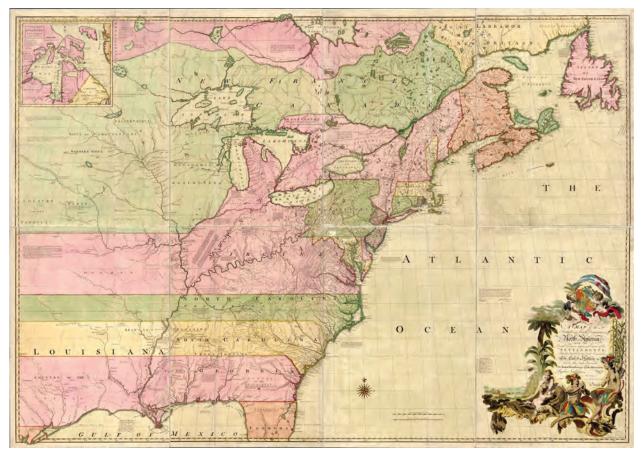


"to strengthen his relationship with the Six Nations, and he built an imposing three-story stone house on the north bank of the Mohawk River. Completed in 1750, Fort Johnson soon became the focal point for important British–Six Nations' meetings (14).

The end of King George's War signaled a broader change in Johnson's relations with the Confederacy and Onondaga in particular. That April he made his first official visit to Onondaga as colonel of the warriors of the Six Nations. Well versed in Iroquois protocol, Johnson struck all the right notes in his speech. He reviewed the long friendship between the British and the Five Nations from when a "great Rope tied the English to Onondaga" to the "strong Silver Chain which would never break slip or Rust" that now bound them together, "as one Heart, one Head, one Blood." He understood their desire to have captives returned, to have their kin back from Canada, and he promised to act on their behalf. Johnson underscored these points with seven wampum belts. The answer from Onondaga must have been satisfying, "We listen to you with open Ears . . . Our firm Resolution is to stand by you as Brothers for ever." To solidify his position, Johnson also assigned one of his best men to stay in Onondaga, a blacksmith and interpreter, William Printup, Jr., whose father had ventured to Onondaga from Albany back in 1710. It had taken the British much longer than the French to learn the value of resident agents, and Johnson was keen to see this mistake corrected (15).

Johnson's rise coincided with an increased European focus on the Ohio Valley as the new arena of imperial contention. In 1753 and 1754, the French built a series of new forts across that region, to which the British in Virginia responded with their own attempts to claim land (Figure 13.9). In 1755 Johnson was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs and promoted by the commander-in-chief of New York, James De Lancey, to be the major-general of the provincial army. Together with Maj. Gen. Edward Braddock, who had been sent to America with two Irish regiments, Johnson would enforce British claims. Johnson's task was to secure the northern frontier, while Braddock's primary target would be Fort Duquesne, the recently built French fortification at the strategic "Forks of the Ohio" in Pennsylvania (16).

Johnson's next step was to undo the Onondaga-inspired policy of nonintervention in European affairs, the foundation of Confederacy policy since 1701. In this he was lucky. It was clear to Johnson in 1755 that any Six Nations' diplomatic policy of nonalignment, as inspired by the Onondaga, was outdated. The Onondaga still advocated neutrality, and the Seneca tended to be pro-French, while the Mohawk were pro-British. Johnson felt it was time to shift the Six Nations' allegiance away from Albany to himself. That spring he symbolically quenched the council fire in Albany, where the Five Nations and English had met since 1676, and he rekindled it at Fort Johnson. The next step was to establish himself, in place of the



**Figure 13.8.** A map of the British and French dominions in North America. Map drawn by John Mitchell, 1755. A landscape increasingly dominated by European-based boundary lines.

Albany commissioners, as master of the relationship between the British and the Six Nations. Johnson made his case at a lavish conference held at Fort Johnson in late June 1755. With the assistance of his Mohawk kin, he invoked many of the Six Nations most powerful metaphors. As superintendent, he was the newly planted Tree of Peace that would shelter them. It was he who rekindled a fire that would give them "the clearest light," yet "dazzle and scortch" their enemies. He concluded that together the British and the Confederacy would be "like a great Bundle of sticks which can not be broke whilst they are bound together" (17).

The Onondaga were not about to be outmaneuvered so easily, at least not in public. After several days of deliberation, the reply was presented by Kakhswenthioni, an Onondaga chief also called *Red Head*. He was well known for his sympathy toward the French. The reply matched Johnson's proposals in rhetorical tone, and after presenting him with a large wampum belt, Kakhswenthioni pledged to honor Johnson's request for "Union, friendship and Brotherly love." He also agreed on behalf of Onondaga to join the war against the French. However, he ended on quite a different note, warning Johnson about bad behavior on the part of his people. Being "too thirsty of money," the British harmed the interests of both the Six Nations and Johnson himself by trading with the French enemy. Over the past 80 years, the Six Nations had heard many promises

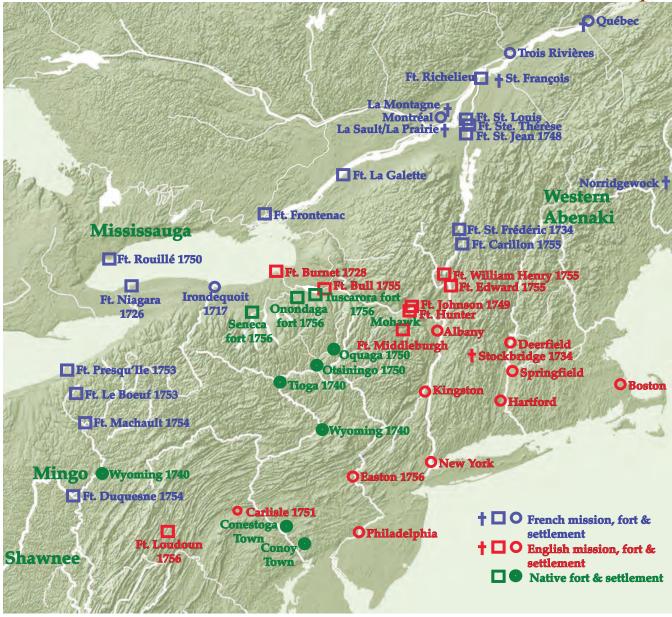


Figure 13.9. European settlement in the Northeast, ca. 1756.

of support and fair treatment from the British. Would the word of William Johnson prove any more reliable (18)?

This political discussion was truncated by the news of Braddock's catastrophic defeat by the French in the Ohio Valley in July 1755. Although minor skirmishes had occurred the year before, the French and British now prepared for war on a global scale. Known as the Seven Years' War of 1756–1763 in Europe, this concluding struggle between the French and British in eastern North America would come to be known as the French and Indian War. Even in this dangerous and volatile world, Johnson's luck continued to hold. His victory over the French at Lake George in September 1755 may have been narrow, but it won him the recognition of King George II. By the time Britain and France formally had declared war in May 1756, Johnson had become Sir William Johnson, New York's first baronet and the sole superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern colonies. Finally, he was in a position to consolidate his gains (19).

A few months before, in February 1756, another major Indian conference had been held at Fort Johnson and was marked by the ritual exchange of two over-sized objects. One was "the largest pipe in America, made on purpose," probably a pipestone calumet, which Johnson asked to be hung in the council chamber at Onondaga where it could be smoked whenever they needed to think properly and be reminded not to waver in their commitment to the British. In return, Kakhswenthioni presented Johnson with "a prodigious large" wampum belt. The conference ended with more complimentary words and the distribution of public and private gifts to the chiefs. Although Johnson's next steps may have been altered by Kakhswenthioni's death that spring, he used the opportunity to strengthen his hold on Onondaga by making an extended trip there that summer to condole his friend and requicken a successor. There were many ways to win friends, and Johnson used them all. Johnson's real goal was probably to see himself installed as a chief, reinforcing his position and authority in Confederacy decision-making. Then, after decades of stalling, the Onondaga finally got the "strong & durable fort" they had been promised. A good thing given that the war was in full swing. They also got the resident blacksmith and interpreter of their choice in William Printup Jr., who had taken the Onondaga name *Sagudderiaghta*. Finally, lest anyone doubt the new chief's generosity, when Johnson approached Onondaga that summer, he brought 18 horses loaded with presents and a small herd of cattle. Johnson's fortunes would vary during the war years and with them the fortunes of the Six Nations. Still, through his forceful leadership

**Figure 13.10.** Sir William Johnson presenting medals to chiefs of the Six Nations at Johnson Hall, 1772. Painting by Edward Lamson Henry, 1903.



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and kin-based relationships, especially among the Mohawk, Johnson had become the Confederacy's best spokesman and advocate. Whatever their future held, it would be closely linked to that of Sir William Johnson (20).

### The Dragon of Discord Returns

With the capture of Québec by the British in September 1759 and the surrender of Montréal the next September in 1760, the Seven Year's War was effectively over in North America, although peace would not be formally declared until 1763. The British victory, however, brought little joy to Onondaga. The war had cost them dearly in terms of population and prestige (21). With the French gone, their long-established policy of balancing competing European interests was obsolete. Many of the old internal divisions remained, and increasingly there was less room in which to maneuver, diplomatically and literally. Their new British friend and brother had pledged to honor and respect their ways, but his support had come at a considerable cost to the Confederacy's autonomy, and that of Onondaga. If Johnson failed them, what would happen then?

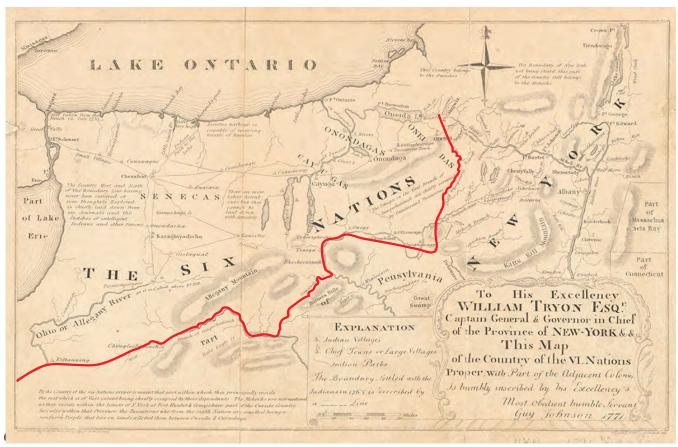
The question was how capable Sir William would be in fulfilling his commitments. Powerful though he was within his own realm, he did not control the price of all trade goods or the manners of traders, nor could he restrict the flow of settlers from Virginia or Pennsylvania. What compounded the problem was that the Six Nations themselves were no longer the center of political and military activity. When trouble arose along the western frontier in 1761, Johnson decided to make the long journey to Detroit in an effort to strengthen British influence. To the Onondaga this seemed a clear betrayal, and they chastised Johnson saying, "You know that the chief and only council fire burns at your house and Onondaga." No matter how well-intentioned Johnson's promises had been, he was no longer in a position to honor them. (22).

The end of the war was not good news for the Six Nations nor for Sir William. With the French threat removed, his commanding officer, Gen. Jeffery Amherst, saw little value and considerable expense in continuing to cultivate any group of Indians, including the Six Nations. To his imperial mind, Indians were an asset to be used and discarded at will. Johnson was horrified and attempted to point out the importance of maintaining good relationships, not to mention honoring past promises. Increasingly aware of the anti-British sentiments among the Ohio Valley tribes, he feared that Amherst's policies would push Native people together into rebellion. Amherst was unmoved, and as commander-in-chief he felt confident in the ability of the British military to crush any upraising. He wrote to Johnson, "If they were rash enough to venture upon any ill Designs, I had it in my power . . . to punish the delinquents with Entire Destruction," to "Extirpate them Root & branch." For years, the French had warned the Six Nations that the British intended to exterminate them. It must have cost Johnson dearly to hear that threat from his own commander-in-chief (23).

Even though Johnson's policy of mediation based on respect ultimately prevailed over Amherst's ruthless imperialism, it left him incapable of fulfilling his promises to the Six Nations. In spite of his trip to Detroit, Pontiac's Rebellion, between 1763 and 1765, quickly demonstrated that the focus of Indian affairs had shifted to the west. The important conferences were no longer held in Onondaga, or even at Fort Johnson. Sir William's attempts to regulate trade through a system of fixed prices and fair treatment was another failure. His 1763 proposal to define a boundary forbidding the westward expansion of colonial settlement, "until the whole of the Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof," proved impossible to implement. Even the more modest goal of clearly defining a boundary between New York and the Six Nations that was negotiated five years later proved unrealistic. With no provision for enforcement, the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768 became more an invitation to take Iroquois lands than a serious effort to protect them. By 1770 Sir William Johnson had become an elderly and infirm man, one whose chief concern was for his own community of Irish friends and retainers centered on his new house, Johnson Hall. The days of trying to fulfill ambitious commitments to former friends were over (24).

The unexpected death of Sir William Johnson during an Indian conference at Johnson Hall in July 1774 shook the Tree of Peace to its roots. As

**Figure 13.11.** "This Map of the Country of the VI Nations," drawn by Guy Johnson, 1771. *The Boundary Settled with the Indians in 1768* from the Fort Stanwix Treaty is marked in red.



### Chapter Thirteen

Johnson's influence had waned, a new threat to the internal balance of the Six Nations had emerged with the growing fractiousness between Great Britain and her North American colonies. Both those who challenged the authority of the king and Parliament and those who defended it saw themselves as the legitimate heirs to the traditional Iroquois-British alliance. The pressure on the Six Nations to take sides began again. At the Grand Council meeting held in Onondaga that September, each of the nations pledged to remain at peace. For now, the Confederacy policy of sitting on their mats held while the British sorted things out. Even when hostilities finally broke out the following spring between those loyal to the Crown and those who favored independence, the Six Nations declared at conferences in Albany and Fort Niagara that they were "resolved to maintain peace, both with the King and the Bostonians, and receive no Ax from each either" (25).

As the Revolutionary War intensified, the Confederacy's wish to remain nonaligned became more and more untenable. Another generation of agents, some Native and some not, courted factions, inflamed old grievances, and pressed leaders to choose sides. The turning point came

during the summer of 1777 when a large British force, with substantial Seneca and Mohawk support, crossed Six Nations' territory to attack the colonial forces at Fort Schuyler, originally built by the British as Fort Stanwix in 1758. With the Oneida and some Tuscarora firmly on the side of the Americans, it had become impossible to achieve consensus. Disagreement was one thing, killing one another was quite another matter. During the ensuing Battle of Oriskany, Oneida fought and killed Seneca just as fiercely as did former British neighbors from the Mohawk Valley. The violence, as brutal as that of any of the earlier border wars, came as a shock to both sides. Oriskany marked the beginning of an Iroquoian civil war, one that shattered the League and uprooted the Tree of Peace (26).

As late as 1779 Onondaga was a nation rent into three parts—those who favored the British, those who favored the American rebels, and those who still hoped not to take **Figure 13.12.** Colonel Guy Johnson and Karonghyontye (Captain David Hill). Painting by Benjamin West, 1776.





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sides. All indecision ended in April that year, when a surprise raid by the Americans destroyed the fort Sir William Johnson had built in Onondaga and "the whole of their Settlement, consisting of about fifty Houses, with a quantity of corn, and every other kind of Stock." Neutral no longer, a party of 300 Onondaga returned the favor a few months later, surprising and destroying the town of Cobleskill south of the Mohawk Valley. Although a small number stayed on in their homeland in spite of the risks, most Onondaga moved to Niagara for the duration of the war and later settled at nearby Buffalo Creek. The council fire in Onondaga had been extinguished (27).

Yet even in these darkest of days Onondaga survived, in large part because they refused to abandon all of their land. There was certainly pressure to do so. With the end of the war in 1784, a different kind of conflict broke out as the states and speculators sought to divide up what had been Six Nations' land. By signing a treaty at Fort Schuyler in 1788, a group of Onondaga, who still resided in central New York, ceded most of their territory to the state in exchange for a modest reservation of 100 square miles (259 square km). A year later surveyors began to divide what had been Onondaga territory into the counties, townships, and lots that comprised the Military Tract. Settlers soon followed. Many were Revolutionary War veterans from New England who qualified for land in return for their service. Between 1790 and 1795, nearly half of New York's revenue came from selling recently acquired Indian land. With these settlers came another wave of surveyors and speculators, some of whom, like DeWitt Clinton, marveled at a landscape that hinted at past greatness, even as they planned for a new future (28).

The League, too, continued to survive. Although the Six Nations were split—with a reserve in Ontario, the Buffalo Creek reservation in western New York, and smaller reservations in central New York—families and kin stayed in touch. And, small as this new shoot from the roots of the Tree of Peace was, Onondaga slowly regained its reputation as the custodian of League tradition and ritual. Early in the nineteenth century Onondaga was a hotbed of support for the revitalized religious practices inspired by the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake. The majority of Onondaga remained hostile or indifferent to the efforts of Christian missionaries. Onondaga's position was greatly strengthened in 1847 when the council fire of the League and many of its wampum belts were returned after the Buffalo Creek reservation lands were sold (29).

The remainder of the nineteenth century would bring a variety of other challenges. Economic and cross-cultural factors became powerful forces for change. Although many Onondaga continued to pursue seasonal activities such as hunting, collecting berries, and making baskets and bead work for sale, others increasingly chose to work off the reservation as day laborers. In addition, controversies continually developed between the Onondaga

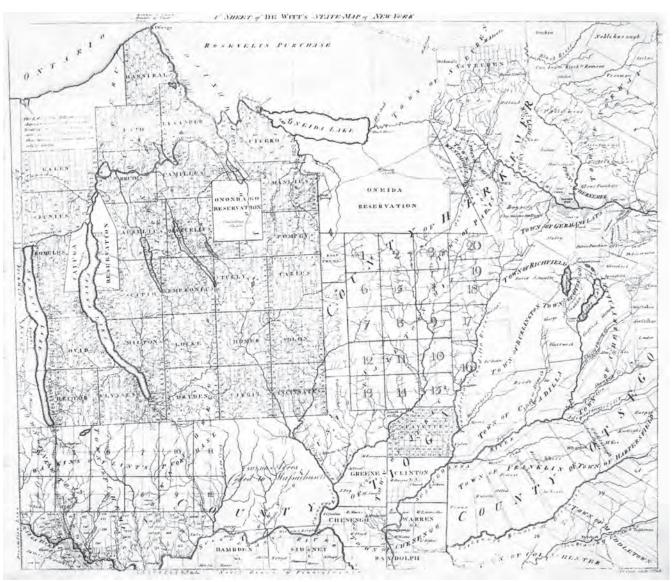
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and local, as well as state, authorities. Issues of contention included suppression of the Native language, control over the education of children, proposals to divide the remaining tribally owned lands into individual allotments, and whether tribal chiefs would be chosen through elections or by traditional means. Despite the pressures to conform to American culture, and the inevitable factions that resulted, Onondaga remained a stronghold of tradition. (30).

In 1888 the New York State Assembly appointed a special legislative committee to investigate the "Indian problem" and why assimilation of the remaining Iroquois was proceeding so slowly. The resulting Whipple Report reserved its harshest criticisms for the Onondaga, who were considered the most recalcitrant and resistant to change. As the report

**Figure 13.13.** "1st. sheet of De Witt's state map of New York, showing regularized town designations and individual allotments in Upper Four Nations' territory." Engraving by Cornelius Tiebout after a map by Simeon De Witt, ca. 1792.



noted with some asperity, "just so long as they [the Onondaga] are permitted to remain in this condition, will there remain upon the fair name of the Empire State a stain of no small magnitude." The Onondaga might well have agreed with that assessment given the way they were treated by the state (31).

Onondaga is still alive and well and the seat of an activist "Grand Council." The qualities that helped to define the Onondaga for over five centuries of change continue to serve them in the twenty-first century resilience and flexibility, anchored by a commitment to traditional values, yet tempered by a willingness to innovate. Today another generation follows the rituals of thanksgiving and condolence, and the *Gaiwiio* (the Good Word) of Handsome Lake continues to be spoken. It will be up to this generation and each succeeding one to find leaders who will consider the impact of their decisions to "the seventh generation," for the benefit of not only of the Haudenosaunee but for the whole world (**32**).

### Glossary

(Contra is used to denote as opposed to the one defined)

- acculturation A process of reciprocal interaction that occurs when two cultures come into contact with one another, and the changes that occur in each as a result (Redfield et al. 1936:149).
- **adoption** A formal, or ritual, process by which a person or trait is incorporated into a culture, often resulting in a new identity.
- **agency** Means by which something is accomplished.
- **altruism** The willingness to pay a personal price to benefit others (Greene 2013:23).
- **anthropology** The study of humankind, traditionally divided into four disciplines—cultural, biological, archaeological, and linguistic.
- **appropriation** Intentional use of an object or idea from one culture by another for a new or different purpose.
- **archaeology** Scientific study of human culture and behavior based primarily on material remains.
- a speo a method of making round glass beads (Karklins 1993). Past publications referred to these as "tumbled" beads in contrast to the "untumbled" ones with broken ends.
- **assimilation** An informal process by which a person or trait is absorbed into a culture.
- **belt of wampum** Herein defined as a length of beads having seven or more rows in width. Six rows of wampum or less is considered a strap, band, or garter.
- **burin** A stone or metal tool used for engraving shell, copper, or wood.
- **ceremony** A collection of songs, speeches, dances, invocations, and other practices that mark a particular event (Foster 1974:114). Contra ritual.
- **chaîne d'opératoire** A common archaeological term for a method of analysis based on reconstructing the steps, or chain of operations, used to produce a particular object.
- chimera A mythical creature composed of several different animals, known in different cultures by different names. A classical chimera had the head and body of a lion, the tail of a snake, and the head of a goat in the middle of its back. Ones referred to in this book include Piasa and Mishipizheu.
- clan Two or more extended maternal families or lineages form a clan, which is the primary social and political unit in Onondaga. Each clan would have occupied several longhouses and is presided over by the senior living woman or clan mother. One or more clans constitute a moiety (Fenton 1978:310, 313).
- **coalition** A short-term alliance of mutual interest. Contra faction.
- **colonialism** A process by which a culture expands into, or colonizes, a new region. Contra imperialism.

- **commodity** A material or object used in commerce and trade. It is something you can put a price on, and its value is based on its intrinsic qualities. Contra ritual material or object.
- **Confederacy** This term is used herein to describe the Five Nations' external application of League rituals. These include extending the white roots of peace to other nations through alliances or treaties, extending the rafters of the great longhouse to include foreigners, and using the rituals of the Condolence Council in a diplomatic context.
- **consensus** A methodology for problem solving, decision making, and managing dissent or conflict through the presentation and discussion of proposals and counter-proposals. Contra voting.
- **culture** The knowledge, values, and beliefs shared by a group of people defining what is important, right, and acceptable to them. They are able to communicate that to one another through shared language, behavior, and material objects.
- **curation** The conscious act of maintaining and preserving culturally important objects and practices.
- **emulation** A process of using or copying a novel object, practice, or idea without modifying it.
- enculturation Cultural learning that occurs without any deliberate effort or intention, that is, what one picks up (Sam 2006:19). Contra socialization.
- ethnicity Ways in which an individual, or group, identifies and defines itself in terms of its culture and its relationship to a new or different culture. Ethnicity does not assume or require biological kinship (Sam and Berry, eds. 2006:21, 78-80). Although participants in a larger culture, ethnic groups may have their own specific language, religious, or heritage preferences.
- exchange In traditional exchange systems material objects serve as proxies for value, which is often defined in non-material terms such as power, health, or well-being. The object is not valuable in and of itself. The purpose of exchange is often non-material—to fulfill an obligation, to rebalance a relationship, or to solicit a favor. Exchange is reciprocal and usually occurs in a ritualized manner. Contra trade.
- **expedient** An object or action used, or made, to solve a specific problem at a particular time and not used again. Contra patterned.
- evolution Change through a process based on four principles—variation, persistence or continuity, reinforcement via tradition, and competition (Coen 2012).
- **faction** A long-term alliance with a fixed position on an issue. Contra coalition.
- **Glass Bead Periods (GBP)** A set of three temporal periods for classifying the glass trade beads found

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on Ontario Iroquoian sites dating from the late sixteenth century to ca. 1650 (Fitzgerald et al. 1995; Kenyon and Kenyon 1983; Kenyon and Fitzgerald 1986).

glass bead horizons – A set of 11 temporal horizons that identify the modal glass trade-bead types found on Onondaga and other Five Nations sites, ca. 1600-1750 (Bradley 2006: 2-43, 184).

**gorget** – A ritual form of decoration with two or more perforations, worn around the neck as a mark of status or distinction. They may be made of stone, shell, or metal, and are usually round (> 8 cm).

**history** – The study of past events and their significance based primarily on written records.

horizon – A term used by archaeologists to define a spatial distribution of like cultural traits and assemblages of the same period (Ritchie 1969:xxix). Contra tradition.

**hybridity** – A process by which something new is created from previously unrelated components. It often occurs when traditional and novel materials, forms, or concepts are combined in response to a new situation or unexpected need. Contra emulation and appropriation.

**identity** – A set of expressed, often visual, traits by which an individual or group indicates ethnic and/ or cultural affiliation or standing.

imperialism – The exercise of social, economic, and political control by a dominant culture over one or more subordinate cultures. It is enforced by military power. Contra colonialism.

**League** – The internal rituals that kept peace and maintained continuity among the Five Nations. These are the Great Law and the Condolence ceremony.

**man-being** – A term used to denote the real humans and the other-than-human kinds of people who comprised the social world in which Onondaga people lived (Hamell and Fox 2005:144 Note 1).

Manitou – An Algonquian word for great spiritual power regardless of form.

**metaphor** – A figure of speech in which a word or phrase that designates one thing is applied to another in an implicit comparison. The importance of metaphor is often proportional to the inadequacy of language to describe something directly.

Mishipizheu – A chimeric creature frequently reported by Algonquian speakers around the Great Lakes, usually composed of the head and body of a panther or lynx, the horns of an elk or bison, and the longcoiled tail of a rattlesnake. It is often referred to as "michi-pichi" (Gagnon, ed. 2011:347). Other spellings include Mishibizheu, Missibizi, and Mishibizhiw or the plural Mishibizhiig (Corbière and Migwans 2013; Fox 2004a; Rajnovich 1994: Figure 6).

**moiety –** One or more clans acting together on a side as

if their members were kin (Fenton 1978:310).

**morality** – A set of psychological capacities and dispositions that together promote and stabilize cooperative behavior (Greene 2013:28).

nation – The level of social organization that, regardless of its internal structure, exercises control over a defined territory, perceives itself as sovereign, and conducts its own diplomatic negotiations with adjacent groups. Nations are made up of moieties and clans.

**nativistic** – Rejection of new or foreign ideas or objects. Contra pragmatic.

*orenda* – The intrinsic potential or inherent power to make, renew, transform, or destroy what exists within all things. It can be directed or used in different ways.

*otkon* – A term used to describe the activities or states provoked by powers that work for imbalance or evil. It is an Iroquois term cognate with the Huron *oki* (Tooker 1964:78 Note 36).

**patterned** – An object or action used, or made, to solve a specific problem multiple times. Contra expedient.

**pendant** – An object with a single perforation intended to be hung from a necklace, the ear, nose, hair, or sewn onto a headdress, garment or other regalia. Pendants may be made of bone, antler, stone, shell, or metal. The forms are highly variable and they are usually small (< 8 cm).</p>

petroglyph – An iconographic depiction that has been pecked or incised into a rock outcrop or a portable stone object.

phase – A term used by archaeologists to define a chronological subdivision of a group's social and cultural evolution (Ritchie 1969:xxviii).

**Piasa** – A chimeric creature with a combination of human, feline, bird and snake attributes (Brain and Phillips 1969:298).

**pictograph** – An iconographic depiction usually referring to those made on a tree, rock, or other surface using pigment.

**practice** – An established, and occasionally formalized, way of doing things. These behaviors are the way in which cultural knowledge, values, and beliefs are expressed.

**pragmatic** – A response to new objects or ideas that emphasizes how they can be utilized, rather than rejecting them. Contra nativistic.

**revitalization** – Cultural practices designed to restore balance in response to stress or disruption. Revitalization mechanisms may employ novel means, as well as the revival or reinterpretation of traditional ones.

**revitalization movement** – A process of revitalization that occurs around a charismatic leader (Liebmann 2012; Wallace 1958).

revivalism – Introduction of cultural practices thought

to have been characteristic of previous generations (Liebmann 2012:109).

ritual – Particular speeches, songs, or dances used during a ceremony (Foster 1974:114).

ritual material or object – Material or object whose value is defined by its associative or metaphorical qualities, as well as the manner in which it used. Contra commodity.

**runtee** – A disc-shaped or zoomorphic marine-shell object with two parallel perforations.

**society** – The way in which a group of people structure how they live together.

socialization – Cultural learning that occurs through intentional instruction, structured practice, or other deliberate effort—what one is taught. Contra enculturation (Sam 2006:19).

**style** – A culturally specific way in which subject matter is expressed (Brown 2007:216). Muller provides a more detailed discussion on the relationships among elements, motifs, themes, and styles (2007:18-19).

**syncretism** – The process of reconciling, or attempting to unite, differing systems of belief. The results may be expressed in language or in hybrid material objects.

**technology** – An inclusive system that encompasses all stages and dimensions of activity and perception involved in making and using objects (Ehrhardt 2005:6).

**technique** – A specific way in which an individual or group applies technology.

**trade** –Systems in which material objects embody value and serve as commercial commodities to be bought and sold. Trade usually involves some sort of currency, and is reciprocal, in that both parties agree to the sale and purchase. Contra exchange. tradition – This is a word used in two somewhat
 overlapping ways—

As a general term describing the passing down of cultural elements from generation to generation, especially by oral communication or example.

As a specific term used by archaeologists to describe a custom, concept, or behavior that persists over time, as reflected in material culture traits (Ritchie 1965:xxviii-xxix). Contra horizon.

tribalism – The human tendency to be highly sensitive to signals of group membership. Members are intuitively disposed to favor other group members and exclude nonmembers (Greene 2013:61, 69).

**treaty** – Political agreement between two or more nations.

tribe – An anthropological term for a level of discrete and autonomous social organization in which people are bound together primarily by multilineage kin relationships (Sahlins 1968; Service 1971).

**voting** – A method of decision making by majority rule. Contra consensus.

**wampum** – A set of small tubular beads made from marine shell, specifically white *Busycon* species whelk and purple hard-shell clam (*Mercenaria mercenaria*).

### **Appendix 1**

#### **Archaeological and Culture History Terms**

#### Criteria for subdivisions and taxonomic names

- Artifact assemblages Material preferences, technology utilized, and what those imply about cultural practice. Most examples are mortuary assemblages, including Old Copper Complex, Glacial Kame, Adena, and Mississippian.
- *Geographical proximity* A proxy for people who lived in a specific area and shared a specific set of archaeological traits such as settlement pattern and material culture preferences. Examples include Monongahela, Neutral, Oneota, St. Lawrence Iroquois, and Fort Ancient.
- *Linguistic evidence* Evidence that there is a reasonably well-established link between cultural groups within a specific region and the language they spoke. Examples include mid-Atlantic Algonquians and Piedmont Siouans.
- *Time depth* In this text dates from 1500 AD and earlier are presented as a number or range, such as 800 to 500 years ago. Any later dates are presented according to calendar dates, that is 1500 onward.

In archaeological practice, dates are based preferentially on radiocarbon (<sup>14</sup>C) dating expressed in years before 1950, with 1950 considered to be the present. Radiocarbon years are not the same as calendar years. However, through the use of calibration curves the differences between <sup>14</sup>C and calendar years can be reconciled. Calibrated dates are usually reported as years before 1950 (cal yr BP).

In historical practice, years AD (*Anno Domini*) are derived from the Julian and then later from the Georgian calendar. They differ in length and the start of the year according to the solar cycle. Beginning in the sixteenth century the Georgian calendar became most common. However, there are differences between the English versus the Dutch and French usage and interpretation in the seventeenth century. In this text the dates have been converted and reconciled to conform to modern usage according to Jardine (2008:xxiii-xxiv).

#### Chronologically based archaeological terms for the Eastern Woodlands

- Adena A mortuary tradition, ca. 2,500-1,500 years ago, centered in the Ohio River valley and extending east along the Atlantic coast from New Brunswick to the Chesapeake Bay. Material assemblages include long-tubular or block-ended stone pipes, large-stemmed points often made from Ohio chert, whelk-shell beads and pendants, and native-copper beads (Lowery 2012). Adena is also referred to as the Middlesex phase in New York (Ritchie 1969: 201-205). Adena-related practices appear in the mid-Atlantic, ca. 2,250-1,650 years ago (Luckenbach et al. 2015).
- *Fox Creek phase* This was initially defined by Ritchie and Funk as a Middle Woodland-cultural phase based on riverine resource-based sites in interior New York State (1973:356-358). Initial radiocarbon dates suggested a chronology, ca. 1,550 years ago. Described as a "distinctive and widely influential culture," it is characterized by stemmed points, large bifacial knives or "Petalas blades," some exotic lithics, and grit-tempered ceramics often with net-markings or elaborate zoned-, dentate-, or rocker-stamped motifs (Funk 1976:27). Parallel studies in the New York City area documented sites with nearly identical material assemblages, although with greater percentages of Delaware Valley argillite and Pennsylvania jasper with a strong orientation to coastal resources (Kaeser 1963, 1968). Recent evidence suggests this tradition began in the mid-Atlantic, ca. 2,150-1,350 years ago, overlapping with the Adena- and possibly Hopewell-mortuary traditions (Lowery 2012; Luckenbach et al. 2015).
- *Glacial Kame* A mortuary tradition, ca. 3,000-2,800 years ago, centered in the Upper St. Lawrence River valley and the lower Great Lakes. Material assemblages are characterized by marine-shell gorgets and beads, slate gorgets, copper implements and beads, and the lavish use of mineral pigments, especially hematite (Ellis et al. 1990; Spence and Fox 1986).
- *Hopewell* A mortuary tradition centered in the mid-Ohio and Scioto River valleys, ca. 2,150-1,550 years ago. Hopewell-inspired practices and objects occur from the mid-Mississippi Valley to the mid-Atlantic coast and the Northeast. Sites are characterized by elaborate earthworks

and material assemblages, including marine-shell beads and cups, repoussé-copper objects, zoomorphic platform pipes made of stone, fossil-sharks' teeth, objects made from exotic lithics such as obsidian and mica, and small blades struck from prepared cores (Seemans 2004). William Ritchie referred to this as the Squawkie Hill phase in New York (1969:214-17).

- Jack's Reef A mortuary tradition, ca. 1,500 and 1,100 years ago, that occurs on sites from the mid-Atlantic to southern Québec, and west into the lower Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley. Sites are characterized by a distinct material assemblage, including Jack's Reef corner-notched points, large bifaces, specific platform-pipe styles, ceremonial picks, and slate gorgets (Halsey 2013:1-4). Jack's Reef is referred to as the "Intrusive Mound Culture" and the Kipp Island phase in New York by Ritchie, and as the Wayne Mortuary tradition in Michigan by Halsey (1981; Halsey and Brashler 2013:145-192; Ritchie 1969:228).
- *Kipp Island phase* Ritchie proposed this term to describe sites of the Middle Woodland–Point Peninsula tradition, naming it after the site on the Seneca River adjacent to the Montezuma Marsh at the head of Cayuga Lake (1969:234). Material culture traits associated with this tradition included the increased use and elaboration of ceramic vessels and smoking pipes, a dramatic increase in marine shell, and a strong orientation to fishing. The Felix site, located at Jack's Reef farther east on the Seneca River, served as another defining component of this tradition (Ritchie 1969:237-39). Like Ritchie's Late Woodland Owasco tradition, this culture-history taxon has come under critical scrutiny recently (Hart and Brumbach 2005; Hart and Lovis 2007).
- Meadowood A mortuary tradition originally proposed by Ritchie as an Early Woodland Burial Cult and later modified to be the first phase of the Early Woodland Period (1955, 1969:180). The Meadowood sites are now believed to date, ca. 3,000 to 2,400 years ago. There are several diagnostic material traits—thin bifacial points made from Western Onondaga chert often in large caches, slate gorgets, and "problematic" objects such as birdstones, short tubular pipes of stone or ceramic, the first evidence of ceramic vessels (Vinette 1 pottery), as well as marineshell and copper beads in small quantities. Recently re-examined by Karin Taché, these sites occur primarily in the St. Lawrence River drainage, lower Great Lakes, and across the interior Northeast as far south as Chesapeake Bay (Lowery et al. 2015; Taché 2011a, 2011b).
- Mississippian A term used broadly to describe several cultural groups in the Southeast and Mississippi Valley, ca. 1200 to 400 years ago. They are characterized by a ranked social structure, a preference for floodplain habitats, intensive maize horticulture, and an elaborate mortuary tradition. Attempts to name this mortuary tradition, and the exceptional material objects ceramic, stone, shell and copper—associated with it, have resulted in a shifting set of preferred terms. Among the names are the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex (SECC), Southern Cult, Mississippian Ideological Interaction Sphere (MIIS), and Mississippian Art and Ceremonial Complex (MACC; Knight 2006; King, ed. 2007:1-14; Reilly 2004:125-126; Reilly and Garber, eds. 2007:2-4). As Ethridge has recently observed, the Mississippian world was a place of great linguistic and spatial diversity including more than 20 known languages from five linguistic families—Algonquian, Muskogean, Iroquoian, Siouan, and Caddoan (2017:81).
- *Mississippian Aura* The use of Mississippian-related iconography and material culture traits in peripheral and outlying areas, ca. 1550-1600 (King and Meyers 2002).
- *Mississippian Afterglow* Residual use of Mississippian traits and preferences after ca. 1600, especially in outlying areas and regions. This may apply to materials, forms, or iconography.
- *Old Copper Complex* A material culture and technological tradition, ca. 5,000-2,000 years ago, centered around the native-copper deposits in eastern Wisconsin and Michigan, characterized by the production of copper implements, with some that are quite large (Martin 1999:156-162).
- *Owasco* Ritchie proposed this term to describe pre-Iroquoian sites of the Late Woodland period. The name for this tradition was derived from the first site reported in 1915—the Lakeside site at the head of Owasco Lake in Auburn, NY. It contained what Ritchie considered a defining set of settlement, subsistence, and material culture traits (1969:272). These traits included, 1) a shift towards the use of longhouses and enclosing settlements within a palisade, 2) adoption of corn, beans, and squash horticulture, and 3) a shift towards collared-ceramic vessels. Ritchie further proposed three Owasco phases—Carpenter Brook, Castle Creek, and Oak Hill—through which

he argued these dynamics could be traced, ca. 850 to 550 years ago. Re-examination of these traits, in light of additional excavation and better controlled dating, indicated that these dynamics did not occur in tandem as Ritchie postulated (Hart and Brumbach 2003).

#### Regionally-based archaeological terms

- Caborn-Wellborn A Mississippian-related culture centered in the lower Ohio River valley near the confluence with the Wabash River. Caborn-Wellborn sites appear to date ca. 600 to 400 years ago (Muller 1986:255-258). Material assemblages include copper, both native and European, and marine-shell and pipestone objects representing widespread exchange relationships, especially with other Mississippian groups to the south and west (Munson and Pollock 2012).
- Fort Ancient Archaeological sites of this cultural tradition are centered in the central Ohio River valley in Ohio, Kentucky, and West Virginia. They date ca. 800 to 400 years ago. Although not considered to be a Mississippian group, Fort Ancient sites share several similar traits including intensive maize cultivation on riverine floodplain locations and settlement features, such as a central plaza around which the town was organized. Material assemblages indicate extensive exchange relationships with neighboring Mississippian, Oneota, and Iroquoian groups (Drooker 1997; Drooker and Cowan 2001; Graybill 1984; Pollock and Henderson 2000).
- Huber A series of sites located in the upper reaches of the Illinois River, with several in close proximity to the southwestern edge of Lake Michigan. They appear to date ca. 600 and 500 years ago. Some such as Huber (one of the sites), Anker, and Hoxie Farm have material culture similar to Oneota sites further west in the Mississippi River valley. There is no evidence of European contact. Other sites, including Oak Forest, Palos, and New Lenox, have assemblages that include European metals and GBP2 glass beads (Brown and O'Brien 1990; Brown and Sasso 2001).
- Monongahela A series of upland sites located primarily within the upper tributaries of the Ohio River drainage, especially along the Monongahela and Youghiogheny Rivers. The Monongahela sites date, ca. 900 to 350 years ago, and share a distinctive settlement pattern with small circular houses surrounding an open central plaza. On later sites more than one ring of houses may surround the plaza with extensive use of semi-subterranean storage features, often occurring in a radial pattern. Several Monongahela sites have produced European metals and GBP2 glass beads (Herbstritt 1984; Johnson 2001; Lapham and Johnson 2002).
- *Oneota* Archaeological sites in this cultural tradition are centered across the Upper Mississippi valley in Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Illinois, and date from ca. 850 years ago into the seventeenth century. Local groups appear to have selectively adopted some aspects of Mississippian cultural practice such as intensive maize cultivation and shell-tempered pottery, but not other practices such as a ranked social structure. Oneota material culture reflects strong connections to the west as evidenced by hoes made of bison scapulae, pipestone-disc pipes, and pipestone tablets (Theler and Boszhardt 2003:157-182).
- St. Lawrence Iroquois Although many questions remain about the Iroquoian-speaking people who lived in palisaded towns on both sides of the St. Lawrence River, there is little doubt about their presence and importance during the sixteenth century. These were the people documented by Cartier and Roberval during the 1534 and 1541-1543 voyages. They were gone by the time of Champlain's explorations during the first decade of the seventeenth century (Chapdelaine 2016, 2019). In addition to sites in the St. Lawrence River valley, a significant number of St. Lawrence Iroquois sites are located in northern New York, especially in Jefferson County in the Champlain Valley, and across northern New England (Abel 2002, Engelbrecht 2004; Petersen et al. 2004).
- Shenks Ferry This term refers to a discrete group of sites along the east side of the lower Susquehanna River and adjacent Great Valley, ca. 800 to 400 years ago. Shenks Ferry sites share a distinctive settlement pattern in which a circular palisade surrounds one or more rings of ovate houses that encircle a central plaza (Kinsey and Graybill 1971). Although mortuary practices were diverse and changed over time, Shenks Ferry people appear to have had a preference for extended supine interments. The linguistic and ethnic affiliations of the people who occupied these sites are not known (Heisey and Witmer 1964, Graybill 1987). Shenks Ferry people appear to have been displaced or assimilated by the Susquehannock sometime during the mid-sixteenth century (Kent 1984:313).

## Appendix 2

Additional data tables relevant to the Weston site are in Chapter Nine and to the Jamesville site in Chapter Eleven.

Mackinac, Michigan (n = 1,416; Cleland, ed. 1971:75-85)							
Kidd # a	Quantity	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Class	Туре		
IIa6	1,215	R/variable	black	А	3		
IIa13	47	R/variable	white	А	4		
IIa55/57	132	R/E	dark blue	В	6		
IIb32	1	-	white with 2 red & black stripes	В	1		
IIb34	20	-	white with 3 red & green stripes	В	2		
WIb7/8	1	tr cone	amber	А	9		

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970; W denotes wire wound beads

b Shape—R - round, E - elongated, tr - truncated

Table A2. Beads comparable to the Weston site from the Gros Cap site at St. Ignace,Michigan (n = 241 out of ~775; Nern and Cleland 1974:9, 31-35, Figure 17).						
Kidd # a	Quantity	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Figure		
IIa6	58	R	black	17G & 17H		
IIa13	44	R	white	17I		
IIa15	40 & 28 fragments	E/0	white	17X		
IIb36	1	0	white with 3 green & yellow stripes	17AA		
IIb36*	2	0	white with 3 blue & yellow stripes	17BB		
IIb7′	2	E/0	white with 3 thin blue spiral stripes	17BB		
WIb1	15 fragments	-	light gray	17BB		
WIb6	1	-	light gold	17CC		
WIb10	9	-	light aqua	17EE		
WIIc10	13 & 16 fragments	-	medium blue	17FF & 17GG		
WIIe3	2 & 10 fragments	-	amber	17HH		

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970; W denotes wire wound beads

b Shape—R - round, 0 - oval, E - elongated

14.4, Co	olor Plates 1-4	)		,
Kidd # a	Quantity	Shape <sup>b</sup>	Color	Color Plates
IIa6	6	R	black	1 #17
IIa13	27	Е	white rd	1 #22
IIa15	88	Е	white rd	1 #2
IIa57*	4	Е	dark blue	2 #41
IIb39	1	-	white with 2 red, blue & green stripes	
IIb'7	≥3	-	white with blue spiral stripe	2 #50
IIbb6	≥7	-	black with red on white stripes	2 #53
IIj7	≥7	-	black with white wavy lines	3 #57
WIb1/4	≥18	-	light gray	3 #67-68
WIb6* & WIb7/ c5/c5*	≤20	R/0/tr cone	amber	4 #70-72
WIIc2	≤22	multi	light gray	4 #93
WIIc11/12	≤31	multi	dark blue	4 #91
WIId1	≤8	raspberry	light gray	4 #93
WIIe7	≤3	melon	light blue	4 #100

Table A3. Beads comparable to the Weston site from the Rock Island site in Door County, Wisconsin (n = ~245, estimated portion for Period 3a; Mason 1986:185-190, Table 14.4. Color Plates 1-4)

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970; W denotes wire wound beads

b Shape—R - round, 0 - oval, E - elongated, tr - truncated, multi - multifaceted

Kidd # ª	Quantity	Shape⁵	Color
IIa13	1	R	opaque white
IIa15	2	E/0	opaque white
lb28	1	E/0	opaque white with thin blue stripes
IIb′7	1	E/0	opaque white with thin blue stripes
WIIc10*	4	multi	blue

a Kidd #—Kidd and Kidd 1970; W denotes wire wound beads

b Shape—R - round, 0 - oval, E - elongated, multi - multifaceted

#### Table A5. Pieces of scrap metal from the Jamesville site based on two surfacecollected assemblages (n = 128).

conceted assemblages (n = 120).							
Scrap Collection	Utilized	Unutilized	Melted				
Bradley (NYSM A2017.57)	34	26	21				
Sohrweide	29	12	6				
Totals	63	38	27				

Descriptions of remains from four sources (gender/age est./details)							
# a	Anderson <sup>b</sup>	Pratt <sup>c</sup>	Raemsch <sup>d</sup>	Dental analyses <sup>e</sup>	Field notes and comments <sup>f</sup>		
P1	male/30+	male/30	?/adult/right & left femurs	?/50+	An extended individual with a kettle at the knees.		
P2	A-male/36+ B-male/29	A-male/36+ B-male/29	not seen not seen	A-?/35-40 B-?/25-30/pipe wear	Two extended individuals facing one another with iron tools at their feet.		
Р3	A-female/adult B-?/14 C-?/5 D-male/adult E-female/18	A-female/adult B-?/14 C-?/5 D-adult male E-male/18	A-female/40-50 B-?/10-12 C-?/4-5 D-male/40-50 E-male/18-20 'F'-?/40+	A-?/35-40 B-?/13-14/ maxilla only C-?/4-5/ mandible D-?/30-35 E-?/20+	No field notes or photos. This burial appears to have been extensively disturbed, likely by reburial.		
P4	A-female/adult B-?/6 C-?/11 D-?/1	A-female/adult B-?/6 C-?/11 D-?/1 E-male/adult	not seen not seen not seen not seen not seen	A-?/30-40 B-?/6	Four extended individuals with kettle at feet		
P5	A-male/adult B-male/23 C-?/2	A-male/adult B-male/23 C-?/2	A-male/45+ B-male/45+/ co-mingled C-female/40+	A-not seen B-?/40-50 C-?/2	Scattered remains and objects, likely by reburial.		
P6	A-male/40+ B-male/adult	male/40+	A-male/50+ B-?/infant C-female/40+	A-?/40-50 B-?/~50/ mandible only	One extended individual. Do B & C belong to P7, P10?		
P7	female/30+	female/30+	not seen	not seen	An extended individual with kettle at knees		
P8	A-male/adult B-female/adult	?/adult	not seen not seen	A-not seen B-?/40-50/ mandible only	An extended individual with knees "drawn up and spread apart"		
Р9	female/18	female/18	not seen	?/20-22	An extended individual with kettle at feet		
P10	A-female/17 B-?/6	A-female/17? B-?/6	A-?/infant B-female/18-20	A-?/20-25 B-not seen	Two extended individuals with kettle at feet		
P11	female, 36	female, 36	not seen	?/35-45/ mandible only	An extended individual with kettle at feet. Notes say shot in the head; P12C?		

# Appendix 3

# Appendices

P12	female/24 'X'-male/adult	female/24	A-female/adult/ copper-stained cranium B-?/adult ? C-?/adult ?/ copper-stained legs X-?/juvenile	female/~25/ only one maxilla present	One extended individual, no objects other than nails
P13	male/adult	male/adult	male, adult	?/30-40/maxilla only	One extended individual "wearing a jacket".
P14	female/30+	female?/30+	not seen	?/probably 50+	Loosely flexed individual. Notes say male, feet are missing. Disturbed.
P15	female/36+	female/36+	female/40-50	?/30-40	One extended individual with kettle on legs.
P16	A-female/adult B-female/36	A-female/adult B-female/36	A–female/40+ B-female/50+	A-not seen B-?/probably 50+/mandible only	Two extended individuals with iron tools and kettle at feet. Badly disturbed.
P17	female/adult	female / mature	not seen	not seen	Scattered remains of one adult. Removed for reburial? Listed as "empty" on site plan.
P18	female/21	female/21	female/21-25/ also fragments from a juvenile, infant, and adult	female/25-30/ only one maxilla present	Extended individual with iron tools, kettle at feet.
P19	A-female/adult B-female/15 C-?/2	A-female/adult B-female/15 C-?/2	A-?/juvenile/ one tooth B-?/adult C-?/18-24 mos D-male/40-50 E-male?/13-15	A-female/60+ B-female/15-17	A complex secondary burial; notes say three bundles plus a flexed infant. Raemsch's descriptions suggest a mix of remains
P20	male/24-29	male/24-29	not seen	not seen	One extended individual with kettle at feet, musket on right side.
P21	A-male/adult B-male/adult C-male/adult D-male/adult	A-male/adult B-male/adult 22 C-male/adult D-male/adult	A-male/21-25 B-male/18-20 C-male/young adult D-male/adult E-?/juvenile	A-male/20-25 B-male/18-20 C-male/20-25 D-not seen	Four individuals, two extended and two bundles. Other remains may have been mixed in.
P22	?/4	?/4	?/adult/one cranial fragment	not seen	One extended individual with kettle at knees.
P23	female?/adult	?/adult	not seen	female/30+	One extended individual, scattered by plowing?

continued next page

P24	?/4	?/4	not seen	not seen	One extended (?) individual, poor preservation.
P25	not reported	?/child	not seen	not seen	Disturbed burial, removed for reburial? Listed as 'empty' on site plan.
P26	A-female/adult B-male, 29 C-?/adult C2-?/5 D-male/21 E-male/adult F-male/adult G-male/22 H-female/24-26	female, adult B- male, 29 C-?/5 D-male/21 E-male/adult F-male/adult G-male/22 H-female/26-28 I-?/? J-?/5	A-female/40+ B-male/50+ C-?/4-5 D-male/21-25 E-male/50+ F-male/30-40 G-male/30-40 H-?/adult/femur I.1-?/13-15 I.2-?/7-8 I.3-?/3-5 I.4-?/6-7	A - F, 30-40 B - M, 25-30 C - not seen D - not seen E - not seen F - M, 20-25 G - M, 25-30 H - not seen	A complex burial with ~10 extended individuals. Complicated by likely mixing with remains from other burials.
P27	A-male/adult B-?/3-5 C-male/adult D-female/adult E-?/8 F-female/young adult G- female/ young adult H-male/adult I-?/3	A-male/adult B-?/3-5 C-male/adult D-female/adult E-?/child F-female/adult G-female/adult H-male/adult I-?/child	A-?/adult/ pha- lange C-?/?/single incisor	Major problems with labelling— one maxilla marked P27 and another marked P27H. Other mandibles marked with P27 and Roman numerals up to XVI	A complex burial with ~10 disarticulated individuals in two levels—a mini ossuary.
P28	A-female?/36 B-?/8 C-female/20 C.2-?/newborn	A-female?/36 B-?/8 C-female/20 D-?/newborn	C-?/16-18	A-F/35-40 B-?/7-8	Three extended individuals, kettles and tools at feet.
P29	not reported	A-?/adolescent B-?/infant	not seen	not seen	Remains had been apparently removed with some represented in P26 I and J (?) or P27.
P30	female/adult	female/adult	not seen	?/20-25	One extended individual.
P31	female/adult	female/adult	?/adult	female/20-25	No field notes or photos.
P32	female/adult A-?/17	A-female/adult B-?/17	not seen	female/15-18	No field notes or photos.
P33	not reported	?/?	not seen	not seen	Listed as 'empty' on site plan.
P34	A-male/adult B-?/20 mos	A male/adult B-?/20 mos	A-male/30-40 B-?/18-24 mos	A - 30-35 B - not seen	Two extended individuals with muskets on left and kettle at feet

# Appendices

P35	A-female/adult B-?/foetus	A-female/adult B-?/foetus	not seen	?/probably 50+/ mandible only	An extended individual with kettle at feet and iron ax at head.
P36	not reported	?/?	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as 'empty' on site plan.
P37	A-male/21 B-male/31 C-female/31-35	A-male/21 B-male/31 C-female/31-35	A-?/adult B-?/adult/ miscellaneous postcranial bones only	A-male/18-20/ possible pipe wear, maxilla B-not seen C-female/30-35/ maxilla only	Photo shows a complex burial in a large box with three extended individuals.
P38	male/35	male/16	A-?/adult B-?/adult/ miscellaneous postcranial bones only	A-?/15-18 Probable second individu- al/30+	An extended individual with kettle at feet and pipes at head.
P39	A-female/adult B-male/30+	A-female/adult B-male/30+	A-female/30-40 B-male/adult plus two unrelated teeth	A-?/30-35 B-not seen	Two extended individuals facing one another
P40	A-female/29 B-?/10 mos	A-female/29 B-?/10 mos	not seen	not seen, but may be-?/25-30/ unlabelled mandible	Two extended individuals with kettle at feet and iron knife at head.
P41	male/41	male/41	male?/adult/only femurs, hand and foot bones present	not seen	An extended individual with kettle at feet and musket on left side.
P42	A-female?/adult B-female?/adult C-?/3?	A-female?/adult B-female/sub adult C-?/child	A-female/50+ B-female/21-25 'C'-?/infant	A-not seen B-?/20-25/ labelled P42 II	Two loosely flexed individuals with kettle at feet.
P43	male/old adult	male/old adult	male/50+	?/50-60	One loosely flexed individual with kettle at knees.
P44	female?/adult	female?/adult	not seen	?/40-50/ mandible only	One extended individual with kettle at feet and iron tools by head.
P45	?/7	?/7	not seen	?/~6/left portion of maxilla only	Apparently a rodent disturbed child's burial.
P46	not reported	?/?	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as "empty" on site plan.
P47	?/5	?/5	?/4-5/deciduous teeth	not seen	One extended individual with kettle at feet.

continued next page

P48	A-?/11 B-female/adult	A-?/11 B-female/adult	B-female/30-40/ partial cranium only	not seen	Two extended individuals with kettle below knees.
P49	female/adult	female/adult	female/40+	?/55+/maxilla only	Photo shows single flexed individual.
P50	not reported	?/?	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as 'empty' on site plan.
P51	A-female?/15 B-?/6	A-female/15 B-?/6	A-?/young adult B-?/35/cranial fragments only	A-?/11-12 B-?/4-5/ maxilla only	Photo shows two extended individuals with kettle at feet.
P52	not reported	?/?	?/infant/rib frag- ments only	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as "empty" on site plan.
P53	not reported	?/?	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as "empty" on site plan.
P54	A-?/7 B-?/newborn	A-?/7 B-?/newborn	A-?/infant/ par- tial cranium B-?/7-8/cranium and foot bones	A-?/7-8	An extended individual with kettle at feet.
P55	not reported	?/adult	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos.
P56	A-male/adult B-?/1 C-?/adult D-female/adult	A-male/adult B-?/1 C-?/adult D-female/adult	A-male/50+ B-female?/30-40 C-male/50+ D-?/infant	A-?/50+	Photo shows three extended individuals.
P57	not reported	?/?	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as "empty" on site plan.
P58	A-?/15 B-?/child C-?/adult	A-?/15 B-?/child	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos.
P59	female/adult	female/adult	probable male/ 40+/cranium only	female/50+	No field notes or photos.
P60	?/child	?/child	not seen	not seen	No field notes or photos. Listed as "empty" on site plan.

a Burial numbers assigned by Pratt (Note 11.9). The original records are in his hands and remain unavailable. b As reported by Anderson and McCuaig (1963).

c Edits by Peter P. Pratt in an email to Lorie Saunders 4/15/09. Copy sent to James W. Bradley by Saunders.

d By the time that Raemsch analyzed these remains, apparently a great deal of mixing of the separate remains had occurred (1995).

e Analyses by A. Gregory Sohrweide, DDS (personal communication 10/15/10).

f Included here is information related to the excavation available from what notes, photographs, and correspondence that now reside at the RFC.

### Abbreviations

- Antiquities Beauchamp's manuscript, Antiquities of Onondaga (Note 1.13)
- **DAB** Malone, editor, 1943, *Dictionary of American Biography* (Note 2.62)
- ESV English Standard Version of the Bible (Note 6.50)
- JR Thwaites, editor and translator, 1896-1901, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Note 1.31)
- North Museum North Museum of Nature and Science at Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA
- NYCD O'Callaghan, editor and translator, 1853-1887 Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York (Note 1.36)

NYSM – New York State Museum, Albany, NY

- OHA Onondaga Historical Association, Syracuse, NY
- **RFC** Rock Foundation Collection, currently housed in Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY
- RMSC Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, NY
- RSPM Robert S. Peabody Museum, Andover, MA

#### **Chapter Notes**

#### Preface

- 1. Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois (Bradley 2005a).
- 2. European colonization from a Native perspective (Richter 2001). The word Native is used to describe the indigenous people of North America and their diverse cultures in general terms. Native is capitalized as equivalent to European. On occasion the word Indian is used because that is how most Indian people describe themselves. For those offended by this word, see Sherman Alexis, "The white man tried to take our land, our sovereignty, and our languages. And he gave us the word 'Indian'. Now he wants to take the word 'Indian' away from us too. Well, he can't have it" (Treuer 2012:7-8).

### **Chapter One**

- 1.1. An earlier survey from Albany to Fort Schuyler was carried out in 1792 (Hill 1908; Schuyler et al. 1992[1792]). "a new empire" (Roberts 2010:230).
- 1.2. "such prodigious works", "the work of the Indians" (Clinton 1812:57). "further advanced in civilization than the present tribes", "at least a mile . . ." (Clinton 1818:4-5). What Clinton took to be a large town probably refers to the concentration of sites located between Butternut Creek and the east branch of Limestone Creek. These include the Carley, Lot 18, Indian Castle, Indian Hill, and Weston sites, as well as several precontact sites. "three old forts . . ." (Clinton 1818:4-5). The Jamesville, Temperance House, and Pompey Center sites are most likely Clinton's forts. "that the Europeans who . . ." (Clinton 1818:6). The

activities of the "Money Diggers" probably explains why Clinton saw so many scattered human remains (Note 1.5).

- 1.3. "a vast population . . . advanced in civilization", "migrated to their present country" (Clinton 1818:16). At the 1788 Treaty of Fort Schuyler the resident Onondaga gave up their traditional lands with the exception of a 100 square mile tract from Onondaga Lake south. This formed the basis for Onondaga reservation lands (Blau et al. 1978:496).
- 1.4. "ancient places of interment" (Clark 1849:II:7).
- 1.5. Clark mentions them and then devotes an entire chapter to the story of the "Money Diggers" (1849:II: 226, 242, 1854:241-258). Given the depredations of the "Money Diggers," it is no wonder that Clinton found human remains scattered around other sites such as Indian Hill (Clark 1849:II:226, 241-242, 257-258).
- 1.6. "almost every variety of . . ." (Schoolcraft 1846:233).
- 1.7. "more curious than considerate", "to illustrate science and adorn the cabinets of the curious", "We have robbed them . . ." (Clark 1849:II:257, 267).
- 1.8. "Why did the Iroquois do the things they did?" (Hunt 1940:6). The Problem of the Iroquois (Hunt 1940:3).
- 1.9. "I got the Indians into an excellent humor by presents of cigars and pipes", "one old fellow who seemed . . .", "They are the worst . . ." (Wade 1947:I:314-315). For more on Francis Parkman (Eccles 2003).
- 1.10. They were the bad guys (Parkman 1867:444-448). "A virtual Iroquois empire of conquest" (Parkman 1851:9-10). Jennings provides a review of how the idea of an Iroquoian empire became so fixed in our history (1984:10-14).
- 1.11. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* (1962 [1851]). "first scientific account of an Indian tribe", "the best general treatise on the Iroquois" (Fenton's introduction to the republished edition by Morgan 1962[1851]:v).
- 1.12. Parkman's Iroquois empire was purely imaginary (Hunt 1940:6-7, 161). "changed, almost overnight" (Hunt 1940:4). "a small and unobtrusive people ...", "only after and because of the European trade" (Hunt 1940:161).
- 1.13. Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* (1962 [1851]). William M. Beauchamp's 10 manuscript volumes of *Antiquities of Onondaga*, 1879-1901, are housed in the New York State Museum, Albany, NY. They are cited hereafter as (*Antiquities* 1-10:page or drawing#).
- 1.14. Albert Cusick was the grandson of James Cusick, the brother of David Cusick who wrote *Ancient History of the Six Nations* published in 1825 (Fenton 1998:64). Albert was born at Tuscarora in 1846. Since his mother was Onondaga, Eel Clan, Albert went to Onondaga in 1858. He became a principle chief in 1862 and held the Onondaga title *Thatótá·ho* [Tadodaho] from 1864 to 1874, when he converted to Christianity (Beauchamp 1892:42). A good biography of William M. Beauchamp

has not yet been written (Maguire and Anselmi 2016).

- 1.15. American Anthropological Association (Tooker 1978:10).
- 1.16. "tales, legends and myths" (Curtin and Hewitt 1918:48-50).
- 1.17. Discussion and summary of Horatio Hale's *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Fenton 1998:66-68). The Six Nations Reserve in Ontario was established after the American Revolution for the Iroquois who had been displaced from their homeland. "the greatest mind of his generation" among his people (Fenton 1998:36). For a more thorough account of the Gibson-Goldenweiser manuscript *Concerning the League* (Woodbury et al. 1992:Introduction).
- 1.18. For more on Fenton (Campisi and Starna 2006; Fenton 2007). In recent years it has become fashionable to disparage William N. Fenton and his work, especially by younger scholars who did not have the opportunity to work with him (Jordan 2008:15-16; Parmenter 2010:xxxi-xxxii, 298, Note 23). It is important to remember that Fenton, like Beauchamp, was an adopted clan member, a fluent speaker of the language, and a welcome guest on the reservations he visited. He was invited to the ceremonies he witnessed and was deeply aware of his responsibilities to his sources (2007). Fenton observed such in the dedication of one of his last books, "To the Old People, who know everything" (1998:v). Although the current political climate faults Fenton for many reasons, it is likely that in a longer historical perspective he will be remembered and honored for his role in protecting and preserving Iroquoian culture during the twentieth century.
- 1.19. Moving toward a new synthesis (Fenton 1940:244).
- 1.20. For a brief history of the Conference on Iroquois Research, also known as the Iroquois Conference (Graymont and Patrick 2010).
- 1.21. Paul Wallace was editor of the series *Pennsylvania History* when "The Livingston Indian Records, 1666– 1723" were published by the Pennsylvania Historical Association (Leder, ed. 1956:29-237). "The Iroquois: A Brief Outline of Their History" (Leder, ed. 1956:15-28). Ray Fadden's illustrations of pictographs are located at the bottom of the pages of the record (Leder, ed. 1956:28-199). Other references (Colder 1958[1747]; Wilson 1960; Trelease 1960; Wallace 1969).

Anthropologist Peter Farb revived the issue of the League as one of the models on which the Constitution of the new United States of America was based (1968:98). For major proponents (Grinde 1977; Johansen 1982). For rebuttals (Levy 1996; Starna and Hamell 1996; Tooker 1988, 1990).

1.22. For more on the 1984 Williamsburg conference (Aquila 1997:6, 13 Note 5). Aquila presents a useful review on ways the word empire has been used in relation to the Five Nations (1997:5-10). Published conference papers (Richter and Merrill, eds. 1987). 642

- 1.23. For a review on the return of the belts (Anonymous 1989).
- 1.24. "more ink had been spilled over the Iroquois" (Fenton 1940:160).
- 1.25. Scholars who use *League* and *Confederacy* as equivalent terms (Parmenter 2010:xxxiii-xxxiv, 298 Note 23; Starna 2008:290-291; Woodbury et al. 1992:xiii). Richter's differentiation of these terms (1992:3, 7; Richter and Merrill 1987:11-12). These terms are discussed in more detail in Chapter Two and in the Glossary.
- 1.26. "the first militaristic slaving society" (Ethridge 2009:29-30). The continued use of terms such as genocidal war and genocidal war parties indicates that Parkman's influence still survives (Warren 2014:115, 132).
- 1.27. In *Indians in Pennsylvania* Wallace included considerable discussion of the Iroquois, including chapters on The Iroquois Confederacy and The Beaver Wars (1961).
- 1.28. "stretched to the four quarters of the earth . . . to embrace all mankind" (Wallace 1986:8-9). Wallace originally published *The White Roots of Peace* in 1946. In 1994 it was republished by Kahionhes, previously known as John Fadden (Ray Fadden's son) with a Prologue by John Mohawk. "no wars and no fighting within our territories during this time [of the Great Peace], for over 2,000 years" (Powless 2016:144).
- 1.29. "must be seen as part . . ." (Dennis 1993:227). It was cited as an example of an active peace system in the journal *Science* (Fry 2012:880-884). Dennis makes his argument by assertion, not from evidence. He uses Onondaga as an example and draws heavily on Tuck's work and my own in making his case. Those data do not support his conclusions.
- 1.30. History is not dead. History is powerful (Becker 1932; MacMillan 2009:x-xi).
- 1.31. The *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* were translated and republished between 1896 and 1901 under the editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites. There are 73 volumes of records from 1610 to 1791. The majority is the annual *Jesuit Relations* first published in 1633 and, with only a few exceptions, continued until 1679. Thwaites was well aware these documents had been carefully edited for public relations purposes, however, they are an essential and invaluable source of information (Thwaites, ed. 1896-1901 [JR] 27:11). Dablon's lurid description may actually reflect his experiences during the Thirty Years' War in Europe (JR 42:181-183).
- 1.32. Thank you to Hanni Woodbury for her patient assistance in straightening out the orthography, likely similarities, and possible meanings of these Onondaga names. It is important to remember that the historical record is not static, even in terms of primary sources. "the texture of human contact" (Preston 2009:5).
- 1.33. "myths, legends and folktales" (Wonderley

2009:xiv-xv). "combine to make up the Tradition" (Woodbury et al. 1992:xviii).

- 1.34. "In Indian History there is no more uncertain element than time" (Beauchamp 1905:189; Fenton 1987:90). Historian David P. Henige has explored the complex relationships between oral tradition and written history thoughtfully and in detail, particularly in terms of African history, as well as in cross-cultural situations in general (1971, 1973, 1982, 1986, 1999, 2003, 2009). The four Christian gospels are another example of how oral tradition can vary when written down. All were written between 50 and 200 years after the events they describe, and none describe those events in the same way.
- 1.35. Fr. Jean de Brébeuf (Latourelle 2015). "do not stumble in their speeches", "an infinity of metaphors, of various circumlocutions, and other rhetorical methods" (JR 10:257-259). "All the authority of . . ." (JR 6:243). Fr. Paul Le Jeune was the first, most prolific, and most efficient of the editors of the *Jesuit Relations* (Pouliot 2018).
- 1.36. Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot spoke several Iroquoian languages (Surprenant 1978). Later requests were often made for a specific translator, such as Hilletje van Olinda, who served as the preferred interpreter for the Five Nations between 1691 and 1702 (Reynolds, ed. 1911:IV:1822; Trelease 1960:212, 327-328). Specific requests to the English governor made by Five Nations speakers to care for Olinda as their interpreter were recorded in 1691 and 1692 in the Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, published between 1853 and 1887 (NYCD:3:777, 844). Of the 15 volumes published 1-11 are cited in this book as related to the colonial history of the State of New York. The set of documents was procured from Holland, England, and France by John Romeyn Brodhead, named as agent under an act of the Legislature passed May 2, 1839—Volumes 1-2, Holland documents 1856-1858; Volumes 3-8, London documents 1853-1857; and Volumes 9-10, Paris documents 1855-1858. Volume 11 is the General index to volumes 1-10. The 11 volumes were edited and translated by Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan.

"I suspect our Interpreters may not have done Justice to the Indian Eloquence" (Colden 1958 [1727]:xi). The problem with indifferent interpreters (Note 3.89).

- 1.37. Aqueendaro alias Sadegenaktie (NYCD 4:729). Multiple names remain a common practice in Onondaga. As Irving Powless, Jr. observes, "I have two names, one that was given to me (*Tsa?degaihwade?*) and one as a title (*Dehatgahdõns*)" (2016:86).
- 1.38. Metaphor is largely in use by Indian people (JR 10:219).
- 1.39. René Cuillerier, an indentured Frenchman (Perrault 1982). "They have very good memories . . ." (Brandão 2003:77-79). "A retentive memory is [still] weaker than the palest ink" (Henige 1973:223, 1982). For a

critique of oral sources of information on the meaning of ancient symbols and the functions of perplexing artifacts (Mason 2006:252).

- 1.40. Archaeological history as independent basis for evaluation (Ferris 2009:18-22).
- 1.41. "It is well known that . . ." (NYCD 9:80). Recent historians have questioned this (Brandão 1997:83-85; Richter 1992:50-51, 57-58). Faunal analysis of Onondaga sites (Pipes 2010).
- 1.42. For recent summaries on the origins of wampum (Bradley 2011; Otto 2014). Much of the current understanding of wampum belts and their meaning was codified by Ray Fadden, also known as Tehanetorens (1972). Subsequently described (Anonymous 2000; Wallace 1989:199-204).
- 1.43. There is a vast literature on culture and cultural boundaries, what is inside (Us) and what is outside (Them), with recent sources (Berreby 2008; Greene 2013; Sapolsky 2017). As Sapolsky points out, "Us-ing and Them-ing" is an automatic and neurologically based behavior, although it is also one that can be strongly modified by social and cultural factors (2017:387-424). For example, our conceptions of space and time are defined culturally rather than neurobiologically (Buzsáki and Llinás 2017).

Useful discussions of identity in cross-cultural contexts (Berry 1980: 17-22; Phinney 2003; Sam and Berry eds. 2006). For discussion of identity in archaeological contexts (Insoll 2007). Many archaeologists use the term ethnicity to describe the construction of identities in the past and present (Jones 1997). Another term frequently used is ethnogenesis, or how the ethnicity of a particular group evolves or changes over time (Voss 2008, 2015). See the Glossary for definitions of culture, identity, ethnicity, and other terms used in this book.

- 1.44. The phrase "culture contact" has been used frequently in the literature. As Stephen Silliman has observed, unless defined this problematic phrase is meaningless and needs to be retired (2005:57-58).
- 1.45. Several scholars have proposed that Native people initially perceived Europeans as powerful spirit-beings or returning ancestors (Bradley 2001:31-34, 2005a:106-108; Hall 1997:1-8; Hamell 1987, 1992; Hamell and Fox 2005:144, Note 1; Nanepashemet and Bradley 1996).

There is also a significant body of work from ethnographic and cross-cultural studies beyond the Americas verifying the initial Native perceptions of Europeans. One well-documented example is the reaction of highland tribal people in Papua New Guinea to Australian gold miners during the 1930s—"Ah, these men do not belong to the earth . . . they are our own relatives . . . who have died . . . and turned white and come back." "Our old men believed that these were lightning beings from the sky, with special powers" (Connolly and Anderson 1987:6, 8, 34-

55). Worsley provides another case study (1968).

- 1.46. The process of cross-cultural contact was discussed in previous work on the Barnes, Temperance House and Atwell sites, and Champlain's 1615 raid (Bradley 2001:32, 2005a:69, 113). Marcel Moussette suggests an alternative approach for understanding these crosscultural interactions in New France, one based on encounter, contact, exchange, and *métissage* (2003).
- 1.47. This definition of acculturation (Redfield et al. 1936:149). For a more current version (Sam and Berry 2006:11-17).
- 1.48. "passive and directional in outcome . . ." (Lightfoot 1995:206). "concept of acculturation is flawed . . ." (Rothchild 2003:6).
- 1.49. "If there is one flaw in recent critiques of acculturation . . ." (Cusick, ed. 1998:127).
- 1.50. "cannot provide analytical access . . ." (Silliman 2005:61, 64-66, 2009:213). Other critical comments about acculturation (Ferris 2009:11-17; Jordan 2010:80-83). For another review and critique of acculturation and decision to use "culture transfer" (Turgeon 1996:34-39).
- 1.51. References to negative master narratives of dependency, colonialism, and other tropes of decline (Jordan 2008:8, 16-18; Ferris 2009:9-17; Mitchell and Scheiber 2010:10-14). An example is archaeologist Matthew Liebmann's excellent study of the Pueblo Revolt, its origins, and internal complexities. While his concluding observations to "decenter the colonial dyad and remember that the transformative process of catachresis is a common strategy of subaltern resistance in colonized (and newly liberated) contexts the world over", are valuable, there are more accessible ways to say this (Liebmann 2012:212-214).
- 1.52. "understand people *in their own terms*" (Sam and Berry 2006:3). Other factors explicitly addressed in contemporary acculturation analyses include directionality, scale, and dimensionality, or in what behavioral dimension(s) does change take place in social relations, technology, and identity. Definitions for these terms, as well as related concepts such as socialization, enculturation, and ethnic identity, have been the subject of extended debate (Glossary; Sam and Berry 2006:14-21).
- 1.53. Symmetrical or asymmetrical relationships and entanglement (Alexander 1998:482-487; Ferris 2009:25-27; Jordan 2008:352-356). While entanglement may be a useful framework, it has yet to be articulated as useful theory (Mullins 2013:799-800). For degrees of entanglement—creolization, *métissage*, and hybridity (Ehrhardt 2013; Ferguson 1992:xli-xliii; Hantman 2010:56; Mouer et al. 1999:112; Moussette 2003; Warkentin 2012:10). Robinson has argued that polyvalent analysis, a synthetic approach that encompasses a range of evidence from disparate sources, is an appropriate methodology for crosscultural studies (2013). Another thoughtful review of 644

frameworks for discussing intercultural interactions (Walder and Yann 2018b).

- 1.54. Multidimensionality (Berry 2006:31-33).
- 1.55. Was it through active resistance by marginalizing them or by simply ignoring them is loosely adapted from Berry (1980). Changing continuities (Ferris 2009:1-2, 32).

#### **Chapter Two**

2.1. The view presented in this chapter is a reconstruction of how the world may have looked to Onondaga people before 1650. The present tense is used to dramatize this. While this reconstruction draws strongly on the surviving oral traditions of Onondaga and other Iroquoian people, much of this literature dates from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It includes terms such as the "Great Law," "the Wood's Edge," and several others. It is possible that these terms were used earlier and not recorded. The intent in using these terms is to present an Onondaga view and how it worked as a starting point for examining the complex events and processes that reshaped their world between 1650 and 1711. Rather than fact, this should be considered a set of hypotheses, one to be tested against the historical and archaeological evidence.

For a perspective on how differently people from a WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Democratic) cultural background view the world and how it works, see Jonathan Haidt's discussion (2012:Chapter Five).

- 2.2. Definitions of *orenda* (Hewitt 1902; Hodge 1910:II: 147-148). In current archaeological parlance, orenda might best translate as agency (VanPool and Newsome 2012:244–247). Orenda and medicinal plants (Herrick 1995:35). *otkon (Glossary; Tooker 1964:78 Note 36)*.
- 2.3. Thank you to Hanni Woodbury, Wallace Chafe, and Marianne Mithun for their thoughts on the meaning of orenda and related terms. The information from Garnier's manuscript dictionary is courtesy of Wallace Chafe. Thank you to George Hamell, and Jamie Jacobs for their help in deciphering this complex word, and for Wallace Chafe's observation that orenda and otkon are nouns, not verbs. Chafe also advised caution with Hewitt's interpretation, "I think Hewitt went overboard when he saw 'supernatural power' as the basic meaning. A song HAS power, but it isn't power itself. The author hopes the difference is clear" (Wallace Chafe, personal communication, 6/13/14). For the manuscript with the quote "song, dance, ceremony, fate, feast, prayer, [and] medicine" (Wallace Chafe, personal communication, 6/13/14). "to sing is to en-chant" (George Hamell, personal communication, 11/3/10). "Bluebird's spring song . . ." (Fenton 1998:48-49).
- 2.4. Pierre Millet lived in Onondaga 1668-1672 (Campeau 2015). "while preparing their feasts" (JR 53:269). "the

whole house ...." (NYCD 4:62). "combine to make up the Tradition" (Woodbury et al. 1992:xviii).

- 2.5. This is time in the realm of the Sky World (Foster 1974:2). The term man-being is used according to George Hamell to denote the real humans and the other-than-human kinds of people who comprised the social world in which Onondaga people lived (Hamell and Fox 2005:144, Note 1). This in turn follows John N. B. Hewitt's definition, as used in his translations of Northern Iroquoian oral traditions (Curtin and Hewitt 1918).
- 2.6. French Jesuits recorded a Huron–Wendat version of this creation story as early as 1636 (JR 10:125–139). For other versions and commentary (Carter 2008:16-31; Fenton 1998:37; Herrick 1995:5–11).
- 2.7. The achievements of three great prophets (Fenton 1998:3). The *Gaiwiio*, or the "Good Word" (Fenton 1998:46–47). "five days [centuries] of invasion, five days that our white brothers have been here" (Lyons 1980:173).
- 2.8. This summary is drawn largely from the work of George Hamell (1983, 1998, 2011a; Hamell and Fox 2005). William M. Beauchamp's comment on *Onterraoura* (JR 10:326). Barbeau and Hewitt describe the Great Horned Serpent in some of his other aspects (Barbeau 1951:82–83; Hewitt 1928:465–466).
- 2.9. This view of the world was not exclusive to Onondaga, but part of a broadly shared, overarching belief system that covered most of the eastern Woodlands and crossed many linguistic and ethnic boundaries. For other examples and discussion (Hall 1997; Lankford 2007a:8–38; Reilly and Garber 2007:4).
- 2.10. Where wampum was discovered (Woodbury et al. 1992: xxxvii). Among Iroquoian people, the ever-growing tree is a metaphor for life, status, and authority. It is usually portrayed as a white pine or elm (Fenton 1998:49; Herrick 1995:21-22). In Mississippian iconography, the Great Tree in its many forms including the ceremonial post in the plaza, served as a depiction of the *axis mundi*, or central axis, that connects the World Below and the World Above. As Kent Reilly recently suggested, this concept was central to Mississippian culture at several scales—from the twist of smoke, steam, or mist that rises from a council fire or pipe, to the life-renewing power represented by a rope of tobacco or sweet grass, a braided forelock or horn of hair, and even to the orenda that flows from the World Below to the World Above animating all life (2012). The evidence for an Iroquoian–Caddoan relationship based on linguistic similarities supports an argument that the people who spoke these languages may also have shared some cosmological beliefs (Chafe 1976:47-53).
- 2.11. In Onondaga *onotá? ke·kà*, is people on the hill, and the place name is *onú · tà?ke*, on or at a hill (Woodbury et al. 1992:xxv). Other sources of names (Blau et al.

1978:499; Beauchamp 1907:147).

- 2.12. The Spirit World and the Village of the Souls (Hamell 1992, 2011a).
- 2.13. "came out of the earth" (Wonderley 2005:228–229). The Onondaga speaker Canasatego used the phrase "Our Ancestors came out of this very Ground" in June 1744 (Colden 1958[1747]:II:103). Moved into the region from further west (Beauchamp 1905:132-134). Their clans had different origins (Clark 1849:I:34).
- 2.14. Fishing was a year-round activity (JR 42:71-73, 295). "a man can harpoon as many as a thousand [eels] in one night" (JR 42:97). "that they catch at the . . ." (JR 43:261). Beauchamp measured the Bishop's Rift weir at least twice between 1877 and its inundation a few years later. While he describes it in several publications, the most accessible is in *Aboriginal Occupation of New York*. Upriver from Baldwinsville at Bishop's Rift, is a stone eel weir with three bays of unequal length reaching up the river as it tended towards the north shore, built of fieldstone and nearly 1,200 feet long (Figure 2.9; Beauchamp 1900:113, Site #6).

Other traditional fishing sites included Kachnawaacharege on Chittenango Creek and probably La Famine on Lake Ontario at Sandy Pond at the mouth of the Salmon River (Beauchamp 1907:144, 146, 152, 171; NYCD 4:657).

- 2.15. This does not imply that Europeans lacked understanding of the natural world, especially those who lived close to the land. As Marcel Moussette has observed, there were at least two Frances during the seventeenth century—one much more rural than the other (2003:30). The distinction here is that most of the Europeans with whom the Onondaga had contact prior to 1650 were skilled or educated men-sailors, explorers, and Jesuits-who saw the world from a Western European and Christian perspective. As more European colonists settled in the Northeast and became tied to the landscape in their own way, the similarities between Native and European worldviews became more apparent. This process will be tracked, along with several of the cross-cultural hybrids and syncretism that resulted in subsequent chapters.
- 2.16. These four statements are drawn primarily from William Fenton, although some of them have been reworded (1998:49–50).
- 2.17. Shamanism (Halifax 1982; Hamell 2011a). Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau described shamans as people more favored by the spirits, who can see into the depths of others' souls (1977 [1724]:II:237). Depictions of shamans (Vastokas and Vastokas 1973:65–76). Other traits associated with shamans include an encircled head, multiple or abstracted limbs, arms up or down, and the absence of a head (Hedden 2004:328-329; Lenik 2002:45-48; Rajnovich 1994:75-79, 92).
- 2.18. "the desires of the soul" (Steckley 2004:34, quoting JR 39:17). For a discussion of curing ceremonies among 645

the Huron–Wendat (Tooker 1964:101–114). Herrick provides a detailed review of the Iroquoian concept of the causes of illness and its treatments (1995:25–93).

- 2.19. Wonderley provides an example of how one plant, red-osier dogwood, known as The Eldest Medicine, can play many roles (2010).
- 2.20. "The other ceremony that they perform . . ." (JR 42:173). For examples of healing rituals in 1656 (JR 42:67–69). Examples in 1676 (JR 60:185–195). The Jesuits and others frequently used the word *jongleur*, translated as juggler, to describe a shaman. Jongleur is a medieval French word for travelling minstrel or entertainer. Its use by the Jesuits implied trickery and charlatanism, not just entertainment (Brandão 2003:134 Note 38; Lafitau 1974 [1724]:I:240 Note 3).
- 2.21. "I have several times seen . . . " (JR 50:265–267). "Bears' claws, Wolves' teeth, Eagles' talons, certain stones and Dog sinews" (JR 10:209). Archaic projectile points as hunting or war charms (Engelbrecht 2003:50; Ritchie 1954:68). "michi-pichi," or an "ugly Manitou" presented to Fr. Louis Nicolas (Mishipizheu; Glossary). Nicolas illustrated it in the *Codex Canadensis and Natural History of the New World*, which was written ca. 1675 (Gagnon, ed. 2011:347).

A story of The Mammoth Bear as told by Converse in the twentieth century (1923:349-357). It is important to remember that such stories do not record actual Pleistocene memories or events (Henige 2009; Lankford 1980). Many mammoth and mastodon remains have been found in central New York (Ritchie 1965:10–11, Figure 3). Beauchamp recorded additional examples, such as a large mammoth molar found along the Seneca River at Cold Spring in 1879 (*Antiquities* 1:#833).

- 2.22. There are many versions of the Good Hunter story including a Huron–Wendat version recorded in 1636 by Fr. Paul Le Jeune (JR 10:177). Others have been reported (Beauchamp 1901a; Curtin and Hewitt 1918:274–275). The version used here is a composite.
- 2.23. The Great Horned Serpent or Rattlesnake Man-Being (Hamell 1998:258, 264, 269; Hamell and Fox 2005; Lankford 2007b:107-124). Two rattlesnake species are native to the Northeast-the massasauga rattlesnake (Sistrurus catenatus) and the timber rattlesnake (Crotalus horridus; Hamell and Fox 2005:1338). The French were impressed by the rattlesnakes, or serpens à fonnettes, around Onondaga Lake and described them in detail (JR 43:153–155). Archaeologically the occurrence of actual rattles in mortuary contexts extends back several thousand years. One example comes from the Glacial Kame-related Ridgeway site in Hardin County, Ohio (Converse 1979:83, Figure 36j). An antler effigy rattle from the thirteenth-century Calvert site, located between Lake Erie and Lake Huron in Ontario (Hamell and Fox 2005:140-141, Figure 17).
- 2.24. Dream fulfillment (Fenton 1998:50; Wallace 1969:59– 646

60). "Dreams are very powerful and merit deep respect" (JR 47:185).

- 2.25. For the taking of captives and heads (Williamson 2007; Williamson and Veilleux 2005). Gabriel Sagard reported the taking of heads during the winter of 1623-1624—"If they are too much encumbered with these, they are content to take the scalps with the hair on them" (Wrong, ed. 1939:152–153). Until the scalp was destroyed the soul was bound to this world and could not enter the Village of Souls (Hamell 1987). Chacon and Dye provide a comprehensive review on the taking and displaying of human body parts as trophies by American Indians (2007). The dismemberment of enemies and display of heads were also common practices among the English (Lipman 2008; Webb 1974:78). Body parts have been displayed as holy relics in many cultures (Manseau 2009).
- 2.26. North American Indian belief and ritual with respect to death (Hall 1997:30, 44). The Jesuits reported the Huron–Wendat belief in two souls as early as 1636 (JR 10:287). Fr. Claude Dablon recorded similar beliefs in Onondaga in 1656 (JR 42:51).
- 2.27. Dry bones must be properly contained (Beauchamp 1892:78–80; Hamell 2011a). Shunned the plants that grow near cemeteries (Herrick 1995:40–41).
- 2.28. The Path of Souls was reported by Sagard (Wrong, ed. 1939:172). Later reported by Lafitau (1974 [1724]:I:256). Guardians of the Pathway (Hamell 2011a). Lankford discussed this concept in Mississippian iconography (2007a:174–212). "When you die, you're going to 'eat strawberries', because strawberries line the road to heaven" (Arden 1987:172(3):398).
- 2.29. As a French captive observed during the 1660s, "Distinguished men die . . . but their names reign forever" (Brandão 2003:85). "back to life by making the living bear their names", "all the duties of the deceased" (JR 22:289).
- 2.30. "One of them thought . . ." (Antiquities 3:#214)
- 2.31. Reciprocity is the means by which mutual commitment is expressed (Fenton 1998:33).
- 2.32. The story of reciprocity and Mishipizheu (Glossary; JR 54:155–157).
- 2.33. "one head, one heart, and one mind". This fundamental goal could be expressed in other ways including one voice, one mind, one heart, or, one body, one head, and one mind (Fenton 1998:30; Wallace 1986:30). The responsibility of seeing that imbalances are corrected (Herrick 1995:15).
- 2.34. Onondaga suggests a resolution (Woodbury et al. 1992:xxvi).
- 2.35. Ceremony is defined as the collection of addresses, song, invocations and other practices that mark a particular event. Ritual is a particular speech, song or dance used during a ceremony. These definitions are after Foster (1974:3). "Ritual keeps the path . . ." (Foster 1974:114).

- 2.36. Wallace discusses Iroquois ceremonialism in detail, drawing a distinction between what he terms the "Rituals of Hope and Thanksgiving" and the "Rituals of Fear and Mourning" (1969:49–107). For additional descriptions (Fenton 1998:34–50; Herrick 1995:8–9; Tooker 1978).
- 2.37. *Ganuhv:nyu, Kanonhenyonk,* or returning thanks (Fenton 1998:50). Thanksgiving Address (Foster 1974:135).
- 2.38. The beginning of a new annual cycle (Foster 1974: 113). "bowl and plum pit game" (Hodge 1910:721).
- 2.39. Condolence or Requickening ceremonies (Fenton 1998:135-140 ; Woodbury et al. 1992:xxxiii-lxi).
- 2.40. "Alliance was the desired goal of Iroquoian people" (Druke 1987:29). Powerful spirit beings and animal friends all share a social order (Hamell and Fox 2005:127). As Le Jeune observed in 1636, "The Savages persuade themselves that not only men and other animals, but also all other things, are endowed with souls" (JR 6:175).
- 2.41. the Grandfathers (Fenton 1998:50).
- 2.42. "two monstrous red feathered animals" (Clark 1849:I:41). Joshua Clark also reported several other comparable stories recorded during the early nineteenth century (1849:I:37–43).
- 2.43. George Hamell has done the pioneering work on this subject (1987, 1992; Nanepashemet and Bradley 1996:26–39).
- 2.44. Animal kinship (Beauchamp 1892:92).
- 2.45. "it is us women that count" (Fenton 1998:49).
- 2.46. Onondaga clans (Fenton 1978:313). Moieties (Fenton 1978:310). During the late nineteenth century, the Onondaga had eight clans (Beauchamp 1905:144–45).
- 2.47. Chain of kinship (Fenton 1998:49).
- 2.48. The original definitions of tribe (Sahlins 1968; Service 1971). Campisi provides a discussion on how the changing definition of tribe has influenced the Five Nations (1982). Onondaga people and their leaders consider themselves a sovereign nation (Powless 2016:56, 63).
- 2.49. For a contemporary Indian view of the terms sovereign and nation (Treuer 2012:86–87). Autonomous (Jordan 2013:30). A French observer noted that they consider themselves as "Sovereigns," only accountable to God (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:59).
- 2.50. The extended house or *kanúhsyú · nih* (Woodbury et al. 1992:xxi, Note 32). Chiefs as trees (Woodbury et al. 1992:xxvii, xxix).
- 2.51. Woodbury et al. provide a traditional view of the League and its establishment (1992). William Starna provides a different view on the origins of the League and its functions (2008). Attempts to date the founding of the League through astronomical events have not been successful (Henige 1999; Mann and Fields 1997). "Based on these traditions the League required consensus, ..." (Fenton 1998:30). Wonderley and

Sempowski provide an extended discussion on tribes, confederacies, and the League (2019).

- 2.52. This follows Daniel Richter's distinction between the Iroquois Great League of Peace as a cultural and ritual institution and the Iroquois Confederacy as a political and diplomatic entity (1988:11–12, 1992:1–7, 169–170). Similar distinctions were made in *The Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*, but the definitions were reversed (2005a:217). This book uses Richter's definition.
- 2.53. "Of the Manner in which they hold their Councils", "They have several types of councils" (Brandão 2003:61–65). War councils, special war councils, when the goal is to take a captive for revenge or replacement, and councils for mourning the dead (Brandão 2003: 65–73, 75–79, 81–85).
- 2.54. "to join their words to ours" (Druke 1987:33). "All these formalities are done in a very seemly manner" (Brandão 2003:63–65).
- 2.55. Onondaga make the final decision (Woodbury et al. 1992:xxvi). "is our order and method on all occasions" (NYCD 4:59–63).
- 2.56. Although chief is the accepted translation of the word *hoya neh*, a man of good mind, it does not necessarily mean chief as leader (Powless 2016:77). The antlers or horns of office (Fenton 1998:122; Hamell 1980:7; Woodbury et al. 1992 xxviii–xxix). The Good Message, the Power and the Peace (Woodbury et al. 1992:xx). Carter discusses the surviving versions and possible meanings of the three words (2008:56, 64–67). Little actual authority (Fenton 1998:29). "the first duty of the chiefs . . ." (Lyons 1980:173).
- 2.57. Pine Tree chiefs (Fenton 1998:30; Woodbury et al. 1992:xxix).
- 2.58. "seven inches thick . . ." (Woodbury et al. 1992:1, 698). "Take care of your people, not yourself, your people" (Lyons 1980:174).
- 2.59. Jaenen provides examples (1976:96-97).
- 2.60. The ability to work with whatever was available (Fenton 1978:302). It is not suggested that these characteristics were unique to Onondaga. They apply to all Native cultures. He emphasizes the Onondaga because it is their story, and it will be followed throughout the rest of this book.
- 2.61. Sinnekens, or Onneyuttehage [Oneida] and Onnedaeges [Onondaga], who had come from "the castle next to them" (Gehring and Starna, ed. 1988:14– 15). Other spellings of Sinnekens in this manuscript include Sinekes, Sinnekes, Sinnenkins, Sinnecus, Sinneques, Sinniquos, and may mean the Upper Four Nations, the Seneca, or the Onondaga according to the context of the quoted material.
- 2.62. Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert (Gehring and Starna 2013). A treaty of friendship and brotherhood (Van Laer 1920 2:215). "to mediate the difficulties which have arisen between them and the Sinnekens",

"the Sinnekens of Onnedaego [Onondaga]" (Gehring 2009:53). Director-General of New Netherland, Petrus Stuyvesant, as described in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, 30 volumes edited by Dumas Malone (DAB 18:187-189). Archaeologist Matthew Liebmann provides a parallel example from the Southwest where the Spanish often referred to Apaches de Navajo (2012:96).

- 2.63. "Some savages, named Sinneke . . . traveling south of the land of the Mohawks" (Governor-General Petrus Stuyvesant to the Directors of the West India Company, letter, 11 August 1656, document 522, Bonamontal Papers, New York Public Library, NY). Sinnekens as Seneca (Richter 1992:98; Trelease 1960:127–128, 238). "a Jesuit with about fifty Frenchmen" (Governor-General Petrus Stuyvesant to the Directors of the West India Company, letter, 11 August 1656, document 522, Bonamontal Papers, New York Public Library, NY). Thank you to Charles Gehring and Martha Shattuck for pointing out these references.
- 2.64. Onondaga as Entouhonoron (Biggar 1929:III:53–54, 58–64).
- 2.65. French traders (Gehring and Starna 1988:19). "to irritate the French" (JR 21:21, 29). Hiroquois used by Fr. Barthélemy Vimont to describe the Mohawk (JR 37:297). Jérôme Lalemant was father superior from 1645 to 1650 and again from 1659 to 1665. He was called Achiendasé by the Hurons and thereafter all of the father superiors in Québec were called that by Native people (Pouliot 1979b). "Under the name of 'Iroquois' . . . so as to avoid confusion" (JR 28:275).
- 2.66. A more detailed discussion of the Onondaga-Mohawk feud during the second quarter of the seventeenth century (Bradley 2005a:182–184).

### **Chapter Three**

- 3.1. Parmenter asserts that the Onondaga were highly mobile . . . in pre- and early post-contact times but provides no evidence (2010:ix, xxxvi-xxxviii, Map 12).
- 3.2. Definition of the Vacant Quarter (Williams 1977, 1990). Expansion of the use of the Vacant Quarter into the adjacent cultural area of Fort Ancient and Caborn–Wellborn (Drooker and Cowan 2001; Munson and Pollock 2012). Vacant Quarter has also been used in the Southeast, for example in Georgia and South Carolina (Williams 2010:40-51, Figure 4.18).
- 3.3. Definition of the Middle Ground and later qualifications (White 1991:ix, 50-53; 2006).
- 3.4. For background on Shatter Zones (Ethridge 2006, 2009:42 Note 3). "new social and cultural forms" (Ethridge 2009:43). For a review of recent scholarship inspired by the Shatter Zone construct (Bossy 2014).
- 3.5. For general background on early settlement along the Atlantic coast of North America (Morrison 1971; Quinn 1978; Wolf 1982).

While cross-cultural interactions may have started out as exchanges, by the early decades of the 648 seventeenth century they began to become commercial transactions. In exchange systems material objects serve as proxies for value rather than being valuable in and of themselves. In trade systems, material objects embody value and serve as commercial commodities to be bought and sold. For joint partnerships of entrepreneurial groups (Bradley 2012:165; Hart 1959). O'Toole provides another discussion of Indians as a new kind of person, the consumer (2005:50-51).

3.6. For general information on French trade (Moussette and Waselkov 2013:58-67). For assemblages of trade goods (Barka 1965; Bradley 2006:22-23, 75-79; Fitzgerald 1990; Kidd 1949).

"Each one should be provided . . ." (JR 12:119-21). "the money with which they [missionaries] . . ." (JR 7:223).

- 3.7. For Dutch West India Company assemblages (WIC; Bradley 2006:45-47, 71-75, 117-123; Huey 1984, 1985, 1988; Huey and Luscier 2013; Wray 1985). Kiliaen van Rensselaer, patroon of Rensselaerswijck (Trelease 1960:49).
- 3.8. For definitions and information on *castor gras* and *castor sec* (Martin 1978:56, 151; Rich, ed. 1942:8, Notes 2, 3; Wolf 1982:159). Calvin Martin's *Keepers of the Game* remains an essential source on this subject (1978). Although deerskins were not an important commodity in the Northeast prior to 1650, the situation was different in the mid-Atlantic (Lapham 2005).
- 3.9. The idea of art as technology was suggested by Arnold Rubin (1989). For additional discussion on objects, animacy, and some of the implications (Penney 2013; Reilly and Garber 2007; VanPool and Newsome 2012).
- 3.10. Embellishment, or ornamentation, is the first of four visual strategies used by Native people in northeastern North America to convey their sense of the world and cultural values. Although described by art historian Ruth Phillips in terms of Great Lakes Algonquian people, or Anishinaabe, these strategies apply to Iroquoian people as well (2013:53-59). Also see (Hall 1977, 1997; Hamell 1979). The phrase and sense of "to please the Creator" is from George Hamell (personal communication, 7/11/11).
- 3.11. "Many, if not most, of the modern . . ." (Parker 1912:612). Parker added an important qualification, saying that a few of the more conservative, however, still remember the true meanings of their designs and from these much of interest has been learned (1912:612).
- 3.12. This is an attempt to address Ron Mason's concern about the fundamental incompatibility of using oral tradition and archaeological evidence together, and, if attempted, how is it to be done (2006:242-243).
- 3.13. For additional examples of sandal-sole gorgets made from *Busycon* whelk, see the Picton site in Ontario (Ritchie 1949:35, Figures 11v, 11w). Also see the Zimmerman site in Ohio and the Isle La Motte site

in Vermont (Converse 1979:85-87; Ritchie 1965:Plate 48 #3, #4). Examples of banded slate from Ohio and Michigan (Converse 1978:52, 59; Cunningham 1948:Plate X). Examples of cannel coal from Ohio (Converse 1979:Figure 35).

Biconvex rectangular gorgets were also made from *Busycon* whelk, with examples from the Zimmerman site in Ohio, and the Burch site in Michigan (Converse 1979:Figures 38B, 50B, 50D). Other examples from the Isle La Motte site in Vermont (Ritchie 1965:Plate 48 #5). Examples of banded slate are reported from the Burch site in Michigan and the Hind site in Ontario (Cunningham 1948:Plate 2; Donaldson and Wortner 1995:Figure 19A). Examples of native-copper gorgets from the Reiger No. 1 and Burch sites in Michigan (Cunningham 1948:Plate 1, Figures 3, 4; Stothers and Abel 1993:Figure 25C). Centrally perforated, disc-shaped shell pendants are also a common form.

- 3.14. Rebirth of the natural world (Wonderley 2010:15). Acknowledgement of George Hamell's formative work on this subject and thanks for his generosity in sharing his thoughts over the past 40 years. Published sources (Hamell 1983, 1992; Miller and Hamell 1986:323-325). For discussions of color and its significance elsewhere in the Eastern Woodlands, particularly for Creek and for Powhatan people (Lankford 2008a:73-97; Williamson 2003:247-253). It is generally now agreed, while the perception of color and how it is categorized is culturally inherited and can vary among linguistic communities, color perception itself is rooted in highly specialized, genetically inherited mechanisms that humans share with other species (Heyes and Frith 2014; Jackson et al. 2019; Majid 2019:1444 Note 6).
- 3.15. Objects embellished with powdered hematite, a red pigment, were recovered at both Lamoka Lake and Frontenac Island (Ritchie 1944:392-393, 385, 1965:Plate 21). While Ritchie did not find hematite paint stones at Lamoka Lake, he reported examples from other related sites (1944:388, 1965:Plate 20 #14). Three paint stones of regionally available fossiliferous hematite were found at Frontenac Island (Ritchie 1944:381, 1965:Plate 39 #3). Paint stones have also been reported from the Archaic levels at Brewerton (Richie 1965:Plate 32 #3). Paint stones of both graphite, used for black, and hematite were recovered from Late Archaic sites near Orient, Long Island (Ritchie 1944:228-231, Plate 107 #28-33, 1965:170). Galena, a lead sulfide used for black paint (Farquhar and Fletcher 1984; Ritchie 1965:Plate 48 #8).

Recent research suggests that the iron pyrite, or iron sulfide, fragments found at Lamoka Lake and Frontenac Island were not from fire-making tool kits as Ritchie speculated (1945:105 Plate 9 #18, 1969:Plate 36 #11, #12). It is very difficult, if at all possible, to strike a spark from iron pyrite. A more plausible explanation is that pyrites were used to make red pigment. While pyrite streaks black, it turns red when powdered.

Mixed with water it forms sulfuric acid and iron oxide, or hematite. This transformational quality may have been one reason why pyrite was used when hematite was also available. In addition, covering mortuary remains with powdered and hydrated pyrite may have been a way to cleanse them and assist them on their journey back into the earth. Thank you to Dr. Marian Lupulescu, curator of minerals at the NYSM, and Dr. Darrin Lowery for their assistance in developing this alternative explanation. It may be that several of the hematite cones reported in the literature are actually pyrite. One such cone from the Hamburg site, a multicomponent site in the mid-Hudson Valley, is red on the exterior, yet is silver-black on the interior where it had been nicked by a trowel. Thanks to Tom Weinman for allowing examination of this specimen.

- 3.16. Native directionality (Fenton 1998:50).
- 3.17. Spatial zoning (Phillips 2013:59-63).
- 3.18. In Iroquoia motion is determined from an internal point of view or facing the center, such as toward the fire or the council house. From this perspective both a counter-clockwise and a clockwise spiral move inward toward the center from opposite directions. In European culture motions are determined from an external perspective facing outward, with clockwise called sinistral (or S-twist) moving outward, and counter-clockwise called dextral (or Z-twist) also moving outward. In considering a *Busycon* whelk, the shell is considered dextral when the aperture opens to the right of the columella (Z-twist), and sinistral when it opens to the left (S-twist; Topping 1989:9).
- 3.19. For more on the Mishipizheu, also spelled Mishibizhiig, and spiraling motion (Glossary; Corbière and Migwans 2013; Fox 2004a). For spiraling motion and the Underwater Panthers of the Huron–Wendat and Five Nations (Fox 1991, 2004a; Hamell 1998). Converse lists at least three Glacial-Kame shell gorgets with spiraling motifs from Mercer County, Ohio (1979:44-46, 132, 136, Figures 18, 19).
- 3.20. "prop up their minds" (Fenton 1985:17).
- 3.21. "Metaphor is largely in use . . ." (JR 10:218). For a detailed discussion on metaphor and language (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The great Tree of Peace as a connection between the World Below and the World Above (Herrick 1995:10).
- 3.22."some Rocks that they . . ." (JR 10:165-167). Petroglyphs as an Algonquian, not an Iroquoian, tradition (Richardson and Swauger 1996). Scardera makes the case that Iroquoian people did use pictographs (2015). For general reviews (Dias-Granados and Duncan 2004; Lenik 2002; Rajnovich 1994). "had painted the heads . . ." (JR 12:215). As a young man Pierre-Esprit Radisson was in New France and captured by the Iroquois in 1652. He went back to Amsterdam in 1654. Then again, he was in New France in 1657 traveling to Ste. Marie to Gannentaha.

He traveled west in 1659 with his brother-in-law, Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers, exploring the Great Lakes region, and afterwards became a trader traveling between Europe and New France (Nute 1982). Radisson's observations as recorded in the new translation of *Pierre-Esprit Radisson: The Collected Writings, Volume 1: The Voyages* (Warkentin, ed. 2012:186). Similar exploits during the American Revolution (Meachum 2007:72-73).

- 3.23. Straight lines indicate beauty, truth, or order, while wavy or crooked lines indicate ugliness, evil, or chaos (Carter 2008:68; George Hamell, personal communication, 6/13/12; Hamell and Fox 2005).
- 3.24. This visual vocabulary was first proposed by Hamell and draws on collaborative work (1979; Schuster 1986; Schuster and Carpenter 1996). For the terms element, motif, theme, and style, the text generally follows Muller's definitions and usage (2007:18-19).
- 3.25. Chiefs as trees (Fenton 1998:49; Woodbury 1992:xxvii). Linked arms as a symbol that binds us inseparably (JR 37:261). A two-dimensional depiction of a three-dimensional form (George Hamell, personal communication, 6/13/12; Reilly 2012). In Mississippian iconography a symbol of life renewing power, or orenda, and one with many metaphorical representations was the twist of smoke from a pipe or council fire, a twist or braid of tobacco or sweet grass, a warrior's braided forelock or horn of human hair (Reilly 2012). Visual ambiguity, "preparedness for revelations of spiritual presence in the everyday" (Phillips 2013:65-66).
- 3.26. Additional examples decorated with bands of red paint from Lamoka Lake are illustrated by Ritchie (1944:Plate 160 #47-51, 1965:Plate 21 #6, #7, #12). For examples from Frontenac Island (Ritchie 1944:Plate 151 #2, Plate 152 #26, #34, #35). The survival of these organic objects was the result of the unusual soil conditions on these sites.
- 3.27. Ritchie published an excavated example from the Wickham site in Brewerton (1946:Plate 6 #81). Several comparable examples of incised soapstone from the lower Susquehanna Valley have also been published (Shaffer 2008).
- 3.28. Beardsley reported an extraordinary pipe from the O'Neil site made of fine-grained gray soapstone (2013). The incising on the bowl is heavily worn down through usage, so to make the details easier to discern he provided sketches of the incised anthropomorphic figures. The clearest figure on the pipe bowl faces the smoker, and on the right side is an ambiguous figure. Surrounding the remainder of the bowl are three additional anthropomorphic figures that appear to link arms with the primary figure. Thank you to Mike Beardsley for permission to examine and photograph this pipe.

Beauchamp reported and drew, "A fine brown soapstone pipe from Cato, Cayuga Co., . . . found near the north bank of the Seneca River and not far from the second bridge west of Cross Lake." He said that it was a comparatively modern type made with steel tools, "On one side of the lower projection is the figure of an Indian and on the other a turtle" (RFC 11018/235; *Antiquities* 6:#795). These distinctive pipes are described in more detail in Chapter Seven.

- 3.29. Animacy or the depiction of a spiritual presence (Phillips 2013:67-68). For archaeological examples of carved wooden ladles and bowls from historic Seneca sites (Prisch 1982).
- 3.30. It is not clear to what degree these anthropomorphic pipes depict actual individuals, other than human types of man-beings, or spirit beings. While some of the zoomorphic pipes appear to depict specific species, others appear to portray more generic or even mythic creatures.

Nearly all these pipes were found during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by Luke Fitch, a life-long resident of the Pompey Hills, who sold them to Otis Bigelow. Bigelow's collection was purchased by the NYSM in 1913 in an effort to rebuild its archaeological holdings after the disastrous Capitol Fire of March 29, 1911. While Fitch appears to have dug on many of the Onondaga-related sites in Pompey, he identified virtually all his precontact material as coming from either the Onondaga Christopher or Atwell site, an attribution that even Beauchamp began to question. As a result, while the site-specific provenience for these pipes remains uncertain, they all appear to be legitimate Onondaga pipes of the fifteenth and sixteen centuries.

- 3.31. For figurative carvings (Engelbrecht 2003:52. For combs, Tadodaho's hair, and Tadodaho as the principal chief of the Onondaga (Note 1.14; Englebrecht 2003:153-154; Tooker 1978:422). For another example, Hamell and Dean John discuss the possible interpretation of a Seneca Door Keeper comb (1987).
- 3.32. Midwestern Taxonomic Method (McKern 1939). For a review on how these terms have been used in the archaeology of New York State (Ritchie 1969:xxviixxxii; Wiley and Phillips 1958). Revised versions of Ritchie's "A Cultural Sequence and Chronology of New York State," first published in 1965 (Funk 1976, 1993; Ritchie 1969; Ritchie and Funk 1973). Important critiques (Hart and Brumbach 2003, 2005; Hart and Lovis 2007; Worth 2017).
- 3.33. For this publication, Archaeological and Culture History Terms are in Appendix 1. The goal is to give the reader a guide to the terms used in this book as well as an understanding of the limits of those terms. It is not to provide a critique of taxonomies or to create a new one. Some colleagues will object that this approach perpetuates the use of culture-history

taxa. How else is human behavior described, also known as culture history, over time? Properly and parsimoniously defined, culture-history taxa can serve as useful hypotheses to test. This is accompanied by an implicit understanding that these terms are not an explanation for what is observed, rather a means, if an expedient one, to ask better questions. Also, it is the responsibility of archaeologists to find ways to talk about the past, even if they are flawed. The alternative is to leave the problem for the general reader to sort out, which is not an acceptable nor fair option.

- 3.34. Ritchie reported two pendant fragments from upper midden levels at Lamoka Lake (1932:112). The example he illustrated appears to be the upper portion of a diamond-shaped pendant very similar to the examples he reported from Frontenac Island (1945:110-11 #38, #39). Ritchie reported 13 shell pendants from Frontenac Island-one rectangular, five pyriform [diamond-shape] perforated at the apex, and six circular with central perforations all of Busycon whorl, as well as one perforated oyster (Crassostrea *virginica*) shell (1945:110-111 #36, 1969:Plate 29 #16-20). No shell beads have been reported from these contexts. The Marginella and Olivella beads reported by Ritchie pertain to Lamoka Lake and the upper level of occupation at Frontenac Island (1932:122; 1944:Plate 52 #1, #2, 1945:49, 110 #44)
- 3.35. Gorgets, especially the distinctive sandal-sole form (Note 3.15). Recent fieldwork by Darrin Lowery has produced possible sandal-sole preforms from the South Point site in Maryland with <sup>14</sup>C dates of 3070-2810 cal BP (p = 0.95; Calibrated at  $2\sigma$  with the program CALIB 3.2; Rick et al. 2015:45-49, Figure 14; Stuiver and Baziunas 1998; Stuiver and Reimer 1993). Marine-shell objects, especially gorgets, have been reported from many Glacial-Kame sites with well-documented assemblages from Hind, Picton, Burch, and Isle La Motte. For the Picton assemblage (Ritchie 1949:34-35, Figure 11). For other Glacial-Kame assemblages and gorgets (Converse 1979; Donaldson and Wortner 1995; Ellis et al. 1990; Spence and Fox 1986). For the modified *Marginella* shell (*Prunum apicina*) from the Hind site (Donaldson and Wortner 1995:15, Figure 11).
- 3.36. Recent studies by Taché provide a superficial review of marine shell on Meadowood sites (2011a:65-66, 2011b:123-124). While Taché is correct in pointing out the importance of shell, she is incorrect in stating that among identifiable shell species used to fashion the beads found on Meadowood sites there are *Marginella ssp* and *Olivella ssp* (2011a:65-66, 2011b:123-124). To date, no marine gastropods have been reported from Meadowood-related sites.
- 3.37. For Adena–related shell assemblages, look at the Cresap Mound in West Virginia, the Boucher site in Vermont, and the Rosenkrans site in New Jersey (Dragoo 1963:126, Plate 48; Heckenberger et al.

1990:193-196, Figures 10-12; Kraft 1976:22, 41, Figures 3k, 8a, 9b, 9e, 16d). Central New York sites with similar shell assemblages, ca. 1,500-2,500 years ago, include Cuylerville in Livingston County, Palatine Bridge in Montgomery County, and Toll-Clute in Schenectady County (Ritchie 1944: 193-196, 198; Ritchie and Dragoo 1960:29-34, Plate 1). Similar shell assemblages also occur on subsequent sites, ca. 1,000 to 1,500 years ago, including Kipp Island #3 in Seneca County, René Menard Bridge #1 and #2 in Cayuga County, and Northrop in Jefferson County (Ritchie 1944:133-134, 145-148, 173, Plates 59, 66-68).

The *Marginella* shells from these sites are the Common Atlantic *Prunum apicina* (Morris 1975:232). In her analyses of shell from sites in western New York, Lynn Ceci identified these as the Spotted Marginella (*Prunum guttatum*; 1989:68-69, Tables 1, 2). Although most sources indicate that *Marginella* shells do not occur north of the Carolina coast, Darrin Lowery has documented that the Common Atlantic Marginella occurs as far north as Cape Henlopen on the south side of Delaware Bay (2012:49).

Several species of Olivella shells have been reported from Adena- and Hopewellian-related sites in the Northeast. The largest is the Lettered Olive (Oliva *sayana*), with a shell  $\leq 6$  cm long and a range from the Carolinas to Florida (Morris 1975:222). Two modified examples, 4.5 cm and 3.3 cm long, were found in a stone grave with three large spear points on the Allen farm on Lot 54 in Lysander, New York (Antiquities 6:#1505, #1506; Beauchamp 1901a:376, #114). This is one of the few reported occurrences in the Northeast. Another reported *Olivella* shell is the Common Rice or Rice Dwarf Olive (Olivella floralia). These shells, 1.0-1.2 cm long, have a range from North Carolina to the West Indies (Morris 1975:222). Heckenberger, Petersen, and Basa report more than 500 examples from five features at Boucher (1990:194, Figure 10 A, B; Robinson 2015:69, Figure 6). Kraft reports the *Olivella* shells from Rosenkrans as the slightly smaller Minute Dwarf Olive shells, 0.8-1.0 cm long (Olivella minuta; 1976:38). The very small Olivella shells from Kipp Island-related burials, such as those at Lamoka Lake and René Menard Bridge, may be Tiny Dwarf Olive (Olivella *perplexa*). These white shells are 0.5 cm long with a highly polished surface and a range from Florida to the West Indies (Morris 1975:223). In her analysis of shell from sites in western New York, Lynn Ceci identified some of these as the Jasper Dwarf Olive (Jaspidella *jaspidea*; 1989:68-69, Tables 1, 2). Whatever the actual species, it seems likely that *Olivella* shells may have reached sites in the Northeast via a different exchange network than *Busycon* and *Marginella*.

3.38. For information on the Eastern Shore production of Adena shell objects and exchange with the upper Ohio River valley (Lowery 2012, 2016:19-21). Lowery has demonstrated that most tubular columella beads

were probably made using specially prepared microdrills of Pennsylvania jasper (personal communication, 10/30/12, 2013:18, Figure 22, 2016). Comparable micro-drills have been reported from Middlesex- or Bushkill-related sites in New York (Lindner and Folb 1998). Information on isotopic analysis of Atlantic and Gulf Coast *Busycon* is courtesy of Darrin Lowery (personal communication 2/6/14, Lowery et al. 2014).

The Danbury site, located at the southwestern end of the Lake Erie Basin, 1,000-500 years ago, had produced a significant assemblage of marine-shell objects including discoidal beads, modified Marginella shells, Busycon columella pendants, and large sinistral *Busycon* pendants that may have served as cups or ladles (Redmond 2012:117). There is no evidence of production waste (Redmond 2012:126). Redmond interprets these as evidence of an Early Mississippian exchange network from the Gulf Coast to eastern Tennessee, Cahokia, and northern Ohio (2012:127). An equally good case can be made that these shell objects originated from the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake, evidence for the continuation of the mortuary preferences and practices of their Hopewellian- and Adena-related predecessors

3.39. The Sackett site assemblage, ca. 820 years ago, included a circular ornament, possibly of marine shell, two small columella beads, a grooved columella pendant, and a pendant in process made of freshwater mussel (Ritchie 1944:46, 62-63, Plate 29 #59-62). The Bates site, ca. 760 years ago, produced one partially drilled disc of clamshell (Ritchie and Funk 1973:252, Plate 128 #14). Ritchie and Funk reported five discoidal shell beads plus three roughly made, freshwatermussel pendants from the Nahrwold site, ca. 600 years ago (1973:287, Plate 158 #9). By comparison, artifacts from the Shenks Ferry Blue Rock site in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, included many Busycon columella and discoidal beads, Marginella shells, as well as *Busycon* and oyster-shell pendants (Kent et al. 1971:487, Plate 4).

Monongahela sites in western Pennsylvania also produced significant quantities of marine-shell beads. George reported 371 *Marginella* at the Gnagey #3 site (36-SO-55) and observed that they were plentiful on other Somerset Plateau sites, such as the Wilkinson site (36-WM-344) with 35 *Marginella* beads, 17 *Busycon* beads, and two worked pieces of freshwater-mussel shell (1983:59-60, 2004:60-61). The Brucker site (36-GR-15) has a similar shell assemblage including large *Olivella* shells, (James Herbstritt, personal communication, 6/2/10). For a summary of shell on Fort Ancient sites (Drooker 2012; Drooker and Cowan 2001:96-97; Pollack et al. 2000:211, Figure 4).

It is likely that some of this shell came through a different exchange network, one oriented around the large Mississippian population centers in the mid-continent. There is extensive literature on Mississippian shell (Brown 2004). For the engraved shell from Spiro Mounds in Oklahoma (Phillips and Brown 1978). For marine-shell bead exchange patterns and production at Cahokia Mounds in Missouri (Trubitt 2000; Yerkes 1989). For shell gorgets (Brain and Phillips 1996; Hally 2007). Kozuch provides the best review of the shell species utilized and demonstrates that Lightning Whelks (*Busycon sinistrum*) were by far the most common (1998:38, 136). Many of these appear to have come from the west Florida coast (Kozuch et al. 2017).

3.40. Mohawk examples coming from the Elwood site in Montgomery County, New York, include a short white tubular-columella bead (Kuhn and Funk 1994:Figure 1). At the nearby Otstungo site, Wayne Lenig reports at least one discoidal, one tubular-columella bead, and one complete marine-gastropod shell, possibly a Waved Whelk (*Buccinum undatum*; personal communication, 6/24/10).

Onondaga examples come from the Barnes site north of Limestone Creek in Onondaga County, including seven small white *Busycon* discoidal beads, one short and one medium white tubular columella bead, one white round columella bead, one black round columella bead,one modified *Marginella* shell bead, and one modified *Goniobasis* shell bead (NYSM A2009.35K.99.51, A2009.32K.99.50). Several of these are described in Bradley (2005a:67-69, Plate 6).

Seneca examples come from the Alhart site in Monroe County, New York—five proto-wampum tubular white beads (RFC 228/305), 16 early white wampum beads (RFC 228/305), three other columella beads, (RFC 236/305), and 19 *Marginella* shells modified for stringing (RFC 229/305) as reported by Ceci (1986:18, 87). From the Brongo site in Monroe County, a necklace of barrel-shaped marine-shell *Busycon* beads (RFC 74.194). From the California Ranch site in Ontario County, a necklace of ~107 thick discoidal beads cut from *Busycon* columella (RFC 6002/185), and from the Ely site at the Peter Burgett Farm in Monroe County, 27 very small discoidal beads, possibly of *Busycon* shell (RFC 10006/14).

St. Lawrence Iroquois examples come from the Roebuck site in Ontario. Wintemberg reports four columellae beads as well as two perforated freshwater snail (*Campeloma decisum*) shells (1936:Plate XV #9-10, Plate XV #8). Wintemberg also mentions marine shell from sites in Jefferson County, New York. Parker reported columella and freshwater-shell beads from Jefferson County sites (1922 I:337-338). There are also two columella beads from the Morris [Morse] site (NYSM 27328-29).

3.41. This summary of copper working is drawn primarily from Ehrhardt (2005, 2009; Leader 1988; Martin 1999). Copper working in the Eastern Woodlands also provides a good example of a key issue in terms of archaeological visibility the potential versus expression. Although there is no current evidence that the Onondaga or their antecedents used copper-working techniques, the facility with which the Onondaga began to utilize European copper and copper alloys strongly suggests that those skills remained present as potential in the culture, even if there is little physical evidence of their earlier use or expression.

3.42. Beauchamp still provides the best overview of native copper in central New York (1902:20-45). He illustrates examples of the spears, celts, gouges, and awls found along the Seneca River and the Oneida River-Brewerton area (Beauchamp 1902:#11-13, #21, #29, #30-32, #35, #38, #41, #42-45, #62). For additional Archaic examples from Frontenac Island, and from the Robinson and the Oberlander sites in Brewerton (Ritchie 1944: Plate 8 #22, 23, Plate 113 #17-20, Plate 117 #12, 13, 18, 19, 26, 27). For Adena-related examples (Ritchie 1944:193-198). Beads similar to Boucher site examples have been reported from the Palatine Bridge, Toll-Clute, and Barton sites (Funk 1976:277-278).

For Hopewellian examples, including an ear spool and flat copper ax from the Squawkie Hill mounds, and a pendant and bead from the Cain mound site (Ritchie 1944:Plate 93 illustrations a, c, 1965:219-220, Plate 74 #1, 2). Ritchie also reported three short tubular beads from the Canandaigua or Sackett site, ca. 820 years ago (1944:Plate 29 #58).

3.43. These observations are primarily from Fox (1991).

3.44. For a detailed description of the copper assemblage from the Picton site in Ontario (Ritchie 1949:37-38). The Adena-related Middlesex assemblage from the Boucher site in Vermont is described (Heckenberger et al. 1990:187-193; Robinson 2015:56-57, Figures 2, 3). Childs provides a detailed analysis of fabrication techniques (1994). The Boucher site beads were categorized into three groups. Type I beads (n = 6,706)from 41 separate features were made by rolling a hammered strip of copper back onto itself. These beads ranged in size from very small (<1.5 mm) to large (>12) mm) in length and width. Type II beads (n = 19) from three features were made from a piece of sheet copper and have a uniformly small diameter (3.0-4.0 mm) and range in length (10-18 mm; Childs 1994). Type III beads were initially described as perforated nugget beads, although Robinson's subsequent analysis indicated that most were made from a thick rolled strip (2015:57). Adena-related copper gorgets from mound sites including Cresap and Natrium in West Virginia (Dragoo 1963:Plate 13, 121, Figure 8A). For other sources on Adena copper-bead forms (Gollup and Luckenbach 2013; Kraft 1976:17 Figure 3). For the Rosenkrans site (Lattanzi 2007; Veit et al. 2004).

3.45. Hopewellian metalwork (Ehrhardt 2005:65-

69, 2009; Leader 1988:75-107). Native-copper celts remained in use, although probably as a ritual form more than one used in warfare. Leader discusses copper celts as well as the rare comparable examples made from meteoric iron (1988:83). It is possible that Hopewellian experience with meteoric iron provided some precedent for how European iron would be viewed and handled centuries later.

- 3.46. Mississippian metalwork (Ehrhardt 2005:69-71, 2009; Leader 1988:108-141; Meyers 2011:334-345).
- 3.47. For the red slate of the Indian River formation (Landing, ed. 2007:19, Figure 5). For the green and purple varieties, and for a brief discussion on commercial quarrying in Washington County, New York (Fisher 1984: 25-26, 41).
- 3.48. "most abundant on both sides of Lake Ontario", "two thirds come from a territory of forty miles square" (Beauchamp 1897:64-69). Six examples of redslate semi-lunar knives were recorded by Beauchamp from central New York—one each from the Town of Clay in Oswego County, from Pennelville, from Adit's Farm on the Seneca River, from Oak Orchard in the Town of Clay, and from Jack's Reef on the Seneca River (*Antiquities* 1:#181, 791, 820, 2:#149, 220, 6:#723).
- 3.49. Taché reports 13 large trapezoidal gorgets and seven narrow rectangular ones with Huron banded slate as the preferred material (2011a, 2011b:40-41). Surprisingly, she does not mention the Taconic slates. Color preference is difficult to determine, since color is seldom specified in the published descriptions. Beauchamp reports several trapezoidal red-slate gorgets from central New York including from Palermo in Oswego County, Onondaga Lake, and from the Mohawk Valley (*Antiquities* 1:#1286, 2:#321, 4:#1082). Beauchamp also reported examples made of purple and green slate from the same areas.

Examples of Adena-related biconvex gorgets made of red slate have been reported from Granby in Oswego County and Lysander in Onondaga County (*Antiquities* 3:#244; NYSM 31717). This object is also illustrated by Moorehead along with an example from the Rosenkrans site (Kraft 1976:12; Moorehead 1917:Figure 163 #2). Another example is from the Fredericka site in Delaware (Darrin Lowery, personal communication, 1/24/17). An incomplete red-slate gorget has been reported from a Hopewellian context, ca. 2,150-1,550 years ago, on Point Peninsula in Jefferson County (Nichols 1928:67).

Later examples include a reworked triangular pendant of red slate having incised-line and triangle decorations from the Fall Brook site, Livingston County (Ritchie 1944:123). There is a bi-concave, Kipp Island-style pendant from Baldwinsville in Onondaga County (*Antiquities* 1:#7; Moorehead 1917:Figure 162 #1). There is also a pair of small rectangular pendants with deeply notched edges from a feature within a

house pattern from Harry's Farm site in the upper Delaware Valley, New Jersey (Kraft 1986:Figure 37 m, 1975:Figure 690). A similar rectangular pendant with deeply notched edges and incised motifs is reported from Cold Spring in the town of Lysander in Onondaga County (*Antiquities* 9:#696; NYSM 31737). Another notched triangular pendant is from the Wickham site in Brewerton (Ritchie 1946:10, 44-45, Plate 9 #39).

- 3.50. Small ground-slate discs occur on late St. Lawrence Iroquois sites of the Dry Hill cluster in Jefferson County, such as Heath and Morse (Parker 1922:I:337-338, Plate 121 #1). More than 100 of these discs are included in the Oatman and Loveland collections at the NYSM. Approximately 30-40% are red slate. Unfortunately, these collections are poorly provenienced. Ground-slate discs first occur on early Garoga phase Onondaga sites, such as Indian Hill II (La France 1976:4). They also occur on the Cemetery site where Tuck reported that a single fragmentary red-slate discoidal bead, apparently about 2 cm in diameter and less than 1 mm thick, was recovered from the surface of a very steep portion of the hillside (1971:145). These are most visible at the Barnes site—14 unperforated discs with five being red slate, and 23 have perforated discs with four being red slate. There are also two red-slate pendants, plus other partially worked pieces. Most are in the Stanford Gibson collection in three lots (NYSM A2009.35K.99.29, A2009.35K.99.30, A2009.13B.99.15).
- 3.51. Pipestone is generally accepted as the term for all red argillites, while catlinite is reserved for the specific variety quarried at the Pipestone National Monument in Minnesota (Fishel et al. 2010; Gunderson 1993).
- 3.52. For pipestone and its distribution (Brown 1989, 2006; Fishel et al. 2010; Fox 2002; Henning 2007, 2012).
- 3.53. Black *Busycon* discoidal beads were made from oxidized shells recovered from anaerobic mud (Darrin Lowery, personal communication, 10/31/13).

Other examples of marine shell from this period have been reported from the Mohawk Garoga site in Fulton County—at least two tubular marine-shell beads, and one centrally perforated discoidal bead, better described as a single-hole gorget (~3 cm in diameter) made from *Busycon* whorl (Kuhn and Funk 1994:78-79, 2003:127, Figure 59, #12). Wayne Lenig also reports two small columella beads (NYSM Swart collection 4121, 3338), and one other object, a fragment of a large bay scallop (personal communication, 6/24/10).

Onondaga examples come from the Atwell site as well as the fishing site in Brewerton. The Atwell assemblage is larger and includes at least six white tubular-columella beads of varying lengths, at least 11 small discoidal beads—seven white and four black, including a piece of engraved shell, a small perforated periwinkle (*Littarina irrorate*), and several modified freshwater shells (Beauchamp 1901a:332, #19; Bradley 1979:115-116). These include a piece of freshwater mussel (*Elliptio complanata*) perforated at one end, a discoidal bead made from a small freshwater mussel, and more than 94 perforated freshwater gastropods (*Goniobasis livescens; Antiquities* 7:#1334, 9:#140; Beauchamp 1901a:331, #25; Bradley 2005a:67-69).

Seneca examples come from the Richmond Mills site in Monroe County. Although some information on the shell from this important assemblage is available it has yet to be thoroughly evaluated (Ceci 1986:20-21; Parker 1918:31). Based on one examination, there are 56 discoidal beads made from *Busycon* whorl, 10 tubular beads made from Busycon columella, and 17 small pendants. Of the pendants, six are Busycon columella, two are Mercenaria, four are freshwater mussels, one is a *Busycon* whorl, and the rest are unidentified species. There are also several partially worked pieces and fragments. Marine shell from the later sixteenthcentury Seneca sites in Monroe County is summarized in Sempowski as Period I and Period II Seneca shell (1989). Detailed descriptions for the Adams and Culbertson sites are provided by Wray et al. (1987:137-148, 215-217). Marine shell at the Tram and Cameron sites is also described by Wray et al. (1991:146-154, 342-356).

- 3.54. A failed example of a drilled disc from the Onondaga Barnes site (Bradley 2005a:Plate 6f). The scale commonly used by mineralogists to measure hardness was devised by Friedrich Mohs in 1822 (Pough 1988:29). Unlike more precise measures, such as Rockwell scales, the Mohs scale uses known minerals as standards to provide an approximate degree of hardness. It is important to remember that the Mohs scale is logarithmic, not linear. Testing of *Busycon* shell indicated a Mohs hardness value of ~3 (calcite) while Mercenaria shell had a hardness of ~4 (fluorite). Darrin Lowery's independent analysis reports Mohs values of ~3 for *Busycon* and ~3.8-3.9 for Mercenaria (personal communication, 10/19/16). Other useful Mohs comparisons include a fingernail  $\geq 2$ , a copper penny ~3, a steel knife  $\geq$ 5, glass ~5.5, a steel file ~6.5, and a piece of quartz 7 (Pough 1988:29).
- 3.55. Although hard-shell clam occurs along the entire Atlantic coast, there is no confirmed evidence for its use by Indian people prior to the sixteenth century (Mackenzie et al. 2002). Possible exceptions are a few reported occurrences of discoidal purple shell beads from Meadowood-related sites. These include the Boucher site in Vermont, the Muskalonge Lake site in St. Lawrence County, New York, and the Smyth site in New Hampshire (Heckenberger et al. 1990:194-196; Ritchie 1955:40; Taché 2011a:65-66; 2011b:61-63; Winter 1999:11). For the Smyth site most beads, if not all, were black *Busycon*, not *Mercenaria*. Taché also examined

the Muskalonge Lake beads. It is possible that some of these are *Mercenaria* (Taché 2011a:65-66; 2011b:61-63). Although more precise analysis might resolve this, many of these beads were burned and buried in red ochre, further complicating their identification. Blue mussel shells (*Mytilus edulis*) are another possible source from which small purple discoidal beads may have been made, especially from the Gulf of Maine. Several examples have been reported from post-European sites (Petersen et al. 2004:17-21, Figure 4).

Examples of *Mercenaria* from Mohawk sites include several pieces from the Cayadutta site in Montgomery County, including one small partially ground disc (NYSM A2002.32AA.4.5.1), two chipped discs recorded by Wayne Lenig (RFC), and half of a large *Mercenaria* shell with a tapered-drill hole in the center, which appears to have broken during a drilling attempt (NYSM A2002.32AA.18.8; Wayne Lenig personal communication, 6/24/10).

Examples of *Mercenaria* from Onondaga sites include a pendant from the Temperance House site, unfinished and partially drilled, trapezoidal shape, with traces of purple (~3 cm by 3 cm; Ricklis collection RMSC 72.34.381) and another small piece of worked shell, triangular in shape with a lateral groove, perhaps *Mercenaria* shell (Bradley 1979:91). From the nearby and probably contemporary Atwell site, there was a roughly teardrop-shaped pendant and a polished ovate but otherwise unworked disc, both of *Mercenaria* shell (Bradley 1979:91)

Examples of *Mercenaria* from the Seneca Richmond Mills site include the two pendants mentioned above, one tear drop-shaped, one small trapezoid-shaped, both with a hint of purple, and 20 shell discs. Of these, 10 were made of *Mercenaria*, five of *Busycon* whorl, and five were of freshwater mussel (RMSC collections).

At least two caches of chipped and ground *Mercenaria* discs are known from sites on the upper branches of the Susquehanna River including 76 rough and ground shell-bead blanks of quahog shell from the Ellis Creek site (Lucy 1950:56-57, Plate 1 #1). There were also 21 chipped shell discs, intended for pendants or disk beads, from the Lindley cache on the Tioga River south of Corning, New York (*Antiquities* 5:#1480-1482; Beauchamp 1901a:377, #23, #24).

3.56. For a review on the changing patterns of marineshell use in the Southeast (Smith 2017). For shell gorgets (Brain and Phillips 1996; Hally 2007; Smith and Smith 1989). For shell ear pins (Brain and Phillips 1996:360-362). For examples of regional expression of Mississippian forms and motifs, see the variability of shell mask gorgets and maskettes on late sixteenthcentury Fort Ancient sites, as well as from the Potomac Creek or Patawomeke site on the lower Potomac River (Drooker 1997:Figure 8.17; Hoffman 1997; Potter 2006:Figure 3). The Saltville-style rattlesnake gorgets of western Virginia are another example of a regional variant (Brain and Phillips 1996:102-104).

3.57. Because sample sizes are so small and testing has been limited, it is difficult to document the degree to which European- and native-copper artifacts were used concurrently. This makes any known examples extremely important. For example, Beauchamp reported at least three rolled sheet-copper beads from St. Lawrence Iroquois sites in Jefferson County. One is a tubular copper bead from the Morse site (7.1 cm long and 0.7 cm diameter; NYSM Loveland collection 20529). Beauchamp described this bead as "Probably European in origin. Early" (Antiquities 9: 285, 1540). He described the second tubular bead as a Europeancopper bead from the Gregg site (2.1 cm long and 0.4 cm diameter; NYSM Oatman collection 27393-4; Antiquities 9:#511). And, he described the third as a "smooth tubular copper bead . . . I have no doubt it is European material" (*Antiquities* 9:#1011). This was one of five copper beads Loveland found at the Dry Hill [Morse] site in Jefferson County (2.6 cm long and 0.7 cm diameter; NYSM Oatman collection 27393-1). Even Beauchamp could be wrong. As recent analyses using a Bruker x-ray fluorometer have indicated, all these beads appear to be native copper (Abel et al. 2019).

Funk and Kuhn review sixteenth-century Mohawk examples specifically from the Smith-Pagerie and the Garoga sites in Fulton County, New York (2003:44, 80, 126). Wayne Lenig has documented two examples from Cayadutta in Montgomery County—a long tubular-brass bead and a small square-copper pendant, as well as two additional tubular beads from the Garoga site (personal communication, 6/24/10). An updated review of Mohawk examples (Manning and Hart 2019).

In Onondaga, two native-copper objects have been reported from the Barnes site, ca. 1500, including a blade-like object and a small centrally perforated disc (Bradley 2005a:Plate 6a-b, 221-222, #45). The first evidence of European brass comes from the Temperance House and Atwell sites, ca. 1525-1550, including a large diameter bead or finger ring from the former, and a tubular bead and probable disc pendant from the latter (Bradley 2005a:66-74, Plate 6c-e, Figure 7).

Both European and native copper-based metal artifacts have been reported from the Seneca Richmond Mills site (HNE-54). There is a fragment of a hoop or spiral (RFC 60/101), three small tubular copper beads (RFC 5025/101), and a small tapered piece of iron (RFC 59/101), all found by Keith Pierce.

The fragment of hoop or spiral was borrowed from the Rochester Museum & Science Center in March 1979 and sent to Dr. Peter Ficalora, metallurgist in the Materials Science Program, College of Engineering, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. X-ray

fluorescence was requested of the metal to determine whether there was evidence of European versus North American origin. The results were reported in a letter to the Rock Foundation Committee (James W. Bradley to Rock Foundation Committee c/o Charles Hayes, III, Rochester Museum & Science Center, Rochester, New York, letter, April 9, 1979, James W. Bradley papers). Emission spectroscopy of the spiral fragment indicated a majority of copper with approximately five percent by weight tin and a trace of zinc. These results indicate that this object is made of European brass.

Emission spectroscopy was requested for the three tubular beads for evidence of whether the metal was of European or North American origin. The beads, along with a reference sample from a known source of native copper, were sent to the Analytical Science Division of Kodak, Rochester, New York, where analyses were performed in 1980. The results were reported to the RMSC (Dorothy A. Luebke, corporate communications for the Eastman Kodak Company, to Eugene Umberger, curation assistant, Rochester Museum & Science Center, copy of original letter dated August 27, 1980 forwarded to James W. Bradley, James W. Bradley papers). Results for the three beads indicated they were mostly copper with a trace of silver and no measurable presence of lead, tin, or nickel, and they matched the results from the reference artifact. Therefore, these beads appear to be of native copper.

At least two more copper or brass beads are known from the Richmond Mills site, but have not been tested (NYSM Alva Reed collection #288220, RFC 7121/101). For a detailed review of the European brass and copper from subsequent sixteenth-century Seneca sites (Wray et al. 1987:46-61, 1991:70-82).

- 3.58. Discussions of sixteenth-century metalworking techniques in the Great Lakes and among northern Iroquoians (Anselmi 2008; 2012; Ehrhardt 2005, 2009, 2012; Ehrhardt and Jackson 2017). Symbolic underpinnings for the transference of value from native to European copper have been discussed (Ehrhardt 2005:76-80; Fox 1991; Fox et al. 1995). Importantly, the transition from native to European copper occurred at different rates in different places. For example, native copper continued to be used along with European copper into the early seventeenth century by the Algonquian people on the Indian Hills phase sites in Ohio along the southwestern shore of Lake Erie and among Siouan peoples of the Virginia Piedmont (Abel and Burke 2014; Dussubieux et al. 2008; Gunter et a. 2019; Stevenson and Dussubieux 2014). In northeastern North America Basque fishermen, whalers, and traders were the most important source of European copper (Fitzgerald et al. 1993).
- 3.59. The sizes of metal tubes found on Five Nations sites are highly variable, but appear to cluster in

three groups—small (~1 cm long by 0.5 cm diameter), medium (~3 cm long by 0.5 cm diameter), and long ( $\leq$ 10 cm long by 0.5 cm diameter). These tubes were also bent into larger diameter rings (~2-2.5 cm across) and bracelets (~5-6 cm across). William Fitzgerald was the first to recognize the different shapes in tubular cross-sections (1982:Figure 36, 1990:207, 235, Figure 64, Tables 37, 38). Recent research by Kathleen Ehrhardt indicates no precedent for B- or s-shaped tubing in Europe. These appear to be Native innovations (personal communication, 9/14/14; Ehrhardt and Jackson 2017).

For more on brass spirals and hoops (Bradley and Childs 1991; Childs 1994). Recently published historical documents strongly suggest that spirals and hoops found on archaeological sites were the earrings described by Spanish explorers when they encountered a large group of Susquehannock warriors at the head of Chesapeake Bay, ca. 1588 (Hall 2015:348-349).

3.60. Old-style large brass gorget from the Seneca Adams site (Wray et al. 1987:454-455, Figure 3-23).

Compare with the examples from the Natrium mounds in West Virginia, the Peters Creek mound in Pennsylvania, and the Cresap mounds in Ohio (Dragoo 1963:Figure 8A, Plate 51; McConaughy et al. 2014). Another example is the square copper gorget or pendant worn by a coastal Algonquian chief drawn by John White in 1585. This is very similar to the four examples recovered from the Adena-related Frederica site in Delaware (7K-F-2) that date ca. 1,500 years earlier (Lowery 2012:Figure 17). Conical tinkling cones (Ehrhardt 2005:119-123; Fitzgerald 1990:112-113). A few conical forms made of native copper were recovered from sites that clearly predate European contact, such as Dumas Creek in Michigan (Kathleen Ehrhardt, personal communication, 9/14/14).

3.61. As with shell, the distribution of red slate differs on contemporaneous Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca sites. At the Mohawk Cayadutta site, Wayne Lenig reports that a few, but not many, stone discs are included in collections (personal communication, 6/24/10). Snow also reports three red-stone beads from this site in the Hartley collection (1995a:48). In Onondaga, stone discs are well represented at the Temperance House site in Onondaga County and the Atwell site in Madison County from the early sixteenth century. From Temperance House Robert Ricklis recovered 41 stone discs and none are red slate. Now in the RMSC collections, 29 are unperforated discs, five are partially perforated discs, six are centrally perforated discs, and one is a pendant. At the nearby Atwell site, Beauchamp reported a similar number of stone discs from several collections (Antiquities 7, 8, 9). These include 42 examples of which 28 are not perforated, 12 are perforated or partially perforated, and two are pendants. Ten examples are identified as

red slate. Of particular note is a perforated red-slate disk with radiating lines (*Antiques* 9:#133).

Arthur C. Parker reported 16 unperforated and 14 perforated stone disks plus 28 stone beads from the Seneca Richmond Mills site, but did not specify the material (1918:31). In the smaller sample at the NYSM, two of the 11 examples are red slate, one perforated, the other not. The assemblage from Richmond Mills also includes a red-slate pendant (RMSC AR 41572) and a roughly rectangular, partially completed gorget (NYSM 34526). The pipestone disc pipe from the Reed Farm, or Richmond Mills site is now in the RFC (5028/101; Witthoft, Schoff, and Wray 1953:Plate 2 #2). Disc-pipe fragment from the Morris [Morse] site in Jefferson County, New York (NYSM Oatman collection #27416).

- 3.62. High-value materials of the sixteenth century, Native and European imports (Hamell 1987, 1992; Nanepashemet and Bradley 1995; Richter 1992:76-79). Adena and Hopewellian traditions (Appendix One).
- 3.63. For processes of community coalescence in southern Ontario (Birch 2012; Birch and Williamson 2018; Hart et al. 2016). For the League as a revitalization movement (Bradley 2005a:103-105; Wallace 1956, 1958). The process of community coalescence and alliance building among the Five Nations may also be evident in shared material culture traits including the use of stone discs, walrus-ivory daggers, and certain styles of smoking pipes. Kuhn and Sempowski suggest smoking pipes (2001; Sempowski 2004).
- 3.64. "where is made so much *Rawranoke*...", "the best Marchants of all other Savages" (Barbour, ed. 1986:II:165). For archaeological evidence (Bradley 2011:31). Sempowski describes these as Period II and Period III shell assemblages on Seneca sites (1989:86). Although some researchers have suggested these were wampum beads, even belts, this is unlikely (Otto 2013, 2014:89). A strope is generally defined as a band, thong, or strip especially of leather. "great stropes of beads" are referred to in Robert Juet's journal of 1609 (Jameson, ed. 1909:22,24).
- 3.65. For more on wampum, its origins and uses (Bradley 2011; Hamell 1996; Stolle 2016). For discussion of Glass Bead Period 2 (GBP2) beads and their relationship with shell bead forms (Glossary; Bradley 2012a:160, 166 Note 5). For a review of English-Algonquian relations in the Chesapeake (Mallios 2006). William Bradford provided a crucial clue as to when the trade of *wampumpeag* began, noting that in 1624 it continued as a current commodity for about 20 years (Morrison 1987:203). The Haudenosaunee account of the discovery and uses of wampum is substantially different (Fadden 1972, 1999).

The earliest evidence of *Mercenaria* beads in the Onondaga and Seneca sequences occurs on GBP2 sites at the beginning of the seventeenth century at the Onondaga Chase and the Seneca Tram sites. The small assemblage of 11 shell beads from Chase contains seven small tubular beads, all 3.5-5 mm long and 2.5-4 mm in diameter (RFC 10008/221). Of these, two are *Mercenaria* and retain some purple color. The other five are Busycon. There are also four discoidal beads (7 mm in diameter, 1-1.5 mm thick, with holes 2 mm across). These discoidal beads are also made of Mercenaria and have been ground flat. Two have half-purple and half-mottled banding, the other two appear to have alternating bands of white and purple. The shell-bead assemblage from the Tram site is larger (n = 951) and includes 785 discoidal beads (83%), 152 wampum-size tubular beads (16%), and 14 long tubular beads (1%). All are made from Busycon (NYSM 15407-15411, 15414, 15424). There are no purple tubular beads. Of the discoidal beads, 767 are white (98%) and only 18 are purple (2%). Wray et al. provide more discussion of the shell beads from this site (1991:146-54).

- 3.66. Mississippian shell forms in the early seventeenth century (Smith 2017). For Seneca shell assemblages from Period V, including McBee-style mask gorgets and earplugs (Sempowski 1989:87-88, Figure 14). For the importance of shell mask gorgets on late Neutral sites in Ontario, such as Grimsby where at least seven examples have been reported (Kenyon 1982:Plates 25, 31, 71-72, 216-218). Additional examples from Ontario are reported by Wintemberg (1908:Plate XVa-b). For the importance of these on eastern Fort Ancient sites in Ohio and West Virginia (Davidson 2016:744; Drooker and Cowan 2001: Table 8.2; Hoffman 1997). Several scholars have examined the connections between Neutral and Fort Ancient groups during the first half of the seventeenth century (Drooker 1997:89-97, 283-292, 333-335, 2004:91-92; Fox 2002:80-81, 139-240).
- 3.67. Runtees (Glossary). "Standardized Marine Shell" objects, "previously undefined industry" (Esarey 2013:iii). Among the claw-shaped pendants used long before European contact include at least one from the Trigg site in western Virginia, and numerous lithic examples from Monongahela and Fort Ancient sites (Buchanan 1986:321; Cowin 1999:242, 249-250). At least two sheet-brass or copper examples are known from Monongahela sites in western Pennsylvania, another five from the Abbyville site in Virginia, and single examples from the Seneca Factory Hollow site (NYSM 35472), the Susquehannock Washington Boro site in Pennsylvania, and the Trigg site in western Virginia (Johnson and Means 2009:Table 10); Kent 1984:Figure 51; Lapham 2005: Figure 5.9d; MacCord 1975: Figure 7; Wells 2002: Table 19, Figures 13a, 57b). At least three precontact examples made from marine shell have also been reported, two from the Keyser Farm site in Virginia, and one from the Fort Ancient Fox Farm site in Ohio (Manson et al. 1944:Plate VI #3; Smith 1910:Plate XLIX, #13). For the similar occurrence of

long-bodied creatures, especially those made from copper and brass before they occur in shell (Bradley 2011:38-39, Table 1).

- 3.68. Fox makes a convincing case that copper in various forms, particularly as Mississippian-style axes, was exchanged between central Alabama and southern Ontario during the early seventeenth century, a distance of 1,600 km (1,000 mi; 2004b). Brain and Phillips provide more on this Mississippian form (1996:362-363). This example aside, there was a vast difference in the sources of European copper and brass, either from the Northeast with its ties to France, England, and the Dutch Republic, or from the Southeast where metal came from the Spanish missions. As Waselkov has demonstrated, not only was the source different, so were the modal forms that Native people in the Southeast preferred—circular gorgets, collars, and armbands (1989).
- 3.69. "process of utter debasement" (Mallios and Emmett 2004:4).
- 3.70. These patterns are discussed further (Bradley 2005a:130-135). The first example of centrally perforated brass needles is from the Onondaga Carley site (RFC 10045/217).
- 3.71. Anselmi draws a similar distinction between slim open cones or tinkling cones and broad open cones or pipe-bowl liners, noting that the latter first appear on the Huron–Wendat Ball site, ca. 1610 (2014). At the subsequent Huron–Wendat Warminster site, the first evidence for production appears for disc-shaped brass pipe-bowl covers, with three examples of flatdisc constructs, each with a different degree of central perforation (Anselmi 2014). Brass and copper eyes were also inlaid on ceramic effigy pipes, a tradition that extended back to Hopewellian times. See examples of zoomorphic curved-base platform pipes from the Tremper Mound in Scioto County, Ohio (West 1934:II:Plates 62, 68 #1-3, 71 #3).
- 3.72. As Ehrhardt rightly points out, many archaeologists are wary of using particular elements of material culture as indicators of ethnic identity and with good reason (2005:96). Still, patterns and preferences do occur (Walder 2019). Specific material traits have been described as ethnic markers. This is a hypotheses to test, not an assertion of fact. This is discussed further under Identity below.

B-shaped tubing from the Neutral Christianson site in Ontario (Fitzgerald 1982:223-224, Figures 36, 58 #8). Single examples from the Onondaga Pompey Center site and the Seneca Factory Hollow site (*Antiquities* 6:#573; Sempowski and Saunders 2001 2:396, Figure 7-63).

Tabbed Susquehannock disc pendants are from the Washington Boro site and the Schultz site, both in Pennsylvania (~6 cm in diameter; Cadzow 1936:Plate 88; Kent 1984:Figure 51 lower left). Another Susquehannock-related marker for this period was the use of corrugated sheet metal to make finger rings, bracelets, and tinkling cones. Here the sheet metal has been processed into a form with parallel ridges and depressions. Exactly how this was accomplished is not known, but the presence of partially scored and formed pieces, plus the wide range in the size and density of ridges, indicate this was a Native rather than a European technique. In Onondaga this technique is first evident at the Shurtleff site, ca. 1630s, however, it is most evident at the Susquehannock Washington Boro site in Pennsylvania (Cadzow 1936:Plate 39d-f; Kent 1984: Figure 51). As Barry Kent has pointed out, Cadzow's plate 39 is mislabeled as from the Strickler Site. These objects are from Washington Boro as well as contemporaneous sites in the upper Potomac Valley such as Herriott Farm and Moorefield (Barry Kent, personal communication 6/1/10). No examples of corrugated brass or copper are known from Jamestown or from St. Mary's City. Thank you to Bly Straube at Jamestown Re-Discovery in Virginia and Silas Hurry at St. Mary's City, Maryland, for their comments.

Large single spirals as a late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century marker for Susquehannock and Five Nations sites appear to have a different distribution after 1625. By then, they seldom occur on Five Nations sites and are found instead on nearby Algonquian and Siouan sites, ca. 1625-1650, including the Ferguson and Indian Bone Ossuaries in Maryland and the Abbyville site in Virginia (Curry 1999:Figures 26, 46; Wells 2002:Figures 15a, 45).

- 3.73. Examples of lacing include a square brass patch attached with four loops of sheet (?) lacing from the Oneida Cameron site, a rectangular brass patch attached with four loops of tubular lacing from the Onondaga Pompey Center site (~4-5 mm in diameter; RSPM), and a similar rectangular brass patch attached with six loops of sheet lacing from the Seneca Dutch Hollow site (Bennett 1981:Plate 10 Figure 8; Sempowski and Saunders 2001:I:Figure 3-72a).
- 3.74. Examples of stapling include an irregular patch with one broad strip (~2 cm wide) used as a staple from the Oneida Blower site (Bennett 1979:Plate 8 #7). At least four examples have been reported from the Oneida Thurston site by Ted Whitney, who illustrates clearly how a pointed strip of sheet metal was used as a staple (1964:Plate 3). Alexander Neill illustrates a copper patch with copper lacing, or a rolled staple, in place (1991:Plate 3 Figure 11). Peter Pratt illustrates an example that has been set up for stapling (1976:Plate 39 #6). The most impressive example for the Thurston site is a complete kettle with several patches, one of which is rectangular and secured with seven sets of paired staples (Neill 1991:7, Plate 4 Figure 1b). This extraordinary kettle was also pictured in the catalog (Lot 031) from the Hesse Galleries in Otego, New York,

when Daryl Wonderly's collection was auctioned off in 2014.

In Ontario Lennox reports 35 kettle patches from the Neutral Hamilton site (1981:320). While it is not clear exactly what was happening, there were certainly attempts to construct metal-to-metal joints. Lennox interprets 12 rectangular pieces with four to 20 holes as patches. Several have rivets, while two examples have staples or lacing. One of these has a black crust used to seal the patch (Lennox 1981:Figure 47 #7). The remaining 24 examples have an irregular shape with holes (2-5 mm in diameter) and may be fragments of kettles waiting to receive patches. Whatever specific techniques they used, Neutral people understood metal joining well enough to utilize it.

- 3.75. There are examples of tube riveting from the Neutral Christianson site in Ontario where Fitzgerald lists and illustrates one kettle patch (1982:Table 49, 358-359, Figure 59 #7). For examples from the Neutral Grimsby site, Kenyon illustrates an irregular circular patch with seven of nine remaining o- or e-shaped tube rivets (1982:Plate 208).
- 3.76. Native centers of innovation in metalworking (Anselmi 2008, 2012, 2014). Examples of European settlements at key interaction points include Fort Kent, ca. 1631-1638, William Claiborne's trading post on Kent Island in the Chesapeake Bay, and Ste. Marie aux Hurons, ca. 1639-1649, in the lower Great Lakes (Kidd 1949; Lowery 1995).

The late Geoff Egan has described the two most common forms of European mechanical sheet-metal joining techniques—folded staples or butterfly rivets, and conical rivets (Figure 3.35d-e). Folded staples are an old form of repair, one used in Great Britain since Saxon times (Egan 2005:101). They are a diamondor lozenge-shaped piece of sheet folded so that the broad head is inserted through then flattened on one side. Then the smaller pointed-lateral ends are splayed out on the other side (Egan 2005:Figure 87 top, 135). Bly Straube describes a similar form from Jamestown as butterfly rivets—a piece of sheet cut into a bowtie-like shape. The smaller rectangular head is inserted through and flattened on one side, while the larger triangular ends are splayed out on the other (Bly Straube, personal communication, 6/5/11). The distinction between the Native technique of stapling and the European technique of using folded staples, shown in Figure 3.35a-c, may not become clear until larger samples have been analyzed.

Conical rivets are a more recent form developed between the medieval and post-medieval periods, or late fifteenth to late sixteenth centuries (Egan 2005:101). These were usually a narrow diamond-shaped piece of sheet rolled into a cone. This was inserted through a perforation and both ends were upset, or planished, to secure the joint (Egan 2005:Figure 87 bottom). As Bly Straube points out, the simple patches that were attached with these rivets were often known as a tinker's dam, that is, an expedient repair good enough to last until a more thorough job, such as brazing, could be done (Straube 2007:37, 81). There are many examples of conical riveting from pre-1650 European sites including Jamestown Re-Discovery in Virginia, St. Mary's City in Maryland, Fort Pentagoet in Maine, and Ste. Marie aux Hurons in Ontario (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:157-160, Figure 5.26d-g, 5.26j-k; Kidd 1949:Plate L-h, j, k).

There does appear to be at least one example of conical riveting from the Neutral Hood site in Ontario, ca. 1630-1641 (GBP3). Paul Lennox reports 23 examples of kettle patches with small holes (1-3 mm in diameter) and small rivets (3 mm long by 3 mm wide), and at least one is still attached to a piece of kettle (1984b:107-108, 162 Figure 51 #4-6). Lennox also describes three riveted pieces of brass, likely sheet (1984b:108, Figure 51 #8, #10). These appear to be conical rivets of European origin and are comparable to the ones from Ste. Marie aux Hurons and Fort Pentagoet.

Brazing is a process of jointing two pieces of metal together by using a liquid-state alloy, usually of brass, to fill the space between them to create a sealed joint. One example of a brazed repair of a large kettle has been reported from the Neutral Grimsby site (GBP2/3; Kenyon 1982:Plate 7, probably N-1 from Bu. #1). Ehrhardt's examination of this kettle revealed clear evidence of a brazed repair on the exterior and interior surfaces (personal communication, 5/16/11).

3.77. In Onondaga, for example, only two worked pieces of Taconic slate have been reported from the early seventeenth-century Pompey Center site, a fragmentary piece of a gray-slate pendant or small gorget embellished with drilled dots (RSPM #97.6.618) and a drilled partially worked piece of red slate (RSPM #97.6.617).

Much of the information on siltstone comes from Fox (2012; personal communication 4/22/12). Fox also credits George Hamell's red shift in recognizing this preference (1992:461). For details on production and distribution of siltstone beads from Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron (Fox 1980). For discussion of the close relationship between Ottawa and Huron–Wendat people (Fox and Garrad 2004). Sagard's observations on color preference (Kenyon 1986). It is worth noting that GBP2 beads are almost exclusively white or dark blue.

3.78. Production of large tubular siltstone beads (Fox 1980; Garrad 2014:347). For Neutral examples in Ontario from the Grimsby site (Kenyon 1982:76, 171). From the Hamilton site (Lennox 1981:Figure 34 #21-22). For Onondaga examples from the Carley site (RFC 10001/217). For a Seneca example from the Warren site (RFC 653/89).

3.79. For red slate, an unperforated disc (RFC 15053/100) and a trapezoidal bead (RFC 6501/100) from the Seneca Steele site, an ovoid pendant (RFC 5252/24) and a small partially worked piece (RFC 2809/24) from the Seneca Power House site.

For pipestone beads from Onondaga, examples from the Carley site (RFC 10003/217). Examples from the Seneca sites—Warren (RFC 653/89), Steele (RFC 1369/100, RFC 6499/100) and Power House (RFC 1369/24, RFC 2429/24). This period marks the first occurrence of the new trapezoidal beads and triangular pendant forms, ones that would become common later in the century.

- 3.80. Nicolas Denys (MacBeath 2015). For a recent critique of previous Five Nations scholarship (Jordon 2008:1-18). Parmenter's views are less a critique and more a wholesale denouncement (2010:xxviii-xl). For a broader review on the standard view of technological change and its effects (Pfaffenberger 1992; commentary by Ehrhardt 2005:12-13). "They had as yet changed their customs little" (Ganong, ed. 1908:399). "They have abandoned all . . ." (Ganong, ed. 1908:440-41). "tropes of decline", "negative master narrative" (Jordan 2008:8, 16-18).
- 3.81. "an archaeology of resistance", "frustration, dissatisfaction, and even contempt of the systems of inequality being imposed upon them" (Rubertone 1989:37). Other recent studies with postcolonial critiques and examples that deconstruct colonialist narratives (Ferris 2009:9-17, 30; Scheiber and Mitchell, eds. 2010:10, 11). Liebmann provides a valuable comparative study of Native resistance and revitalization in the seventeenth-century Southwest (2012).
- 3.82. As George Hamell has suggested, this intentional referencing of the past was related to the veneration of forebears, a logical response if Europeans were perceived as returning ancestors (1987a; Miller and Hamell 1986).

A revival in the use of copper and brass gorgets, or breastplates, occurs across the Northeast during the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-centuries. An example from the Seneca Adams site (Wray et al. 1987:454-455, Figure 3-23). Other examples have been reported from sites in southern New England including three in Massachusetts—the Herring Weir site in Mattapoisett (19-PL-250), a fragmentary rectangular or trapezoidal brass plate (>30 cm long by 11.5 cm wide; Peabody Museum Harvard #33-98-10), a breastplate of brass from the Crawford House site in Barnstable, and the famous Skeleton in Armor site, discovered in Fall River in 1831 (Chase 1885:902-903; Phelps 1947:34-35).

The revived use of bar celts tied on war clubs is another example. These large stone double-pointed ceremonial picks initially occur on sites related to the Jack's Reef mortuary tradition in the lower Great 660 Lakes and Ohio drainage, ca. 1,100 and 1,500 years ago (Converse 1978:90; Halsey 1984). When provenience is available, these picks are associated with adult males and probably functioned as part of a war club (Halsey and Brashler 2013:162). Darrin Lowery reported the distal end of a large war club with edge damage from the Mockhorn site in Virginia (#12 site, 44-NH-454) with <sup>14</sup>C dates of 490±48–576±25 cal BP (2013a:17-18).

This form, often referred to as a bar celt, is also well represented in central New York where Beauchamp reported several examples (1897:#26, 27, 30). Although few occur on sites 1,000 to 500 years ago, there is a significant increase after that date. Examples were reported from the Seneca Richmond Mills (AR 49503) and Adams sites (Wray et al. 1987:150), the Onondaga Pompey Center site (RMSC 97.69), and the Oneida Thurston site (Pratt 1976:Plate 39 #7). A hafted example in the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen was probably collected prior to 1650 (Brasser 1978:Figure 6 left). As Meachum has observed, these bar celts were mounted with the cutting edge vertically oriented, not horizontally as it has often been depicted (2007).

In addition to lithic examples, comparable iron bar celts begin to occur during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Examples have been reported from the Seneca Adams site (RFC 249/940), and the Tram site (RFC 2/134; Wray et al. 1987:121, 1991:125-126). Sempowski and Saunders reported examples from the Seneca Factory Hollow site (RFC 6053/102; 2001:II:503). Bradley reported examples from the Onondaga Pratt's Falls site (1979:229). Brasser also illustrated a hafted example of this style now in the Etnografiska Museet in Stockholm (1978:Figure 6 right).

- 3.83. These responses were discussed previously (Bradley 2001:27-36, 2005a:166-180).
- 3.84. Rogers suggested five processes to understand the conjuncture of social and material change maintenance, addition, replacement, rejection, and transformation (1990:105-109). Other approaches to how archaeological information relates to culture history (Ferris 2009:18-31; Liebmann 2012; Spector 1993).
- 3.85. Two examples of crooked knives from the Onondaga Pompey Center site (Bradley 2005a:Figure 17). Other likely examples have been found at the Mohawk Rice's Woods site, and the Seneca Dutch Hollow site (Bradley 2006:Figure 2.18b; Sempowski and Saunders 2001:I:Figure 3-152). Susan Branstner reports a similar phenomenon at the Huron–Wendat Auger site, ca. 1620-1640, where five iron-knife blades had been bent and beveled. She interpreted these as end scrapers or fish scalers (1991:227-228).
- 3.86. "The whites laughed at . . ." (Heckewelder 1876:74). Heckewelder's story exemplifies how Native people may have responded to initial European contact with uncertainty as to how to accept and use the gifts from

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unknown and possibly dangerous beings. Whether apocryphal or not, Heckewelder's story illustrates the point.

3.87. Jesuit father superior Barthélemy Vimont (JR 27:251; Provost 1979). Vimont's comment on the inadequate interpreter (JR 27: 265). The first recorded performance of the Requickening rite or Condolence Council (Fenton 1985:21-30). As Mary Druke has summarized, League council protocol followed a process with four steps—1) invitations, 2) preliminary meetings, 3) major transactions including the presentations of presents to accompany the essential points or words, and 4) ratification (1985:92-96). Woodbury notes that these are essentially the same stages used in the council process as recorded by Gibson (1992:xxiii, Note 39).

Barthélemy Vimont, father superior from 1639 to 1645, pointed out this problem of translation after attending peace negotiations with the Mohawk in July 1645. He reported that he only received some disconnected fragments that the desultory interpreter provided, not even following the order presented by the Native speaker (JR 37:265; Provost 1979).

A Mohawk named Kiotsaeton, who had been a prisoner, arrived in Trois Riviéres with two other Mohawk (JR 27:247). The first meeting of the French governor with the Indian ambassadors was on July 12, 1645 and the speaker was Kiotsaeton (JR 27:251). At the meeting he gave the French governor 18 presents and 18 proposals (JR 27:253-265). "Words of importance in this country are [each represented by] presents" (JR 27:281). "he took a collar of porcelain beads in his hand and commenced to harangue in a loud voice" (JR 27:253). Charles Jacques Huault de Montmagny was the first governor and lieutenant-general of New France from 1636 to 1648 (Hamelin 2016). Governor Montmagny replied with 14 presents, "all of which had their meanings and carried their own messages" (JR 27:267). Good news to the brothers (JR 27:273).

Representatives from the Upper Four Nations arrived on September 17 (JR 27:279). "began to dance and sing", "a Frenchman on one side and a Huron and Algonquian on the other" (JR 27:289). "for the good words they had given" (JR 27:291). "Hiroquois, Hurons, Algonquins, and French; we are now but one and the same people" (JR 27:289).

At the last meeting of the French, Hurons, Algonquians and Iroquois held for the peace, presents were given by Montmagny to "wipe away the tears" of the relatives, to smooth the rapids, clear the river, and make the road smooth and straight" (JR 27:293, 297). Mention of hatchets and kettles in the peace talks (JR 27:281, 299).

For an initial discussion on hatchets and kettles (Jennings et al. 1985:118-119). For a detailed discussion on hatchets and kettles, their literal and metaphorical uses (Van Dongan 1996a). "his body was hatchets", "the preservation of his person . . . all the trade of the French" (JR 10:77). Jean de Brébeuf reported the Huron–Wendat mortuary ceremony of the kettle and "feast of the Dead" (JR 10:279; Latourelle 2015). "to heal this schism, and to reunite the kettle" (JR 10:307).

"under their feet", "thrown . . . so far beyond the Sky" (JR 27:257, 281). "break the kettle" (JR 10:299)

- 3.88. "assumed a new personality" (Martin 1975:129). Another example of European objects used for a different purpose (Bradley 2005a:146-148, Figure 16). In addition, sword blades were converted into hafted scrapers and eel spears, brass kettles into a variety of other forms, and fragments of majolica and delftware were reworked into pendants (Bradley and Bennett 1984).
- 3.89. Three silver coins from the Mohawk Oak Hill site (Bradley 2006:203, #63; Kier 1949). A likely double stuiver has been reported from the Onondaga Indian Castle site (Beauchamp 1903:#294). The solidarity of the League (Woodbury et al. 1992: xxvii). As Hamell has observed, the image of a standing lion clasping a group of arrows was something that Five Nations people would have noticed, even if they did not understand exactly what it meant (personal communication, 10/16/2010). Fragments of these Rhenish jugs have been recovered from several sites including Mohawk Lipe, Onondaga Carley, and Seneca Boughton Hill (Bradley 2006:129-130, Figure 4.44b; Wray 1985: Figure 17). The convergence of panthers with lions begins as early as 1636 (Hamell 1998:283-286; JR 10:177). Comparable images of long-tailed felines were an established part of Five Nations' iconography and frequently embellished Native-made pipes and combs (Hamell 1998).
- 3.90. For Onondaga casting and for more on cast-lead turtles and other forms from Mohawk sites (Bradley 2005a:153; Rumrill 1988). The art of making fire (Hodge 1910:722). Father Le Jeune recorded this tradition in Huronia in 1636, "The [Sky Holder] learned from the Turtle the process of making fire" (JR 10:137). During preparations for the feast of the Dead, Father Brébeuf observed a "little Turtle charm with one of the bodies" (JR 10:285).
- 3.91. Hybridization is the process by which something new is created from previously unrelated components (King and Sawyer 2017; Lapham 2005:150). For a recent review of the large amount of literature on hybridity (Glossary; Ehrhardt 2013).
- 3.92. "the short strands that become our words" (Woodbury et al. 1992:xxvii). Views on the origin of wampum (Bradley 2011). From an Onondaga perspective as the traditional Wampum-Keepers, the origins of wampum are a fundamental part of the creation of the League. According to tradition, during a recess in the founding council, Hayehwatha? came upon a lake with ducks or loons all over the surface. When they saw him, they took off, magically removing all the water. This allowed Hayehwatha? to see white 661

objects or shells on the bottom that reminded him of his string of feathers (Woodbury 1992:xxviii). He collected these into a pouch and decided to place them near the Thatota ho? [Tadodaho] and central fire to serve as a physical reminder of the Great Law that established the League. Before this, objects like sumac, elderberry, or basswood twigs, feather shafts, and porcupine guills threaded onto strings may have served some of the same functions as wampum beads (Beauchamp 1901a:341; Woodbury et al. 1992:xxiixxiii). In 1636 Brébeuf observed that an influential Huron–Wendat chief was buried with his Atsatonewai, his package of "Council sticks," which would have been equivalent to all his books and papers (JR 10:293). Tooker has suggested these "Council sticks" were replaced by wampum as it became available (1964:47).

- 3.93. Bead makers in sixteenth-century Paris specialized in making shell beads called *porcelaine* by the French, derived from the Italian *porcellana* (Turgeon 2001:70-71). Champlain's 1611 reference to *carquans de leurs porcelaines* translated as wampum belts (Biggar 1925-36:II:194). In 1616 Champlain mentions a Huron– Wendat demand for 50 wampum belts, or *cinquante colliers de porcelaine* plus 100 fathoms of the same to make peace with the Nipissing. However, there is no evidence that these *colliers* were belts or that *porcelaine* was wampum (Biggar 1925-36:III:101-103). Father Le Jeune's *petits grains blancs de porcelaine* (JR 5:60-61).
- 3.94. Jonathan Lainey said, "Collars are a bad translation for belts. French people talked about colliers de porcelaine, while English say wampum belts. But they are the same objects. Collars were not necklaces. The collier-belt issue is something I'm trying to address and correct for 10 years now" (Jonathan Lainey to George Hamell, 9/5/13; Lainey 2004:27-30). Thwaites translated Le Jeune's first mention of *colliers de porcelaine* as porcelain necklaces (JR 9:280-281). "A collar of twelve hundred beads of Porcelain (*un collier de douze cens grains de Porcelaine*)" (JR 10:27-29). "collar or string of beads" (JR 10:291). "bracelets of Porcelaine and glass beads" (JR 10:297).

While the historical documents are ambiguous about what porcelaine was and how it was used, the archaeological record provides some clarification. In 1953 archaeologist Kenneth Kidd excavated the Ossossane ossuary in Ontario, the likely site of the Feast of the Dead witnessed by Brébeuf. Among the objects recovered were 1,513 shell beads. Kidd described the majority of these (81%) as cylindrical wampum beads, but does not specify color. While it was seldom possible to discern how these beads had been used, Kidd noted two examples. One was a length of beaded band that was at least four beads high, outwardly like the historic wampum belts of the Iroquois. The second was a necklet composed of two strands of 28 beads. Kidd also noted that 662

there were numerous cases in which two or three beads adhered end-to-end, as well as others having a side-by-side arrangement. This evidence indicates that by the early 1630s, wampum-style beads were strung into forms that could be considered belts. Shell beads were also recovered from the roughly contemporary Neutral Grimsby site in Ontario. Here the large majority of shell beads were discoidal (80%) with a small proportion reported as cylindrical (14%; Kenyon 1982:240, Appendix B). Kenyon also reported a wampum belt (Grave 45, N-377) with an estimated 280 tubular beads, 267 of which were white glass (Kenyon 1982:Plate 141).

- 3.95. "the Indians hung up a belt . . ." (Gehring and Starna 1988:14). For the translation of *een bandt met sewant*, it is difficult to say whether belt was intended, but it was likely a string (Charles Gehring, personal communication, 3/10/14). Bands (Feest 2014a:38).
- 3.96. "the mouth for the whole of my country…", "In the center was a large space . . ." (JR 27:253). More on the July meeting (Note 3.87). A detailed discussion of the negotiations (Jennings et al. 1985:127-153). Harrison's article confuses the issue of two-row belt origins by conflating Vimont's account of Mohawk rhetorical practice with a specific belt motif (2017:209-210).

More than 40 years later, Jasper Danckaerts provided a similar description of how Native people in New York made their contracts and agreements –

Their contracts are concluded . . . with shells or counters. They hold one in their hand as long as that point is being discussed . . . When they come to another article, they take up another counter and do as with the other until the whole contract has been concluded . . . all these shells or counters are bound together with a string in such a manner, signifying such a treaty or contract with such and such a nation . . . The bundle is placed in a bag and hung up in the house of the sachem or chief where it is carefully preserved (Gehring and Grumet 1987:103).

This important quote verifies the protocol required for negotiating agreements and suggests that wampum, whether in strings or belts, fulfilled an older tradition of using counters or council sticks.

The earliest documentary evidence for the diplomatic use of wampum belts by the Onondaga comes from 1647, two years after the meeting at Trois Riviéres, when Ragueneau reported that while the Huron still use furs for presents, the Onondaga use collars of porcelain beads (JR 33:121). As an example, he noted that Onondaga had sent seven great porcelain collars, each of which consisted of three or four thousand beads, to strengthen the peace (JR 33:123).

3.97. Different view of wampum (Parmenter 2010, 2013, 2014). "greatly enriched by the integration of Iroquois oral tradition" (Parmenter 2014:106-107). "Present-day Haudenosaunee oral tradition . . ." (Parmenter 2010,

2013:84, 2014:107). Parmenter argues that Iroquois activists and scholars have consistently asserted the historical veracity of the two-row relationship, and he cites a speech made by an Oneida to the English in Albany on June 27, 1689 as an example (2014:107-109). However, this well-known speech reflected the political situation in 1689 rather than in 1613, 76 years earlier.

- 3.98. "1613 seems an unlikely year . . ." (Jacobs 2013:73; Starna 2015).
- 3.99. This concept is depicted in material form by a particular wampum belt (Parmenter 2014:107). gaswenhda' also spelled kaswehta? (Hanni Woodbury, personal communication, 9/16/11). This is an old Onondaga word, one of three listed under collier in Shea's French-Onondaga dictionary, probably from Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot's manuscript, ca. 1690 (Shea, ed. 1860:33). Zeisberger reported the same word in 1745 with the definition wampum belt (Michelson 1991: Table 6). "kaswentha signifies a separate-butequal [political] relationship" (Parmenter 2014:107). The term kaswentha introduced by Parmenter (2010:xlviii, 23-24, 152). He provided a more detailed definition of this term three years later, saying that kaswentha was best understood as a Haudenosaunee term embodying the ongoing negotiation of their relationship to European colonizers and their descendants. Parmenter said that "the underlying concept of kaswentha emphasizes the distinct identity of the two peoples and a mutual engagement to coexist in peace without interference in the affairs of the other" (2013:83). This definition appears to be drawn largely from Muller (2008:28).

Beauchamp described and drew a two-row belt based on "some of Mr. Roddy's notes"-

No. 2. Six Nations' peace belt, representing two roads. In the peace belt, which bears upon it the plain delineation of two roads, the story is plain to the Indians that, at one time, the powerful Six Nations were made an offer by the English & by the Americans. This offer was one of unity on the part of each of the white nations. The Indian made it plain with this wampum belt by showing the way of two roads, either leading to peace, & either one of which he could take (*Antiquities* 8:108).

Ray Fadden, known as Tehanetorens, does not use the term kaswentha in his discussion of two-row belts (1972:10-11). The first use is in Paul Williams's description of two-row wampum as *Gus-wen-ta* in his review of belts at the Grand River Reservation in Ontario (1989:200). An anonymous article entitled "The Meaning of the Haudenosaunee Wampum Belts" in the *Haudenosaunee Runner* appears to be the first to explicitly link *Gushenta* or two-row wampum with a 1613 treaty with the Dutch and the Covenant Chain (2000:11-12). Other historians who have made uncritical use of the *guswenta* and two-row paradigm of 1613 include Colin Calloway (2013:3). Another is Michael Oberg (2016:12).

3.100. Historian Darrin Bonaparte was one of the first scholars to point out Conrad Weiser's 1748 reference to a large belt with "two Rows of black Wampum" that had been given to the Wyandot by the governor of New York about 50 Years ago (2013). "the Two Row Wampum has become the most significant symbol", "separate, but equal" (Hill 1990:30). This belief is reflected in the 1987 National Geographic article on the Haudenosaunee (Arden 1987:381). Also it is reported in the recent book by Chief Irving Powless, Jr., who regards this as the first international treaty between the Haudenosaunee and Europeans, one that is still in effect (2016:16, 166-67, 174). Hansen and Rossen have perpetuated this view as an act of "Activist Anthropology" and the "Praxis of Decolonization" (2017:33, 39). Interestingly, Fenton also described the two-row belt repatriated to Onondaga from the NYSM in 1989 as representing the enduring separation of Iroquois and European law and custom (1989:398).

Different interpretations attributed to two-row belts have been another complicating factor in the discussion. The attorney Paul Williams illustrated a two-row belt from the Grand River Reservation and a second two-row belt identified as the "Six Nations' Two Roads Belt" (1989:200-201, Figure 2 bottom, Figure 3, third from top). He interprets these as symbolic of the first treaty between the Confederacy and the British Crown made at Fort Albany, September 1664 (Williams 1989:200-201). Ray Fadden's description of two-row wampum belts is a generic statement about the importance of separate but equal relationships between Indian People and white people (1972:10-11). He refers to two-row wampum as a two-road belt dating from the time of the Revolutionary War (1972:41-42). The Haudenosaunee Runner article concurs, describing the "Two Ways/Two Paths Wampum Belt" as a Revolutionary War belt (Anonymous 2000:12). The article also lists two other belt designs with related meanings. These include Covenant Chain Belts and the Clearing the Path Wampum Belt (Anonymous 2000: 14-16, 19). Fadden refers to these as belts of the Council Fire of the Six Nations and Great Britain, and of the Six Nations Friendship (1972:26-27, 39-40). Starna reviews many of these interpretations (2015).

3.101. Recent research includes historian Margaret Bruchac's "Wampum Trail Project" (2014). Also, two recent articles by Christian Feest, "Wampum from Early European Collections" (2014a, 2014b). For a review of the belts that were in the NYSM (Clarke 1931). For a general review on extant belts (Beauchamp 1901a). Fenton describes the return of 11 belts from the Museum of the American Indian to the Grand River Reservation in May 1988 (1989). An anonymous report on the return of 12 belts from the NYSM to Onondaga

(1989). A two-row belt was included in each collection.

- 3.102. Belt fragment at the Ashmolean Museum (No. 1685B271) collected before 1656 (Feest 2014a:40 e, f; MacGregor 1983:121-23). For recent misattributions of the large belt in the Museé du quai Branly (Beaulieu and Viau 2001:51; Fischer 2008:298).
- 3.103. The Seneca Powerhouse site belt (RFC 3366/24) is shown as a drawing with other reconstructed Seneca wampum belts (Figure 3.44). A similar belt (RFC 12005/95) was found by W. C. Carter on the Fugle site and is reported by Sempowski and Saunders (2001:II:654-657). This belt is seven beads wide and 33 beads long and is composed of 331 beads with 228 *Busycon* white shell and three copper or brass beads. The metal beads are located in the center of rows three, four, and five.

There are four reconstructed Seneca wampum belts from the Steele site that appear to depict the Five Nations—two with five purple diamonds (RFC 577/100 [Figure 3.44c], RFC 585/100) and two smaller belts each with a motif of five purple diagonal lines (RFC 537/100, RFC 574/100).

- 3.104. "identity is slippery" (Ohlmeyer 2012:8; Waselkov and Smith, eds. 2017:xvii-xviii). A comparison of how English colonizers dealt with Irish and Indian people is instructive. As historians Timothy. H. Breen and Timothy Hall have observed, England's efforts to conquer Ireland served as a rehearsal for American colonization (2017:47-48). Historian Michael Oberg also explores this subject in depth (1999). To the English, the Irish and the Indians presented essentially the same problem of how to turn savages into civilized people, or find the easiest way to marginalize them (O'Toole 2005:x). Historian Timothy Egan provides a thoughtful review of how English efforts to suppress Irish culture took place over nearly seven centuries, and included attempts at ethnically cleansing the landscape (2016:3-16). Historian Noel Ignatiev discusses the ongoing fluidity of "Irish racial identity" in the United States, and how the Irish finally became accepted as "white people" during the nineteenth century (1995).
- 3.105. In this book identity is defined as the set of expressed, often visual, traits by which an individual or group indicates ethnic and/or cultural affiliation or standing (Glossary).
- 3.106. In addition to GBP2 beads, other examples of color preference of Iroquoian and Algonquian people across the Eastern Woodlands will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Few if any examples of Dutch white-clay pipes have been reported from Huron–Wendat, Petun, or Neutral sites. Fox discusses Ottawa use of Iroquoian ceramic tradition (1990:462-463).
- 3.107. Archaeologist David Hally examined the issue of widely shared cultural practices, especially in the Southeast, in his review of the term "Lamar" (1994). As initially defined in 1938, Lamar culture was based

on the co-occurrence of ceramic styles that were used across much of the Southeast between ca. 650 and 400 years ago. Hally has demonstrated that the concept of a "Lamar culture" does not hold up. As defined, it cuts across significant social, linguistic, and geographic boundaries, and in the end is more a creation of archaeologists than a statement of cultural reality. That said, Hally also notes that there do exist widely shared cultural practices such as decorative motifs on pottery, symbols used to mark differences in status, and styles of mortuary practice, as well as material evidence of widespread interaction and shared values. While social scientists may debate what to call this, societies do not develop in isolation, and materials, symbols, and ideas can be shared across cultural boundaries (Hally 1994:174). For additional discussion of identity and archaeological evidence (Ethridge 2017:62-65, 81; King 2007a, 2007b, King and Sawyer 2017:7). Mississippian Aura and Mississippian Afterglow (Glossary).

- 3.108. The terms adoption and assimilation are used in preference to Jordan's terminology for incorporating new people into kin-based and other social groups (Glossary; 2013:32, after Lynch 1985). As Birch and others have observed both coalescence and dispersal are adaptive strategies for dealing with stress (Birch and Hart 2018; Birch and Thompson 2018; Birch and Williamson 2013).
- 3.109. Ethnic landscape of the seventeenth century (Hart and Engelbrecht 2016.). Onondaga people were a hybrid (Tuck 1971:11-22). In their analysis of regional signaling in northern Iroquoia, Hart et al. chose to describe the sites, ca. 1350 to 1600, on the Lake Ontario plain south of Oneida Lake as Oneida lowlands sites rather than Onondaga or Oneida ones (2017:Figure 1). Several coexistent communities (Tuck 1971:211). The founding of the Onondaga Nation (Tuck 1971:215). Distinctive "micro-traditions," especially house styles and ceramic attributes (Tuck 1971:219). Community convergence (Tuck 1971:213). Increasing communications among these coexistent communities (Tuck 1971:221). Onondaga material culture, considered as a more or less homogeneous cultural tradition (Tuck 1971:220).

While Tuck's work remains the standard explanation of Onondaga origins, significant questions and gaps remain. There are sites that Tuck did not examine and there is updated information from several he did. At present there is no reliable radiocarbon chronology for Onondaga sites, ca. 1400-1600. Nor, has any substantial settlement pattern work been done on these sites, certainly nothing that compares with that done in Ontario. As a result, Tuck's outline for how Onondaga evolved remains just that, an outline, and one that needs to be used with care. His hypothesis for a twovillage pattern is an example (Tuck 1971:216, Figure 8). He presents two possible examples of a large and small site pair—Temperance House and Atwell, and Chase and Dwyer. In each case physical proximity, ceramic similarity, and other material cultural traits suggest a close relationship. Beyond this, information on the size, chronology, and sequence of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Onondaga sites is too incomplete to identify a pattern (Bradley 2012b, 2014a). In terms of seventeenth-century sites, Tuck's two–village pattern is not substantiated.

- 3.110. Oral tradition reports Onondaga and the League formed in ancient times (Woodbury et al. 1992:xix). Historical documents suggest early in the seventeenth century (Starna 2008). As Woodbury et al. point out, kinship terms are reiterated in the rituals of the League (1992:xvi-xvii). The Good Message, the Power and the Peace (Woodbury et al. 1992:xx). Greene on morality (2013:22-25, 31). Wallace's work on revitalization movements examines League formation and the role of charismatic leadership in that process (Wallace 1956, 1958, 1969, 2004). For a previous discussion of the external and internal implications of revitalization of the League and its function (Bradley 2005a:105-110). The emergence of the League seems even more remarkable given the archaeological evidence that the Five Nations may not have been as internally cohesive as that of their contemporaneous Huron-Wendat neighbors (Birch and Hart 2018).
- 3.111. The influences apparent in material culture between St. Lawrence Iroquois and Onondaga (Abel 2002; Bradley 2005a:83-87, 96-98). As discussed previously, the degree to which ethnic identity can be demonstrated in the material record is controversial. This is especially the case during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, given the cosmopolitan nature of settlements and the fluidity of social relations and population movement (Emerson and Brown 1992:105-106; Gaudreau and Lesage 2015). One goal of this book is to test the degree to which ethnicity can be discerned in the Onondaga material culture record.
- 3.112. There are no reliable population estimates for the Onondaga during this period. The archaeological data are insufficient for estimating population and the historical documents are uneven and of questionable accuracy. In addition, estimates can be calculated in different ways from the same data. Jones suggests around 2,700 people (2010:394-395, Table 2). With his data, Brandão estimates around 4,500 people (1997:165, Table C.5).

A recent study of Native American depopulation in the Southwest indicates that major disease events appear to have occurred well after initial contact with Europeans, and only after episodes of intensive contact such as the establishment of missions (Liebmann et al. 2015). This appears to have been the case in Onondaga as well. Powless discusses the problem of disease, specifically smallpox, and population loss in Onondaga based on oral tradition (2016:31-32). "unrecorded depopulation event" (Jones 2010:399). Jones's speculative statements about Onondaga site size, population, and demography have little basis in fact.

3.113. "a number of their people" (JR 33:121). For more on Onondaga-Huron negotiations (Bradley 2005a:182-184; JR 33:117-127; Trigger 1976:730-735). According to Jesuit estimates there were another 100 Huron captives in Onondaga in 1648 (JR 33:123). Trigger's estimate of 400 Huron captives appears to be an error (1976:735). Onondaga continued to encourage the remaining population to return and live with them (Trigger 1976:787). Mohawk and Seneca were primarily responsible (Bradley 2005a:183-184; Trigger 1976:726-729, 762). Smoking-pipe styles, metalworking techniques and forms, and preferences for red-stone forms including trapezoidal beads and triangular pendants all appear to reflect Huron-Wendat influences on Onondaga material culture by 1650. Other broad-scale changes may have included the introduction of new medicine societies and clans, as Fenton has suggested took place among the Seneca (1940:227). "The bulk of the surviving . . ." (Heidenreich 1987:Plates 34, 35). While Labelle is a little too exuberant in her arguments for the ongoing survival of Wendat autonomy, community memory, and cultural legacy in Iroquoia, she is correct that Huron-Wendat people were dispersed, not destroyed, and they brought many elements of their culture with them (2013:120, 143).

#### **Chapter Four**

- 4.1. "to learn whether the hearts of the French would be inclined towards peace", "advancing unarmed and defenseless" (JR 40:89). It is roughly 430 km (~270 mi) from Onondaga to Montréal. "treacherous and perfidious people" (JR 40:89). Continue this close alliance (JR 40:91). "filled with rage and fury" (JR 40:93). François-Joseph Le Mercier was father superior from 1653 to 1656 and again from 1665 to 1673 (Campeau 1979). As observed by Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation, founder of the Ursuline order in New France who resided in Québec from 1639 to 1672, it was not unusual for Onondaga women to participate in political affairs. "These women chiefs are women of rank . . . who have a deliberate voice in the councils and reach conclusions like the men, and it was they that delegated the first ambassadors to treat for peace" (Chabot 1966; Marshall 1967:216-217).
- 4.2. As the Mohawk spokesman Kiotsaeton claimed at the meeting in Trois Riviéres in July 1645, he was the mouth for the whole of his country, and they were to listen to him as if he was all the Iroquois (JR 27:253). Sinnenkens of Onnedaego (Gehring and Venema 2009:53).
- 4.3. "several confederated Nations" (JR 28:275). "that a

careful distinction must be made" (JR 41:165). "The Onondaga invite us of their own accord, and solicit our coming by presents", "in the midst of the enemy's country" (JR 40:219-221).

- 4.4. The Huron–Wendat were dead already (JR 41:59). "Whithersoever our Fathers should decide to go, the [Huron–Wendat] colony would follow them" (JR 41:57-65). Looking to satisfy both Onondaga and Mohawk (JR 41:65).
- 4.5. "our young men will wage no more warfare with the French", "are now one, our arms linked together in a bond of love" (JR 41:71-75).
- 4.6. "between fear and hope, not knowing what would be the issue of that affair" (JR 41:77). In this book the name Simon Le Moyne's is spelled Le Moine in order to clearly distinguish him from the French trader Charles le Moyne and his several sons. Father Le Moine arrived in Québec on June 30, 1638 (Pouliot 1979c). Although the Jesuit Relations and Campeau's *Monumenta* remain the primary sources, there are several others. Marie de l'Incarnation, mother superior of the Ursuline Convent in Québec, knew many of the Jesuits well, and her commentary based on conversations with Le Moine, Chaumonot and others adds important details not mentioned in other sources. For example, the mother superior notes that Le Moine did not go to Onondaga alone, but was accompanied by a worthy, but unnamed, young Frenchman who volunteered to go with him (Marshall 1967:212).
- 4.7. "We, the five Iroquois Nations, . . . on which to plant your feet?" (JR 41:87-89). Jean de Lauson was appointed French governor Jan 15, 1651, and was governor until Sept 1656 (Monet 1979b).
- 4.8. Le Moine's journal of his travels (JR 41:91-107). "to speak to them concerning our mysteries . . . never have I had so many kinfolk" (JR 41:99).
- 4.9. For the French word *bourg* the preferred translation is town rather than Thwaites's choice of village, since a settlement with several thousand people is not a village. "called by name all the Captains, . . .", "Men, women, and children, all showed me respect and love" (JR 41:98-99). "to wipe their faces", "remove any gall still remaining in their hearts" (JR 41:101).
- 4.10. Huron–Wendat captives (JR 41:95, 97, 103, 119, 125). Petun captives (JR 41:97). Neutral captives (JR 41:103). According to Marie de l'Incarnation, Le Moine recognized several Huron–Wendat whom he had known from the town of St. Michel, which had been located in the territory of Tahontaenrat, known as the White Ears or Deer Tribe (Cole 1971:Map 17). General Council is used for the French *Conseil Général* (JR 41:108-109). "all by the help of my written list, which was to them a thing full of charm and novelty", "the diamonds of this country" (JR 41:109). "fully two hours . . . walking back and forth, as is their

custom, like an actor on a stage", "harmonize all their thoughts", "become instructed in the truths of our faith" (JR 41:113).

- 4.11. "Listen, five whole Nations address thee . . . we shall have only thoughts of peace" (JR 41:117). Onnontio, sometimes spelled Onontio, was the Five Nations' name for the governor of New France, Montmagny, meaning great mountain (Hamelin 2016; NYCD 3:37 Note 1).
- 4.12. Plant the first pole for a new structure (JR 41:121). Le Moine also noted that these houses were 50-60 feet in length (~15-18 m; Marshall, ed. 1967:215). On a personal level, Le Moine also had good luck. While in Onondaga, he was able to recover two little books—Fr. Jean de Brébeuf's New Testament, and Fr. Charles Garnier's book of devotion. Le Moine reported that these were obtained from the very people who had killed the two Jesuits four years earlier (JR 41:119-121; Marshall 1967:212).
- 4.13. "Unless you baptize me, I shall be without courage, and shall not dare to face the conflict" (JR 41:123). He next appears as Jean Baptiste Achiongeras.
- 4.14. "They do not recognize any other God than the Sun", "themselves to the Sky" (Brandão 2003:57; JR 27:249). Agriskoué or Ondoutaehté (JR 33:225). Goddard discusses other views on Agreskwe (Agriskoué; 1984). Wonderley discusses Sky Holder during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (2009:53-68). "a secret idea of Divinity. . . whom they invoke. . . without knowing him" (JR 33:225). For example, Le Moine reported the Five Nations had used the term "master of our lives" in 1654 (JR 41:117). Chaumonot reported them using "the Master of Life" in 1666 (NYCD 9:47; Surprenant 1978).

The Huron–Wendat creation story (JR 10:129-139). "the horns of a stag" (JR 10:131). "which he learned from the Turtle", "he who makes [the corn] grow" (JR 10:137). Horned oki (spirit) known as Tehonrressandeen (JR 10:135). Le Jeune's note about Tawiscaron (JR 10:131). In Onondaga the horned spirit is Taronhiaouagon, "he who holds up the Sky" (JR 42:197). Fr. Claude Dablon accompanied Chaumonot to Onondaga (Charette 2015). Dablon, no great linguist, may have conflated his creation story with others including a meeting with a Tortoise of incredible size, and a little Dwarf who told them that Taronhiaouagon had made them masters of the earth and victors over so many nations (JR 42:197). Wonderley discusses the derivation of the spirit as Taronhiaouagon (2009:53). Father Millet quickly learned the Native language while in Onondaga (Campeau 2015). Teharonhiaouagon, or Teharonhiawagon, as "the mightiest of all Spirits, and the Master of our lives" (JR 55:61-63). "the eternal pleasures and joys", "horrible fires in Hell", likely from a journal by Simon Le Moine reported by Le Jeune (JR 43:177).

4.15. Le Moine's return trip to Québec from Onondaga

(JR 41:125).

- 4.16. "a sweet hope in the midst of despair", "a firm bond of peace between them" (JR 41:131). "Our French on all sides vie with one another in volunteering to join the expedition" (JR 41:133-135).
- 4.17. Unfortunately, a complete *Relation* for the year 1655 has not survived. One was written and sent, but the manuscript was scattered by highway robbers on the road from La Rochelle to Paris (JR 41:14). In Paris, the editor pieced together what he could from the fragments, but a significant gap remains in our knowledge of this critical period. The Mohawks let their prisoner go and Le Moine, with his remaining guide, continued on to Montréal (JR 41:199-201). "only some hair-brained young men . . . rather than with the French" (JR 41:201-203).
- 4.18. Jesuits as teachers (Wade 2008:44). For a comparison of Jesuit methods and results in New France and China (Li 2001).
- 4.19. Early Jesuits (Hollis 1968:91, 94-95).
- 4.20. The strength of the Jesuits, ca. 1626 (Hollis 1968:118).
- 4.21. Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, Cardinal-Duc de Richelieu, and his relationship with the Jesuits in New France (Trudel 1973). Franciscan Récollets were simply not up to the job, and the Jesuits replaced them (JR 4:259-260; Trudel 1973:135-136, 181-182).
- 4.22. The power of art and religious imagery (Wedgewood 1967:64). Fr. Francesco Bressani (Tessier 1979).
- 4.23. Jesuit deaths in New France (Trudel 1973:240).
- 4.24. The prototype for an annual report that would not be published in Paris until 1673 (Trigger 1976:II:472). "I was delighted with their . . . all dripping with blood" (JR 45:33). For a study on how the intent and structure of the *Jesuit Relations* changed during the seventeenth century (Pioffet 1997).
- 4.25. Trigger uses terms such as fanaticism, coercive contact, and paternalistic in describing Jesuit intentions (1976:II:846, 849). Campeau comments that "Trigger's work breathes an anti-French and anti-Jesuit hostility . . . often with disregard for primary principles of criticism" (2001:41, Note 72). Among materials recently made available are nine volumes of *Monumenta Novae Franciae* (Campeau 1967-2003:1-9).
- 4.26. Choice to cooperate with God's grace (Hollis 1968:95). A remarkable willingness to adopt Native practices (Jaenen 1976:50; Moore 1982:163).
- 4.27. For a list of liturgical objects known to be given to the Chapel of Québec and the parish church, ca. 1646-1657 (JR 42:275-289).
- 4.28. Jesuit use of prisms and burning glasses (JR 12:117, 143). "the Demon of death, . . ." (JR 15:35).
- 4.29. Jesuits as sorcerers and witches (JR 42:151, 43:289-291).
- 4.30. "They kill everywhere and everywhere are killed" (JR 41:213). Le Moine's assignments (JR 41:217, 42:57).

- 4.31. "will take the war-hatchet out of his hands, and check his fury, for the reign of Peace must be universal" (JR 42:51-53). "the four Upper Iroquois Nations had but one heart and one mind in their sincere desire for Peace" (JR 12:55-57).
- 4.32. Greatly divided and the blessed lot (JR 42:57-59). Chaumonot's autobiography, written at the direction of his father superior in 1688, is another source of detailed and often unique information such as the politics of Chaumonot's selection (1858a; JR 42:67).
- 4.33. Dablon's journal of their journey to Onondaga in 1655 (JR 42:61-215). Given his command of the language and long residency in Onondaga, it is likely that much of what Chaumonot described and pictured in 1666 was based on his time there rather than in Seneca country, as is often assumed (NYCD 10:47-51).
- 4.34. Narrowly avoided a band of Mohawks (JR 42:63). Noted with some admiration that the treatment worked (JR 42:65-69). They landed at the fishing camp, Otihatangué (JR 42:71).
- 4.35. Although this "Captain of note" was not named, Dablon soon began to record the names of individual Onondaga people. This was probably due to Chaumonot's interest in the language as well as his understanding of the importance of names in protocol. *Les Anciens du païs* or the elders of the country (JR 42:85). People who had come to see them (JR 42:85-87).
- 4.36. "secret Council of fifteen Captains" (JR 42:89).
- 4.37. The location of Ste. Marie de Gannentaha was roughly four leagues (19 km) from the main Onondaga town (JR 42:95-97).
- 4.38. "in what was really the Italian style", "wipe away tears", "were but one, both before and after death" (JR 42:103-105). He was ready to teach them (JR 42:101-111).
- 4.39. "It is past belief how the Father's speech and his engaging ways charmed these people" (JR 42:111-113).
- 4.40. This important individual was not named, only referred to by his title Sagochiendaguese [Sagochiendagehté]. It is not clear who this was, although some have argued it was Garakontié (Webb 1984:254-257). "now but one", "of seven thousand beads", "before Heaven and earth" (JR 42:117-119). Here again, as with the Mohawk–French negotiations in 1645, are the essential components of what would become standard diplomatic protocol—the alternation of proposals and replies, the use of belts to accompany them, the presentation of appropriate gifts, and then feasting. The mission of St. Jean Baptiste was built among the Onondaga at that time (JR 42:125).
- 4.41. "some images to aid the imagination" (JR 42:129). Chaumonot makes several references to the effectiveness of pictures, specifically of our Lord and our Lady, but probably others as well during his stay (JR 43:309-311). Gagnon reviews the Jesuit uses of graphic imagery among Native people (1975).

"duplicate what our children are singing" (Chaumonot 1858a:67). In addition to their travels to Onondaga, Chaumonot's autobiography and Dablon's journal add new information on their stay in Onondaga (Chaumonot 1858a; JR 42:61-215).

- 4.42. "most of the Elders turned a deaf ear to God's word" (JR 42:133-135).
- 4.43. "an outlying cabin to avoid the riot", "disgusted with such ridiculous ceremony" (JR 42:157, 169). "They said they had been awaiting . . ." (JR 42:201).
- 4.44. Chaumonot and Dablon were much perplexed (JR 42:201). Jean Baptiste Achiongeras led Dablon to Québec (JR 42:203-205). The situation was not as perplexing as the *Jesuit Relations* suggest. Chaumonot noted that it was the capture of some Onondaga hunters in Montréal that caused the elders to accuse him of betraying them. When Dablon left, Chaumonot understood that he was a hostage (1858a:68-69).
- 4.45. "one of the leading Captains" (JR 43:101-103). "Here is an iron chain . . . who wish to be my enemy" (JR 43:108-109). French departure from Québec and arrival in Ste. Marie de Gannentaha (JR 43:127-152). For a list of the French participants (Campeau 2001:27-28).
- 4.46. "many of the elders were on one side," for the French, "while most of the young warriors were on the other" (JR 42:203). A warning the Jesuits had heard before from Huron–Wendat (Trigger 1976:II:724).
- 4.47. "by word and deed" (JR 43:115, 135-137). "French party reached the lake where their new settlement would be built" (JR 43:149-151).
- 4.48. "rolled over the water . . . most agreeably" (JR 43:139, 157). "took possession of the whole country in the name of JESUS CHRIST" (JR 43:159). "a good Redoubt for the soldiers" (JR 43:161).
- 4.49. Father Le Mercier, no longer father superior, and 15 soldiers went to Onondaga, five short leagues away (JR 43:161). "in fine attire marched in, with the drum beating", "display of affection and cordiality . . . change into fear, hatred and treachery" (JR 43:163).
- 4.50. "ten leagues of space in every direction" (JR 41:245-247). Zacharie Dupuy, commander of the Québec garrison (Campeau 2001:27-28). "worked at all the trades practiced in a city" (JR 43:181). Explorer Pierre-Esprit Radisson (Nute 1982).
- 4.51. Great council meeting (JR 43:167,169). Achiendasé was what the Huron called the father superior, which at that time was Le Mercier, although he had just given up that office (Campeau 1979). Dablon's account of how the council ended (JR 43:169).
- 4.52. "Keep your beaver-skins . . . horrible fires in Hell" (JR 43:171-177).
- 4.53. "as Ambassadors rather than as missionaries", "openly declared war against Paganism" (JR 43:297).
- 4.54. "words full of fire . . . and Christian vehemence" (JR 43:177-179). "we might be thereafter but one people", "deceitful and treacherous" (JR 43:181).
- 4.55. European-style building as a chapel (JR 43:181). 668

Establish new missions among the Cayuga and Seneca (JR 43:181, 185). "We [now] dwell and . . ." (JR 43:275).

- 4.56. "a great mortality in this country . . ." (JR 44:43). Those who had embraced the Faith were stricken as often as those who did not (JR 43:303, 313; JR 44:37).
- 4.57. "a Sorcerer who should be got rid of . . . [since] I gave life or death to whomever I wished" (JR 43:315). A similar charge had been made against Dablon the year before. The outbreak of disease was due to his search for souls, a box full of which he wished to take along with him when he returned to Québec in March 1656 (JR 43:291). Chaumonot returned to Québec during 1657, prior to the massacre of Huron–Wendat refugees in August (Surprenant 1978). One of the things he apparently took back was the draft of an Onondaga–French dictionary. This is probably the one mentioned by Le Jeune (JR 44:45). Although this dictionary, later published by Shea, has not officially been credited to Chaumonot, no one else had his familiarity with the language (Chaumonot 1858b:15; Shea, ed. 1860).
- 4.58. The promised Huron–Wendat had not come to Onondaga (Campeau 2001:30).
- 4.59. Oneida request for refugees (JR 42:253). Paul Ragueneau was father superior from 1656 to 1657 (Pouliot 1979d). Wrangling continued all winter (JR 43:187-207). Surviving Huron–Wendat communities decide where to go (JR 43:191).
- 4.60. Warriors set out to escort the Huron–Wendat to Onondaga (JR 43: 199-201). Feelings were still running strong (JR 44:69).
- 4.61. The two surviving accounts are by Ragueneau and Radisson (JR 43:69-77; Warkentin, ed. 2012:179-183). Campeau discusses this episode in detail (2001:37-41). It remains unclear which group of Huron-Wendat was involved. The *Jesuit Relations* and most scholars identify these Christian Huron as Arendaronon, or people from the Rock Nation (Campeau 2001:20; Steckley 2004:9; Trigger 1976: 811-812). This is contradicted, however, by the primary source *De* Religione that states, "Spring returned and Father Paul Ragueneau carried the Bear Nation . . . [to Onondaga]. He continued to wish 'Let the Onondagas truly imitate the Bears in believing and praying'" (Steckley 2004:129). The Jesuit missions in Huronia, as well as in Ste. Marie I and II in Ontario, are mapped by Heidenreich (1987). Onondaga and Seneca escort to Ste. Marie de Gannentaha (JR 44:69). A cold reception from the escort (JR 44: 71). "He had no answer to make except that I did not know all that he knew" (JR 44:77). No one took this event harder than Ragueneau with good reason. This was the remnant of his flock, people he had tried to protect during the Iroquois attacks on Huronia in 1649-1650 and had led back to Québec. It transformed Ragueneau from a cautious friend into a bitter adversary (JR 44:79-81).

4.62. "all Iroquois that should present themselves" (JR

44:195-197).

- 4.63. Some have suggested that the informant was Garakontié (Trigger 1976:815; Webb 1984:261; Brandão 1997:110). Although, this was not the case. "who knew the Elders' secret." After informing the Fathers of the "wicked designs of his compatriots," this unnamed captain then, obligingly, went on to Heaven (JR 44:187). Whereas, Garakontié would continue to play a major role in Onondaga affairs for many more years. Planned to make war on the Iroquois (JR 44:201). Secret councils between the Onondaga and Mohawk (JR 44:157, 215). "wretched schemes being prepared" (JR 44:157).
- 4.64. For primary accounts of the escape (JR 44:153-183, 213-217; Warkentin, ed. 2012:200-204). For a later assessment (Campeau 2001:57-61). "walked off on the waters, or flown away through the air" (JR 44:313). "a dozen Iroquois could have easily defeated us" (JR 44:179). For restraint on the part of the Five Nations (JR 44:215). For restraint by the French, see Radisson's proposition and the Jesuits' reply (Warkentin, ed. 2012:203-204).
- 4.65. Serious financial trouble in the French colonies (JR 43:171). There were many reasons for the Jesuits' loss of influence (Trudel 1973:243-245, 268-280). Louis XIV assumed control of France in 1661 (Eccles 1964:2). In 1693 Louis appointed the first royal governor-general of New France, Augustin de Saffray de Mézy (Eccles 2018a). Having returned as father superior in 1665, Le Mercier observed, "We were . . . sent by the Governor to take possession of those regions in his Majesty's name" (Campeau 1979 ; JR 49:257).
- 4.66. Chaumonot lived in Onondaga for nearly three years (JR 46:155). Copies of the peace treaties of 1665 and 1666 were collected by Brodhead and published (NYCD 9:37-38, 44-51). Along with them Brodhead included an unsigned *Account of the Nine Iroquois Tribes* with several accompanying drawings. Most scholars agree that this was Chaumonot's work, and although they are often described as depicting Seneca people, it is more likely that the subjects were Onondaga. "When they assemble together . . . " (Fenton 1978:299, Figure 1; NYCD 9:48). Gibson's account (Woodbury et al. 1992).
- 4.67. "Onnontaé,—a large Village, and the center . . ." (JR 51:237). For other sources on the League and its origins (Fenton 1998; Starna 2008; Tooker 1978).
- 4.68. The Mohawk embassy to Québec with Fr. Simon le Moine (JR 45:101-103). The French ambush led by Adam Dollard des Ormeaux that turned into a siege against them when they encountered 200 Onondaga (JR 45:244-249; Vachon 2016). Long Sault is located on the north side of the St. Lawrence River midway between Montréal and Lake Ontario. Joint outrage of the Onondaga and Mohawk towards the French (JR 45:251-261).
- 4.69. Algonquian Abenaki as a threat (JR 47:141). Algonquian Mahicans as a threat (Bradley 2006:155-

157). Susquehannock as a threat (JR 48:77-81). Barely able to maintain, much less defend, themselves while facing smallpox as well as threats (JR 48:79). "absolutely determined upon war" (JR 48:101-103).

- 4.70. "almost the same proceedings, enacted by the same persons" (JR 48:105). "others believe they are far from it; and both may be said to be right" (JR 49:142-143). Fr. Jérôme Lalemant was father superior, or Achiendasé, of New France from 1645 to 1650, and again from 1659 to 1665 (Pouliot 1979b). If the troublesome Mohawk could just be eliminated (JR 49:109-111).
- 4.71. Introduction of the concepts of Francophiles, Anglophiles, and "neutrals" (Richter 1992:132-133). Simon Le Moine's first convert, Jean Baptiste Achiongeras (JR 41:121-123, 42:181). Aharihon (JR 42:193-195, 48:169-171). Webb and others identify Garakontié as the Sagochiendagehté who welcomed and supported the French (1984:255; JR 41:255). However, his name is not mentioned until 1661 when Le Moine noted that this was the man with whom he and other Jesuits had lodged every time they visited their country (JR 47:73).
- 4.72. "a man of ability and intrigue", "God knew how to remove that obstacle to his glory" (JR 43:301).
- 4.73. Onondaga would burn the French and their Indian allies together (JR 45:109, 46:45-47, 59-61). Otreouti as a formidable enemy (Grassmann 1979; JR 45:89). To avenge the insult (JR 47:73). Wearing the black robe of a priest he had slain (JR 47:95). The slain priest was identified as Jacques Le Maistre, a Sulpician (Campeau 2001:93). Marie de l'Incarnation gives a more lurid account of Otreouti's actions (Marshall 1967:263).
- 4.74. Garakontié travels to Montréal offering captives and presents (JR 44:109, 111). Le Moine's return to Onondaga and the bark chapel (JR:46:155-157, 47:73-81, 175-189, 193). Opposition to Garakontié (JR 49:143).
- 4.75. A delegation lead by Otreouti and Aharihon (JR 47:277). "a score of Onondaga" (JR 47:191). Garakontié, Otreouti, and Aharihon (JR 49:179; NYCD 3:121).
- 4.76. "Every one [had] a small necklace . . ." Actually, Radisson had a lot more gear including "six pounds of powder and more then fifteen pounds of shott, two shirts, a cupp, eight pairs of shoos, and where with to make a paire of breeches, and about thousand grains [beads] of black and white porcelaine." Fortunately for Radisson, this was carried by "our slaves" who brought the packs (Warkentin, ed. 2012:147-148).
- 4.77. "little wars," Iroquois men revered war above all else (Fenton 1978:315). "a great captaine . . . for as many [as] he killed" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:146). The great Onondaga war chief Aharihon (JR 48:169-171). "two gun shots, and seaven arrow shotts, and was runne through the shoulders with a lance" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:146).

"He who has captured a prisoner in war, often takes only his apparel, and not his life" (JR 42:161). "honor

enough to command" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:146). Historical interpretations (Dennis 1993; Wallace 1946).

- 4.78. Little wars (Fenton 1978:315). "to appease . . . the souls", "no resting-place for them in the other world" (JR 47:147-149). An example of an archaeological site associated with what may have been a small war party similar to Radisson's is discussed in detail by Beckman (1991). Thank you to James B. Richardson, III, for bringing this dissertation to my attention. Overviews and details of the Five Nations' attacks in Ontario (Garrard 2014; LaBelle 2013; White 1991). Although many Ontario Iroquoians ended up in Onondaga, the Onondaga themselves do not appear to have taken a major role in these dispersals (Bradley 2005a:183-184).
- 4.79. Campaign against the Erie in the fall of 1654 (JR 41:107, 121-123). A force of reportedly 1,800 warriors (Brandão 1997:Table D.1). It is important to remember that many of the statements in the *Jesuit Relations*, such as Dablon's lurid descriptions of battles and massacres, are not corroborated by other sources.

While it is difficult to reconstruct exactly where Onondaga raiding and trading parties went, the *Jesuit Relations* provide some indications. These were primarily Algonquian speakers including the Beaver Nation, the Fire Nation, and Mascouten. The Beaver Nation was probably the Amikouek on the north shore of Georgian Bay (JR 42:93). The Fire Nation, also called Assistaeronnon, was located in eastern Michigan and on the western end of Lake Erie (JR 44:249). Thwaites identified the Atsistagherronnon as Mascouten against whom the "Onnontagueronnons [Onondaga] have recently declared war" (JR 44:249, 44:321 Note 21). There were also people of another language than that of these regions, and of a country far distant (JR 42:191, 44:49-51). Other possible targets were Petun refugees, the Potawatomi, Ottawa, Fox, and Miami (JR 44:245-251; Warkentin, ed. 2012:209, 220, 231, 232-234).

- 4.80. For Onondaga–Susquehannock relationships during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Bradley 2005a:96-97). The Andastoeronnon, "allied with our Hurons" (JR 33:123). "the trade of all these countries . . . that it was part of Virginia" (JR 33:137).
- 4.81. WIC Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant (DAB 18:187). Swedish settlements and the return of Dutch control (Gehring 1981:ix-xi).
- 4.82. Hostilities primarily between the Susquehannock and the Mohawk (JR 37:97, 45:205). Sinnenkens of Onnedaego (Gehring and Venema 2009:53). "the Sinekes [Onondaga] savages are a very powerful nation" (Governor-General Petrus Stuyvesant to the Directors of the West India Company, letter, 11 August 1656, document 522, Bonamontal Papers, New York Public Library, NY).
- 4.83. "goeing down to the French" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:232). Radisson encountered Iroquois who came from the wars of the upper country at Long Sault on the way up country in 1659, on the way back in 1660 670

at Sault du Calumet on the Ottawa River, and at Long Sault on the St. Lawrence (Warkentin, ed. 2012:235, 236, 251, 293). These locations were easily accessible to the Onondaga either from Cataraqui via the Rideau Lakes and River or from the Nation River further east. By 1650 the Algonquian people who lived within this triangle of land, the Onontchataronnon or Iroquet, appear to have left (Figure 9.5; Heidenreich 1987:Plates 35, 37; Heidenreich and Ray 1976:Figures 1, 2; Trigger 1976:Map 13).

- 4.84. "warfare between the Sinnecus [Onondaga] and the Minquas [Susquehannock] was well underway" (Gehring 1981:234, 236; JR 47:107,111). Although Sinnekens or Sinnecus has sometimes been interpreted as either a generic term for the Upper Four Nations or a specific reference to the Seneca, it is clear that the primary antagonists were the Onondaga and Susquehannock. In April 1662 a force of 800 Sinnecus attacked (Gehring 1981:321-323). "war more hotly than ever", "humiliated by this insult . . . disbanded and prepared to adopt the defensive." There is some discrepancy on the date when this occurred. It was in 1661 according to the *Jesuit Relations* (48:77-81).
- 4.85. Onondaga gifts (JR 49:145). Vanished in smoke (JR 49:145-147). "All the Iroquois still believe they arranged it" (Marshall, ed. 1967:302-303). North to raid the Cree (Warkentin, ed. 2012:289, 291). West against the Shawnee, the Illinois, and the "Ox Nation." The Jesuits used the word Ontôagannha instead of Shawnee to describe people who speak corrupted Algonquian (JR 47:145). The people of the "Ox Nation" were probably Siouan speakers (JR 45:163, 47:149). Onondaga raids south to the coast near Virginia (JR 45:143-149).
- 4.86. "Fiery Serpents . . . flying through mid-air, borne on wings of flame" (JR 48:37). "throughout the length and breadth of Canada" (JR 48:41-51). Aftershocks from the earthquake continued for several months (JR 48:159, 219). Recent research indicates that the February 5, 1663 earthquake may have been between 7.2 and 7.8 on the Richter scale and centered in the Charlevoix–Saguenay region north of Québec City (Rousseau 2014). Stirring of the Great Turtle referred to by Chaumonot in 1666 (NYCD 9:47). Comets (JR 48:241, 50:69). When asked if they had seen a comet before, the Montagnais told Father Le Jeune, of course they had, "It is an animal that has a long tail, 4 feet, and a head; we can see all that" (JR 6:225). Blood-red moon (JR 50:77).
- 4.87. The first royal French governor, Augustin de Saffray de Mézy, fell seriously ill in March 1665, and Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle was appointed the next governor-general of New France, 1665-1672 (Eccles 2018a, 2018b). The peace treaty was sealed by the Onondaga in Québec on December 13, 1665 (JR 50:127-131; NYCD 3:121-125). "do nothing to disturb the

peace" (NYCD 9:37-38). "in their own name, as in that of the Mohawk" (NYCD 9:44-46). The French were on a very different track. By 1660, the French had begun to realize that the lands where the Five Nations lived were exceptionally better than where they were in Canada (Marshall 1967:326).

- 4.88. Alexandre de Prouville de Tracy had arrived with his troops in Québec in June 1665 (JR 50:80; Lamontagne 1966). Courcelle landed in Québec to join de Tracy in September "breathing nothing but war" against the Iroquois (Eccles 1964:20-25; JR 50:83).
- 4.89. Courcelle's raid on the Mohawk (Eccles 1964:39-41). De Tracy's invasion of the Mohawk (Eccles 1964:42-44).
- 4.90. Bringing captives back was the most important (Brandão 1997:72-75,90; Richter 1992:65-66; Synderman 1948:13-15). "victories cause almost as much loss . . ." (JR: 43:265). "were forced to remain two months . . ." (JR 42:183). Too weak to sustain hostilities (JR 46:121).
- 4.91. A great mortality swept through Onondaga (JR 43:291, 44:43). Achiongeras's sister, Madeleine Teotonharason (JR 43:303). This may also be the woman chief mentioned by Marie de l'Incarnation, who visited her in Québec (Marshall 1967:222-223). "died a saintly death" (JR 44:37). "a rich harvest of souls" (JR 47:193). "carried off many men, besides . . ." (JR 48:79, 83).
- 4.92. Radisson estimated that a few dozen men, five or six hundred women, and 1,000 children lived in the main town of Onondaga, as well as another 200 men and women were living around Ste. Marie (Warkentin, ed. 2012:203). This did not include the men and boys away hunting or fighting, or those living in fishing camps. Fr. Jérôme Lalement stated that the Onondaga had 300 warriors in 1660 (JR 45:207). Le Mercier gave the same number in 1664-1665 (JR 49:257). Brandão uses a 1:14 ratio of warriors to people estimating that ~ 4,500 people lived in Onondaga during the 1659 to 1665 period (Brandão 1997:155-157, 165, Table C.5).
- 4.93. "Onondaga counts seven different nations who have come to settle in it" (JR 43:265). "eight or ten . . . conquered nations" (JR 47:193). "faithful to the Nation" (JR 46:49).
- 4.94. "aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered", "the largest and the best part of the Iroquois" (JR 45:207). One source helps to identify these "seven different nations" (JR 43:265). That was the returning warrior's dream, reported by Dablon, in which he was told, "I have made you masters of the earth and victors over so many Nations . . . the Hurons, the Tobacco Nation, the Ahondihronnons [Neutral], Atiraguenrek [Neutral], Atiaonrek [Neutral], Takoulguehronnons [?], and Gentaguetehronnons [Erie]" (JR 42:195-197). Thank you to Conrad Heidenreich for his comments on these names (personal communication, 4/1/2009).
- 4.95. "Algonquian Iroquois" or l'algonquian Iroquise (JR

45:97). Natural enmity (JR 48:109). Siouan-speaking captives were from the Ox Nation (JR 45:163, 47:149). Take in the French themselves (JR 47:195). "in great numbers in order to form but one people" (JR 47:101-103).

4.96. "Because they are all so alike . . . we must make peace with all the Iroquois or with none (JR 46:235).

#### **Chapter Five**

- 5.1. Fr. Simon Le Moine traveled to Onondaga in July 1654 (JR 41:91-107). Although included in the *Jesuit Relations* of 1657-1658, it is unclear who wrote the comments on the cultural differences—"temperament of our senses", "Savages", etc. (JR 44:277-309).
- 5.2. This chapter summarizes archaeological information on the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites. The Indian Hill site is discussed in Chapter Seven. Additional information on Onondaga sites (Bradley 2005a).

*Au principal bourg Onnantagué* translated as the principal Onondaga town rather than village (Note 4.9; JR 41:98-99). Iroquois as walled-town people, not "killer people" (Loewen 2016:61).

5.3. The young Pierre-Esprit Radisson called Onondaga "Nontageya" in 1653 (Nute 1982; Warkentin, ed. 2012:147). "more than 20 houses" (JR 41:121). Houses were 50 to 60 feet in length (15-18 m; Marshall, ed. 1967:215). This information, together with Sohrweide's estimated burn area within the settlement, provided a basis for the estimate of 50-60 longhouses. Thank you to A. Gregory Sohrweide, of the Beauchamp Chapter of the New York State Archaeology Association, for permission to cite his unpublished work on both the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites (personal communication 10/7/2009). "the first stake for a new cabin" (JR 41:121).

The Lot 18 site material reviewed was primarily in collections at NYSM, and from those of William Ennis at RFC, Stanley Gifford, Warren J. Haberle at the North Museum and OHA, Robert Hiler, Larry Jensen, Albert D. La France, A. Gregory Sohrweide, and Tyree and Helen Tanner. Specific catalog numbers and / or references are included if available.

5.4. "the regular appearance of four laid out streets ... was once very discernable" (Clark 1849:I:259). "the streets of which were carefully cleaned and the cabin-roofs crowded with children" (JR 42:87). Jesuits Claude Dablon and Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot (Charette 2015; Surprenant 1978). "Each tribe [clan] has ..." (NYCD 9:48). "all the Elders and the people assembled in a public place" (JR 42:101). For more of the Jesuits' description of Onondaga (JR 42:85-101). Beauchamp often referred to this site as the Castle and, erroneously, as the site of 1677, or the small village mentioned by Greenhalgh (1900:122, #73). This mistaken view persisted well into the twentieth century (Tuck 1971:186). Beauchamp also thought this site might have been where Christian converts lived,

another belief that became widespread (1903:39). The Indian Castle site was purchased by the Archaeological Conservancy in 2008.

The Indian Castle site material reviewed was primarily in collections now at NYSM, or from Dwight Carley at RFC, Warren J. Haberle at the Seneca Nation Museum and OHA, Gilbert Hagerty at RFC, Robert Hill at RFC, William Hinsdale at Fort Ticonderoga, A. Gregory Sohrweide, Stanley Gifford, and Tyree and Helen Tanner. Specific catalog numbers and / or references are included if available.

- 5.5. "built a Chapel at Onontaghe" (JR 43:181). For information on what this chapel may have looked like archaeologically (Kapches 2002). "a French house for lodging the missionaries" (JR 49:103-105).
- 5.6. Thank you to A. Gregory Sohrweide for permission to cite his unpublished work on this site. His measurements are presented as reported and the conversion to metric scale is shown (personal communication 10/7/2009). "flanking them with bastions" (JR 48:81). For more on the Dutch town of Beverwijck (page 177; Note 5.14).
- 5.7. Fishing sites with archaeological assemblages from this period include Otihatangué [La Famine] at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, Tethiroguen [Brewerton] at the outlet of Oneida Lake, and several other locations along the Oneida and Seneca rivers including Caughdenoy, Oak Orchard, and Jack's Reef. Based on his examination of Seneca sites, Kurt Jordan has suggested that such satellite communities be divided into three groups based on their distance from the principal towns. He defines them as local (within 20 km), regional (between 12-80 km), and extra-regional communities. He refers to the latter as colonies (>80 km; 2013:31-33). The outlying settlements had a particular relationship with the main town, but the overall pattern for Onondaga may have been different. The relationship between Onondaga and its extended settlements, especially the Iroquois du Nord communities on the north shore of Lake Ontario post-1666, will be examined later in more detail.
- 5.8. Ontario Iroquoians were Iroquoian speakers who were refugees from the Huron-Wendat, Neutral, and Petun after being displaced from their traditional homelands in Ontario. Algonquian Iroquois or "Iroquoised algonquin" were Algonquian speakers adopted by the Iroquois (JR 45:97). Promise to be faithful to the Nation, as previously presented (Note 4.93; JR 46:49).
- 5.9. Jesuit reports of 300 warriors in both 1659-1660 and 1665 suggest population stability (JR 45:207, 49:257-259). Radisson's population estimate in 1658 (Warkentin, ed. 2012:203). Brandão 's population estimate for the Onondaga is based on his use of a 1:14 ratio of warriors to people (1997:Table C.4). Dispersal of Huron-Wendat people (LaBelle 2013). Claims of population decrease (Jones 2010).

- 5.10. "the choicest delicacies . . ." (JR 41:99). "the best dishes they had, especially . . . beaver and fish" (JR 42:85-87). Sunflower seeds and beans (JR 42:197). Abundant chestnut and walnut trees were noted, with the latter apparently producing bitter nuts that made "an excellent oil", "in the same way as the Savages extract oil from sunflowers" (JR 43:257). "The Sagamité [corn stew] on which we live has not a bad taste; I shall find it good in time" (JR 41:227).
- 5.11. "I have never seen . . ." (JR 44:279).
- 5.12. "Give up . . . those stinking hogs . . ." (JR 37:261).
- 5.13. "Our bellyes had not tyme to empty themselves", "stagg, indian corne, thick flower [corn meal], bears and especially eels" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:147). Radisson's comment on ringdoves was made in 1657 while at Ste. Marie (Warkentin, ed. 2012:195).

The small faunal sample from Lot 18 was surface collected and contains a total number of bone fragments (TNF = 74), and a minimum number of (TNF = 74)identifiable units (MNU = 45). Mammals were the most abundant class at 42 MNU, followed by birds at three, with no fish or reptiles present. Among mammals, white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus) were the most common at 22, followed by beaver (*Castor canadensis*) at six, black bear (*Ursus americanus*) at four, muskrat (Ondatra zibethica) at three, and elk (Cervus canadensis) at two.

The much larger sample from Indian Castle comes primarily from Sohrweide's excavation (TNF = 1,374; MNU = 684). Mammals were the most abundant class (76% of MNU), followed by birds (13%), fish (10%), along with reptiles and amphibians (1%). Among mammals, white-tailed deer were the most common (Odocoileus virginianus; 48%), followed by medium-sized mammals (20%), elk (Cervus canadensis; 7%), small-sized mammals (6%), black bear (Ursus *americanus*; 5%), other large-sized mammals (5%), dog (*Canis familiaris*; 3%), and then beaver (3%). For additional information see Table 9.2. These assemblages were analyzed by Marie-Lorraine Pipes and the reports are in the NYSM (2010). Although freshwater mussels (*Elliptio complantitus* and *Lamplis* radiatii) were not included in Pipes's analyses, they are an important resource and are present in most Onondaga faunal assemblages. On his way to Onondaga in 1657, Radisson mentions collecting about half a bushell (Warkentin, ed. 2012:188).

5.14. Arent van Curler, Rensselaerswijck business agent (Bradley 2005b). In discussing the source of trade goods, it is best to think of multiple sources. For example, the source of brass kettles included where the metal was produced, fabricated, finished with lugs and a handle added, and the commercial networks by which it reached Indian people. In many cases, these stages of production and distribution occurred in different places and through different channels.

The Dutch settlement known as Fort Orange (Huey

1985, 1988). Beverwijck sites—Volkert Jansz Douw's house, known as the KeyCorp site, and the trader's house located just outside the north gate (Moody 2003; Pena 2003). For Rensselaerswijck sites (Huey 1984; Huey and Luscier 2013). For the Flatts farm (Bradley 2006; Huey 1984; Tantillo 2013). Venema discusses trade items in the historic documents (2003:180-182).

Traders Kiliaen van Rensselaer and Arent van Curler (Bradley 2005b, 2006:90, 92; Trelease 1960:49-51, 113-114, 115-116). For collections from Lot 18 reviewed (Note 5.3).

5.15. Lot 18 axes (n = 11) included large (~20 cm long, 1.5 kg), medium (1 kg), and small ones (~16 cm long, 0.75 kg). Ax shapes and marks (Bradley 2005a:139-140). In addition to size, there is a correlation between the number of marks with the size and weight of an ax—large axes have three marks, medium ones have two, and small ones have one. Radisson's "hattchett" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:148).

Examples of another style of small lightweight hatchetts have been recovered from the contemporaneous Susquehannock Strickler site (Kent 1984:235-236, Figure 65). In form these resemble the belt axes that would become a standard weapon later in the century. They may have been part of the armament that the Susquehannock received from their English allies. As such, they would be among the first actual-iron tomahawks. For background on this Algonquian word used by English settlers in Virginia to describe Native stone axes as well as small iron hatchets (Gerard 1908; Peterson 1965:4-5). For an example from the Jamestown Re-Discovery Project (Straube 2007:17, 76)

- 5.16. Substantial number of iron knives recovered from Lot 18 (n = 22; Bradley 2005a:Figure 26).
  Straight iron awls (6-8.5 cm long and 0.3 cm wide).
  Complete examples of stepped awls (up to 12 cm long and 0.5 cm wide; Bradley 2005a:Figure 27).
- 5.17. Kettle fragments (n = 173) are 82% brass rather than copper. Measurable examples include small (16-18 cm diameter) and large kettles (>20 cm diameter). A scratch test on brass and copper from Lot 18 artifacts including scrap (n = 173) indicated the following results—151 brass objects, 21 copper objects, and one piece too small to test (Anselmi personal communication, 9/11/2000). All styles of kettle lugs were present at the Lot 18 site (n = 17). Van Curler's house at the Flatts, another site noted for its entrepreneurial trade associations, has a similarly diverse assemblage of kettle lugs. Seven have been reported from Cellar #2—one square with folded corners, five omega-style, and a large one-piece example (Note 5.14).

Table 5.1 is based on data from the Neutral sites Grimsby, ca. 1640-1650, and Hamilton, ca. 1638-1651 (Kenyon 1982:226; Lennox 1981:322-323, 360). For the data from the Onondaga Carley site, ca. 1645-1650, and Lot 18 site, ca. 1650-1655 (Bradley 1979:257). The numbers for the Susquehannock Strickler site, ca. 1645-1665, are based on examination of the collections at the William Penn Museum in Harrisburg, and the North Museum in Lancaster, Pennsylvania (June 2010, 2011). Thank you to Lisa Anselmi for sharing her inventories of artifacts (personal communication, 6/2011).

5.18. In the Northeast the most commonly used system for beads is the one developed by Kenneth and Martha Ann Kidd, based on Charles Wray's collection from Seneca sites (1970). It was updated by Karlins (2012). In 1983 Ian and Walter Kenyon proposed a companion system of Glass Bead Periods (GBP), based primarily on assemblages from Ontario and subsequently refined by Bill Fitzgerald and others (Glossary; Fitzgerald 1990; Fitzgerald et al. 1995). A more recent refinement by Charles Garrad subdivides GBP3 into GBP3a, ca. 1630-1642, and GBP3b, ca. 1642-1650 (2014:350).

Choices made by the entrepreneurs Arent van Curler and William Claiborne (Bradley 2005b, 2006:86-90, 100-104; Lowery 1995). The Glass Bead Period system works best in the St. Lawrence drainage where French influence predominated. It works less well on Five Nations sites where the primary influence was Dutch. This is one reason why a corresponding set of glass-bead horizons was proposed, based on bead assemblages from Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga sites (Bradley 2006:42-43, Tables 2.1, 6.1). A second reason was to provide a framework that covered the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century.

5.19. The Lot 18 bead sample is large (n = 3,330; Bradley 1976, 1987; Tanner 1978). Of the 2,684 presented in Table 5.3, 86% are tubular and untumbled, or are production-tube fragments without finished ends, and 14% are tumbled or finished beads with *a speo* ends.

For bead preferences on contemporaneous Mohawk sites (Bradley 2006:43; Rumrill 1991). For the Seneca Power House and Steele sites (Wray 1983). For reviews on Amsterdam glasshouses and glass making (Baart 1988; Hulst 2013; Hulst and Weber 2012; Karklins 1974; Liefkes 2004). For the *a speo* process (Karklins 1993). Past publications referred to these as "tumbled" beads in contrast to the "untumbled" ones with broken ends. Note that Kidd and Kidd use the color terms cited in the Tables—brite navy, dark navy, etc. (1970).

Recent reassessment of the Kg10 site assemblage indicates these beads were probably from the first Two Roses glasshouse in Amsterdam located at that spot on the Keisersgracht (Hulst 2013). They were not waste from the Carel-Soop glasshouse, as has previously been suggested (Baart 1988:70). Van Curler left for the Dutch Republic in October 1644 and returned in March 1648 (Bradley 2005b:7). It is useful to note that blue type IIIa12/10 beads are the most common variety at contemporaneous Dutch sites, such as the Flatts and KeyCorp. Note 5.51 compares the bead sample from

Lot 18 with that from Indian Castle as presented in Tables 5.2 and 5.4.

- 5.20. Native color preferences for beads (Hamell 1992). Further discussion of color preferences between Algonquian- and Iroquoian-speaking people (Notes 5.51, 9.28, 9.52, 11.27).
- 5.21. Cloth seals and their occurrence in the Netherlands and on Five Nations sites are described in detail by Baart (2005). Five of the examples from the town of Kampen (Campen) are round two-piece seals (3.7 cm in diameter) with the name CAM PEN divided by a crown above the town gate on the obverse. The reverse is usually blank. Another four examples are tubular seals (2.5 cm in length) with the town gate on the obverse, which had been placed on threads at the end of the cloth. The reverse is often blank, but occasionally stamped with a roman numeral that states the length of the cloth. Baart illustrates several examples of both varieties (2005). The Leiden examples (n = 9) are small round two-piece seals (1.2-1.4 cm in diameter). These appear to have roman numerals indicating length stamped on the obverse, and are unmarked on the reverse. Baart illustrates a comparable example from Amsterdam (2005:Figure 10 lower left). The three fragmentary Amsterdam examples are from large seals (6.7 cm in diameter) with the Amsterdam coat of arms and AMSTERDAM ANDERHALF STAEL on the obverse, and coat of arms often with a date on the reverse. In addition to cloth seals, two fragments of actual cloth were recovered from Lot 18 by William Ennis (Bradley 1979:292). These included a fragment of woolen blanket with a 2 x 2 twill with single Z-twist warp (15 threads/2.5 cm) and single Z-twist filling (15 threads/2.5 cm), and a piece of linen with a plain weave with a single Z-twist warp (32 threads/2.5 cm) and single slight Z-twist filling (35 threads/2.5 cm).
- 5.22. "a white [linen] shirt . . . from the Flemings" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:144). Radisson's lost shirt (Warkentin, ed. 2012:188).
- 5.23. Musket parts (n = 61) and pistols parts (n = 5) have been documented by Puype and others (Hamilton 1968; Mayer 1943; Puype 1985, 1997; Puype and Van der Hoeven 1996). Puype considered them surprisingly modern flintlock mechanisms (1997:221). Made for trade (Puype 1997:221, 223). Thank you to Jan Piet Puype for his generous help over many years. A specific reference—carbines being a fire lock of 3.0-3.5 ft (0.9-1.0 m) in length and no longer—occurs in the Fort Orange council minutes for August 11, 1656 (Gehring and Venema 2009).

Thank you to David Voorhees of the Jacob Leisler Papers Project for pointing out a reference to the importation of carbines along with other firearms, and to Janny Venema for translating it (Bill of Lading for the *Gilded Otter*, 24 April 1660, No. 2173, 2178, Jacob Leisler Papers, Jacob Leisler Institute for the Study of New York History, Hudson, NY).

- 5.24. For muskets with a Puype Type II, or wheel, lockstyle lock plate (Hamilton 1968:21-27; Puype 1985:20-28, 1997:209-11). The distal portion of a Type II lock plate with attached mainspring from the Lot 18 site (RFC 11024/261). Although cataloged from the nearby Sevier site, this fragmentary lock was probably found at Lot 18. For similar muskets from the Flatts (Bradley 2006:124-25). For a review of Dutch arms production (Vogel 1996). Puype describes Type V-A lock plates present on Lot 18 (1985:36-37, 1997:218).
- 5.25. The sample from Lot 18 has clusters of caliber ranging from .38 to .66 (n = 61)—15 small shot at .10 to .25 caliber, 7 large shot at .25 to .36 caliber, 10 balls at .50 to .52 caliber, 14 balls at .54 to .57 caliber, and 15 balls at .58 to .62 caliber. It is important to remember that these muskets were all smooth bore, not rifled, weapons. Thank you to Larry Jensen for sharing his knowledge of and information on cast-lead balls (personal communication, 6/1978). Anything in the .43 to .53 range almost certainly refers to pistols" (Jan Piet Puype, personal communication, 4/7/2010). For a detailed discussion on the relationship between caliber and bore, and the effects of fouling (Given 1994:107-109).
- 5.26. Nearly half of the musket balls from Lot 18 still retain their casting sprues, a trait seldom seen on European sites. Those that were trimmed were usually cut with a knife. The bar lead is trapezoidal in section (4 cm wide at base, 2.5 cm wide on top, 1.3 cm high) and comes from complete examples (30.5 cm long, 2.25 kg). Complete lead bars have been recovered from Fort Orange and Volckert Jansz Douw's house (Bradley 2006:71, 116). Two of the musket balls from Lot 18 are pewter, not lead.
- 5.27. The marks on white-clay pipes from Lot 18 were first reported by Bradley and DeAngelo (1981). However, a corrected and expanded list is presented in Table 5.3 (n = 165). In addition to heel marks, 30 of the 141 pipe-stem fragments from Lot 18 were stamped with a variety of fleur-de-lis motifs.

Lot 18 pipes with fleur-de-lis marks (n =30)		
Variety	Quantity	Stem bore
1	7	6/64
	1	7/64
	2	8/64
	1	9/64
	3	-
2	1	-
3	1	8/64
4	2	8/64
	1	-
5	1	-

For more on Edward Bird and the production of pipes specifically for the fur trade (Bradley 2006:118-119, 170, Table 5.1; Huey 2004:3-45). Archaeologist Diane Dallal reviewed the Dutch pipes found on contemporaneous Dutch sites in Manhattan, including more than 134 EB-marked pipes, and the important role that women played in the pipe-making industry (2004). The Tudor-rose mark frequently occurs in Amsterdam, but was also recorded in Gouda as early as 1628 (De Haan and Krook 1988; Duco 2003:126, #48). Dallal discusses this mark and reports on three examples found on the cobbled floor of Augustine Heerman's warehouse, built prior to 1651 in Manhattan (2004:214-215, Figure 8.3).

5.28. "tall, narrow, funnel-like bowl with straight sides", described by Henry as one of six aboriginal pipe-bowl shapes (1979:20, 22, Figure 3D). Another example comes from the Mount Airy site (44-RD-3) in Virginia (McCary 1950: pipe #3). Others also discuss these distinctive pipes (Mouer et al. 1999; King and Chaney 2004). For precontact examples of rouletting or dentate stamping on pipe bowls from around the Chesapeake, see examples from the Great Neck and Koehler sites in Virginia (Mouer et al. 1999:Figures 5.5, 5.13). Sixteenthcentury Chesapeake examples have been reported from the Nanjemoy 2 Ossuary #2 and Moyaone Ossuary #1 in Maryland (Curry 1999:10, Figure 7, 44). These pipes may have been exchanged along with marine shell to interior sites, such as Pancake Island in West Virginia, the Shenks Ferry Schultz-Funk site in Pennsylvania, the Keyser Farm in Virginia, and the Seneca Richmond Mills site in New York (RFC 12969/101; Brashler 1987:23; Kent 1984:147-149, Figure 25b; Manson et al. 1944:Plate IX 2B).

For early seventeenth-century examples, see the Warehouse Point II-2-3 in Maryland, and the Mount Airy site (44-RD-3) in Virginia, and the Patawomeke site in Virginia (Curry 1999:Figure 41, #4 and 9; McCary 1950:Figure #3; Schmitt 1965:Figure 3b #8 and 10).

For more on "rouletting" (Mouer et al. 1999:98-101; Potter 1993:Figure 51). Mary Blaker appears to be the first to suggest that the rouletting used on Chesapeake pipes may have been the inspiration for the European appropriation of this technique (1963:29).

- 5.29. For more on Van Curler and his travels (Bradley 2005b:6, 10). For EB pipes from Fort Orange, the Van Buren farm, and other sites (Bradley 2006:170).
- 5.30. Occurrence of European smoking pipes at the Carley site (n = 78), and at Lot 18 (n = 165; Bradley 2005a). Another way in which European clay pipes have been analyzed is noting the changes in the diameter of the stem bore. The theory is that this diameter grew smaller over time. For a review (Noël Hume 1974:297-301). Although it is difficult to date a site with pipe-stem data, they are here as a matter of record. Note the following sample was surface-

collected from Lot 18, and some of the very smalldiameter pipe stems probably come from eighteenthor earl nineteenth-century components.

Lot 18 pipe stem bore diameters (n = 153)		
Quantity	Stem bore	
1	4/64	
11	5/64	
15	6/64	
46	7/64	
53	8/64	
21	9/64	
6	10/64	
12	[bowl fragments]	

5.31. Consumer goods from Lot 18 include three scissors, six thimbles, two files, five cast-brass mouth harps with two stamped R and one stamped HS, plus 14 sheet-brass bells. For comparable examples from the Seneca Power House site (Wray 1985:Figure 5). Utensils include one pewter and two latten spoons, one with an apostle finial. For comparable pewter and latten examples from Amsterdam (Baart et al. 1977:#572, #603). European ceramics include fragments of lead-glazed earthenware from Dutch cook pots (n = 3) and from German stoneware (n = 22), primarily from small jugs. For comparable examples of a *roemer* (wine glass) with smooth prunts and case bottles with pewter mounts (Ruempol and Van Dongan 1991:186-187). In addition to the cut-out brass letters A and M in the Gifford collection (Figure 5.10c), a numeral 6, or 9, has been found at Lot 18 (Robert Hiler collection).

- 5.32. Paul Huey excavated the Dutch colonial site at the Flatts from 1971 to 1973, and the materials are curated at the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation, Peebles Island, Waterford, New York (Bradley 2006:102-103). Among the gun parts recovered from the Flatts cellar #1 were a large snaphaunce-style cock repaired with brazing (#1091) one smaller cock (#1184), a large sheet-iron butt plate (#1308), and a sheet-brass ramrod pipe (#1112). The stripped Puype Type II and partial locks plus other parts were found in cellar #2 by Bobby Brustle (Bradley 2006:125). Both cellars at the Flatts produced other trade-related items made from sheet brassprojectile points, a pipe liner from cellar #1 (#1228), two bases and three partially completed covers for tobacco or tinder boxes from cellar #2, and ample evidence of production such as partially completed and discarded pieces and scrap.
- 5.33. Blacksmiths and gunstock makers as most common trades (Venema 2003:275-81). Unfortunately, there is little archaeological evidence from Beverwijck sites of

this period. Pewter and stone pipes (Bradley 2006:121-122, Figure 5.19; Veit et al. 2004).

- 5.34. The Company of One Hundred Associates, also known as the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, was established by Cardinal Richelieu in 1657 (Trudel 1973:169-170). Composed of the habitants themselves (Trudel 1973:210-211). Montréal was unique in that it was an island where the settlement and seigneurial boundaries were the same. In addition, it was under the authority of the Société de Notre Dame in Paris, not the Company (Dechêne 1992:134).
- 5.35. Montréal's residents choosing to live within the fort until 1653 (Dechêne 1992:135). Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil's et de Chateauguay arrived in New France at the age of about 15 (Dechêne 1992:90-91; Lefebvre 2017).
- 5.36. Changes in the town (Bourguignon-Tetreault 2014; Harris, ed. 1987:114-115, Plate 49). Revitalized a settlement that few had expected to survive (Dechêne 1992:16). By 1666 Montréal's population was nearly 660 people (Dechêne 1992:Table A). August trade fair (Dechêne 1992:90-91).
- 5.37. For an overview of French sites (Moussette and Waselkov 2013). Among specific French sites of this period are Champlain's Habitation, Phase III, ca. 1633-1688, and Île-aux-Oies, Phase II, ca. 1646-1656 (Moussette 2009:116-128; Niellon and Moussette 1985). The farm located on the island was raided twice by the Mohawk during this period. For a reconstruction of this farm, ca. 1655 (Moussette 2009:Figure 45). Additional sites in Montréal including Pointe-à-Callière, 1630-1670, and Fort Ville-Marie, 1642-1654 (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:26-28).

The other important set of comparative information comes from the late GBP3 sites in Ontario, ca. 1642-1650, especially the Neutral sites abandoned, ca. 1650. These include the Neutral Hamilton site, a terminal site in the Spencer-Bronte cluster, the Walker site, a terminal site in the Fairchild-Big cluster, and the Grimsby site (Fitzgerald 1990:42-47, 63, 69-70; Kenyon 1982; Lennox 1981; Wright 1981:137-138). "Gallia amica, non vicina", "France as a friend, not as a neighbor," (Frijhoff 2009).

- 5.38. "large and small biscay axes" (NYCD 9:36-37). A correlation between ax sizes, weights, and the number of marks has been noted by others (Fitzgerald 1990:126; Gladesz and Hamilton 2012a; Lennox 1981:329). For Hamilton site axes (Lennox 1981:329-330). For Walker site axes (Wright 1981:106-107, Figure 60 #1-2).
- 5.39. *jambettes* or *flatins* (Hanson 2008). Folding knives from Île-aux-Oies (Moussette 2009:Figure 52B). Four of the six knives from Hamilton have folding blades with a pointed tip (Lennox 1981:Figure 49 #6-7). An example from Walker (Fitzgerald 1990:Figure 56). A jambette-style folding-knife blade from the Shurtleff

site (RFC 11145/244), with the stamped letters AT I on one side, is the earliest such blade known from the Onondaga sequence.

- 5.40. The stepped awls from Neutral sites are identical to those from Lot 18. Example from the Hamilton site (Lennox 1981:Figure 49 #10). For more on *gratters* (Warkentin, ed. 2012:266 Note 106). Beauchamp reported that several iron points had been found at Lot 18, although none are present in the surviving collections (*Antiquities* 5:#1430).
- 5.41. Cast-iron kettle fragments from Île-aux-Oies (Moussette 2009:Figure 52). Occasionally still copper (Fitzgerald 1990:Table 35). In addition to the kettles with clipped corners from Hamilton and Grimsby, this trait occurs on several other terminal Neutral sites in Ontario with single examples from the Hood and Bogle I sites, and two examples from the Walker site (Lennox 1984:Figure 51 #2, Figure 24 #2; Wright 1981:Figure 61 #15, Figure 62). Patterned-battery work and stamped motifs appear from Grimsby (N-604) and Hamilton (Kenyon 1982:222; Lennox 1981:Figure 47 #6). There are at least five kettles from Grimsby with a stamped maker's mark. A slightly later kettle with clipped lugs and stamped motifs on the body from the Seneca Dann site in New York (RFC 6001/28; Wray 1985:Figure 13).
- 5.42. The dominant type of glass beads on GBP3 sites in Ontario (Fitzgerald 1990:127-28). Red tubular beads are well represented on late GBP3, ca. 1642-1650, Neutral sites such as Grimsby, cluster 6 (Fitzgerald 1990:Figure 16; Kenyon 1982:236-39, Appendix A). They also appear on Hamilton and Walker sites (Lennox 1981:333-336, Table 47; Wright 1981:104-105, Table 42). Note that some are ground off to reveal their inner redness (Fitzgerald 1990:128; Garrad 2014:350; Kenyon 1986). Beads from Ste. Marie aux Hurons, 45 of 65 reported (Kidd 1949:140-42). "the diamonds of the country" (JR 41:111). At least one burning glass has been found at Lot 18 (RFC 11128/245).
- 5.43. "the arsenal of the world" (Puype and Van der Hoeven, eds. 1996). Radisson's capture in 1652 (Warkentin, ed. 2012:115-116). "five guns, two musquetons, three fowling [p]eeces, three paire of great pistoletts and two paire of pockett on[e]s" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:264). "the use of arquebuses . . ." (JR 25:27). "We had fowr and twenty . . ." (Warkentin, ed. 2012:236). Firearms to the Mohawk in 1656 (JR 43:165). "arquebuses, powder and lead", "hatchets, kettles and other similar articles" to the Onondaga (JR 43:171).
- 5.44. Textiles as an import (Dechêne 1992:78-80). *Capots* as presents to the Mohawk and Onondaga (JR 43:165, 171). Radisson mentions *capots*, a long coat with a hood (Warkentin, ed. 2012:187 Note 115). The loss of his *capot* to an Onondaga (Warkentin, ed. 2012:188).

One of the few Dutch pipes from a French site of this period is an EB-marked pipe from Champlain's Habitation in Québec (Niellon and Moussette 1987:Figure 96 #2). Made their own from brick or clay at Île-aux-Oies, (Moussette 2009:Figure 54). No whiteclay smoking pipes have been recovered from pre-1650 Ontario Iroquoian sites.

- 5.45. Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert reported active French traders during the early 1630s (Gehring and Starna 2013). Catholic religious medals have been recovered from the earlier Onondaga Shurtleff and Carley sites (Bradley 2005a:Figure 15a, b). These appear to have been objects for personal devotion and differ from those found at Ste. Marie aux Hurons and from contemporaneous Ontario Iroquoian sites, where the iconography is Jesuit-related (Fitzgerald 1990:Table 40, Figure 69; Garrad 2014:380; Kidd 1949:Figure 23A). Radisson mentions wearing a medal around his neck (Warkentin, ed. 2012:188). A small brass medal from Lot 18 with St. Christopher on the obverse and a monstrance, a receptacle for carrying a consecrated communion host, on the reverse (Figure 5.13b). The small cross was previously described as tau-shaped (Figure 5.13a; Bradley 2005a:138). Although unusual, the *chemise de Notre Dame de Chartres* form is not unique. Several silver reliquaries or *chemisettes* were sent to Québec during the last three decades of the seventeenth century, often in exchange for wampum belts made by the Huron of Lorette from north of Québec City (Barbeau 1957:42-49; Gobillot 1957; Guillet and Pothier 2005:67; Sanfaçon 1996:51-52). For pilgrim badges (Bugslag 2005). In addition to the chemises, Chartres Cathedral was also known for its ancient Druidic roots and the statue of *Notre Dame* de Sous Terre, the Black Madonna. These associations with missionary work and conversion may have contributed to Chartres's special relationship with Canada during the seventeenth century.
- 5.46. For more on ring production (Mason and Ehrhardt 2014; Mercier 2011). For ring usage in France (Joannis 1992; Mason 2010). In terms of iconography on the plaques of rings from the Lot 18 site (n = 23), there are five motifs (examples in Figure 5.14)—IHS/cross (n = 12), L/heart (n = 6), the Markman style of the L/ heart motif (n = 3), and single examples with a Chi Rho rebus or an incised cross. There is also a ring with a single setting for a stone instead of a plaque. For discussions of iconography and meaning such as "Jesuit rings" and bague de roulier (Mason 2003, 2009, 2010). "elle a mon coeur" or "she has my heart" (Mason 2009:373). The five L/heart rings from Lot 18 are what Mason has called Ormsby-style (Mason 2009:377-379). For the Markman-style, an abstracted version of the L/ heart motif (Mason 2009:Figure 8). The ring with an incised cross is similar to that described by Wood as Incised Cross Motif I (1974:Figure 11b).
- 5.47. Trade rings as *pacotille*, or cheap trade goods (Mason 2009). "2 dozen of brass rings" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:190). Jesuit use of rings to barter (JR 12:119-121,

15:157).

- 5.48. The Iroquois . . . being killed or captured" (Eccles 1964:3). "they were not able to goe over a door to pisse" (Eccles 1964:4).
- 5.49. Van Rensselaer family (Bradley 2006; Van Laer, ed. 1908). Van Curler in Schenectady (Bradley 2005b; Trelease 1960:136). Beverwijck traders (Bielinski 1999; Trelease 1960:133-134; Venema 2003:183-186).
- 5.50. The beads made and used during this period were primarily drawn beads, also known as tubular or cane beads. They were made from long tubes of glass drawn out from a molten bubble. These beads could have single or multiple layers, and could be cut and shaped in a variety of ways (Karklins 2012:63).

For a review on Amsterdam glasshouses (Baart 1988; Hulst 2010, 2013; Karklins 1974; Liefkes 2004). The report on the excavation at the site of the second Two Roses glasshouse on the Rozengracht, (Gawronski et al. 2010). Thank you to Jerzy Gawronski and Michel Hulst, Gemeente Amsterdam, Bureau Monumenten & Archeologie in the Netherlands.

"the diamonds of the country" (JR 41:111).

5.51. For collections from Indian Castle reviewed (Note 5.4). The Indian Castle site has been well known since the early nineteenth century and heavily collected from since then. Most of the early collections have long since disappeared, and those that survive reflect the collecting interests of their time. This means a focus on complete or more interesting objects. The Lot 18 site was discovered more recently and most of the collections from it were made through surface collection. As a result, many of the smaller and less compelling objects well represented at Lot 18— pipe stem fragments, scrap brass, and heavily rusted pieces of iron— are poorly represented at Indian Castle.

Six axes were reported from Indian Castle along with 26 knives—19 with a tapered tang, 3 with a flat tang, and 3 with a folding blade. The seven awls include four that are straight, square in section and bi-pointed, and three that are offset.

5.52. Of the Indian Castle bead sample (n = 4,079), 3,391 are presented in Table 5.4. Of that number, 77% are tubular, 64% are tumbled or finished beads with *a speo* ends, and 36% are untumbled or production-tube fragments without finished ends.

When comparing glass beads from Indian Castle to those from the earlier Lot 18 site, there is a distinct difference (Note 5.19). There are far more finished beads from Indian Castle (64%) than there are from Lot 18 (14%).

In contrast, the glass beads (n = 200) from the Squakheag (Sokokis) Fort Hill site, ca. 1663-1664, in the Connecticut River valley in New Hampshire, reveal very different preferences. Small to very small round beads (e.g., finished), certainly made for embroidery, are most common (n = 153). Blue, yellow, and white

are the predominate colors. Tubular beads comprise a minority (n = 45), and only 14 of them are red (Thomas 1979: 544-545).

- 5.53. The cloth seal from Indian Castle is from the Haberle collection (#1669-3). Thank you to the late Geoff Egan for his comments on this seal (personal communication, 10/25/79, 10/13/08). For alnage seals (Noël Hume 1974:270).
- 5.54. A Type V-B-2 lock plate (Figure 5.18a; Puype 1997:Figure 125). A Type VI lock plate (Figure 5.18c; Puype 1997:223-225, Figure 132). Forty-eight is a small sample compared to the hundreds of gun parts, along with axes and other iron, that were taken from this site during the nineteenth century and used as stock by local blacksmiths. For a sense of the quantity of firearms on sites of this period, Charles Wray reported finding 3,273 gun parts including 168 locks and lock plates from the Seneca Dann site between 1978 and 1984 (Wray 1985:Table 2).
- 5.55. The caliber clusters from Indian Castle sample range from .10 to .62 (n = 52)— 12 small shot at .10 to .25 caliber, 4 large shot at .25 to .36 caliber, 10 balls at .50 to .52 caliber, 6 balls at .54 to .57 caliber, and 13 large balls at .58 to .62 caliber. The remaining seven balls fall outside of these clusters. Bullet molds are the simple scissors type that cast one ball at a time. Given corrosion, it has not been possible to determine caliber for any of them. The brass powder-horn spout appears to have been drawn rather than rolled since there is no visible seam (3.5 cm long, 1.4 cm in diameter at the broad end, 1.1 cm diameter at the narrow end; RFC 10016/219).
- 5.56. The tactical importance of firearms (Trigger 1976:629). Among the historians who have exaggerated the tactical importance of firearms in Native warfare (Chet 2003; Otterbein 1965; Richter 1992:62-64; Silverman 2016:28-29, 37-38, 49-50). For studies on the effectiveness of flintlocks under different conditions (Given 1994:108-109).

"Arrows are the principal weapon . . ." (JR 67:169). "Firearms did not revolutionize Native warfare, nor were they the primary driver of the fur trade" (Given 1994:111-118).

5.57. The marks on white-clay pipes from Indian Castle were first reported by Bradley and DeAngelo (1981). However, a corrected and expanded list of marked pipe fragments (n = 24) is presented in Table 5.5. Among the unmarked pipes in the Table below (n = 204), there are three nearly complete pipe bowls—two are pipes with flush heels and stem bore diameters of 6/64 and 7/64, and one has a low heel with a stem bore of 6/64. Beauchamp illustrated two additional apparently unmarked pipes (*Antiquities* 3:#747).

EB for Edward Bird, and WH for Willem Hendricksz (Note 5.27; Huey 2004:43-44). The I over M heel mark reported by Beauchamp (1898:116 #139). De Hann and Krook illustrate a pipe with this mark from excavations in Amsterdam (1988:#71). Duco does not include the cartouche of four fleur-de-lis in his list of Gouda marks. Single fleur-de-lis marks were in use by the late 1660s (Duco 2003:#49). Tudor-rose mark on bowl (Dallal 2004:214-216, Figure 8.2). From Utrecht (Smiesing and Brinkerink 1988:Plate 17).

Indian Castle pipe-stem bore diameters (n = 204)		
Quantity	Stem bore	
1	4/64	
2	5/64	
20	6/64	
104	7/64	
37	8/64	
41	9/64	
1	10/64	

Within this subset, nine of the pipe-stem fragments were stamped with a variety of fleur-de-lis motifs — four variety 2 with 7/64 stem bores, three variety 3, two with 8/64 and one with 9/64 stem bores, and two variety 4 with 9/64 stem bores.

5.58. Silver double *stuiver*, probably struck in Overijssel (*Antiquities* 5:#1419; Beauchamp 1903 #294). William II medal (Beauchamp 1903:69; Clark 1849:II:258).

5.59. Jean-Baptiste Colbert became chief minister for Louis XIV in May 1663 (Eccles 1964:6-21).

The first Sulpician priests arrived (Dechêne 1992:261-262). The beginning of a more aggressive presence by the Sulpian priests (NYCD 9:20). Montréal in 1658 (Dechêne 1992:16). Cleared land to permit farming (Dechêne 1992:135). Médard Chouart des Groseilliers and Radisson's successful return in 1660 (Nute 2016; Trudel 1973:272). Although they returned safely, they were less successful in terms of their official reception (Warkentin, ed. 2012: 299-301). August trade fair 1660 (Dechêne 1992:91).

- 5.60. Presents Radisson and Des Groseilliers gave to Saulteaux leaders, likely Ojibwa, in 1659 included "red *painte*" as part of their trading supplies (Warkentin, ed. 2012:266-267). Also see presents given to the Sioux—12 iron bowes [iron arrowheads], a hatchet, and a sword blade, plus the larger set of presents given at the Feast of the Dead (Warkentin, ed. 2012:274, 280-281). French textiles may have become an important trade commodity during this period. Several lead cloth seals have been recovered from the site of two of Montréal's most prosperous merchants, Jacques Le Ber and Charles Le Moyne. However, the dating of these seals remains uncertain (Beaulieu and Viau 2001:18).
- 5.61. "has yielded so many rings . . ." (Beauchamp 1903:39). Sample of rings from Indian Castle (n = 30). Three primary motifs include IHS (n = 14), L/heart (n = 6), and the Markman-style L/heart variation (n = 4), plus another four other rings with unique motifs. Two of them have cut motifs, one with a St. Andrew's

cross and the other with a Chi Rho monogram. The remaining two rings have cast motifs, one depicts a king with a scepter, the second shows the crucifixion.

A possible problem with the Indian Castle sample is that some of these objects may have come from the subsequent Indian Hill site. Many of the artifacts that Beauchamp reported were from the collection of Luke Fitch. Fitch actively collected on both sites, and many others in Pompey, and much to Beauchamp's dismay seldom kept his finds separated by site. Although Beauchamp made strenuous efforts to sort things out, there is a certain amount of mixing nonetheless. One supposition is that all the rings from Indian Castle are of the early style with cut rather than cast motifs. The two rings with cast motifs are much more at home in the assemblage from Indian Hill. Nine of the 10 bone or ivory beads are round, and one is barrel-shaped with incised rings. For comparable examples from Ste. Marie aux Hurons (Kidd 1949:Figure 23B).

- 5.62. Garakontié saw "a Crucifix about two feet in height ... one of the most precious spoils taken from the French" (JR 47:215). The French coin is in the Haberle collection (#2116-3.)
- 5.63. Although a scatter of appropriate material culture objects, including a Louis XIII silver coin, glass beads, and iron hatchets, have been found in the area where Ste. Marie is believed to have been located, there was no excavated evidence for this site until the 1970s. In 1974 and 1979 members of the Beauchamp Chapter of the New York Society of American Archaeology (NYSAA) conducted limited testing in an area along Onondaga Lake Parkway under the direction of the Office of Museums and Historic Sites, County of Onondaga, Department of Parks and Recreation. Some structural remains were documented including a series of post molds (7-13 cm in diameter) extending over six meters, and what may have been a rock foundation. At least one pit was partially excavated. This feature, as well as the post molds, produced a small but significant assemblage of mid-seventeenth century artifacts including a small piece of interior green-glazed earthenware, a pistol-sized cock with back catch, gunflints, shot, a white-clay pipe fragment, some scrap brass, and three glass beads. Two were opaque round red beads (types IIa1 and IVa8) and one white opaque seed bead (type IIa14; Kidd and Kidd 1970). This evidence suggests that the site may have remained intact until the early twentieth century. Unfortunately, subsequent residential and commercial development appears to have destroyed the primary settlement area on the bluff above where this testing took place (Connors et al., eds. 1980).
- 5.64. "Bell, which they had received . . . ", and Father Le Mercier's 1667 description of the mission bell (JR 53:273). Fragments found at the Indian Hill site (Clark 1849:II;257, 276-277). Inquiries at the New York Historical Society, where Clinton donated the

artifacts he collected, indicate that his collection has not survived. Interestingly, a fragment of a large bell was found at the contemporaneous Seneca Beal site (RFC 6217/98). Fragments of a comparable bell, almost certainly from Ste. Marie aux Hurons II, were found on Christian Island in Georgian Bay in 1917 (Orr 1918).

- 5.65. Joseph-François Lafitau was in New France from 1712 to 1717 and again from 1727 to 1729 (Fenton 1974). "The Indian tribes have traded . . ." (Lafitau 1977 [1724]:II:184).
- 5.66. A quarter million wampum beads from the Seneca Power House (Ceci 1989:72). It is useful to compare this with wampum's scarcity in the Great Lakes where Radisson observed porcelaine is very rare and costly (Warkentin, ed. 2012:250-251). In material culture terms the Lot 18 site is equivalent to the later phase of the Seneca Power House and Steele sites, currently dated ca. 1640-1655. The Indian Castle site appears to match the early phase of the subsequent Seneca Dann and Marsh sites, ca. 1655-1670, or 1675. There was a noticeable decline in the amount of wampum according to Sempowski's Shell Period VI. She goes on to note that the overall quantity of shell does not decrease, but shows changes in the preferred forms (1989:88). Serious fiscal problems arose for the New Netherland (Ceci 1980; Rosendale 1895).
- 5.67. "two necklace[s] of porcelaine . . . both my locks with porcelaine" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:129, 143).

5.68. "There is absolutely no profit . . ." (Kent 1984:38).
5.69. The shell from the Lot 18 and Indian Castle sites is summarized here rather than in a table because the samples are not equivalent in terms of context. Of the sample of wampum beads from Lot 18 (n ≈1,500), 50% are white and 50% are purple or black. The shell sample (examples in Figure 5.21) includes two discoidal beads, three massive beads, 9 purple crescents, 30 white crescents in graded sizes, one purple claw, and one plain runtee with a single perforation. No pipe beads, *Marginella* or other long wampum beads have been reported, nor were there any creature-pendant or gorget forms.

Of the sample of wampum beads from Indian Castle (n  $\approx$ 1,500), 60% are white and 40% are purple or black. The sample of discoidal beads (n = 25) is variable in shape and size—17 massive beads, 38 crescents in graded sizes, one white and one purple claw, one zoomorphic runtee, and four circular runtees. Unlike the earlier varieties of wampum (~1.5 cm), the wampum is 2-3 times longer and more uniformly cylindrical. Both kinds were made from quahog or whelk shell. New forms include pipe beads (n = -50), most if not all fragmentary, triangular Marginella beads  $(n = \sim 130)$ , triangular *Olivella* beads (n = 2), trapezoidal *Marginella* beads (n = 6), white long wampum (n = 6), purple long wampum (n = 6), four-legged creature pendants (n = 2, 1 is purple), goose or loon pendants (n = 6, 1 is purple), and one fragment of a gorget.

Esarey's terminology for these new forms—long tubular beads are called "Pipe beads," circular runtees are called "Disks," and zoomorphic ones are called "Fish" (Esarey 2013:Table 1.1, 200-202, 208, 226).

Onondaga fishing sites of this period have produced important shell assemblages. These are from several locations in Brewerton and Oak Orchard on the Oneida River (RFC 11003-4/267; *Antiquities* 8:#746-758, 10:#552, 553, 564, 565).

- 5.70. Esarey proposes "Northeastern Shell Ornament Industry" and a new class of commodity made for trade by European colonists. He notes standardization in size and style, and he claims there was a forgotten industry of the North American Colonial period (2013:123, 132, 167). He is not the first to argue that European traders and settlers made these shell objects (Kraft 1986:204-207).
- 5.71. Esarey's categories—"Human face," "Large tube," and "Flat" discoidal beads (2013:Table 1.1). The argument is that colonial production of shell ornaments is supported by the incorporation of European-derived design elements executed with European technology (Esarey 2013:44). This argument is reminiscent of Matthew Emerson's thesis that the elaborately decorated clay pipes found on seventeenthcentury sites around Chesapeake Bay were inspired primarily by West African motifs (1988, 1999). In both cases, the evidence that these traits were based primarily in Native American precedents is far more compelling.

Another complicating factor is that between 1659 and 1665 the Dutch in New Amsterdam imported barrels of large conch shells (*Strombus gigas*) from their sister colony in Curaçao. No evidence of production using conch has been found on Dutch sites to date (Bradley 2011). Strombus shells and fragments of them occasionally have been recovered from midseventeenth century Native sites. However, to what degree these shells were incorporated into Native production of long tubular beads, runtees, and gorgets is uncertain. Donald Cadzow, for example, illustrates a large *Strombus* shell with a section of whorl removed from the Susquehannock Strickler site (1936:Plate 35A). Several large fragments of *Strombus* shell are known from the Seneca Dann site (NYSM M/21343, M/21618). Recent research by Darrin Lowery suggests that it is possible to identify the source of the shell as from the north Atlantic, Chesapeake, or Caribbean through analysis of stable isotope ratios (Notes 7.72, 11.77; Lowery et al. 2014).

5.72. The use of drilled and/or impressed dots was a stylistic tradition of embellishment in the Chesapeake region for centuries before European contact. Darrin Lowery points out that the use of drilled-dot motifs occurs on earlier Adena-style slate gorgets (personal communication, 10/30/12). A pendant from West

Groggs Point is a later example (Rick et al. 2011:161-162, Figure 6H). For the use of impressed dots on ceramic pipes and drilled dots on bone pins from the Great Neck site in Virginia (Mouer et al. 1999:77-78, Figures 5.6, 5.7, 98-101, 106). It is not clear whether the use of impressed dots on these pipes is related to the later use of dentate stamping or rouletting discussed under pipes (Note 5.28).

Shell pendants with drilled-dot motifs from the Pumpelly Creek site near Owego, New York (Bradley 2005a:Table 11, 229 Note 10). A similar pendant from Brewerton (Bradley 2005a:Plate 6i). Examples with "drilled dot designs of star and triangles" from the Potomac Creek site, the chief town of the Patawomeke in Virginia (Schmitt 1965:28). This is a complex site with multiple mortuary components reviewed in Potter (2006:225-231). At least three examples of pendants with drilled-dot motifs have been reported with one illustrated (Brain and Phillips 1996:500, Va-St-P1; Schmitt 1952:Plate 23e). This may also be the same example illustrated in Schmitt (1965:Plate 2 #1). The second is in Schmitt (1965:Plate 2 #5). Potter mentions a third as being half of a *Busycon* gorget with a drilled-dot star pattern on the inside from a smaller pit near the Potomac Creek site (1993:219). For the example from the Mount Airy site in Virginia (McCary 1950:14). This appears to be the same example illustrated by Hammett and Sizemore (1989:126).

- 5.73. There is one piece of cut *Busycon* shell from Lot 18, and 13 pieces of worked and partially worked quahog and whelk shell from Indian Castle. Additional evidence for the importation of unmodified marine shell comes from a small site in North Franklin in Delaware County, New York, collected by William Ritchie in April 1938. This assemblage (RMSC AR39844) was examined on August 14, 1986. It contained one large *Busycon carica* columella retaining some whorl, four unmodified oyster shells, and two pieces of *Mercenaria*, one of which was partially drilled. The assemblage also included a small Native-made iron celt, an iron nail, a brass tinkling cone, and more than a dozen large stem-bore pipe fragments including two large bowls with EB heel marks. Located on the hill midway between the Delaware and upper Susquehanna River watersheds, the North Franklin assemblage is exactly what one would predict, if mid-seventeenth century eastern Five Nations people traveled to the Atlantic coast to collect and bring back shell for their own use.
- 5.74. Brass kettles as essential in trade inventories (Note 5.17). The technology of reuse has been welldocumented among Ontario Iroquoians and the Susquehannock, among the Historic Illinois, and in the Great Lakes (Anselmi 2004, 2008, 2012; Ehrhardt 2004, 2012).
- 5.75. Pendants from these sites are the traditional disc-

shape (2-3 cm in diameter), usually with a single perforation. Primary embellishments for wooden smoking pipes are geometrically shaped pieces of brass cut to cover the top of the bowl. There are not many examples of metal tubular forms from Lot 18 (n = 11). At Indian Castle the known examples of metal tubular forms (n = 23) fall into two groups. One was probably used as beads (~3 cm long, 0.2 cm wide), and another group of long tubes was of unknown use (0.2 cm in diameter, 5-15 cm wide with most between 8-10 cm). Whatever their purpose, it took real skill to make these tubes. It must be emphasized that these samples are small and as a result the data are easy to misinterpret.

- 5.76. Whether the round forms were used as finger rings, bracelets, or for some other purpose, they were made from sheet, tubing, and wire (1.5 - 4.5 cm in diameter, with most ~2 cm). C-shaped bracelets were made from both brass and iron wire (~2 mm in diameter). Bracelets were made using single, double, and triple loops. Beauchamp describes and illustrates two brass examples from Five Nations sites (1903:22, #305, #309). One brass-wire bracelet with four loops was made from wire 2.7 mm thick and would have required ~77 cm of wire to complete (Beauchamp 1903:#602). Thank you to Kathleen Ehrhardt for sharing her information (personal communication, 6/1/10). C-shaped brass and iron-wire bracelets are common on the Susquehannock Strickler site. For instance, a minimum of 40 c-shaped iron-wire bracelets were counted in the Art Futer collection alone at the North Museum in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Lisa Anselmi estimates that at least 31 brass examples, made predominantly from e-tubing, have been reported from the Strickler site (personal communication, 2/13/15).
- 5.77. Kathy Ehrhardt's pioneering work provides a detailed discussion of how the analysis of scrap provides a basis for understanding Native metalworking technology (2004). The sample of scrap from Lot 18 (n = 157) contains utilized pieces (n = 96), some of which had been cut into distinct shapes—nine rectangles, five triangles, two trapezoids, one square, and one circle. Many were probably intended as preforms for tubes, conical points, or tinkling cones. Of the remaining utilized pieces, 46 had parallel cut sides or a right angle, and another 32 showed one or more cut sides, had perforations, or intentional folding. About one-third (n = 61) showed no evidence of reuse. Most of these were small (< 2.5 cm across), but three pieces were large (> 5 cm across).
- 5.78. One Lot 18 example of innovation is a piece of sheet prepared to receive a sheet rivet (0.5 cm long, 0.1 cm wide) with two parallel knife cuts (~0.8 cm apart). The second example has parallel cuts (0.6 cm apart), through which a sheet-metal staple (~1cm long, 0.4 cm wide) has been inserted. For a comparable example

from the Oneida Quarry site (Bennett 1984:Plate 7 #4). Joint with a tube rivet from Lot 18 (0.3 cm in diameter). Laced joint from Indian Castle (Tanner 2001:9).

- 5.79. There is a square bowl cover from Lot 18 secured on each of the four corners by single brass-wire pins. A circular bowl cover from the Oneida Quarry site is pictured in the Hesse Galleries auction catalog of the Wonderly collection, lot 150 (11/20/2014). It appears to have been attached with eight pins. Beauchamp illustrates a similar example from "Munnsville" that is more square in shape with rounded corners, which was perforated for six pins (Antiquities 8:#1426). A fragmentary effigy pipe from the Marsh site (RMSC AR 18382) is unusual in that it has a pewter bowl liner and the remnants of a sheet-brass plate that had been secured by at least nine pins, including two e-shaped rivets, two o-shaped rivets, and at least one wire pin. This pipe was first described by George Hamell (1978:Plate 4). A Seneca Dann site effigy-pipe bowl was first described by Hamell (RFC 815/28; 1978:6-7, Plate 3). Each of the rays was secured in place with a small pin. Pratt illustrates a similar example from the slightly earlier Oneida Thurston site (1976:Plate 34 #1).
- 5.80. There is an embellished pipe in the National Museum of Denmark (Edc16; Bradley 2006:Figure 3.27; Hamell 1998:Figure 10.4). George Hamell discussed the surviving wooden pipes from Seneca sites on several occasions and pointed out their strong similarities to the ethnographic pipes in European collections (1978; 1998:275-276). Hamell speculated that the Seneca Dann site figure may depict an otter or salamander (1978:8). Two images of the embellished-wood avian figure from the Susquehannock Strickler site are illustrated by Kinsey, and he speculates that this figure is a northern hawk-owl (*Surina ulula*) that it had been attached to a pewter pipe stem (1989:78-80).
- 5.81. In addition to the Strickler site example, other archaeological examples of Susquehannock wooden pipes embellished with brass inserts include a brass inlay for a wooden pipe from the Blue Rock site and a wooden effigy with large inserts from the Frey-Haverstick site (36-La 6/120; Heisey and Witmer 1962:105). Kinsey reports a second owl effigy from Strickler located in the Pennsylvania State Museum in Harrisburg (probably 36-La 3/482), and another fragmentary example from the earlier Keller site (1989:80).

For war clubs, there are three examples from the Tradescant collection at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, United Kingdom, described as *Tamahacks* in 1656. Originally, six were donated and two of the surviving three have metal inserts (MacGregor 1983:110-115, Figures 2-4). For a review on war clubs see Meachum (2007). Both Scott Meachum and George Hamell have pointed out that similar, but miniature, ball-headed clubs made from bone, and probably used as charms in a war bundle, were reported from

the Susquehannock Washington Boro sites (Cadzow 1936:Plate 86; Hamell 1979; Meachum 2007).

- 5.82. The largest concentration of mid-seventeenth century single spirals occurs at Strickler (n = 52), and they were small and made from hollow tubing (<3cm across, 0.2 cm wide). Cadzow illustrates a single asymmetrical double spiral from the Washington Boro area (1936:Plate 3). Anselmi identifies it as from the Keller site (36-La 4/48; personal communication, 2/13/15). None have been reported from the Oscar Leibhart site. Although there is general agreement that European hooks and eyes were the model for this form, it is less clear where in Europe this form was used in the seventeenth century. No comparable examples are known from colonial Jamestown, St. Mary's City, or from Dutch sites such as Fort Orange or the Flatts. The most likely source was the Swedish settlements along the lower Delaware, especially since they were key allies of the Susquehannock, ca.1650-1655, the time when hooks and eyes first appear.
- 5.83. Kettle with lugs replaced using o-shaped rivets (CF3 -112952-2). Small kettle with v-patch and 16 e-shaped rivets (Mus 2947). Thank you to Allison Mallin, registrar, for permission to examine the collections in the North Museum, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 2010, and to Lisa Anselmi who generously shared her detailed notes on this material. Observations on Susquehannock metalwork were based on North Museum collections and Anselmi's work (2005, 2012, personal communication, 7/2011, 2/13/2015). They were also reviews of findings at the William Penn Museum in Harrisburg in 1978, 1985, 2010, and 2011.
- 5.84. Corrugated-sheet metal to make rings, bracelets, and tinkling cones (Note 3.72). A spiral strip bead was made by twisting a strip of metal into a tube shape, often around an organic core. For more on spiral strip beads and the use of rectangular metal clips on fabric and leather (Ehrhardt 2005:115-119).
- 5.85. Red-slate trapezoidal bead from the Seneca Steele site (2.5 cm long, 1 cm wide at base; RFC 6501/100). Unperforated red-slate disc from Steele (RFC 15053/100). A red-slate pendant (RFC 5252/24), and a small piece of partially worked red slate (RFC 2809/24), both from the Seneca Power House site. Small face-effigy bead from Lot 18 (Tanner 1978:5).
- 5.86. Pipestone from Lot 18 includes three small reworked tubular beads (<1 cm). Pipestone objects from Indian Castle (n = 11) include four small tubular beads, two flat rectangular beads, three trapezoidal beads (all 3-5 cm long), and two effigy forms showing an anthropomorphic face and a zoomorphic creature. Comparable Seneca examples are from the Power House (RFC 2429/24) and Dann sites (RFC 1520/28).
- 5.87. The trapezoidal form in red slate and pipestone first appears at the Seneca Steele site (RFC 6501/100)

and in pipestone at the Seneca Power House site (RFC 2429/24). Trapezoidal beads were first found at the Hanson site, located on the Door Peninsula on Lake Michigan. It is a mortuary site exposed during sand quarrying in 1990 and salvaged by archaeologists from the Wisconsin Historical Society (Rosebrough et al. 2012). These beads were initially described by Overstreet as frustum-style beads (1993:169-172). This style of trapezoidal pipestone beads does not occur on late Ontario Iroquoian sites such as Grimsby, Walker, or Hamilton. While a few triangular or trapezoidal pendants are known from the Gillett Grove site in northwest Iowa, there are no trapezoidal beads (Fishel et al. 2010:180g; Titcomb 2000:Figure B.38). Dale Henning describes them as an eastern form not found west of the Mississippi (personal communication, 4/20/12). There is a good reason why so few trapezoidal beads were made from red slate. It splits very easily when drilled longitudinally.

- 5.88. Reworked pipestone-pipe fragments from the Seneca Dann site, some coming from pipes with a tapering elongated ovoid bowl (RFC 3965/28). Elbow pipe with a straight-sided tapering rectangular bowl from Steele (RFC 441/100). Early calumet-style pipes from the Dann site (NYSM 20921-A/2) and the Susquehannock Strickler site (La3/505; Kent 1984:167-68, Figure 31). For a comparable early calumet-style pipe from the Ioway Gillett Grove site (Titcomb 2000:187, Figure B.34). Another similar pipe was found in Davison County, South Dakota (West 1934:II:869, Plate 195 #2). Use of the term *calumet* (Daviau 2009:48-50, 228). An example of the interchangeable use of these terms (JR 27:271). "a calumet of red stoane" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:142).
- 5.89. Discussion of calumets (Brown 1989, 2006; Gunderson 1993; Rodning 2014). Large disc pipe from the Hanson site (13.25 cm long, 8 cm diameter; Overstreet 1993:166-169, Figure 25; Rosebrough et al. 2012:61-64, Figure 36). For a comparable style pipe from Allamakee County in Iowa (West 1934:II:Plate 257 #13). For evidence of pipe making at Gillett Grove (Fishel et al. 2010:179-180; Titcomb 2000:104-105, 132). For elbow pipes from the Ioway Milford site (Anderson 1994:Figure 50; Fishel et al. 2010:180-182, Figure 4n). For a comparable example from Allamakee County in Iowa (West 1934:II:Plate 257 #3).
- 5.90. "made us smoake in their pipes . . . as long as a hand" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:273-274). "a peace calumet" (NYCD 9:50).
- 5.91. Discussion of the Pax Ioway (Henning 2003, 2012). Henning also describes the major corridor of movement, *Le Chemin des Voyageurs*, across Iowa and along the Wisconsin Fox River corridor towards Green Bay and the Door Peninsula on Lake Michigan (2007, 2012). Pipestone occurs on sites such as Rock Island and Hanson (Mason 1986; Overstreet 1993; Rosebrough et al. 2012).

- 5.92. For reviews of long-distance exchange by Ontario Iroquoians (Fox 1980, 2002, 2012). For Algonquian– Iroquoian relations (Fox and Garrad 2004). Thanks to William Fox for his personal comments (4/20/12, 1/12/14). After their dispersal into the Great Lakes, Ontario Iroquoian people who settled with their Anishinaabe neighbors became known as Wyandot (Tooker 1978).
- 5.93. Ottawa traders and their route (JR 41:77, 42:219-221). Ottawa control by 1671 (JR 56:115-117; Trigger 1976:II:820-821). There is archaeological evidence for the traffic along this corridor at the Huron-Wendat sites along the Ottawa River on Aylmer Island and Morrison Island, and the Frank Bay site on Lake Nipissing (Pilon and Young 2009; Ridley 1954:49).
- 5.94. "some red and green stoanes" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:154). Ottawa and Petun supplied Iroquoian people (Fox, personal communication, 4/20/2012; Garrad 2014:347).
- 5.95. Current literature on ceramics and social signaling among the Five Nations (Hart and Engelbrecht 2012, 2016).

The sample of surface-collected ceramic pot sherds from Lot 18 is small (n = 3). All are plain-body fragments. The most significant ceramics related to this site were found in June 1968, when a burial was encountered during excavation of a longhouse pattern at the nearby precontact Burke site (TLY 6-2). This appears to have been the flexed burial of a young adult female, who had been interred with a brass kettle, two ceramic vessels, red and blue tubular glass beads, wampum beads, shell crescents, and an ironwire bracelet. The two ceramic vessels were a small collared pot with a Huron incised collar and one turret castellation (~12 cm diameter), and a miniature collared pot of similar style with three rounded castellations, each with an anthropomorphic-face effigy (~5 cm diameter). Beauchamp reports a similar example with one castellation from Pompey (NYSM 31895; Antiquities 9:#1228).

Native-made ceramic sherds from Indian Castle (n = 19). Beauchamp illustrates several examples (*Antiquities* 3:#735, 749, 751, 752). The two exotics from Indian Castle include a low-collar rim with shallow oblique lines (incised or paddle-impressed) on the exterior and interior, and a dark-gray to black everted (or burnished) rim with a collar-like area (2 cm high) that is defined, but undecorated.

5.96. The length to width ratio of chert points changes significantly between the early sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. For the Onondaga Barnes site the ratio of length to width is 1.9:1 (n = 71), at the Pompey Center site it is 1.3:1 (n = >100), at Lot 18 1.6:1 (n = 23), and at Indian Castle 1.9:1 (n = 23). Although the reasons for this shift are not known, Robert Kuhn has documented a similar dynamic for Mohawk points

(1996). For previously published numbers and ratios (Bradley 2005a:Tables 2, 13).

- An important contemporaneous assemblage has been reported from the mid-seventeenth century Johnston Locus (36-Wm-705) in southwestern Pennsylvania (Beckman 1991). This assemblage (n = 3,785) was primarily lithic debitage. Bifacial tools and fragments (n = 73) constituted less than 2% of that assemblage, and of these 29 were projectilepoint fragments, 14 were bifacial gunflints, while the remaining 30 pieces were preforms, knives, a drill, and unidentified fragments (Beckman 1991:23). The projectile points had an isosceles-triangular shape and were generally similar in form to those from Lot 18 and Indian Castle. The predominant lithic material was Onondaga chert (Beckman 1991:26-29, 34).
- 5.97. At Lot 18 there were Native-made gunflints (n =97), and European-made ones (n = 8). At Indian Castle (n > 100), there were more European examples (n = 100)24). Native-made gunflints are circular to rectangular with excurvate sides. Most were large (2.0-2.5 cm) and probably used with muskets. The smaller ones (1.5-2.0 cm) may have been made for carbines or pistols. There were gunflints made of exotic material from Lot 18 (n = 5) and from Indian Castle (n = 11). The exotic lithics used to make gunflints mirrors those used to make projectile points and includes Pennsylvania white quartz and yellow jasper, western Onondaga chert, as well as Ohio Valley cherts and chalcedonies. In addition to the projectile points, the Johnston Locus assemblage included several Native-made gunflints (14 out of 73 bifacial tools and pieces; Note 5.96). These are remarkably similar to those from Lot 18 and Indian Castle in terms of overall form, dimensions, and raw material preferences (Beckman 1991:24-26). Beckman identifies 45% of the overall lithic assemblage (n = 3,785) as Onondaga chert. Not surprisingly, he suggests that the Johnston locus may represent a brief stop by a Seneca [Sinneken] war party to rest and refurbish their weapons. The small war party of which Radisson was part, and that passed through Onondaga on its way west in 1653, almost certainly left such campsites behind.
- 5.98. For more on Seneca wooden ladles and bowls (Prisch 1982). "When a Savage takes a tool. . ." (JR 44:305). One fragmentary antler comb illustrated by Beauchamp is known from Indian Castle (*Antiquities* 3:500). None have been reported from Lot 18. For reasons that remain unclear, far fewer bone and antler combs are known from Onondaga than from contemporaneous Five Nations sites.
- 5.99. In his 1666 document, Chaumonot copied pictographs from "a board in their cabin on which they ordinarily paint how often . . . [a man] has been to war [and] how many men he has taken and killed" (Figure 5.36d), as well as from wooden burials markers

placed on the grave of a deceased warrior (NYCD 9:48-51). Along with the tattoos mentioned by Radisson and others, these are among the earliest descriptions of a war record kept by individuals to mark their accomplishments (Meachum 2007).

Beauchamp reports an anthropomorphic lead figure from Indian Castle with an hourglass shape (Figure 5.36c; *Antiquities* 5:#1406; Beauchamp 1903:26, #268).

- 5.00. Ottenbein argues that firearms revolutionized Native warfare (1965). Silverman reaches the same conclusion in his thoughtful, if occasionally forced, review of firearms and their transformational role in Native cultures (2016:28-29). "the noise of which . . . frighted them more than the bulletts that weare in them" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:228, 213). Fr. Claude-Jean Allouez was a contemporary of Claude Dablon (Pouliot 1979a). Although Allouez was describing the Illinois rather than the Iroquois, the dynamic was the same—"wage war with 7 or 8 different . . ." (JR 60:161). "The true means to gett victory was to have a thunder. They meant a gune" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:278-279).
- 5.101. Chaumonot specifically mentions Onondaga spearing fish, a practice they shared with the Huron– Wendat (JR 43:261; Marshall, ed. 1967:237). Lafitau notes that Native people frequently broke and reused sword blades (Warkentin, ed. 2012:124 Note 52). The hafted scrapers made from sword hilts from Lot 18 and Indian Castle are virtually identical to those from the earlier Carley site (Bradley 2005a:Plate 9b). The assemblages from Lot 18 and Indian Castle also contain a large number of forged nails in various sizes (n > 40). Few show evidence of modification, although examination to date has been superficial. Whether these were used as intended as fasteners, or for some other purpose remains unclear.
- 5.102. Eastern Woodlands wooden war clubs, called *casse-têtes*, or head-breakers, by the French (Meachum 2007). Examples comparable to those from Onondaga come from the Seneca Steele (RFC 6773/100, 6780/100), Dann (RFC 11624/28, 11634/28, 11650/28, 13269/28), and Marsh sites (500/99, 6434/99). Also, there is a comparable example from Ste. Marie aux Hurons that Kidd described as probably a small hatchet (1949:111, Plate XI-f). Hatchets were forged in Québec or Montréal for the war against the Erie (JR 41:111, 43:169).
- 5.103. "a Crucifix about two feet in height" (JR 47:215). "tied [them] to the stake in a manner entirely different" (JR 46:45).
- 5.104. The small medallion from Indian Castle (Figure 5.38c; *Antiquities* 5:#1410; Beauchamp 1903:72 #291). Charles Wray suggested that the first cast turtles appear to have been molded in dirt or sand, and by the 1650s wooden molds may have been used (personal communication, 9/1978). By the mid-seventeenth century, it was certain that some of these figures were

cast. Casting could also have been done in dry or lowfired clay molds, a technology not far removed from making pottery and pipes. Although no stone molds are known from seventeenth-century Five Nations sites, several have been reported from Algonquian sites in New England (Willoughby 1935:Figure 131). Another example was recovered from the Fort Hill site, ca. 1663-1664, in New Hampshire (Thomas 1979:Plate 14e). One partially hammered-lead turtle has been reported from Lot 18 (Tanner 1978:3). There are at least three cast examples from Indian Castle. Beauchamp mentions one (Figure 5.38a) and describes another as iron, which seems unlikely (1903:Plate 25 #272, 273). The third is a cast-pewter example found by Dwight Carley (Figure 3.38b, RFC 6001/217; Bradley 2005a:Figure 18a). There is a remarkably similar long-necked cast-lead turtle from the Susquehannock Strickler site in the Landis collection in Hershey, Pennsylvania. For more on the diverse forms of lead and pewter figures from Mohawk sites (Bradley 2006:128-129, 172-173; Rumrill 1988). There are also numerous examples from contemporaneous Oneida and Seneca sites.

Cast lead and pewter were also used to embellish and repair stone pipes during this period. One example is a repaired pipestone calumet from the Seneca Dann site (NYSM A20921/2). A fragmentary stone calumet-style pipe from the Lot 18 site has deep lateral grooves that may have been prepared for a similar repair or embellishment (NYSM A2017.56).

- 5.105. Onondaga traveled to Montréal and to Orleans near Québec with gifts of porcelaine in September 1653 (JR 40:165-167). They returned in February 1654 and gave six large porcelaine colliers to the French governor (JR 41:51-53). In August 1654 Simon Le Moine gave the Onondaga 19 presents including porcelaine colliers, little glass tubes, and a moose skin, and the Onondaga gave him 10 large porcelaine collers (JR 41:109-113, 115-117).
- 5.106. "holding the beautiful collar . . ." (JR 42:117). *Ceinture* was translated as belt or girdle, with which the speaker "encircled the Father" (JR 42:116-117).
- 5.107. *a* prodigious collection of porcelain", *a* hundred collars, some of which were more than a foot in width" were presents from Garakontié to the French in 1663 (JR 49:145). Presents from Garakontié in 1665 (NYCD 9:37-38).
- 5.108. Wampum belts, like the American flag, exemplify Robert Sapolsky's observation that a symbol of a culture's core values can take on a life and power of its own, becoming the signified instead of the signifier (2017:391).
- 5.109. The Iroquois ambassadors use of the ritual language— "to wipe their eyes, . . . to open their mouths . . . to strengthen their hearts" (NYCD 9:37). The treaty with the French, "which was read in the Iroquois tongue" by Chaumonot (NYCD 3:121-126,

9:44, 46).

Description of the 1665-1666 treaty (NYCD 3:124). There are at least three recorded versions of this agreement (JR 50:127-131, NYCD 3:121-125, 9:37-47). "affix[ed] the distinctive mark of their tribes [clans]-The Bear, the Wolf and the Tortoise [Turtle]" (NYCD 3:124-125, 9:45, 47 Illustration). The marks made by the Onondaga signers do not appear to have survived, although those used by the Seneca and Oneida on the subsequent versions of the treaty do.

5.110. For runtees from Lot 18 and Indian Castle (Note 5.69). A defining embellishment on runtees is drilled dots, which would clearly link them to the motifs used on Chesapeake Bay-related pendants and gorgets. Material indication of the Mississippian Afterglow (Appendix 1; King and Meyers 2002). Zoomorphic runtees are discussed (Note 9.57).

Examples of circular shell runtees from the Northeast include the Esopus Wawarsing site, and Sarf cache sites, and the Susquehannock Byrd Leibhart site (Antiquities 10:#263-668; Kent 1970 Figure 3g-k, 1984:173-174). Examples from the Great Lakes include the Lasanen, Richardson, and Gros Cap sites (Cleland, ed. 1971:37-38, Figure 23 D1, D2; Greenman 1958:32; Nern and Cleland 1974: Figure 16 H-J). They also are from as far west as the Blood Run site in the Eastern Plains (Henning 2007:78-79, Figure 6.6).

- 5.111. "they are often broken . . ." (Beauchamp 1903:31). It is unclear whether single spirals are fragments, as Beauchamp suggests, or complete objects in and of themselves. There is good evidence that these objects were made on Five Nations sites rather than imported. Partially completed wire examples have been reported from Indian Castle (Gifford collection) and from the Seneca Steele site (Ralph Strong collection, RFC).
- 5.112. Thank you to Lisa Anselmi for sharing her thoughts and data on these spirals (personal communication, 2/13/2015). There is little published data on spirals with the exception of Beauchamp (1903). The data in Table 5.6 were compiled from Onondaga, Seneca, and Susquehannock sites (RMSC; RFC; the William Penn and North Museums).
- 5.113. Military aid from the Swedes (Kent 1984:35-36). Thank you to Craig Lukezic for his thoughts on these fasteners as a possible Swedish material culture form (personal communication, 9/21/16). While brass hooks are ubiquitous as clothing fasteners, the symmetrical double-spiral form of eye is not known from contemporaneous English or Dutch sites. Thank you to Jan Baart, Geoff Egan, Henry Miller, Bly Straube, and Alexandra van Dongen-Gaba for their assistance in trying to track down comparable examples.

Director-General Petrus Stuyvesant of the WIC (DAB 18:187).

5.114. The Susquehannock preference for tube forms, as opposed to wire, for making double spirals also occurs in c-shaped bracelets. All of the examples from

the Strickler site examined by Lisa Anselmi (n = 31)are made from tubes, not wire. All of the examples of c-shaped bracelets examined from Onondaga and Seneca sites appear to have been made from wire.

- 5.115. Birch bark containers (Kenyon 1982:Plate 68). "scarfs and belts . . . made from these birds [feathers]" (JR 47:147). Mortuary studies are the best way to study the people themselves, but, for better or worse, there are no mortuary studies of Onondaga people other than of the unpublished Pen site (Chapter Eleven).
- 5.116. Sources on Onondaga interactions with other Native groups (Notes 4.79, 4.85). Selected references to the Erie in 1654 (JR 41:147, 42:191). To the Beaver Nation (Amikouas) in 1655 (JR 41:93). References to "three scalps, taken from some people of another language than that of these regions, and of a country far distant" in 1656 (JR 41:191). The Fire Nation (Assistaeronnon) in 1658 (JR 44:115). References to "Pushing their way farther. . . South, they finally reach the sea near the Virginia coast" in 1661 (JR 47:143). To the Shawnee (*Ontôagannha*) and the Ox Nation to the west and the Cree to the north in 1661 (JR 47:145-149). Finally, references to the Montagnais to the east in 1664 (JR 50:37-41).
- 5.117. "The alliances that we contract . . ." (JR 43:277). For sources on Charles Le Moyne (Lefebvre 2017; Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:74 Note 1).
- 5.118. Onondaga healing rituals (JR 42:67-69, 195-199). Use of turtle-shell rattles (JR 42:147). Dablon's account of the Mid-Winter Festival of February 1656 (JR 42:155-169). For Huron influences among the Five Nations, especially in terms of masks (Beauchamp 1905:184-189; Fenton 1987:75, 90-92). Trigger has argued that it is almost impossible, on the basis of the historical evidence, to trace the contributions that the Huron made to Iroquois culture (1976:2:836). This is why the archaeological evidence is an important addition.
- 5.119. For the Ontario tradition of grinding red-glass beads (Kenyon 1986:58; Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990:436). Native-modified glass beads occur at the Onondaga Carley and Lot 18 sites. At the Carley site, Robert Hill recovered two necklaces that contained both red siltstone and modified glass beads (RFC 10001/217 and 10003/217). Of the examples of ground red-glass beads reported from Lot 18 (n = 11, examples in Figure 5.43), six are tubular beads that have been ground to become square, triangular, or acentric in section, four are round to oval with irregular facets, and one example is a large bead with the stripes ground off, probably originally a type IIbb1 (Kidd and Kidd 1970).
- 5.120. Examples of anthropomophic forms occur on wooden-ladle handles, antler daggers, and on stone pipes as well as stone pendants. Examples from the Neutral sites—Hamilton, Misner, and Walker (Lennox 1981: Figure 43 #11; Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990: Figure 13.12; Wright 1981:Figure 56 #3). For Petun examples 685

(Garrad 2014:Plate 6.16).

- 5.121. The calumet fragment from Lot 18 is of yellowgreen soapstone and has nested chevrons incised on the distal end. A similar example is reported by West (1934:Plate 173 #3). Radisson's red and green stones (Warkentin, ed. 2012:154).
- 5.122. Identifiable pipes from Lot 18 (n = 5) include two coronet bowls, two anthropomorphic pinch-face bowls, and one short barrel-shaped bowl. The pinch-face form has long been associated with Huron–Wendat, Petun, and Neutral people (Lenox and Fitzgerald 1990:412; Matthews 1976, 1979). Examples reported from the Petun sites, Ste. Marie aux Hurons, and the Neutral Hamilton site (Garrad 2014:326-329, Figure 6.1 #25, 26; Kidd 1949:Figure 27 K; Lennox 1981:Plate 43 #5, 6).

Pinch-face pipe bowls reported from Lot 18—a complete pipe found by William Ennis (Figure 5.44a), and a bowl fragment found by Tyree Tanner (Bradley 2005a:Figure 10a; Tanner 1978:Plate 1). Beauchamp describes another example from the Oak Orchard fishing site as a Huron pattern and comments that this was the first one he had seen in Onondaga County (Antiquities 10:#580). Another bowl fragment from the Bigelow collection (NYSM 31870) was listed by Beauchamp as from the Atwell site, ca. 1500 (Antiquities 9:#1265a). This is extremely unlikely and appears to be another example of Luke Fitch's random assignment of provenience. Like other historic-period objects Fitch attributed to Atwell, such as an EB-marked pipe bowl, this piece was probably from Indian Castle, which is located next to Fitch's house and a location where he collected frequently. The second fragment in Luke Fitch's collection is from Indian Hill (Antiquities 3:#712b). Three other unprovenienced examples that may be from Onondaga sites include a third bowl fragment (NYSM 75143), a largely complete bowl (NYSM 15309), and a complete pipe (NYSM 15305).

- 5.123. "seven different Nations who have come to settle" (JR 43:265), "eight or ten conquered nations" (JR 47:193). Conrad Heidenreich references to Huron– Wendat and Neutral people (personal communication 9/13/08). Difficult to distinguish between adoptees and prisoners (Trigger 1976:829). An astonishing number became substantially integrated (Richter 1992:70, 318 Note 45). The Huron Soionés and Otchiondi (JR 33:119, 44:117). For additional examples of integration (JR 42:57, 45:155, 46:85, 89).
- 5.124. Longer thinner projectile points may reflect Ontario preference (Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990:423). After examining several points from Lot 18 and Indian Castle, Fox described them as classic Neutral forms (personal communication, 1/12/14). Examples of vasiform pipes from the Grimsby site, the Ossossane ossuary in Ontario, and Lake Medad (Kenyon 1982:Plate 16; Kidd 1953:Figure 125b; Trigger 1976:Plate 16c; West 1934:II:Plate 121 #6). Drooker 686

describes stone vasiform pipes as the most typical Late Fort Ancient form from the Ohio Valley, and reviews their occurrence elsewhere in the Northeast. She also notes that Iroquoian examples are more elongated than Fort Ancient ones, frequently having attachment holes in their base (Drooker 1997:315). Beauchamp reports at least three vasiform pipes from Onondaga country. Two were from Brewerton with one being a recent form, the other found in a burial in 1900 along with shell and glass beads. There was also a pouch of brass rings, and a musket found with them. The third vasiform pipe is from Cross Lake in Onondaga County (*Antiquities* 1:#211, 8:#755; Beauchamp 1897:49 #112). An additional example is labeled only Pompey with no specific provenience (NYSM).

- 5.125. Identifiable pipes from Indian Castle (n = 36) four trumpet bowls, four short barrel-shaped bowls, 12 elongated barrel-shaped or ring-bowl examples, three anthropomorphic bowls including one pinchface type, and 13 zoomorphic bowls. "Ring bowl pipes" are distinctive on Seneca sites (Wray and Schoff 1953:58). Beauchamp also noted that ring-bowl pipes were a Seneca form, not an Onondaga one (Antiquities 10:#572, 575). Sempowski and Saunders have suggested this style evolved from an earlier coiled-serpent motif (2001:I:Figure 3-188). Ring-bowl pipes are common in Ontario, although known by a variety of names. At the late precontact Draper site, Von Gernet describes them as a collared-ring type and the third most frequently occurring form (Von Gernet 1985:234-235, Plate 1d). For examples from Ste. Marie aux Hurons (Kidd 1949:Figures 27a-c, e). A Petun example (Garrad 2014:Figure 6.2 #32). Noble terms them tapered pipe bowls, stating that they are common on historic Neutral sites (1992:Figure 2b, Table 2).
- 5.126. The limestone disc pipe from Indian Castle was probably from the Ohio Valley (Figure 5.46b). Similar examples have been reported from Fort Ancient sites (Drooker 1997:285, 2004:Map 3.2, 93). Thank you to Penelope Drooker for her comments on stone pipes in general and the disc pipe from Indian Castle in particular (personal communication 2/1/10).
- 5.127. Fox discusses complex interrelated zoomorphic agents—thunderbirds, great horned serpents, panthers—on Iroquoian and Algonquian sites around Lake Erie (2004a). Connections between Ontario Iroquoian and Oneota people (Drooker 2004; Fox 2002).
- 5.128. Turtle-effigy pipe from Indian Castle (figure 5.47; NYSM 31802), first reported by Beauchamp (*Antiquities* 6:#760; Beauchamp 1898:130). This form has similar Huron antecedents (Pearce 2005:Figure 4). A stone turtle pipe from Phoenix on the Oswego River was reported by Beauchamp (Figure 5.48a, NYSM 31808; 1897:48, #104). For a similar turtle pipe from Indiana (Moorehead 1910:II:Figure 461). Another turtle pipe from the Great Lakes in Wisconsin (Moorehead 1910:II:Figure 481). Chaumonot's drawing of a

similar turtle (NYCD 9:47-51). As George Hamell has observed, these turtle depictions share a star-shaped motif on their ventral surface, one very similar to the shape of the markings on the plastron of juvenile snapping turtles (*Chelydra serpentine*; 2003).

- 5.129. Raptorial-bird ceramic pipes, examples from Grimsby (Bu. 20; Kenyon 1982:101, Plates 91-93). Noble notes that eagles occur sporadically on Neutral sites (1992:46). For an Onondaga example from Brewerton (NYSM 31909; Antiquities 2:#1057; Beauchamp 1898:#146). Stemless stone pipes depicting perching birds are well known in Ontario (Laidlaw 1913:44-47, 51-52). In fact, based on the presence of so many unfinished examples, Laidlaw concluded these were indigenous to the Huron-Iroquois region (1913:67). Drooker also discusses perched-bird pipes (2004:84-85). She speculates that some of them may have been produced at the Reeves site in northeastern Ohio (Drooker 2004:100-101). Beauchamp reports two examples from Onondaga country from fishing sites. One is from the Oneida River near Oak Orchard (Figure 5.49a; *Antiquities* 1:#763; Beauchamp 1897:#103; West 1934:II Plate 95 #2). A second is from the Seneca River to the east of the town of Van Buren (Figure 5.49b; *Antiquities* 1:#36; Beauchamp 1897:49 #117). West reports a third example, reputedly from the Atwell site (1934:II:Plate 128 #2).
- 5.130. Explicit Panther Man-Being representations (Hamell 1998:274-275). Depictions of panthers on pipes (Hamell 1998:275-276, Figures 10.3, 10.4). The coiled long-bodied long-tailed panther pipe from Indian Castle (Figure 5.51, NYSM 31801; Antiquities 6:#1176; Beauchamp 1898:130). For the Ontario disc pipe (Drooker 1997:334; Fox 2002:134-135; West 1934:II:Plate 149 #3). A portion of a similar pipe has been reported from the Ripley site on the southern shore of Lake Erie (Drooker 2004:104-105; personal communication, 2/1/10). Laidlaw discusses pipes of this form from Ontario, especially partially completed examples (1913:37-40). For related "Stemless Lizard" pipes (Laidlaw 1914:49-53). West illustrates examples from Ontario (1934:II:Plate 120 #1, #2). Drooker discusses several examples of fenestrated effigy pipes, a tradition she centers in the Ohio Valley, in Ontario, and in the Niagara frontier (2004:84-86, Map 3.6).
- 5.131. Depictions of panthers on Seneca combs (Hamell 1998:276-279, Figure 10.6, 1979). Mirror-image panther combs have been reported from several Seneca sites (example Figure 5.52c), including a partially completed example from the Steele site (RFC #435/100) and derivative examples from the Dann site (Figure 5.52d; *Antiquities* 7:#1149, 1479). Kenyon reports three examples from the Grimsby site (example in Figure 5.52b)—one from burial 19, and two from burial 62 (1982:96, 214-215). A sheet-brass panther (#67) from the Huron–Wendat Robitaille site, ca. 1620-1640, may have

served as a prototype for panther combs (Figure 5.52a; Lisa Anselmi, personal communication, 2/13/15, 2008:Plate 105).

5.132. "for the most part, only aggregations of different tribes whom they have conquered" (JR 45:207).

#### **Chapter Six**

- 6.1. For background on New France (Moussette and Waselkov 2012; Trudel 1973:246-267). For New Netherland (Jacobs 2009; Venema 2003; Wilcoxen 1984). The Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, better known as the Hundred Associates (Note 5.34). The Dutch West India Company (WIC; Note 3.7). An earlier version of this chapter was read at the 32nd Rensselaerswijck Seminar, now named the New Netherland Institute's Annual Conference (Albany, NY, October 2008).
- 6.2. French purchase of Dutch arms (Vogol 1996:16-18). Dutch military service in France (Beks 1996:39).
- 6.3. "the Dutch wish to bring us some horses and other commodities, as they are glad that we dwell in these countries" (JR 43:185).
- 6.4. Johannes Megapolensis was the domine, an ordained minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, sent by the church leadership in Holland to minister to the Albany congregation (DAB 12:499-500).

Louis d'Ailleboust de Coulonge et d'Argentenay was a settler in New France who became the second governor for a term limited to three years, 1648-1651. He was then acting governor in 1658 before Pierre de Voyer d'Argenson arrived from France (Daveluy 2014). The February 1658 letter from Louis d'Ailleboust to Simon Le Moine—"communicated to all the principal persons ... ". The April 1658 cover letter from Le Moine to Stuyvesant—"I send you with my love ..." (NYCD 14:415).

- 6.5. The Dutch as surprisingly unpolitical (Trelease 1960:124).
- 6.6. Royal control included the establishment of the Compagnie de l'Occident in 1664 by Louis XIV and his minister Colbert to replace the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France (Note 5.34; Eccles 1964:21, 24). Canada as a royal province (Eccles 1964:9-11).
- 6.7. France and Habsburg Spain (Lynn 2002:13-18).
- 6.8. French aggression (Lynn 2002:40-41). 1672 as the Year of Catastrophe (Mak 2000:150-152).
- 6.9. James's royalist officers—Richard Nicolls, Francis Lovelace, and Thomas Dongan (Webb 1974, 1979: Appendices 146, 147, 149). Another person who learned his trade under James was John Churchill, later the Duke of Marlborough (Webb 2013:xiii-xv).
- 6.10. New France's population more than doubled (Eccles 1964:46-48). Jean-Baptiste Colbert was Louis XIV's finance minister (Eccles 1964:6). The governorgeneral of New France was Daniel de Rémy de Courcelle, 1665-1672 (Eccles 2018b). Jean Talon was the new Intendant appointed by Colbert, 1665-1668 and again 1670-1672 (Vachon 1979).

- 6.11. Col. Richard Nicolls was appointed deputy governor of the colony of New York in 1664 under James Duke of York, who was governor (Webb 1979:Appendix 146). Francis Lovelace continued Nicholls's policies as the second deputy governor of the New York colony, 1667-1673 (Webb 1974, 1979:Appendix 147). Edmund Andros was appointed by the Duke of York to be the first governor of the Province of New York, 1674-1681 (Trelease 1960:177; Webb 1979:Appendix 148). Make Albany into an English place (Bradley 2006:179; Kammen 1975:91).
- 6.12. Changing nature of the global economy (Hoch-strasser 2007:154, 187-224).
- 6.13. Lieutenant-General de Tracy and the Mohawk (JR 51:159). "the proudest and haughtiest among our enemies" (JR 51:167).
- 6.14. "the general arbiter and umpire in all the . . . wars of these Savages" (JR 52:197). To keep the peace, the French kept the Iroquois in a state of fear (JR 51:169). "dispel the thought which . . .", "slightest injury" (JR 51:245).
- 6.15. "For whom does he take us?", "he threatens . . ." (JR 54:263). Eight Pouteouatami [Potowatami] captives (Eccles 1964:75; JR 54:265).
- 6.16. Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac et de Palluau was governor-general of New France in 1672-1682 and again in 1689-1698 (Eccles 2015). Fort Frontenac was built at Cataraqui. The Iroquois expressed joy at meeting a real "Father" and persuaded him that they would be "most obedient children" (NYCD 9:109).
- 6.17. Explorer René-Robert, Cavelier de La Salle, had been a Jesuit in France for nine years, then had quit and traveled to New France (Dupré 1966). Born in Québec, Louis Jolliet was initially in a Jesuit seminary, but became a trader and explorer (Vachon 1966a). Jesuit Jacques Marquette came as a missionary to New France (Vachon 1966b). Simon-François Daumont de Saint-Lusson was a regimental officer and explorer (Lamontagne 2015a). Ste. Marie de Sault, or Sault Ste. Marie, is located at the rapids, or *sault*, on St. Mary's River, the outlet of Lake Superior (Figure 6.6). Possession of those regions for the King and church (Eccles 1964:64-65; JR 55:107, 320).
- 6.18. In July 1672 La Salle met Fr. Jean de Lamberville at Tethiroguen [Brewerton] (Jaenen 1982; JR 57:29-31; NYCD 9:97). The Mission of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia (Ehrhardt 2005:93; Heidenreich 1987:Plate 38). Another Frenchman, who wandered through this area during the summer of 1671, was missionary Fr. Louis Nicolas. He reported that he got lost in the woods and great meadows of "Virginia," which was probably Oneida or Onondaga territory on the south side of Oneida Lake in upstate New York. He ended up on the banks of the river Techiroquen [Oneida River] (Gagnon, ed. 2011:21).
- 6.19. Frontenac and La Salle relationship (Eccles 1964:82-

84).

- 6.20. The Compagnie de l'Occident failed in 1674, after having been established to compete with the English and Dutch trading companies (Eccles 1964:20-21, 54).
- 6.21. The change in the Jesuits returning to missions in New France after 1667 (Pioffet 1997).
- 6.22. Replacement of the Récollets with Jesuits (Eccles 1964:72-73). Return of Récollets to New France and return of their property by the Jesuits (Eccles 1964:86-89; Moore 1982:35-37, 193-196). A letter from Colbert to Frontenac spoke of counterbalancing Jesuit excessive authority (NYCD 9:95). To teach the Indians (Dechêne 1992:9; Jaenen 1976:169-70).
- 6.23. Visions of glorious death written by Fr. Jacques Bruyas (JR 51:125). The starry-eyed novices—Pierre Millet, Jean de Lamberville, Jacques Bruyas, Jean Pierron, and Julien Garnier (Campeau 2015; Jaenen 1982, 2014; Monet 1979c; Pouliot 1982a). None could speak the languages (JR 51:127, 131, 139).
- 6.24. With help from Garacontié, Fr. Simon Le Moine had revived the original mission that had been established in 1655-1656 at Onondaga [Lot 18] by Dablon and Chaumonot (Note 4.40). "He could not remain all alone and without a Chapel" (JR 51: 239). Jesuit advancement of Christianity, the mission fathers at Onondaga, and Fr. Étienne de Carheil's arrival among the Cayuga (Donnelly 1982; JR 52:161, 173).
- 6.25. "the oldest church among the Iroquois", "the heart of the Mission church" (JR 51:237).
- 6.26. "sufficient . . . to teach the Catechism every Sunday" (JR 51:237). "Drunkenness, dreams. And Impurity" (JR 51:123-129).
- 6.27. "the iroquois nature" (JR 63:165).
- 6.28. "The one who can repeat, on Sunday . . ." (JR 53:251). "small brass crosses and brass rings . . ." (JR 60:137-139).
- 6.29. Fr. Jean Pierron was assigned to the Mohawk (Monet 1979c). Millet in Onondaga (Campeau 2015)."The Pictures that I paint with my own hand" (JR 52:119-21). A small mirror (JR 53:263).
- 6.30. "The Iroquois Tongue has no expression that correctly renders *In nomine*" or "in the name of," as in the Latin invocation of the Christian Holy Trinity, "Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" (JR 62:241). John L. Steckley translated and edited *De Religione: Telling the Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Story in Huron to the Iroquois* by Phillipe Pierson (Steckley, ed. 2004). In his introduction Steckley discussed the problems of crosscultural translation in detail (Steckley, ed. 2004:19-37). But the problem was much greater than that. Iroquoian languages are non-labial, that is, they have no sounds where lips are closed for expressing B, M, and P. This made it difficult to pronounce many essential Christian words and names such as *benedictus*, Maria, and Pater.
- 6.31. Jesuits and the concept of Christ (Steckley 1992; Steckley, ed. 2004:24-30). The problem with beards (JR

44:287). Father Garnier's request for images of Jesus without a beard (Jaenen 1976:24). Garnier's request for specific illustrations (Gagnon 1975:42). For more discussion there are the works of Gabriel Sagard, a Récollet friar and the first religious historian in Canada. His work includes the customs and way of life of the Hurons (Rioux 2019).

- 6.32. Toothaches are not caused by spells or demons (JR 57:147-149). Challenging the Native *jugglers* to predict the eclipse in 1674 (JR 58:181-185). "discredit in their minds their false Divinities" (JR 53:267). The door was often shut in Millet's face (JR 53:275). "follow the example of the elders, who had already renounced dreams and all that is forbidden by God's law" (JR 54:35). Ringing the bell to gather the elders (JR 54:39). "At first, the Elders appeared a little surprised at the liberty that I had allowed myself" (JR 54:41).
- 6.33. Millet to the chief men of the Nation, "one to appease me, and the other to beg me not to make my complaints to Onnontio [Governor-General Courcelle]" (JR 53:275).
- 6.34. "in order that we may all find ourselves reunited in Heaven", "no slight influence on the parents" (Delâge 1993:211; JR 62:235-237).
- 6.35. "maintain peace among themselves and make amends for faults committed by individuals" (JR 58:185-189). The name Loups, or wolves, is used for the Algonquian people in the upper Connecticut River valley, also known as Sokokis, who allied with the French. During the 1660s and later this may have included those Mahican who chose to stay with their Algonquian kin rather than become more closely tied to the Dutch and their Mohawk allies (Starna 2013:83, 144-147). At the ceremony of the dead, each side sat "separated from the others, according to their custom" (JR 53:213).
- 6.36. The Mohawk reprisal against the Loups (JR 53:155-157). The Seneca and Ottawa conflict (JR 52:197).
- 6.37. "the victorious arms of the King have happily procured it for us" (JR 53:33-35). "our peasants in France" (JR 51:129). These children owe respect to Louis (JR 51:245).
- 6.38. Garakontié gave five presents along with "five words" to Governor-General Courcelle and Talon, the intendant (JR 51:241-243). Attempt to broker a peace settlement (JR 53:41-51). "in the Name of the Five Nations, as they had only one mind and one thought" (NYCD 9:103). "most obedient children" (NYCD 9:109).
- 6.39. "the friend and protector of the French in his country" (JR 53:53-57). "their Savage Captains" (JR 52:181).
- 6.40. A treaty with the Sasqsahannough [Susquehannock] Indians (Browne, ed. 1885:3:420-422). "more hotly than ever" (JR 48:79). Jennings's version of what happened between the Five Nations and the Susquehannock (1984:128-130). Another military defeat for the

Onondaga (JR 50:205). Captives for ransom (JR 52:167). For adoption (JR 54:29). For death (JR 52:169, 173, 54:27). Jacques Frémin was at the Iroquois mission 1667-1679 (Monet 1979a). "The Onnontagué have been much humbled . . ." (JR:54:111).

- 6.41. Details about the Indian Hill location (Chapter Seven, The Indian Hill Site; Figure 7.1)
- 6.42. "with three porcelaine colliers, to treat for peace", "they [the Onondaga] broke this unlucky Ambassador's head . . . His body was burned after his death" (JR 54:75).
- 6.43. French traders had joined the Iroquois against the Andastoguez [Susquehannock] (Kent 1984:45). "peace be made with the Cynicoes Indians [Upper Four Nations]", "may bring a warre with the Susquehannoughs" (Browne, ed. 1884:2:378). The term Cynicoes, like Sinnekens, was used to describe the Upper Four Nations (Note 2.61).

Jennings took a profoundly different view of these events, arguing that the Susquehannock never lost the war and that their defeat was a result of English political machinations, not Iroquois persistence (1984:135-136). Jennings originally made this argument in a controversial, but influential article (1968). In it, he contended that Francis Parkman and other historians were wrong to take the historical documents at face value, and that by reading between the lines, a more accurate view might emerge. As Jennings himself observed, "Rather than repeat ancient error, I would prefer to originate my own" (1984:16). His novel view did not remain unchallenged. Elisabeth Tooker presented a fiercely critical and detailed review of his arguments at the 1980 Conference on Iroquois Research, and concluded that Jennings had done exactly what he had criticized. Tooker's critique remains as valid a challenge to Jennings's interpretation as when it was first articulated (1984). Another serious challenge to Jennings's view was Barry Kent's historical and archaeological volume Susquehanna's Indians (1984). Kent also argued that Jennings's arguments were mistaken and agreed with Tooker's rebuttal. He went on to review the archaeological evidence as an additional indication that Jennings's admonitions about the Iroquois defeat of the Susquehannock was fundamentally flawed (Kent 1984:46, 49). Jennings remained unmoved by these rebuttals, and in his book, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire*, he simply restated his original views. He did not reply to Tooker, mention her, nor did he consider any of the archaeological evidence (1984). Unfortunately, Jennings's side of the argument has had more press than his critics, and his views on this topic, though erroneous, have continued to influence others, especially historians (1968, 1978b; Richter 1992:136, 337 Note 6).

6.44. Fought for a few more years (Browne, ed. 1887:5:255). After 20 years the war was over (JR

60:173). Other reviews of this conflict (Kent 1984:47, 49; Shannon 2008:36). Kruer describes the conflict between the Susquehannock and their former Virginian allies between July 1675 and late 1677 as the Susquehannock–Virginia War, and he argues this was another key factor in the decline and dispersal of Susquehannock people (2017).

- 6.45. Although large conflicts, as in the Susquehannock War, reflected Onondaga concerns and prestige, individuals and small groups still acted with considerable independence. As one Jesuit observed in 1669, every September the young men take off to hunt, trade, or raid (JR 54:117). This often meant a party of 20, 30, or 50 men (JR 54:73). But sometimes, even a single man would go, execute a stroke of prowess, and make his escape (JR 53:243). Not surprisingly, such raids were not always a success. That same fall, an Onondaga, a Seneca, and some Oneida were taken prisoners by the Nés-percez [Ojibwa], while returning from a skirmish with the Outaouaks [Ottawa] 200 leagues away (JR 53:245-246). "A kind of contagion . . . ravaged the whole country" (JR 54:79). "a pestilence ... so malignant" (JR 57:81-83).
- 6.46. Le Mercier estimated 300 Onondaga warriors in 1665, the same number they had in 1660 (JR 45:207, 49:257-259). In 1677 Greenhalgh claimed there were 350 fighting men in Onondaga (NYCD3:251). This would translate into an estimate of ~4,900 people using Brandão 's 1:14 formula (1997:154-57, Table C).

A recent study of Native American depopulation in the Southwest indicated that major disease events appear to have occurred well after initial contact with Europeans and only after episodes of intensive contact, such as the establishment of missions (Liebmann et al. 2015). If so, then the increasingly frequent interactions, especially at conferences, may have been the cause of the great mortality that afflicted Onondaga two decades later. These waves of sickness may have contributed to the deterioration in relations between the French and Onondaga as well.

6.47. In 1661 Le Moine noted that Garakontié was the man with whom the Fathers had lodged every time they visited Onondaga country (JR 47:73). Garakontié may have been the unnamed captain who spoke for a delegation of 60 Onondaga in Montréal in 1653 and shortly thereafter in Québec (JR 40:163-165). In 1654 Garakontié may have been Sagochiendagehté, the Onnontaehronnon [Onondaga] captain, who was a hostage in Montréal in 1654 (JR 41:69-71, 79). The term Sagochiendagehté was used for the position rather than as a personal name (JR 41:255). If he was present in 1653-1654, then he was likely present throughout the Ste. Marie de Gannentaha episode. The war chief Otreouti (Note 4.73; Grassmann 1979). Tegannisoren became an important speaker for the Five Nations by 1682 (Eccles 1982b).

- 6.48. Millet against traditional healing practices (JR 53:283). "dreams, Agriskoué [the Iroquois war god], and feasts of debauchery" (JR 53:293-295, 297). Garakontié supported Bruyas and Pierron (JR 53:231-233). "to light the fire of peace" (JR 53:255-257). "Captain of Onnontaque [Onondaga], which is chief of all the Iroquois nations" (JR 53:53-57). Public declaration of his beliefs (JR 55:55). As did Garakontié, he wore a crucifix and a rosary (JR 55:61, 56:41).
- 6.49. Traditional ceremonies performed on Garakontié's behalf (JR 55:41-43). No longer considered one of them (JR 57:137). As Lamberville observed, "When they speak of him they merely say, the elder and the man of Note, without naming him" (JR 60:195). Webb provides a very different view of Garakontié and his standing within Onondaga and the League (1984:251-302). As Richter has observed, these views of Garakontié do not fit the facts (1992:112, 115, 118-119). Garakontié's role in the formation of the Covenant Chain is discussed further (Note 6.57).
- 6.50. "sound of weeping and the cry of distress. No more shall there be in it an infant who lives but a few days, or an old man who does not fill out his days" (Isa. 65:19-20 English Standard Version [ESV]). "death shall be no more, neither shall there be mourning, nor crying, nor pain anymore, for the former things have passed away" (Rev. 21:4 ESV). "former things shall not be remembered or come to mind" (Isa. 65:17 ESV).
- 6.51. "assurances that they would urge the young men . . . to conform" (JR 54:35-37). Millet gestured in place of speaking Iroquoian (JR 54:21). "these people reproached me . . . for not making myself sufficiently understood" (JR 54:21).
- 6.52. "as if it were a domestic animal" (JR 14:105). "make people die by pouring water on their heads" (JR 52:187). "I know with certainty . . ." (JR 56:61).
- 6.53. In Onondaga Christian Indians had departed to dwell at La Prairie, the Praying Town on the St. Lawrence River. Most were relatives of Garakontié (JR 58:207-209). "there have been more than thirty baptized, in the past year, . . . The greater part are dead" (JR 52:171). "it must be admitted . . ." (JR 55:89-91). It is difficult to know how many people actually left Onondaga. As for the Mohawk, by 1673 it was reported that there were more of them in La Prairie than there were in their own country. Father Chauchetière also reported in 1673 that within a year or two 200 persons had come to La Prairie from three different nations—Mohawk, Huron, and Onondaga. He indicated they were very numerous, but did not clarify what that meant (JR 63:179-181). What is clear is that considerable contact took place between the people of La Prairie and Onondaga (JR 62:69, 249, 63:171-173).
- 6.54. In 1674 Governor Andros reported that the government of the colonies had been "orderly and

quiett" (NYCD 3:254; Webb 1979:Appendix 148). Andros's task was assigned by James Duke of York (NYCD 3:231, 233).

6.55. "Council Minute", "That ye *Maques* Indyans [Mohawks] bee encouraged in their Loyallty & friendship to ye *English* & ye *French*" (NYCD 13:483).

Although Mohawk proposals do not survive, their requests may have been similar to those they made the year before on May 22, 1674 to Anthony Colve, the Dutch governor of New Netherland. Among these points were— first, the Mohawk have come here "as to their brothers . . . the Dutch of Nassau and . . . have always been of one flesh with them", and second, "last fall they made a new covenant with the Dutch" and now confirm it with wampum (NYCD 13:479-480). If this sounds similar to the ritual language used in the Covenant Chain speeches three years later, that is no coincidence.

6.56. Webb named the Covenant Chain as the most important diplomatic event in North American history (1984:298). Jennings said it was the beginning of formal cooperation (1984:xv). Richter claimed it began a longlived dominance of the Five Nations in northeastern diplomacy (1992:136-137). Given the influence of Richter's work, the phrase "Forging of the Covenant Chain" has now become an accepted portion of the historical literature (Breen and Hall, eds. 2017:151-152). Nonetheless, scholarly views of the Covenant Chain, its origins, and importance have followed a curious course over the last several decades. Hunt did not discuss it, while Trelease downplayed the significance of these treaties (Hunt 1940; Trelease 1960:249-250). It was Francis Jennings who has brought this topic to the fore, first in 1968, more fully in 1984, and recapping it in 1985. To Jennings the Covenant Chain was a bicultural confederation and not to be confused with the League of the Five Nations or Haudenosaunee (1984:xviii). However, for Jennings the Covenant Chain was as much about debunking the so-called Iroquois empire as it was about the establishment of "a confederation between English colonies and Indian tribes . . . [that] came into existence in 1677 through two treaties negotiated at Albany, New York" (1984:xvxvii).

Although provocative, Jennings's arguments on the origins of the Covenant Chain suffer from three serious flaws. First, by basing his work on the surviving treaties, Jennings presents only part of the story. His conclusions on why the Five Nations might have chosen to participate are based entirely on European accounts. Haan also critiques the European basis for Jennings's conclusion (1987:41-43). Second, as Gunther Michelson observed, for an argument based on treaty documents, "Nowhere in the old records do we find a complete text which expressly refers to the Covenant Chain treaty, nor is the date of its initiation given anywhere" (1981:115). Finally, although Jennings's primary goal was to substitute a new synthesis, supported by documentary evidence, rather than concocting still another myth, it was also an opportunity to settle old scores with his favorite set of *bêtes noires*—Boston, Social Darwinism, Marxism, and Iroquois bragging (1984:22, 24).

In March 1678 Andros wrote a short account of his New York concerns from October 1674 to November 1677. Although it briefly mentions a meeting at the end of August, when an ambassador from Maryland was sent to treat with the Indians, the only results reported were assurances from the Indians of their faithfulness. No mention is made of treaties, covenant chains, or anything similar (NYCD 3:256).

6.57. There were more Christian Mohawks living near Montréal compared to Mohawks still living in their traditional homelands (JR 63:179). The title Corlaer was given to Andros in memory of Arent van Curler (Bradley 2006:179). Andros's policy toward the Indians (Richter 1992:140-141; Trelease 1960:249).

6.58. Wampum symbolized the words spoken and was used for purposes of diplomacy (Chapter Three, *Wampum—beads, strings, and belts*).

Use of the word *belt* to describe wampum apparently did not occur until the 1670s (Stolle 2016:19). Origins of *gaswenhda'*, or wampum belt (Note 3.99). Lack of Onondaga words for belt (Hanni Woodbury, personal communication 2/19/15). Woodbury also notes that the word *gaswenhda'* does not occur in the Gibson text describing the formation of the League (Note 1.17; Woodbury, personal communication, 2/19/15). Wampum used as "the word" (Druke 1985:88).

Van den Bogaert's 1634 observations of Mohawk chains (Gehring and Starna 2013:4). "arms linked together" (Jennings, ed. 1985:116). Woodbury noted *chain* in Onondaga is *gaehsa* and disputed Jennings's translation of arms and links as associated with chain (personal communication, 2/19/15). "to polish the chain and keep it bright" (Jennings, ed. 1985:22, 117).

Van Curler visited the Mohawk in 1643 and in 1659 (Bradley 2006:89, 136). Boxes of wampum offered by the Mohawk (NYCD 13:112). "friendship and brotherhood . . .we joined together with an iron chain" (NYCD 13:112). Porcelain beads and collars were offered as presents (JR 43:107). "Here is an iron chain . . . which shall bind the Dutch, the French, and the Agnieronnons [Mohawk] together" (JR 43:107-109).

"Covenant of peace which we shall bind with a chain" (Browne, ed. 1887:5:255; Leder, ed. 1956:43). The Onondaga speaker is identified as Carachkondie (also spelled Carachkontie and Carachkonie), who appears again as speaker in 1679 (Leder, ed. 1956:60), He is recorded as speaker up until 1709-1710 (Leder, ed. 1956:212; NYCD 5:219). Webb apparently misidentifies him as Daniel Garakontié (1984:298). "stay this

hatchet . . . here is a Chain to bind it, and to prevent the arms of the warriors", "Third Word. Third Belt of Wampum in form of a Chain" (NYCD 9:188). Hanni Woodbury notes that the Onondaga word for devil, *haehsi?se.?*, literally means he drags a chain (personal communication, 2/19/15).

"partook of both the legal and the theological" (Webb 1984:299). "A Covenant . . . is more than a promise and less than an oath" (Murray, ed. 1971:I:585-586). Background on Robert Livingston and *The Livingston Indian Records* 1666-1723 (Leder, ed. 1956:5-14). In 1677 and 1679, the phrases covenant, covenant chain, and "Covenant of Peace and Friendship", can be found in the Maryland Archives, the Livingston papers, and in an extract in the *Wraxall's Abridgement of the New York Indian Records*, 1678-1751 (Browne, ed. 1887:5:254-260; Leder, ed. 1956:43-47, 51; McIlwain, ed. 1915:8,9). The Covenant Chain becomes the common phrase and is used widely for diplomacy by English colonials with the Five Nations in the late 1680s (Leder, ed. 1956:144, 150-156; McIlwain, ed. 1915:18,19,25).

6.59. "as servants and souldjers" (Trelease 1960:238).
6.60. Kruer argues that Bacon's Rebellion can more accurately be called the Susquehannock–Virginia War (2017). Andros and the shift from Dutch to English values (Bradley 2006:179-180). Webb discusses Andros's background and character in detail (1984:303-403, Appendix 148). Wentworth Greenhalgh and his trip (NYCD 3:250-252).

6.61. Founding of a new colony along the Atlantic coast south of Virginia (Gallay 2002:43-45). The French noted that the Hudson's Bay Company had established an outpost and exchanged presents with the Iroquois (JR 57:21-23). The English built a house at the mouth of the Albany River on James Bay (Kenyon 1986:80; Rich, ed. 1958:39).

6.62. All showed up to meet La Salle except the Seneca (Eccles 1964:104; JR 60:135, 319). La Salle's new deputy was Henri de Tonty (Osler 1982). The western forts established by La Salle included St. Joseph at the mouth of the Miami River in southwest Michigan in 1679, Crèvecoeur on the Illinois River at Pimitéoui or Peoria in January 1680, Prudhomme on the Mississippi near Memphis in March 1682, and St. Louis on the Illinois River in December 1682 (Figure 6.16; Eccles 1964:106-108; Ehrhardt 2005:94; Heidenreich 1987:Plate 38). Fort St. Louis was built adjacent to the large multiethnic town of Kaskaskia at Starved Rock (the Zimmerman site), and was the first successful colonial and military settlement in Illinois country (Ehrhardt 2005:7, 94).

6.63. Heidenreich reported the establishment of the northwestern forts—Témiscamingue in 1679, Kaministique in 1678, and Népigon in 1679 (1987:Plate 38). Another French explorer in the west was Daniel Greysolon Dulhut, also known as Du Luth (Zoltvany 1982d). In 1679 Dulhut visited a large Siouan village (Izahtys or Kathio) and claimed the surrounding lands at the headwaters of the Mississippi River for the king of France (Eccles 1964:108; Walthall and Emerson, eds. 1992:215). The Siouan village near the headwaters of the Mississippi River that had some archaeological evidence of the French was southwest of Mille Lacs Lake in Minnesota (Walthall and Emerson, eds. 1992:217-219, 232-234). French presence in missions, settlements, and forts surrounded the English colonies to the north and west ca. 1682 (Figure 6.16).

6.64. "one voice, one mind, one heart" (Fenton 1998:30).

6.65. Jennings associated the Iroquois with Andros's schemes (1984). Webb viewed the Covenant Chain and Iroquois empowerment as an instrument of their ambition (Webb 1984:299). Aquila continued this view, suggesting that the Covenant Chain was a step towards the reality of an Iroquois dream of empire (1997:8). Haan's alternate observations concerning the interpretation of the events of 1677 (1987:45-46). "the beginnings of a Confederacy political structure distinct from the Grand Council" (Richter 1992:21-24). Richter describes the "chain" as a system of alliances that allowed the Five Nations to broker agreements, first among themselves, then with Europeans, and finally with other Native people (1992:136-141).

6.66. "greatest Lord" (Browne, ed. 1887:5:258). "Five Nations would now . . ." (Webb 1984:294). Webb contends that the Covenant Chain was Daniel Garakontié's political genius, as backed by Edmund Andros's acumen and influence (1984:252-253, 298-299, 358-359, 413). Although Andros may have been as skilled a diplomatic strategist as Webb suggests, Daniel Garakontié would not have had so much authority, either in Onondaga nor in the League that Webb attributes to him (Note 6.92).

6.67. "the Covenant that is betwixt . . ." (Browne, ed. 1887:5:257; Leder, ed. 1956:45-46).

6.68. "if the Sinneques [Upper Four Nations] now or

..." (Browne, ed. 1887:5:258; Leder, ed. 1956:46-47).

Building on Webb's views, Michael Oberg argues that

Andros and the Iroquois used the Covenant Chain
to formalize a new frontier that, in turn, "secured
a century of peace for New York ... and laid the
basis for renewed efforts to attain the metropolitan
imperatives of dominion and civility" (1999:215-216, 221). As will be seen, that is not quite how it worked
out for the Mohawk nor the Five Nations as a whole.

6.69. The town of Onondaga moved from Indian Hill to

Weston (Note 9.6). 6.70. Richter argued that there was a new assertiveness

abroad and a renewal of the Beaver Wars (1992:134, 144, 162).

6.71. For general background on the Illinois (Ehrhardt 2005:85-86). "hatchets, and kettles, guns and other articles that they need" (JR 54:167). "raided to the south and west for slaves" (JR 59:127). For a more

complete account of Marquette's journal when he was among the Illinois (JR 59:109-137). "war with 7 or 8 different nations" (JR 60:159). Ehrhardt reviews these events as well as those that followed (2005:88-95).

6.72. Warren refers to the genocidal war by the Iroquois against the Illinois (2014:115, 132). Trelease says the Iroquois invasion of Illinois country occurred in 1677 (1960:248). Eccles puts together the "long-pending storm", "burst into the quiet valley of the Illinois", and the recapture of an area that the Iroquois had once held and were determined to regain (1964:114). The Iroquois practice of the "mourning-war" had gone horribly wrong (Richter 1992:148; Warren 2014: 112, 128, 130).

The degree of confusion inherent in these interpretations of an Iroquois invasion quickly becomes apparent when the details are examined. One issue is when did it occur? Trelease mentions 1677 and afterwards, as though these were established facts (1960:248). While he cites a number of sources, virtually all are secondary and several have interpretative problems of their own (Trelease 1960:248 Note 46). An example of one of Trelease's secondary references is Hunt's statement that "the Iroquois made war on the Illinois as early as 1677 (1940:149). On the other hand, Richter reports the Iroquois campaign against the Illinois in 1682 based on an account by Lamberville (1992:148). Issues with Lamberville's account will be discussed (Note 6.76). The few points on which most historical sources agree is that a major attack on Illinois country occurred in September 1680, and that intermittent hostilities continued until 1701 (Ehrhardt 2005:94-95; Warren 2014:111).

There is also the question of who attacked the Illinois and with how many warriors? Despite constant references to the Iroquois, there is no evidence that all Five Nations were involved. Hunt says that the Iroquois made war on the Illinois "as soon as the Susquehannah menace was removed" (1940:149). However, as discussed previously, as of 1662 the Susquehannock War was an Onondaga, not a Five Nations' matter (Note 4.84). Eccles's claim of "an Iroquois army six to seven hundred strong" appears to be an inflated version of La Salle's estimate, which has been reported variably from 500 to 582 warriors (Anderson, ed. 1901:193; Eccles 1964:114; Hunt 1940:150; NYCD 9:147; Warren 2014:252 Note 1). If the September 1680 attack was primarily a Western Door issue, from a Five Nations' point of view that would involve the Seneca, who could easily have fielded that many warriors themselves. Brandão estimates that in 1681 the Seneca alone had as many as 1,500 warriors (1997:163, Table C.4).

Finally, there is the question of why did they attack? Eccles's claims of there being a "long-pending storm" between the Illinois and the Five Nations, and Iroquois claims of Illinois territory are likely taken from the memoirs of the French intendant Jacques Duchesneau (Lamontagne 2015b; NYCD 9:160-166). In his memoir on the western Indians, Duchesneau had asserted long-standing hostilities based on earlier involvement of the Iroquois in the wars of the Illinois (NYCD 9:162). Hunt, in accord with other accounts, says that there was no evidence of the Iroquois being responsible for conquering or dispersing the Illinois 20 years earlier as claimed by Duchesneau (1940:146-148: NYCD 9:162). He also reports that La Salle and Marquette, among the Illinois in 1673, did not mention the Iroquois in the southern wars of the Illinois (Note 6.71; Hunt 1940:146-148; JR 59:109-137). Interestingly, according to Hunt the effects of the invasion on the Illinois in 1680 were apparently overreported by La Salle (1940:151).

- 6.73. Jacques Duchesneau de la Doussinière et d'Ambault was intendant of New France from 1675 to 1682 and challenged Frontenac's authority. Frontenac had been acting as intendant and governor since Talon left in 1672 (Lamontagne 2015b). Duchesneau's letter and memoirs (NYCD 9:149-158, 159-166). "resolved to make war" on the Illinois (NYCD 9:163). Duchesneau's explanation of Iroquois aggression was that the Iroquois and the English insisted on controlling the western fur trade (NYCD 9:163).
- 6.74. La Salle as a driven man with grandiose dreams (Bruseth and Turner 2005:16-19). Warren's discussion of La Salle's party and their experiences provides several good insights into the complexities of intertribal relations, and how difficult it was for the participants to understand exactly what was happening around them (2014:107-109, 252 Notes 1, 2). Observations by La Salle, Henri de Tonty, and others available in French and in English translation (La Salle 1901 [1679-1681]:193; Margry, ed. 1876-1886; Richter 1992: 394).
- 6.75. Explorer and trader Nicolas Perrot (Perrault 1982). Comments on "Continuation of the war between the Algonkins and the Irroquois" (Blair, ed. 1911:I:146-147).
- 6.76. Lamberville's mention of a "great war-fire against the Illinois" (JR 62:91). "Last year they ["The Iroquois"] Brought 700 Illinois . . ." (JR 62:71). Richter recounts Lamberville's version, although suggests that Lamberville may have inflated the numbers (1992:144-145). Lamberville's obsessive descriptions of killing and eating captives make little sense. As Brandão and others have pointed out, the primary reason for bringing captives back was to adopt them or use them for labor (Note 4.90). The archaeological evidence from the Indian Hill site also casts doubt on Lamberville's claims. A substantial faunal assemblage was recovered by Sohrweide during his excavations in the 1990s. It was analyzed by zoo-archaeologist Marie-Lorraine Pipes. Of the thousands of bones studied, no human remains were present (Marie-Lorraire Pipes, Indian Hill Site Faunal Report, 2011, NYSM, Albany, NY).

6.77. There are several references in documents from Frontenac, Duchesneau, and Lamberville to the killing of a captured Seneca chief, the blaming of the Illinois, and the Seneca calling for war (JR 62:93, 95; NYCD 9:163-64, 176-77, 190). The Seneca could easily have fielded 500 warriors (Note 6.72; Brandão 1997:163, Table C.4).

"private quarrel with the Illinois" (JR 62:93; NYCD 9:190). Frontenac's envoy was Delamarque, sent to Onondaga in the winter of 1681-1682 to tell the Five Nations to come to Fort Frontenac in the spring (Eccles 1964:115; NYCD 9:183). "at the first running of the sap" (NYCD 9:190). One reason the meeting of the Iroquois with Frontenac did not occur was that Frontenac had troubles of his own, including the dispatches he received from the Court containing his dismissal and recall to France (Eccles 1964:115).

- 6.78. Tegannisoren was "deputed by the Whole House ... without having first heard Onnontio's word" (NYCD 9:183-185). Eccles dismissed Tegannisoren's words as a rather obvious gambit (1964:117).
- 6.79. Joseph-Antoine Le Fèbvre de La Barre was governor-general of New France, 1682-1685 (La Roque de Roquebrune 1966). "It is easy to judge the inclination . . . they will attack us alone." (JR 62:157). No hope left of preserving the colony (JR 62:163).
- 6.80. "maques [Mohawk] & other Indians Westward as far as y<sup>e</sup> Sinnekes" (Leder, ed. 1956:42). Specific mention of the Onondaga in the peace negotiations, signed in October 1677, and in "A Proclamation in Maryland of a Peace with the Indians Recd from My Lord Baltemore on the 15th of April 1678" (Browne, ed. 1887:5:269-270; Leder, ed. 1956:42-47).
- 6.81. Propositions made by Col. William Kendall (Leder, ed. 1956:48-49). "Country to Speake wt us" (Leder, ed. 1956:51). "keep the Inviolable chayn clear and clene," (Leder, ed. 1956:50). "Take your Journey to our Castles, the way being good" (Leder, ed. 1956:51-52). "have done Verry Wickedly" (Leder, ed. 1956:60). The Conference ended finally on November 1, 1679 with presents and thanks given (Leder, ed. 1956:61).
- 6.82. "a Troope of Indians consisting of three hundred Sinniquos", "built at the ffalls of Susquehannoh River and that they may have the liberty of trade with the English" (Browne, ed. 1898:17:3-4). In delivering this message, the translator Jacob Young added that from what he knew about the journey of the Indians, the Upper Four Nations feared the Mohawks would block trade with Albany (Browne, ed. 1898:17:3-5).
- 6.83. Jasper Danckaerts's *Journal of a voyage to New York and a tour in several of the American colonies in 1679-80* was written after he explored New Netherland and founded a colony at the head of Chesapeake Bay (James and Jameson, eds. 1913). "A large party of them [Indians] had gone south . . ."(James and Jameson, eds. 1913:181-182). English of "merinlande", "come back with slaves loaded with clothes and booty" (JR 62:67). 694

- 6.84. Richter describes Onondaga raiding to the south as a consequence of Covenant Chain arrangements (1992:145). There is no apparent connection.
- 6.85. In 1679 fever and small pox were reported in Onondaga (Leder, ed. 1956:51-52). Mentioned also by Jasper Danckaerts in his journal (James and Jameson, eds. 1913:181). Lamberville noted an outbreak of the bloody flux that had happened in 1681 (JR 62:97).
- 6.86. Greenhalgh reported 350 warriors in 1677 (NYCD 3:252). In 1681 Jacob Young asked about warriors and was told that Anondagoes have 300 men (Browne, ed. 1898:17:5). The estimate by Brandão for 1677 based on 360 warriors was 4,900-6,560 (1997:154-157, Tables C.3, C.5). The evidence for a stable if not growing population stands in contrast to studies that have emphasized population loss such as "they could barely hold their own", "demographic carnage" (Richter 1992:148, 149).
- 6.87. "They bring prisoners from all parts and thereby increase their numbers" (JR 62:71). "they profit every year by . . ." (JR 62:153; NYCD 9:193). Lamberville refers to *Gannaouen* (Piscataway-Conoy) captives as well as slaves from merinland (JR 62:59,67). He also reports on "600 men, women and children of the Nation of the Chat, near Virginia" (JR 62:71). In 1682 Col. Coursey is again instructed to go to New York to protect the friendly Indians on both sides of the Chesapeake from their northern enemies (Note 7.121; Browne, ed. 1898:17:98). Lamberville mentions Illinois and Oumiamis (Miami), a nation of the Bay des Puants (Green Bay) captives in 1681-1682 (JR 62:71-73, 79, 91). He also reports 50 captives (Shawnee?) from a distance of 200 leagues, or 1,111 km, in 1676 (JR 60:185).
- 6.88. Miami captive given to a Christian woman to adopt (JR 62:73). If the captive has killed an Onondaga, they were tortured and killed (JR 62:71-73, 79).
- 6.89. "chattel slavery" (Starna and Watkins 1991). Based on Orlando Patterson, Starna and Watkins provide the most thorough discussion of the ways in which the word slave has been used and misused, in terms of northern Iroquoians (Patterson 1982; Starna and Watkins 1991). Their definition is used herein. Patterson defines slavery as the permanent, violent domination of "natally" alienated and generally dishonored persons, adding that it is one of the most extreme forms of the relations of domination, approaching the limits of total power from the viewpoint of the master, and total powerlessness from the viewpoint of the slave (1982:13). In this sense power is expressed in three ways—1) as a social force, involving the threat or use of violence in the control of one person as exercised by another, 2) as a psychological factor, persuading persons to change the manner in which they perceive their interests and their circumstances, and 3) as a cultural facet of authority, transforming force into right and obedience into duty

(Patterson 1982:1; Starna and Watkins 1991:37). Further discussion of this issue (Brandão 1997:36-39; Fox 2009).

"Give not that which is holy unto the dogs . . . lest they . . . turn and rend you" (Matt. 7:6 ESV). Dogs as messengers (JR 23:171-173). Discussion of multiple roles played by dogs (Kerber 1997; Wright 2004:307). Father Nicolas observed that among the Ottawa their own dogs were considered spirits, whereas French dogs, although clever, were only stupid beasts (Gagnon, ed. 2011:317). Hamell's definition of dog (personal communication, 10/8/09). "the life of a captive is valued no more than that of a dog" (JR 49:107).

Le Jeune's 1656-1657 description of the three classes of Iroquois captives was essentially volunteers, slaves, and dogs (JR 43:293-295). The ongoing confusion over these words is evident in the use of two Onondaga words by Beaulieu and Viau—dehotkonhen, which they interpret as to designate an adopted captive, and *haguetchenen*, which they interpret as a domestic animal, slave, or servant (2001:76-78). Hanni Woodbury does not recognize the former and noted that the latter is the word that is now used for pets. For "my pet" it is *agetshé* nv, with the v sounding as a nasal e. For "my dog" you have to say agetshé:nv jiha, literally my pet dog. Woodbury says that my pet or my dog used to mean slave (personal communication 4/10/12). For example, the Tuscaroran words for pet and domestic animal are translated as slave in the Tuscarora-English dictionary, even when applying it to dogs (Rudes, ed. 1999). Starna and Watkins also discuss the linguistic relationship between the Iroquoian words for slave and dog based on comments by the anthropologist and linguist Floyd G. Lounsbury (1991:48-49).

- 6.90. Fifty captives brought back to Onondaga to work in their fields (JR 60:185). Captives as two-thirds of a town's population (Brandão 1997:43, 317 Note 98).
- 6.91. Francophile and Anglophile (Richter 1992:133). "an old Captain, who still retained his rank among the leading men of the Town" (JR 62:61-65). "the chief men of the town, who were assembled in a body . . . [with] their Spokesman" (JR 62:101). A woman interpreter (JR 62:79, 85).
- 6.92. Daniel Garakontié was buried after the French fashion (JR 61:29). Lamberville wrote a long letter eulogizing him for his piety, zeal, and virtue (JR 61:23-33).

Carachkondie was named as speaker for the Onondaga delegation (Browne, ed. 1887:5:254; Leder, ed. 1956:43). Contrary to Webb's claim, there is no evidence that Garakontié was even present at the July 1677 conference in Albany (1984:252, 298). "make now an absolute Covenant of peace which we shall bind with a chain" (Browne, ed. 1887:5:255; Leder, ed. 1956:44). Hanni Woodbury interprets his name as *ga-Rahgw-udye-***?**, which is pronounced *garahgudye***?** or sun/moon moving along (personal communication, 1/11/12). Little is known about his earlier life, but in 1681 Lamberville described Carachkondie as a captain, and one of the worst drunkards in town. Then, Lamberville recounts Carachkondie's public declaration that in resuscitating his brother's name, Garakontié, he would embrace Christianity and renounce drinking (JR 62:59-61). After this date the French records usually refer to him as Garakontié, while the English records continue to refer to him as Carachkondie (Leder, ed. 1956:87, 90; NYCD 3:453).

6.93. Otreouti named as Otrewachte is from interpreter and translator Arnout Cornelissen Viele, whose own name is spelled in various other ways (DAB 19:267; Leder, ed. 1956:60). Viele was first noted as an interpreter by Robert Livingston at the meeting with the Five Nations held by William Kendall in Albany in October 1679. He became proficient and well-known after that (DAB 19:267; Leder, ed. 1956:55). Otreouti was one of the four Onondaga sachems who met with Kendall in Albany in November 1679 (Leder, ed. 1956:60-61). Tegannisoren spoke to Frontenac on behalf of the Five Nations in 1682 (Note 6.78; NYCD 9:183-184). Lamberville told Frontenac that Tegannisoren "loved the French" (JR 62:153). "two hands, one for peace and another for war" (NYCD 9:185).

6.94. Lamberville succeeded Millet in Onondaga (JR 56:27). Thwaites described Lamberville as follows—Jean de Lamberville was a prominent figure in the complicated relations between the Indians, French and English and more than once averted hostilities ... He was greatly esteemed by the Iroquois, and thoroughly understood their character; he was therefore often employed by the French authorities in negotiations" (JR 56:301).

"The Iroquois is not guided by reason . . . and fear of arms" (JR 57:127). Some of Lamberville's less than credible reports reflect this prejudice (Note 6.76).

6.95. Claude Dablon was father superior of the missions of New France in 1671–1680 and in 1686–1693 (Charette 2015). "only crosses, rebuffs, contumelies, threats and almost everywhere a horrible image of death" (JR 61:159). The Onondaga reply to de Carheil, and Lamberville's comments (JR 62:99-103). "It is true that your Cabin has been pillaged, that your Holy house . . . has been profaned" (JR 62:101). Brandy, "which you Europeans have brought to us", "to practice patience" (JR 62:101). "Forget our offenses, as we forget the evil that has been done to us" (JR 62:103).
6.96. "a Comet makes its appearance . . ." (JR 62:107).

#### **Chapter Seven**

7.1. There is a 1666 reference to Iroquois in France, possibly from the Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie Chaumonot. Apparently, these Iroquois visitors, after being shown the royal houses and all the fine things of that great

city, admired none of it (Charlevoix 1923[1761]:II:109-110). In 1669 an Onondaga, who had been baptized in France, visited La Prairie near Montréal (JR 63:159).

7.2. Clark described the Indian Hill site (1849:II:254-257). In 1818 DeWitt Clinton donated the following to the New York Historical Society, as described by Clark— "gun barrels . . . something new is brought to light" (1818:7). Unfortunately, this collection does not appear to have survived. Thank you to Margaret Hofer, Curator of Decorative Arts at the New York Historical Society, for her assistance in attempting to track down this material.

The oldest surviving collection was made by Ledyard Lincklaen and was collected prior to 1864. It is now housed at the Lorenzo State Historic Park in Cazenovia, New York. Thank you to the curator Jackie De Vivito for the opportunity to examine this important collection in May 2009. Other significant collections in New York from Indian Hill include those made by William Hinsdale at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum in Ticonderoga, by Warren J. Haberle at the Seneca Nation Museum in Salamanca and OHA in Syracuse, by Robert Hill and others at the RFC in Rochester, by Stanley and Ruth Gifford, A. Gregory Sohrweide, and collections at the NYSM in Albany. James Tuck describes another un-named collection from this site (1971:179-186).

- 7.3. Sohrweide's map of the Indian Hill site (Figure 7.1). Lamberville's dating of the site (JR 62:55). Smallpox decimated the Onondaga in 1663 (JR 79:79, 83). The Shurtleff site, the probable location of Onondaga, ca. 1630-1640, is on an exposed hilltop (Bradley 1979:231).
- 7.4. Jesuits Julien Garnier and Pierre Millet in Onondaga (Campeau 2015; Pouliot 1982a). "The Onondagoes have butt..." (NYCD 3:250-252).
- 7.5. "On my arrival, I found . . ." (JR 62:55). "on their backs", "a single family will hire sometimes 80 or 100 people" (JR 62:55). Although Lamberville's letter was written in August 1682, he had returned to Onondaga the previous summer and wrote this letter to summarize what had occurred over the past year.
- 7.6. Both Tuck and Beauchamp interpreted Greenhalgh's large town as Indian Hill, but mistook the small village two miles away as Indian Castle (1971:178). The continuation of a two-village pattern (Tuck 1971:216-217). Beauchamp presented his sequence and chronology for seventeenth-century Onondaga sites in several of the *New York State Museum Bulletins* starting in 1897 using information from *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 1610–1791 (JR 51:293-294).
- 7.7. "town is nott fenced" (NYCD 3:250-252). Thank you to A. Gregory Sohrweide for sharing the results of his palisade studies at Indian Castle and Indian Hill as well as his unpublished excavation data and site maps.
- 7.8. Starna et al. emphasized insect infestation as well as the reasons cited by Lamberville to explain why a

town moved (1984).

7.9. "poles 12 or 13 feet high fastened together . . ." (Coyne, ed. 1903:23). The Seneca Boughton Hill site palisade had an organic shape following contour lines, as at Indian Hill. See the site plan made by Ephraim G. Squier (1849:Plate XIV). George Hamell argued that Galinée's description was probably of the present-day Marsh site rather than Boughton Hill (1980b:96).

The stockade of the Susquehannock fort, ca. 1676, at Clagett's Cove on the Potomac River serves as a contemporaneous contrast to the Indian Hill site. Whereas, the Indian Hill palisade retains a traditional form that shows no evidence of European influence, the Clagett's Cove fort has straight walls with projecting corner bastions (Curry 1999:17, 25-27; Stephenson et al. 1964:Figure 9, 79-81). Kent summarizes the historical events related to this site and its brief and unhappy occupation (1984:47-48).

As opposed to the palisade, small European-style buildings were likely present at Indian Hill. Not only had Onondaga people seen European construction elsewhere, they had Jesuits and their *donnés* and *engagées* living within their town, apparently constructing small buildings as were built in France (JR 54:111). As one Jesuit observed, their brother Pierre Maizierary, was adept in almost every trade and built little houses for them (JR 62:243).

- 7.10. Kurt Jordan has referred to these mid to late seventeenth-century structures as short longhouses, an accurate if not very elegant description (2003). Although the settlement data are far from comprehensive, the Indian Hill site fits the description of what Jordan has called a "nucleated Longhouse community" (2008:167, Table 6.2). For comparison, although the roughly 17 longhouses found at the Susquehannock Strickler site, ca. 1645-1665, varied somewhat in size, Kent estimated they averaged 60 feet in length (18.3 m) and 20 feet in width (6.1 m; 1984:360). At the subsequent Oscar Leibhart site, ca. 1665-1674, the contemporary Herrman map of 1670 depicts a stockade surrounding eight longhouses arranged in two rows. The single longhouse excavated there was 92 feet long (28 m) by 24 feet wide (7.3 m; Kent 1984:370-371).
- 7.11. A major function of local satellite communities may have been the incorporation of newly adopted groups, who retained their own political and social identity. Jordan prefers to call them colonies (2013:34). See his discussion of colonization as opposed to colonialism (Jordan 2013:32-33). Examples of satellite sites include Jackson-Everson, a Huron village among the Mohawk, and the Fox and Beal sites that appear to have housed Huron and Neutral people among the Seneca (Bradley 2006:158).
- 7.12. In 1672 Lamberville noted a poor woman who lived a quarter of a league from the town, and a year

later he visited elderly women in two fishing villages, nine leagues away and three to four leagues apart (JR 57:165, 58:217). By 1682 Lamberville claims to have gone even 10 to 20 leagues (40-80 km) to baptize a dying child (JR 62:67, 69).

- 7.13. Settlements at Tioga, Wyoming, and Shamokin (Pencak and Richter 2004:xiv, Map 2). At present there is little documentary or archaeological evidence for when these multiethnic communities were established. Jordan discusses them as extra-regional satellite communities and the evidence for their presence south of the Seneca homeland (2013:33, 2015).
- 7.14. Iroquois du Nord (Figure 7.3; Adams 1986; Konrad 1981). Background on these northern settlements (Richter 1992:121-124, Map 5). "fear of the enemy that obliged some of them to separate", "settle on the North Shore" (JR 51:257). Denonville's treachery (Eccles 1982a).

Adams provides a summary of Native settlement at Cataragui (1986). In addition to the area around Cataraqui, another important Onondaga location was La Galette, located at the head of the rapids near present-day Ogdensburg, New York (NYCD 9:112). During the period 1665 to 1775, Jordan misses the key difference among the western Iroquois du Nord communities that were primarily Seneca, the eastern Iroquois du Nord communities that were primarily Onondaga, Oneida and Cayuga, and the Christian Praying Towns adjacent to Montréal (2013:37-38, Figure 4). Between 1670 and 1701 these were crucial distinctions. Parmenter's attempt to create a Laurentian Iroquois by lumping the Iroquois du Nord communities together with the mission towns around Montréal does justice to neither (2010:143-144).

7.15. 1665 population estimate (JR 45:207). Greenhalgh's estimate (NYCD 3:250-252). Brandão discusses these historical population estimates (1997:Table C.4). In 1679 fever sickness and small pox were reported in Onondaga (Leder, ed. 1956:51-52). In 1682 Lamberville noted an outbreak of the bloody flux the year before (JR 62:97).

No mortuary data are available from the Indian Hill site. Due to the "Money Diggers," many of the burials had been looted before DeWitt Clinton visited the site in 1810. When he observed human bones scattered all over the ground, Clinton saw this as evidence that the town had been attacked and a massacre had taken place (1818:6).

7.16. Father Bruyas's reports on brandy in Oneida from "new Holland" (Albany) (JR 53: 241, 257). "veritable pot-house" from Le Moine in Onondaga (JR 47:189; Pouliot 1979c). Mistaken brandy for holy water (JR 29:153-155). "Brandy is a pernicious evil, which you Europeans have brought to us" (JR 62:101). Étienne de Carheil was assigned to the Cayuga (Donnelly 1982).

7.17. "a spirit distilled from various products of the

sugar cane", "commonly twice as strong as brandy" (Murray, ed. 1971:II:2379). For a summary on rum in the seventeenth century (Foss 2012:28-35). "Two vats of beer and an anchor of rum" (NYCD 13:460-461). Kendall's hospitality (Leder, ed. 1956:60). Lamberville mentions a great earthen jar containing brandy in Onondaga (JR 62:69).

7.18. In terms of the minimum number of identifiable units (MNU), this is the largest of the four faunal assemblages analyzed from Onondaga sites, ca. 1650-1696. The data come primarily from Sohrweide's excavated midden deposits with an overall sample size or total number of bone fragments (TNF = 3,706), almost twice as large as the minimum number of identifiable units (MNU = 2,036). Mammals were the most abundant class (59%), followed by birds (23%), fish (17%) and reptiles (1%). Among mammals, white-tailed deer (Odocoileus virginianus) were the most common (40%), followed by unidentified smallsized mammals (19%), dogs (Canis familiaris; 11%), unidentified medium-sized mammal (10%), black bears (*Ursus americanus*; 7%), and beavers (*Castor Canadensis*; 4%). For additional information see Table 9.2 for a comparison of vertebrate bone found at Indian Castle, Indian Hill, and Weston. For birds, passenger pigeons (Ectopistes migratorius) were 98% of the sample, with turkeys (*Meleagris gallopavo*), geese (*Anser sp.*), and ducks (*Anas sp.*) present. For fish, walleve pike (*Stizostedion vitreum*) were most common (49%), followed by catfish (Ictaluridae; 22%), and eels (Anguilla rostrata; 21%). The analyses were conducted by Marie-Lorraine Pipes (Indian Hill Site Faunal Report, 2011, NYSM, Albany, NY).

Wild or feral pigs reported by Nicolas (Gagnon 2011:244). Hanni Woodbury notes that *couiscouis* is the Onondaga word for pig (personal communication, 4/5/13). Pig bones from Indian Hill include an incisor and two foot elements. A pig anklebone, showing signs of butchering, was recently recovered from the base of a post mold at the contemporaneous Seneca Dann site (Morton 2010:12). George Hamell also reports that pig tusks have been recovered from the Dann and Boughton Hill sites (personal communication, 3/4/13).

7.19. "the Iroquois nations, especially . . ." (NYCD 9:80). Richter also suggests that the Five Nations had exhausted the supply of beaver in their territory (1992:144). The Indian Hill faunal assemblage included beaver (4%) and elk (2%). A more interesting question raised by this assemblage is the decrease in the percentage of large-sized mammals (50%) as compared with Indian Castle (65%), along with the corresponding increase in small-sized mammals found at Indian Hill (20%) compared with Indian Castle (7%). It may be that these shifts reflect limitations on traditional hunting during the Susquehannock War. This issue will be revisited in Chapter Nine.

- 7.20. Beaver or Bever Trade (Trelease 1960:255). The term Indian Trade was used by settlers of Charles Towne in Carolina in 1670 (Stoner and South 2007:63). In 1684 James Duke of York said that he wished to preserve in particular the Indian Trade to benefit the colonists and traders of New York (NYCD 3:349; Trelease 1960:256). Lapham discusses the importance of deerskins as a trade commodity (2005).
- 7.21. For sources on the Carolina Indian slave trade (Gallay 2002; Silverman 2016:56-91). The 1673 order for English-made hatchets rather than Biscay ones (Rich, ed. 1942:61, 89). Purchasing locally produced goods also occurred with kettles and firearms (Rich, ed. 1942:88, 108, 123).
- 7.22. Round-headed iron mouth harps appear to be a distinctive English product. Two examples were recovered from the Squakheag Fort Hill site in New Hampshire, ca. 1663-1664 (Thomas 1979:Plate 9h-i). These may be the mouth harps listed in John Pynchon's trading ledgers in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1652-1663 (Thomas 1979:Table 3). Similar examples were found at Fort Albany, Ontario (Kenyon 1986:Plate 97).
- 7.23. Maryland–Virginia tobacco fleet (Miller 2008:85, 2013).
- 7.24. "duffells, Strouds, Blanketts and other Indian goods of value", "Knives, Looking Glasses, Painting ..." (Trelease 1960:223). The settlers of Charleston in Carolina brought 240 lbs. of glass beads (Stoner and South 2007:63). "200 lbs of glasse beads" (Rich, ed. 1942:108).
- 7.25. The Year of Catastrophe, 1672, was when the French attacked the Dutch Republic (Mak 2000:150-152). Trade for furs, then deerskins in the mid-Atlantic region (Lapham 2005:6-9, 143-144). "the Mart of all the Indians for att least 500 miles" (Gunter 2014:18; Merrill 1989:40). Trade good lists (Lapham 2005:7-8).
- 7.26. Of the 20 axes from Indian Hill, two show evidence of repair or resharpening, and two are the blade portion only. Ax sizes were three large, five medium, and 12 small, and the socket shapes determined were five oval, and six round. For comparable axes from the Hudson's Bay Company site at Fort Albany in Ontario (Kenyon 1986:Plate 18). The Hudson's Bay Company's decision to use ones patterned on the usual biscaytrade axes sent to the Indians was based on Radisson's recommendation (Rich, ed. 1942:58-59).

Two large iron hoes have broad flat blades (~15 cm across) and are stamped with a single cross-in-circle mark—one intact example has a square adze-like socket (Figure 7.5c; RFC 6167/177), and the second was probably discarded after the blade broke, even though an attempt was made to repair it with three iron pins.

7.27. Of the total knives found (n = 65), close to half have tapered tangs with four different collar styles—nine thin raised, 12 simple conical, six elaborate conical, 698

and two long cylindrical. Complete examples have a sheep's foot tip (~13 cm long). Twenty-four knives had a flat tang with two collar styles—14 thin raised and 10 simple conical. Complete examples have either a spear-shaped or sheep's foot tip (~12-14 cm long). Twelve had folding blades.

Of the awls (n = 12) one third are diamond-shaped in cross-section with four straight, seven offset, and one curved form. A majority of the iron awls are short and thin (7-8 cm long, 0.2 cm maximum thickness). Some straight examples are considerably more robust and either square in section and bi-pointed (~10 cm long, 0.4 cm thick), or diamond in section (~12 cm, 0.4 cm thick). A few large ones are offset and diamond in section (~14 cm, 0.4 cm thick).

7.28. A kettle patch and one of its attached rivets from Indian Hill were analyzed by Kathleen Ehrhardt using a Bruker XRF analyzer (x-ray fluorescence) to determine composition. Each component was a Cu-Zn-Pb-Fe alloy, or cartridge brass, but with slightly different compositions—70-72% copper, 24-26% zinc, 0.55-0.65% lead, and 0.19% iron (personal communication, 1/25/11). "numerous small brass patches, drilled for riveting" (Tuck 1971:184). Although only four examples are included in the available collections, such patches were common during this period. It is important not to confuse Native riveting with European work, especially kettle patches. European patches tend to be square or rectangular, while Native patches tend to be ovoid or irregular.

Kettle lugs found at Indian Hill (n = 27) occurred in four styles—14 omega, six square with folded corners, five square with clipped corners, and two of a single piece. Examples of square lugs, all with folded corners, come from a wide range of contemporaneous Frenchrelated sites—the Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, mission near St. Ignace, Michigan (n = 10), the ship *La Belle* (n  $\ge$  2), Île-aux-Oies, near Québec (n  $\ge$  1), and Gros Cap (n  $\ge$  2; Branstner 1991:Table 9; Bruseth, ed. 2014:84; Moussette 2009:Figure 74B; Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 10D).

- 7.29. For Dutch cloth seals (Baart 2005:80; Bradley 1980a, 2006:117, 166). For a brief introduction to English seals (Noël Hume 1974:269-271). An alnager's seal with the device of Charles II and dated 1676 was reported from the Seneca Rochester Junction site (RFC 1125/29). One of the seals from Indian Hill has an H on the obverse and is very similar to one from the Seneca Boughton Hill site, as illustrated by Beauchamp (1903:Plate 22 #232). Other examples of English seals from sites of this period include a Leeds's seal with a stamped Roman numeral from the Clarke and Lake site in Maine (Baker 1985:43, 46, Plate 22b). There is also a London seal from a trash dump in Northampton County, Virginia (Bottoms and Hansen, eds. 2006:Figure 3a).
- 7.30. Of all white-clay smoking pipes found (n = 136),

only 17 have marks. Marks on white-clay pipes from Indian Hill first reported by Bradley and DeAngelo were not accurate (Note 5.27; 1981). A corrected list of marked pipes is presented in Table 7.1. For Edward Bird, his associates, and their marks (Bradley 2006:118-119). WH pipe mark for Willem Hendricksz was also found at Indian Castle (Figure 5.19).

- 7.31. Terms used in Table 7.1 for marks, type of heel, and stem bore (Bradley and DeAngelo 1981). The best sources on Bird and his imitators (Den Braven 2003; De Roever 1987; Huey 2004). For Adriaan van der Cruis and his use of other makers (Den Braven 2003:15-17; Duco 2003:#418). Jacobus de Vriend may be Jonas Jansz de Vriendt, who was listed in Table 9.4 (Duco 2003:#297).
- 7.32. For information on the orb and goblet pipemarks (Figure 7.7; Duco 2003:#29, #243). It should be noted that the contemporaneous Susquehannock sites, Oscar Leibhart and Byrd Leibhart, have essentially the same set of marks—EB, orb, goblet and Tudor rose (Omwake 1959). This set of marks also characterizes the pipes from Anglo–Dutch domestic sites, ca. 1665-1700. These include EB, HG, orb, the PS monogram, and goblet marks described by Huey in a detailed review of Dutch and English smoking pipes, ca. 1664-1720 (2004:45-47). In addition to the pipe fragments with marked heels from Indian Hill, there are five unmarked examples—one flush heel with a stem bore diameter of 6/64, one medium heel with a stem bore of 6/64, and three with medium heels and a stem bore of 7/64.

Seven of the pipe-stem fragments, listed in the table below (n = 136), were stamped with a variety of fleurde-lis motifs including one Type b (7/64 stem bore diameter), four Type d (two 6/64 and two d 7/64), and two styles of rouletting described previously (Note 5.28).

<b>Pipe stems from Indian Hill</b> (n = 136)	
Quantity	Stem bore
1	5/64
14	6/64
44	7/64
42	8/64
32	9/64
3	10/64

The pipe-stem sample also includes one example with a single band of dots (7/64 stem bore diameter) and one with a single band of wedge-shaped marks (5/64 stem bore diameter), discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine. The pipe-stem collection from Indian Hill contains some surface-collected material.

Indian Hill is the first Onondaga site to produce iron pipe tongs or smoker's companions (~10 cm long; RFC 6084/216). There was a cast-bronze tobacco box with a hinged lid, which contained vermillion and a small number of glass beads (RFC 10286/216). This is probably what newspaper articles referred to as "the bronze [treasure] chest" excavated by Robert Hill (*The Post-Standard*, December 5, 1948, newspaper clipping files, OHA, Syracuse, NY).

- 7.33. Total number of beads at Indian Hill (n = 3,162). For the terms used in Table 7.2 (Bradley 2005a; Kidd and Kidd 1970).
- 7.34. Glass houses (Gawronski et al. 2010; Hulst 2013). Previous studies have suggested that the Two Roses closed, ca. 1671, and moved to Haarlem in 1676 (Baart 1988:69; Karklins 1974:66). At present, there is no archaeological confirmation that glass beads were made in Haarlem. Contemporary sources, such as a reference to Venice beads, have also confused the issue of where glass beads were produced, since it is unclear whether this refers to beads purchased in Venice or simply made in the *façon de Venise* (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:377-378). English glass-bead production in London during the first half of the seventeenth century has been documented archaeologically, however, it is unlikely that many of these beads reached North America (Karklins et al. 2015). One exception may be some of the beads found below the falls of the Rappahannock River in Virginia (Bushnell 1937:27-33, Plate 1).
- 7.35. Hudson's Bay Company order included "200 lbs of glasse beads" (Rich, ed. 1942:108). La Salle's 1684 list from Fort Frontenac included "200 lbs. large black beads" (NYCD 9:220). There is little archaeological information on glass-bead production in England or France during this period.
- 7.36. The locks and lock plates from Indian Hill (n = 15). Up-to-date lock plates include 10 Puype Type V and one Type VI, two older Type I-style locks, and three Puype Type VIII-A lock plates, typical of the new French style (examples in Figure 7.9).

<b>Examples of up-to-date Puype Type V lock plates</b> <b>from Indian Hill</b> (n = 10)		
Quantity	Туре	Catalog #
2	V-A-1	RFC 10159/216, 10299/216
4	V-B	RFC 10281/216 plus three in private collections
3	V-B-2	RFC 6030/216, one in a pri- vate collection, one pistol lock (Puype 1985:Figure 40)
1	V-C	RFC 10158/216

St. Étienne was as early as 1670 (Gladysz 2011:28-34, 46). For a summary on Samuel Oakes (Gooding 2003:40-43). The Hudson's Bay Company report for January 1682 includes Oakes-pattern round locks (Gooding 2003:40-43; Rich, ed. 1945:173). Gooding appears to accept Walter Kenyon's argument that

all the gun parts excavated at Fort Albany predate the destruction of the fort by the French in 1686, and therefore has served as the "Rosetta Stone" for understanding the development of English trade guns (Gooding 2003:43-44; Kenyon 1986). Unfortunately, the overall archaeological assemblage does not support this interpretation. Many items in Kenyon's assemblage, ca. 1690-1710, suggest that they came from the second English occupation that began in 1693 lasting into the 1720s (Rich, ed. 1958:I:301-447).

- 7.37. The sample from Indian Hill has five clusters of calibers (n = 70)— five small shot at .10 to .25 caliber, five large shot at .25 to .36 caliber, 14 balls at .50 to .52 caliber ball, 12 balls at .54 to .57 caliber, and 34 large balls at .58 to .63 caliber. There is evidence for two powder horns from Indian Hill. One is a finely made conical spout with three sets of incised lines and a perforated wooden plug still in place (3.8 cm long, 1.2 cm at wide end, 0.7 cm at the narrow end; RFC 10284/216). Beauchamp illustrates another example (Antiquities 10:#1237). Similar examples occur at the Seneca Dann site, one has a remnant of the horn still present (RFC 830/28). Powder horns are listed in French records as early as 1669 and in Hudson's Bay Company inventories from 1672 onwards (Back 2000:18; Rich, ed. 1942:26, 38).
- 7.38. "Steels, Sizers, Wire of any sort, Juiseharps [brass and iron mouth harps], Bells [sheet metal and cast], Thimbles, Indian Combs and Needles" (Trelease 1960:223). Items found at Indian Hill that are listed in the inventory include four brass mouth harps, six iron mouth harps, two sheet-metal bells, and two castmetal bells.

Other consumer goods found at Indian Hill found include two pewter spoons and a large pewter beaker with comparables from the Netherlands (Ruempol and van Dongan 1991:200 Inventory Numbers F 6070, 209, OM 371). European ceramics include one piece of red lead-glazed earthenware with a comparable one from the Netherlands (Ruempol and van Dongan 1991:180 Inventory Number F 5722). There were also 18 pieces of tin-glazed earthenware, or faience, six of gray cobalt-glazed gray German stoneware, and two of iron oxide-glazed German stoneware. Bottles include three types—one aqua medicinal, two case, and four globular. Comparably shaped wine bottles occur on English sites such as Fort Albany in Ontario (Kenyon 1986:Figure 30). They also occur on French-related sites such as the Marquette Mission, and the 15 bottles found on the La Belle (Bruseth, ed. 2014:81; Fitting 1976:Figure 25).

7.39. A small copper Charles II medal (1.6 cm in diameter) described by Gordon DeAngelo (personal communication, 1/4/1983). A more impressive Charles II silver medal from the Seneca Strickler site is described by Kent (1984:275-276, Figure 81). The obverse depicts a crowned bust facing right, and the 700

reverse bears the English coat of arms surmounted by a crown with the letters C and R on either side. More on the silver Indian medal engraved with "Ye King of Machotick" from the Camden site in Port Royal, Virginia (44-Ce-3; MacCord 1969:29, 31). McCary describes another comparable silver medal (2006).

7.40. At least three effigy figures from pewter pipes have been reported from Indian Hill—two anthropomorphic human figures and one monkey (Figures 7.10a, b, c). Beauchamp describes the former as a very fine human figure of iron [sic] and likely a toy, and the later as a rude but spirited figure of an ape (1903:27). Bradley describes the pewter pipes of this period in more detail (2006:170, Figure 5.33). The two pewter buckles (~2 cm in diameter) have a central bar and are embellished with 15 and 18 raised dots. Beauchamp illustrates an example, allegedly from the preceding Indian Castle site (1903:30, #226).

Three examples of an Albany-made belt ax from this period were recovered from the KeyCorp site (NYSM A-A87.05.126.10; Bobby Brustle, personal communication, 8/20/19; Fisher 2004:Figure 4). The iron ax from the Beal site (Figure 7.10d; RFC 6076/98). George Hamell suggested that HH may be the mark of Hendrick Hansen, one of several smiths sent out to Onondaga and Seneca communities before 1691 (personal communication, 12/2011). Hendrick Hansen, 1665-1724, was the son of Hans Hendricks, 1636-1694. Like his father, Hendrick was a blacksmith and one of Albany's principle fur traders (Bielinski 1999:Biography #4937).`

At least one ax with a similar maker's mark stamp on the blade was found at Fort Albany, Ontario (Kenyon 1986:Plate 19B). Another example of European technology is the brazed repair of a broken or cracked cock on a lock from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (Sheldon Fisher collection at Peebles Island, New York State Department of Parks and Recreation).

7.41. Louis XIV's chief minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Eccles 1964:6-21).

Slump in prices 1664 and the glut of beaver at the end of the century (Dechêne 1992:74-76). In 1698 merchants in New France had a 10-year supply in warehouses (Eccles 1964:204).

- 7.42. Merchandise suddenly rushing west (Dechêne 1992:91-92). Unfortunately, the current archaeological evidence from Point-à-Callière in Montréal falls into time periods that make it difficult to compare with specific Onondaga sites. These are Période 1 (pre-1642), Période 2.1 (1642 to 1674), Période 2.2 (1674 to 1688), Période 3.1 (1688), and Période 3.2 (1688 to 1765). Thank you to Brad Loewen for this information (personal communication, 11/19/14).
- 7.43. Montréal merchant control of the trade and the *coureurs de bois* (Dechêne 1992:92; Eccles 1964:94).Wealthy merchants Charles Le Moyne, Charles Aubert de La Chesnaye, and Jacques Le Ber (Lefebvre 2017;

Zoltvany 1982a,1982f). Western trading outposts that were missions—Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace, and St. Francis Xavier (Figure 7.11).

- 7.44. Montréal merchants and their Ottawa partners (Eccles 1964:103-105). La Salle's new network of outposts (Dupré 2015).
- 7.45. La Salle and the missionary, René de Bréhant de Galinée, in Seneca country (Coyne, ed. 1903:I; Maurault 1979). "knives, awls, needles, glass beads, and other things", "double-barreled pistol", "five or six pounds of large glass beads" (Coyne, ed. 1903:I:21- 27). "short and light fusees", "kettles of all sizes", "knives with their sheaths", "sword blades", "brandy goes off incomparably well" (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:377-378).
- 7.46. The larger percentage of flat-tanged knives from Indian Hill may be an indication of French origin. Knives from Indian Hill (n = 65) include 29 with a tapered tang, 24 with a flat tang, and 12 folding blades.
- 7.47. French guns as gifts in 1673, "powder and lead of all kinds, with gun flints" (NYCD 9:104, 107). "a great quantity of arms and powder is every year absorbed by the Indian Trade" (NYCD 9:117). The lock plate stamped DUPRE/LEJEUNE for Henry Dupré, the younger, is from Rochester Junction (RFC 6550/29), and was first identified by Jan Piet Puype (1985:66-67, Figure 67). It was also reported by Gladysz along with another Dupré-marked lock from Lake Manouane, Québec (2011:46). Gladysz presents a summary of arms production in St. Étienne and elsewhere in France for the last four decades of the seventeenth century (2011).
- 7.48. For varieties of imported French cloth and local production of garments (Dechêne 1992:78-80). Back provides a summary of the clothing used by *coureurs* des bois, including capots (2000). "cloths of red and blue . . . [with] lead clasps, bearing French marks upon them" (Clark 1849:II:259). Cloth seals from the Le Moyne-Le Ber site in Montréal (Beaulieu and Viau 2001:18; Mercier 2011:29). Five examples from Indian Hill of two-piece hemispherical buttons with a u-shaped metal-strip eye come in two sizes—two small (1.3 cm in diameter) and three medium (1.5 cm in diameter). One example was recovered at Île-aux-Oies (Moussette 2009:202, Figure 79B). Two examples were reported from Pit K at the Lasanen site, Michigan (Cleland, ed. 1971:26-27, Figure 20C). Although constructed from sheet brass, these buttons was often tinned.
- 7.49. Brass finger rings are common from Indian Hill and are present in almost every collection. Beauchamp listed 12 different styles, noting that hundreds had been taken from the site (1903:40, Plates 29, 30, 33). Of the rings currently documented from Indian Hill (n = 97), 76 religious motifs were listed—32 with IHS/cross, 20 with the L/heart motif, six with the crucifixion, five with an abstract or Markman style of the L/ heart motif, three with the *pietá*, three with an incised cross, three with an Ave Maria monogram, two with

the bust of Christ, and two with clasped hands. Four others have religious motifs not listed by Wood, three have Louis XIV motifs, eight have various settings for stones, and six are illegible (Wood 1974).

- 7.50. Among the rings recovered from the *La Belle* (n = 1,603), the cast motifs include 612 with IHS, 341 with the crucifixion, 115 with an Ave Maria monogram, and 107 with a Mary & cross (Bruseth 2014:43; Bruseth and Turner 2005:89-90). Mason provides a more detailed analysis and discussion (2003; 2009). At least six of the 12 religious motifs identified from the *La Belle* have been found at Indian Hill. Recent research by Caroline Mercier examines rings by production technology and provides information on likely sources and patterns of distribution (2011). She reports that rings with cut motifs (Variety T1.2.1) have been recovered from the LeMoyne–LeBer site in Montréal (Mercier 2011:29).
- 7.51. "the things which may help . . . " (JR 60:137-139). So-called Jesuit rings were not necessarily for devotional purposes (Mason 2010; Mason and Ehrhardt 2014). Cache of rings from Brewerton, New York (n = 35; Beauchamp 1903:38). Rings from a burial described by Beauchamp (*Antiquities* 8:#745-761).
- 7.52. Crucifixes reported (Beauchamp 1903:47 #195, #204, #211, #213). Similar Corpus Christi figures have been found on contemporary sites such as Seneca Boughton Hill (RFC 332/103) and at the Marquette Mission site mission in Michigan (Stone 1972:16-17, Figure 14A, 14B). Another example was recovered from the *La Belle* (Bruseth, ed. 2014:86).

Four medals are known from Indian Hill and the accompanying bone or ivory rosary beads (n = 37). One medal reported by Tuck showed a man holding a child on the obverse and a male bust on the reverse (1971:185). The second is a heart-shaped medal (2 cm high, 2 cm wide) with an attaching loop, as drawn and reported by Stanley Gifford (1957). This small medal probably came from the end of a rosary or *chapelet*. It has several symbolic references to Mary on the reverse including a crescent moon and three balls at the foot of the cross. The third example is oval in shape (2.8 cm high, 1.5 cm wide) with Christ or a saint facing left on the obverse and IHS with three nails below and infant Jesus above on the reverse (Lorenzo collection Lo1999.245.005). The fourth medal was found by Stanley Gifford and is known only from a photograph (~ 2.7 cm high, 2.3 cm wide, Figure 7.13d). The inscription on this oval medal is only partially legible. The obverse depicts Jesus with a crown of thorns and a large dotted halo facing right with text IESV. The reverse depicts Mary with a large dotted halo facing left with text  $R \cdot DRI$  [?]  $\cdot ORA \cdot PRO \cdot N$  [?]. This appears to be an earlier version of a similar medal found on several later seventeenth-century Frenchrelated sites in the Great Lakes including Rock Island, the Marquette Mission, and Lasanen (Cleland, ed.

1971:Figures 22D, 22F; Mason 1986:204, Plates 14.46, 14.47; Stone 1972:17:Figure 4C).

- 7.53. The medal showing Louis XIV was inscribed LVDOVICUS.XIIII.D.G. FR.ET.NAV. REX with his portrait on the obverse and NALF LANFAR &. CO. along with three fleur-de-lis beneath a crown on the reverse. It has been described as a "brass medal struck between two dies and about the size of a Spanish pistareen" (Beauchamp 1903:69; Clark 1849:II:225). There are three Louis XIV-related rings from Indian Hill, and two of them portray a king holding a scepter (Figure 7.14c) or a King Louis Motif I (Wood 1974). At least two similar examples are known from contemporary Seneca sites, one from Boughton Hill (RFC 72/103), the other from Rochester Junction (RFC 820/29). While these King Louis rings share the same motif, at least three slightly different dies were used. The third ring from Indian Hill depicts the Sun King motif (Figure 7.14d). A similar Sun King ring is known from the Boughton Hill site (RFC 6360/103), which appears to have been struck from a similar, but not identical, die. Muskets with brass Sun King medals (Bruseth, ed. 2014:76).
- 7.54. Small copper coins (n = 24) with 14 identifiable—9 liards, two double tournois, one silver douzain, and two examples of French feudal coinage-as described by Beauchamp (1903:49-50, #297, #303, #304, #396). Beauchamp also reports a cache of 44 similar coins found in a pewter mug on a contemporaneous Cayuga site (1903:49). Several similar coins have been reported from the Phases III and IV levels at L'Habitation de Champlain in Québec, including *liards* and double tournois from the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV (Niellon and Moussette 1985:140-142, #7-11, #13, Table 22). The silver douzain (Haberle 2116-2) has a crowned shield with three fleur-de-lis and a mint-mark K beneath on the obverse, and a quadrafoil with fleurde-lis terminals and an alternating H and crown motif on the reverse. Edge wear makes the date and lettering obscure. It is similar to examples from the St. Ignace Mission site (Skowronek and Houck 1990).

French feudal coinage is unusual, and includes one *liard* and one double *tournois* (Figures 7.14a, b; DeAngelo 1975). Each has an image of Charles II de Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, on the obverse, and LIARD DE FRANC or DOVBLE with three fleur-de-lis on the reverse. Research by DeAngelo indicates these coins were struck in Rethel, France, as part of an ownership dispute (1975). Rethel, a weaving town in the Ardennes, had been under the control of the Gonzaga family since 1581. Charles II was Duke of Mantua from 1637 to 1659. Hosbach's attempt to interpret these coins is best avoided (2004).

7.55. In addition to the cherub figure, or *putto*, found at Indian Hill (Figure 7.14e), one other example is known from the Seneca Dann site (RFC 11230/28). These pewter cherub figures do not appear to have been from 702 pewter pipes. Although their origin and function are unknown, they are emblematic of the Baroque tastes that defined French culture under Louis XIV.

- 7.56. Local craftsmen and goods made (Dechêne 1992:80-81).
- 7.57. New form of pipe (Daviau 2009; Tremblay 2007).
- 7.58. Paid in cash or goods, not bills of credit (Eccles 1964:110). Canadian traders in Albany (Trelease 1960:246-247). From Jasper Danckaerts's journal, "not only the Indians . . ." (James and Jameson, eds. 1913:226-227).
- 7.59. Illicit trade benefits (Eccles 1964:110-111).
- 7.60. Economic chaos and opportunity (Dechêne 1992:91-93).
- 7.61. In contrast to Onondaga sites, archaeologist Martha Sempowski has observed that the overall amount of shell on Seneca sites of this period decreases in comparison with previous sites (1989:88-89). It is not always possible to know the archaeological context from which shell objects came. A great deal of the shell from Indian Hill comes from surface collections, some dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. Other shell objects have come from midden excavations, and some, undoubtedly, came from burials. This makes it difficult to assess overall patterns in comparison with contemporaneous sites, since the quantities and kinds of shell objects used in mortuary and non-mortuary contexts are substantially different.
- 7.62. Based on surface-collected beads (n = 423), 49% were white (*Busycon*), 18% were purple (*Mercenaria*), 3% were black (*Busycon*), while 29% were mixed white and purple (*Mercenaria*). No evidence of wampum belts is known from Indian Hill. It is not clear whether the 21 long wampum beads found were made to that size deliberately, or were a production form not cut down to the traditional size. Other forms include 13 massive beads and a few tubular columella beads.
- 7.63. Very long tubular beads from Indian Hill include about 20 complete beads (10-12.5 cm long, 4-6 mm in diameter) and about 60 bead fragments. Several examples are also known from related fishing sites such as Brewerton (Antiquities 8:#756-758). "long cylindrical beads, slender, and of quite uniform character" (Beauchamp 1901:369-370, #131, #193, #194, #207). There are a significant number of small (0.3-0.5 cm in diameter) and very small (<0.3 cm in diameter) discoidal white-shell beads from Indian Hill (n = 601). Small discoidal beads have a long history of use in the mid-Atlantic. They are well represented on fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century sites such as Brown Johnson, Shannon, and Great Neck in Virginia (Gallivan 2003:239-240; Hammett 1987:173, Table 7.1; MacCord 1971:260-263; Painter 1980). There are also examples from the Wall and Sharp sites in North Carolina (Hammett and Sizemore 1989:130-131, Figure 6e). Small discoidal beads occur throughout

the sixteenth century and across the Contact horizon on sites such as Keyser Farm and Patawomeke, or Potomac Creek, in Virginia (Manson et al. 1944:398; Potter 2006:229; Schmitt 1965:Plate 2 lower right; Stewart 1992:67, Figure 46b). They also occur on the Accokeek Creek (Moyaone) and Nanjemoy Creek ossuaries in Maryland (Curry 1999:44; Stephenson et al. 1964:162-163). They continued to be used, often in large numbers, on early to mid seventeenth-century sites such as Herriott Farm, Trigg, and Mount Airy in Virginia (Buchanan 1986; Lapham 2005:120-121; Manson and MacCord 1941; McCary 1950). At that time they also occur on comparable sites in Maryland, such as on the Warehouse Point ossuaries (Curry 1999:47-50, Figures 44, 60). Small discoidal shell beads were referred to as Tutelo wampum into the twentieth century (Harrington 1909:90).

Small to very small beads may have been used primarily to embellish objects such as Virginian purses embroidered with *roanoke* collected prior to 1656. Only one of four has survived, now in the Tradescant collection (Figure 7.15; Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, United Kingdom). This object, identified by Christian Feest as a leather belt pouch, is embellished with rows of small to very small discoidal shell beads (MacGregor 1983:135-137, Plate III). Although identified as *Saxidomus aratus* or *graciles*, these discoidal beads were almost certainly made from *Busycon* whelk. Feest does not provide a bead count. A rough estimate is 1,550 beads per side of the pouch. With four embellished sides, this would be ~6,200 small discoidal beads. The early to mid-seventeenthcentury Mount Airy site located has produced ~20,000 comparable beads (McCary 1950). Some of these may be the archaeological residue of a similar pouch or other piece of regalia.

7.64. The distinction between pendants with one perforation and gorgets with two or more perforations seems to blur during this period. The pendants from Indian Hill (n = 15)—four circular, four tooth-like, three triangular or trapezoidal, one square, one footshaped, a perforated columella, and a perforated Busycon shell (7 cm long).

Four circular pendants from Indian Hill include one small plain example (RFC 10236/216), two with patterns of drilled dots (RFC 10233/216, NYSM 38844.1.15), and one finely made but heavy worn example with a finely incised and drilled motif (RFC 10024/216). Of four tooth-like pendants, two are in private collections (RFC 10259/216; Antiquities 10:#1249). Esarey refers to the pendants as Bird Head Beads (2013: 231). The three triangular-trapezoidal pendants are illustrated by Beauchamp (Antiquities 5:#1390; 1901, #32, #86). The single rectangular pendant is made of white Busycon (4 cm long, 1 cm wide; Sohrweide collection, SG #1870), and there are comparable examples from the Dann site (Beauchamp 1901:#166, #168). For the asymmetrical, foot-shaped pendant (4.2 cm high, 3.1 cm wide, 0.2 cm thick, Figure 7.16b; RFC 10235/216), there is a comparable shell example from Warehouse Point II-3 and a sheet-metal one from the Ferguson ossuary, both in Maryland (Curry 1999:34, 47-48, Figures 31, 41 #5). Finally, from Indian Hill there is the perforated columella pendant (RFC 10256/216) and a small complete *Busycon* shell perforated at the ventral end (7 cm long, Figure 7.16c; RFC 10019/216). The latter is a Mississippian cultural trait evident on figures of Classic Braden-style winged Birdmen depicted in both copper and marine shell (Brown 2007:Figure 4.1; Reilly 2007:Figure 3.3). This may be another trait that reflects mid-Atlantic influence.

The known marine-shell assemblage of pendants from the contemporaneous Susquehannock Oscar Leibhart site is significantly smaller than that from Indian Hill. Among the items recently auctioned from the Leibhart family collection (November 2016, Cordier Auctions, Harrisburg, PA) there were only four tooth-like pendants and one zoomorphic pendant. The rest included ~120 small white discoidal beads, three large flat circular beads with a single perforation, two *Marginella* beads, and a fragment of a small wampum belt four rows wide and roughly 24 rows long. No runtees, other pendant forms, or gorgets were present. Discussion with Barry Kent, who was not allowed access to this collection when he wrote Susquehanna's Indians, confirms that this is a more modest shell assemblage than expected (personal communication, 5/28/17).

7.65. The 20 shell crescents appear to come in graded sizes and five of them are purple Mercenaria. Of the six claws, five are purple Mercenaria. Beauchamp calls them "flattened or disk birds . . . in general outline somewhat like a plump duck," and mentions that they came into use about 1660 and are abundant on Indian Hill in Pompey (1901:361, #215). Beauchamp also notes that purple shells were commonly used (1901:362). Beauchamp describes 24 goose or loon figures, two of which are purple *Mercenaria*, as among the most common form in shell. The shapes suggest birds of slender form with long necks and heads. He added that hundreds of such figures have been found on more recent sites (Beauchamp 1901a:362-363). Other effigy forms include a beaver-like figure with a broad tail (Figure 7.16d; RFC 10234/216), an owl effigy from the related fishing site in Brewerton (RFC #11004/267), and four turtles also from Brewerton (Antiquities 8:#346-349). Two fragmentary birdman figures are known from Indian Hill—one is a headless figure (Lorenzo collection Lo1999.344), and the other is a detached head from another figure (Gifford collection). Complete birdman figures have been found at the contemporaneous Seneca Boughton Hill (RFC 355/103) and Rochester Junction sites (RFC 245/29

Wray and Graham 1966:31).

- 7.66. Runtees from Indian Hill (n = 10) conform with the size and stylistic trends proposed by Esarey (2013:208-211). Of the examples, three are small (<3 cm in diameter), two are medium (3-4 cm), and five are large (>3 cm). In terms of style for the nine discernable ones, four have crosses and dots, two have arc rosettes, two are clearly plain, and one has only dots. In a few cases, provenience is problematic. For example, Beauchamp describes and illustrates eight runtees from Pompey in the Bigelow collection (1901a:375). Two are also reported as probably from Indian Hill (*Antiquities* 2: #156, #158, #1116, #1117). Beauchamp reported they were found by Mr. Pratt of Oran and sold to Bigelow (1901a:375).
- 7.67. Marine-shell gorgets often have been used to trace internal and external relationships among Native people (Brain and Phillips 1996; Drooker 1997:294-302; Hally 2007; Hoffman 1997; Smith and Smith 1989).
- 7.68. In August 1685 an "order that no wampum, . . ." (Van Laer, ed. 1919:33:157).
- 7.69. Decline in gorget use (Smith 2017). Eastern Tennessee as homeland for McBee-style gorgets (Brain and Phillips 1996:80-82). The presumption is that these gorgets were made from *Busycon* species that originated in the Gulf of Mexico. Kozuch identifies the species as lightning whelks (Busycon sinistrum, Hollister), a sinistrally whorled species primarily found on the northwestern coast of Florida (1998; 2017). For McBee-style gorgets from eastern Fort Ancient sites (Davidson 2016:744; Drooker 1997:163-164 Figures 6-19a, 6-19b; Hoffman 1997). From The 28th Street site (Carpenter et al. 1949:Plate 9e). From the Grimsby site (Kenyon 1982:25, 33, 72, 224). "The Neutral nation . . . is the main gateway for the Southern tribes" (JR 33:63). Examples from the Seneca Steele site (RFC 6091/100, 6432/100) and Power House site (RFC 540/24, 1217/24, RFC 1218/24). Examples from the Hanson site in Wisconsin (Overstreet 1993: 158-160, Figures 19, 20; Rosebrough et al. 2012:64-67, Figure 38). McBee-style gorgets continue to occur on post-1670 sites in the Great Lakes, for example the Gros Cap cemetery near St. Ignace, Michigan (Nern and Cleland 1974:30-31, Figure 16E).

Seneca examples from the post-1650 period are known from the Marsh site (RFC 538/99), the Boughton Hill (RFC 2290/103), and the Dann site (RFC 1061/28, NYSM 21140, 35125, 35413; Beauchamp 1901:#162, #164, #164a). Onondaga examples include two small McBee-style gorgets from Indian Hill— (Figure 7.17d; RFC 10257/216) and a similar example illustrated by Beauchamp (1901:#163). There are comparable examples from the Seneca Dann site (NYSM 35414, RFC 6010/28). One larger form of McBee-style gorget from Indian Hill is circular cut from the outer whorl of a large *Busycon* or *Strombus* with two holes taper-drilled from the front side only 704 (~6 cm in diameter, ~0.3 cm thick, Figure 7.17e; RFC 10258/216). The pattern on Susquehannock sites appears to be different from Indian Hill in that marineshell objects such as gorgets occur less frequently after ca. 1650. Only one McBee-style gorget has been reported from the Strickler site, ca. 1645-1665 (Cadzow 1936:Plate 35c). None are known from either the Oscar Leibhart site, ca. 1665-1674, or its successor the Byrd Leibhart site, ca. 1676-1680 (Barry Kent personal communication, 5/28/17, 1984:174, 376-377).

7.70. Plain centrally perforated, disc-shaped shell pendants, usually 4-6 cm in diameter, are found in North Carolina at the Wall site (Hammett and Sizemore 1989:127, Figure 2a, c-e). They are also found in Virginia at the Leatherwood Creek, the Brown Johnson, and the Keyser Farm sites (Gallivan 1997:157-158; Hammett and Sizemore 1989:127, Figure 2b; MacCord 1971:Figure 10b; Manson et al. 1944:398). In Pennsylvania examples come from the Locust Grove site (Kent 1974:Figure 2). From Virginia there are centrally perforated, disc-shaped pendants with drilled dots from the Mount Airy site and the Warehouse point sites #2 and #3, and a gorget from the Patawomeke or Potomac Creek site (Curry 1999:Figure 4 #1, #2; McCary 1950; Potter 2004:230; Schmitt 1952, 1956:Plate 2B #1, #5; Stewart 1992:67). There is at least one similar gorget from the Seneca Dann site (NYSM 21141).

Three pendants from Indian Hill with drilleddot motifs include small (1.7 cm diameter, NYSM 38844.1.15), medium (3 cm diameter, RFC 10233/216, and large (~7cm diameter, RFC 10024/216) ones (Figures 7.17a-c). A comparable example with drilled dots and incised lines is from Boughton Hill (RFC 5005/103). A decrease in marine shell on Susquehannock sites is also evident in terms of drilleddot pendants and gorgets. One with a dotted design and scalloped edge is reported from the Strickler site, while none are currently known from either of the Leibhart sites (Cadzow 1936:82; Barry Kent, personal communication, 5/28/17).

- 7.71. Evidence for shell working at Indian Hill include two discs—a complete plain double-drilled one (RFC #10020/216), and a plain oval disc not drilled (RFC #10021/216). Five possible shell inlays include one trapezoidal shape not perforated (RFC 10027/216), one rectangular shape not perforated (RFC 10237/216), and three triangular ones in private collections. Sohrweide recovered some pieces of cut shell (*Busycon* and *Unio*) during his excavations, as well as two large unmodified oyster shells (*Crassostrea virginica*). The collections from the Seneca Dann site include a significant amount of partially worked marine and freshwater shell ( $n \ge 50$  pieces).
- 7.72. Large *Strombus* fragments have been recovered from the Seneca Dann site (NYSM M/21343, M/21618). Conch shell was imported from Curaçao (Gehring

and Schiltkamp 1987:138-139, 169, 218). Strombus gigas shell from the Susquehannock Strickler site (Cadzow) 1936: Figure A). For the stable-isotope values of the Onondaga samples (Lowery et al. 2014:Figure 15). Of the nine, the four samples from Indian Castle included a white Busycon discoidal bead, half of a white Busycon crescent, a massive bead, and a fragment of runtee (Figure 7.19). The first three clustered with values consistent with a New England–Delmarva–North Carolina origin. The runtee had values that reflected a Delaware–Chesapeake Bay origin. The origin of the fragment of a runtee from Indian Hill was likely a *Strombus* from the Gulf of Mexico. The remaining four objects from the Jamesville site are discussed later (Note 11.77). Obviously, these are preliminary results, but they suggest that with additional testing it will be possible to identify the sources of shell used during the seventeenth century more precisely.

- 7.73. Metal flat forms include triangular projectile points (n = 115, examples in Figure 7.20) with 63% unperforated and 37% perforated. There were at least 12 double-pointed weaving needles reported. Beauchamp makes special mention of them and illustrates five examples from Indian Hill. He notes that these are a survival of an early form in a later material, similar to the conical and triangular arrowheads of copper (1903:97, #161, 376-379). Several of these were found by Hinsdale who published on them separately (1927). Beauchamp also illustrates a copper knife from Indian Hill (*Antiquities* 8:#817).
- 7.74. Sheet-metal pendants at Indian Hill (n = 27) include 20 traditional disc-shaped (examples in Figure 7.20a), six crescent-shaped, and one square example. Simple o- or e-shaped tubes range in size (~2-5 cm length, <2 mm diameter). For a definition of spiral strip beads (Ehrhardt 2005:115). There are at least 15 examples from Indian Hill (2-5 cm long, 0.3-0.4 cm wide, made from strips 0.3-0.5 cm wide.)
- 7.75. Conical forms include 29 tinkling cones, at least five conical pipe-bowl liners, and 19 projectile points.

At least nine pieces of unused wire (5-50 cm long), six rings composed of one to seven loops (1.5-2 cm in diameter), and five wire bracelets. Beauchamp describes and illustrates three examples from Indian Hill—a "small bracelet of coiled copper wire . . . bent back and forth so as to form a broad surface" (1903:22, #307). There are also two made with a single length of heavy wire with neatly rounded ends (Beauchamp 1903:22 # 308, #382). Example with a triple loop of six strands (RFC #10226/216). Iron- and brasswire bracelets are frequently occurring forms at the Susquehannock Oscar Leibhart site, ca. 1665-1674. A minimum of seven brass and nine iron examples plus many fragments were included in the November 2016 auction of the Leibhart family collection (November 2016, Cordier Auctions, Harrisburg, PA).

7.76. "Many have been obtained [there], both perfect

and fragmentary" (Beauchamp 1903:32, #169). Seven double and three single spirals have been reported from Indian Hill. There is a dramatic decrease in the occurrence of these double spirals on contemporary Susquehannock sites. Compared to the 52 examples from the Strickler site, ca. 1645-1665, none are known from the later Oscar Leibhart site, ca. 1665-1674, and only one from the Byrd Leibhart site, ca. 1675-1680. Thank you to Lisa Anselmi for sharing her inventory of spirals (personal communication, 2/13/15).

- 7.77. Scrap brass from Lot 18 (n = 157) showed 61%reuse compared to Indian Hill (n = 462) with 78%. There are two assemblages of scrap brass from Indian Hill—Sohrweide's excavated assemblage (n = 278), which contained 79% utilized, 20% unutilized, and 1% melted pieces, and Bradley's surface collected assemblage (n = 184) that contained 77% utilized, 22%unutilized, and 1% melted pieces. A detailed breakout of Bradley's assemblage of utilized pieces (n = 141; NYSM A2017.55) reveals much about the ways in which this metal had been used and even suggests its likely intent. In one subset of 40 pieces, distinctly cut shapes included 16 rectangles, nine triangles, six trapezoids, five squares, two diamond-shapes, and two circles. Many of these probably were intended as preforms for tubes, conical points, or tinkling cones. A second subset of 36 pieces had cut-parallel sides or a right angle, and another 34 were cut on one side, while the remaining 31 pieces showed other signs of use, such as perforations or intentional folding.
- 7.78. A circular copper disc was reinforced with a riveted narrow band (7 cm in diameter; 0.5 cm wide, Figure 7.22b). Since rivet ends were usually planished or smoothed, it is difficult to determine whether a piece of tubing or wire was used. It is likely that for metalto-metal joints, tube rivets and pins were all used. Based on the Indian Hill sample, it is not clear whether the Onondaga used conical rivets. However, the boatshaped pipe from the Seneca Dann site demonstrates that a sophisticated use of large conical rivets was well within the capacity of Native craftsmen (Figure 7.23).
- 7.79. Unlike metal-to-metal joints, a large majority of metal-to-wood joints were made with brass-wire pins rather then rivets. For pipe furniture from Indian Hill, Beauchamp illustrated a perforated copper disc with a drilled hole for a pin (1903:31, #154). A comparable example in the Hinsdale collection is drilled for four pins. There are several comparable examples from Seneca sites, with some very sophisticated crescent-shaped pipes from Boughton Hill (RFC 2286/103) and from Rochester Junction (RFC 149/29). The x-shaped cut-out was recovered from a large midden on the east side of the Indian Hill site (Figure 7.22; Sohrweide collection). Four of the brass hinges documented are rectangular in shape (example in Figure 7.22d), and two have more complex geometric forms.
- 7.80. Fr. Louis Nicolas comments on several kinds of 705

stones suitable for making pipes and specifies two red ones, including one from the north shore of Lake Superior, where one can "obtain very cheaply . . . beautiful blood-red stone of a very fine and delicate grain" (Gagnon, ed. 2011:266).

7.81. The single pipestone bead from Indian Hill (RFC 10269/216). The square pendant was an early twentieth-century surface find by H. E. Ransier (Figure 7.24g), and is now in the collections at OHA. Both Dewey and Beauchamp mention small anthropomorphic face effigies that may have come from Indian Hill, however, their provenience cannot be verified. One is a catlinite, or pipestone, face effigy received on December 25, 1922 from Arthur C. Parker, the New York State archaeologist, and labeled "From a Historic Onondaga grave, Pompey Hill, Madison County [sic], N.Y." (Dewey collection, RMSC 11.152). The other is a small pipestone face effigy from a site in Pompey (Beauchamp 1897:#227). Tuck illustrates a small antler face effigy (1971:Plate 40 #1).

Pipestone occurs more frequently on Seneca sites than on Onondaga ones. In contrast to the single bead from Indian Hill, Wray and Graham reported 80 tubular pipestone beads from Boughton Hill, and only 3 red-slate pendants (1966:28). The Susquehannock were even further out of the pipestone loop than the Onondaga. Although the collections catalog at the William Penn Museum lists eight catlinite beads (Drawer D-100-9), that could not be verified. No pipestone was included in the Leibhart family collection (November 2016, Cordier Auctions, Harrisburg, PA). Kent reports only one poorly formed triangular pendant of catlinite from the Byrd Leibhart site, ca. 1676-1680 (1984:169).

- 7.82. Red-slate pendants (n = 11) include one discshaped, five trapezoidal, and three triangular ones with two other unique forms. One of the unique ones is chevron-shaped, rectangular in cross section, and finely incised on every surface (Figure 7.24d; NYSM A2017.55.25), and the other is square with a single perforation on one side (Antiquities 5: #1391). The single disc-shaped example is centrally perforated and incised with radiating lines (Figure 7.24e; NYSM A2017.55.26), which is similar to an example from the Atwell site reported by Beauchamp as a red-slate disk (Antiquities 9:#133). The Indian Hill assemblage also contains another complete, but unperforated, red-slate disc and a partially completed example. A similar redslate assemblage comes from Brewerton, the primary Onondaga fishing location, and includes a trapezoidal bead, a trapezoidal pendant, and a zoomorphic pendant, possibly a thunderbird (NYSM AR26349).
- 7.83. There are hints that triangular and trapezoidal forms may have originated with Oneota people in the west. Six pendants, nine pendant fragments, and 13 pendant preforms have been reported at the Gillett Grove site, ca. 1650-1700, in northwest Iowa (Fishel et 706

al. 2010:180, Figure 4g; Titcomb 2000:104, 189, Figure B.38). While these objects may suggest an Oneota origin for these forms, archaeologist Dale Henning asserts that is not the case. He points out that while many pipestone objects were made at Gillett Grove and other Okoboji phase sites, such as Harriman and Blood Run, they do not include tubular beads, v- and Y-shaped beads, and pendants with indented bases. Henning believes "these proper Eastern" forms are seldom, if ever, found west of the Mississippi River (personal communication, 12/13/11).

Another indication that trapezoidal stone pendants might have been an indigenous upper Great Lakes form is a blue feldspar example from the mid to late seventeenth-century Cooper Mound One site in the Mille Lacs region of Minnesota. This is one of several Midewakanton Dakota sites with evidence of French contact, but no marine shell (Birk and Johnson 1992:232, Figure 8.7J). A similar trapezoidal stone pendant is reported from the Marina site on Madeline Island, Wisconsin (Birk and Johnson 1992:232, Figure 8.7J).

- 7.84. Exchange routes (Henning 2003, 2007, 2012). "ample evidence of reworking" (Mason 1986:163-64, Table 14.3). New smaller forms were made (Mason 1986:Plate 14.8 #1-8, Table 14.3). Frustum-shaped beads found at the Hanson site (Overstreet 1993:169-172, Figure 27j-l; Rosebrough et al. 2014:61-64, Figure 36).
- 7.85. The examples of eastern pipestone forms reported by Fitting included a triangular pendant with an incurvate base, a partially drilled trapezoidal bead, and seven tubular beads (1976:179-181, Figures 18A, 18B). Susan Branstner identified additional evidence that pipestone was reprocessed into new forms at the Wyandot, which she called Tionontate Huron or Petun, site in St. Ignace, Michigan, and reports 140 catlinite beads and 53 catlinite fragments, along with 32 grinding platforms and 15 anvils, from her excavated assemblage (1991:233 Table 9). She provides a slightly different description in a subsequent report—five catlinite animal-effigy beads, 135 catlinite beads including a human effigy, and 53 catlinite fragments (1992:Table 7.3). Unfortunately, none are illustrated. A similar assemblage was found at the nearby Gros Cap cemetery (Nern and Cleland 1974:25-28, Figure 15). More on these assemblages and those from later sites, such as Lasanen (Chapters Nine and Eleven).

7.86. There is also one large trapezoidal bead blank (3.2 cm high, 2 cm wide at the base; Kathleen Ehrhardt personal communication, 9/15/14, 2005:99). Two small elbow-pipe bowl fragments have been reported (Grantham 1993:Figure 4n, o). For a historical summary on the Illiniwek site (Ehrhardt 2005:83). Pipestone also appears to have traveled farther south along the Mississippi and east into the Tennessee Valley, perhaps as part of calumet ceremonialism (Brown 2006; Rodning 2014).

7.87. "about two dozen rim sherds", "everted, notched lip types", "decorated with bands of opposed lines, often beneath a band of horizontal lines" (Tuck 1971:183). Based on collections available, Onondaga pottery fragments from Indian Hill (n = 65) include two rims with complete collars, 18 collar fragments, seven collarless rims (also called everted or wedge rims), and 38 plain fragments from the neck and body. Exotic examples (n = 18) include three rims, 13 cordmarked body fragments with grit-tempering, and two cord-marked body fragments with shell-tempering. Apparently, brass kettles had not replaced Nativemade pottery by the mid-seventeenth century as suggested previously (Bradley 2005:174).

It has been suggested that some, if not all, of these ceramics may have originated from the adjacent Late Woodland Indian Hill II site. Based on his mapping of both sites, Sohrweide believes the two sites are spatially distinct, and that the materials from Indian Hill II do not overlap with those from the historic Indian Hill site (Figure 7.1). Additionally, most of the ceramics and lithics recovered by Sohrweide came from excavated midden contexts, not surface recovery.

- 7.88. Pipes from Indian Hill (n = 76) include 47 elongated ring bowls, 16 effigy forms, six trumpet forms, six bulbous bowls, and one short barrel-shaped bowl.
- 7.89. "projectile points of native . . ." (Tuck 1971:183). "reveal almost no items of native manufacture except pipes" (Wolf 1982:4). Wolf does not identify a source for this observation. The measurable chert points from Indian Hill (n = 21; 3.27 cm average length, 1.89 cm average width) have an average length to width ratio of 1.73:1. As with the Native-made pottery, these chert points are from the historic site, not from the adjacent Late Woodland Indian Hill II site. Approximately 20 Native-made gunflints of chert and approximately 32 European gunflints were found. Other lithic tools include nine bifaces and three unifaces.

Two other aspects of the lithic assemblage from Indian Hill are unusual. One is that it contains less exotic material compared with the previous sites. Nearly all the flaked tools are made from the local Onondaga chert, although there are three examples of European flint that were reworked into traditional implement forms. The other is that several of these pieces are incomplete or poorly executed. It is almost as though someone was trying to work with an unfamiliar material or perhaps relearn the skill.

Jordan criticized this emphasis on tracking types of material that continued to be made across the "Columbian divide" as "indigenisms" (2008:10-13). While he is correct that the cultural survival concept has been used as an inaccurate and passive model for a dynamic process, the concept can be used in more creative ways.

7.90. "It is every way probable . . ." (Beauchamp 1905:196) "embroidered and decorated with different coloured porcupine quills", "elegant little bag" (Gagnon, ed. 2011:314, 338-339). "elegant little bag (Gagnon, ed. 2011:75, 271). Fine works made of tall rushes (Gagnon, ed. 2011:278). Porcupine quills used to make very fine works (Gagnon, ed. 2011:314). Nicolas illustrated a wooden cradleboard as well as a mortar and pestle (Figures 7.28a, b; Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XXI Figures 35, 37). For an Iroquois canoe (Figure 7.28c; Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XVIII Figure 24).

7.91. For previous discussions on replacement (Jordan 2008:9-11; Quimby 1966, Rogers 1990:106;). Bone harpoons from the Wyandot (Tionontate Huron) sites in St. Ignace, Michigan (n = 21; Branstner 1991:235, 1992: Table 7.1). Branstner also offers a thoughtful discussion on the dynamics of use, reuse, and replacement (1992:187-93).

"the contexts of social life" (Jordan 2008:13). Reconstructing technological processes (Ehrhardt 2004).

- 7.92. The cache of gun parts from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (n = 426) was reported in 1943 by Joseph Mayer (1943:32-34, Figure 15). Based on correspondence with Harry Schoff, Hamilton reported other caches of gun parts from Seneca sites, Marsh and Beal in particular. He also commented on the likely ability of the Seneca to repair their own weapons (Hamilton 1982:59-65). Barry Kent reports a comparable gunsmith's tool kit from the Susquehannock Byrd Leibhart site (1984:246-247). Kurt Jordan mentions the large assemblage of gun parts from the Dann site (n  $\geq$  3,200), but mistakenly suggested they indicated French smithing (2010:98).
- 7.93. The cache found by Larry Jensen at Indian Hill contained three battered axes, an ax blade, a large hoe blade, and two large pieces of kettle brass (>12 cm). Charles Wray reported finding several similar caches, especially of axes, on the Seneca Dann site (personal communication, 9/1980). Five Nations people were not the only ones to cache iron axes. Ron Mason reported a similar cache of five broken axes from Rock Island in Wisconsin (1986:53, Plate 6.1). At Indian Hill there was a sheet-iron point (5.8 cm long, 2.5 cm wide; Gifford collection #616), and a lanceolate spear point (~9 cm long, with a 7 cm tapered tang; Lorenzo collection).
- 7.94. Of eight known hatchet blades from Indian Hill, one is a completely finished blade (~11 cm long, Figure 7.29d, RFC 10073/216). Seven others range in size (9.5-13.5 cm long)—three less finished examples (RFC 10293/216, 10296/216, 10294/216), two with additional shaping and better-developed polls (Figure 7.29e, RFC 10072/216, 10295/216), and two roughed-out or discarded examples (RFC 10297/216, 10298/216). There are comparable examples from contemporaneous Seneca sites including two from Marsh (RFC 500/99, 6434/99), and four from the Dann site (RFC 11624/28, 11634/28, 11650/28, 13269/28.). For possible hafting methods (Meachum 2007).

7.95. Cut figures include a long-bodied, long-tailed animal in profile, cut from a piece of bar lead (5.2 cm long, ~2 cm high at the shoulder, Figure 7.30a; NYSM 15197.1; Antiquities 8:#1375; Beauchamp 1903:26). There is also a small anthropomorphic figure without arms (Figure 7.30c; NYSM 15199.2) and two centrally perforated discs (3.3 cm in diameter and 2.2 cm in diameter; RFC 11031/216 and NYSM A2017.55.28). Of two hourglass-shaped objects, one is horizontally oriented and appears to be cut from a piece of sheet (3.1 cm high, 3.2 cm wide; NYSM 15200.1). Beauchamp calls this a buckle, but it was more likely an inlay (Antiquities 8:#1374, Figure 7.41.e). The second is vertically oriented with four perforations, and appears to have been formed by hammering. Its purpose is not known (RFC 6146/216; Antiquities 8: Figure 7.41d).

Cast zoomorphic figures include one from Indian Hill described by Beauchamp as a flying squirrel (1903:26 #269, Antiquities 8:#826), There are three additional turtle-like forms (Figure 7.30b; NYSM 15197.2, 15197.3, and 15197.6). While these were cataloged with the lead and pewter objects from Indian Hill, there is no specific provenience information for them. Beauchamp mistakenly describes three objects as being made of iron including the flying squirrel figure and two other figures from smoking pipes-one anthropomorphic with a blanket roll, the other a monkey playing or smoking a pipe (1903:26-27). The cast-lead mouthpiece from a wood or stone smoking pipe (Figure 7.30d; NYSM A2017.55.6). Similar mouthpieces from lead- or pewter-embellished pipes are known from several Seneca sites including Boughton Hill (RFC 195/103) and from the Damaske-O'Brien-Ketchum site (RFC 30/147; Hamell 1978:Plate 8 Figure 7k; Wray and Graham 1966:46). Hamell also mentions other examples from the Dann and Rochester Junction sites (1978:11). Lead- or pewter-embellished pipes also occur on contemporaneous Mohawk sites such as Jackson-Everson (Bradley 2006:158).

Willoughby discusses other evidence for Native casting in the Northeast from the Indian Hill period (1935:243-44, Figure 131). In 1981 specimens from Kingston, Massachusetts, illustrated by Willoughby, were examined. One was half of a Middle Woodland slate gorget reused as a mold that he had shown only on the obverse side (1935:Figure 131c). The reverse side is incised MW, and shows thermal discoloration that indicates this gorget functioned as a mold. The two pewter buttons Willoughby illustrated appear to have been cast from this mold (1935:Figure 131d).

- 7.96. "crosses, medals and other similar articles are their most precious jewels" (JR 57:95).
- 7.97. "a handsome cross erected . . ." (JR 59:103). Father Allouez had a similar experience the year before, when he found that using the cross for protection could backfire. A band of young Miami warriors painted the cross on their shields, and when defeated by the Sioux, 708

a rumor quickly circulated that God loves not those who pray (JR 58:27, 67). A similar painted pole with a large dog suspended from the top (JR 60:219, 227).

- 7.98. "May-Tree" (JR 41:117). "assemblies and parleys relating to Peace" (JR 42:55). The ever-growing tree as a metaphor for life, status, and authority (Fenton 1998:49). Brass Baroque-style cross found by Stanley Gifford in the 1950s (Figure 7.20b; NYSM A2017.55.14).
- 7.99. "We were . . . sent by the Governor to take possession of those regions in his Majesty's name" (JR 49:257).
- 7.100. At least four examples of a comb style of a man on horseback are known from Seneca sites including Dann (Figure 7.31a; RFC 794/28), Boughton Hill (RFC 153/103, RFC 12001/103), and Kirkwood (RFC 156/27). These combs as a representation of Greenhalgh (Engelbrecht 2003:154; Wray 1963:#6; 1973:11). The man on horseback as a symbol of imperial authority (Sharpe 2010:427). Examples of imperial figures depicted include Henri IV of France and James I of England (Sharpe 2010:74-75, 81, Figure 18). This image also had theological underpinnings. In the book of *Revelation* when the first three seals are opened, three men on horseback ride forth, the first in white with a bow and crown, the second in red with a great sword, and the third in black with a balance (Rev. 6:1-5 ESV). In the secular realm, the man on horseback was the registered mark of the seventeenth-century pipemaker Adriaan van der Cruis from Gouda (Figure 7.31b; Duco 2003:#160). For a tobacco box from the Mullion Cove shipwreck dated 1667 (Figure 7.31c; McBride et al. 1975:Figure 3).
- 7.101. "with an equestrian image of a man . . ." (Beauchamp 1903:69; Clark 1849:II:258). "the tame moose of the French" (JR 50:81).
- 7.102. "five words . . . in behalf of the whole Nation," accompanied by five presents (JR 51:241-243). "to settle the differences that may have arisen among them", "make their complaints and receive the necessary satisfaction in mutual gifts" (JR 51:237). "maintain peace among themselves . . . their fine porcelain collars" (JR 58:185). Millet also noted that the collars represented the deceased who had returned to urge all to preserve what they had saved through their sacrifice (JR 58:187). Before embassies went out to settle differences and maintain peace between nations, porcelain collars were sent ahead. The ambassadors would then follow and use the collars to make known the object of the embassy (JR 58:187-189).
- 7.103. "of 5000 beads of wholly black porcelain" (JR 54:113-115). "fine large porcelain collar . . . meant to signify . . . there is only one God" (JR 53:269-271).
- 7.104. "more than sixty of the oldest and most influential", "each Captain presented, at the conclusion ..." (NYCD 9:103). Additional belts were presented from the Hurons to the Iroquois and from the Iroquois to Frontenac (NYCD 9:109-110).

- 7.105. In July 1672, Mahikanders [Mahican] and "North Indians" gave to the Mohawks five belts of wampum, several fathoms of wampum, and one belt of wampum (Leder, ed. 1956:35-36). In February 1675 "bands of wampum" of specified sizes 2 to 14 beads high were presented, thereafter most often referred to as "belts of wampum" (Leder, ed. 1956:37-38). A belt is defined as having seven or more rows of beads, and six rows or less is considered a strap or band (Glossary).
- 7.106. "They say we are sent for by a belt of Zewant to speak with his Honor the Governor Generall here" (Browne, ed. 5:255; Leder, ed. 1956:43). "ane band Therten deep" (Leder, ed. 1956:43).
- 7.107. "the Whole House, that is, the Five Iroquois Nations" (NYCD 9:183). "drew forth a Belt of Wampum, which he held . . . between his hands" (NYCD 9:184). "in the form of a Chain" (NYCD 9:187-188).
- 7.108. The name micmac is a misnomer (Tremblay 2007:25-26). The pipes were a marker of Canadian, as opposed to French, identity (Tremblay 2007:39-42). Des Groseilliers and Radisson as mere inhabitants (Warkentin, ed. 2012:58-59, 300). For the 12 sons of Charles Le Moyne (Dupré 1982; Lefebvre 2017).
- 7.109. Contemporaneous examples of French-made stone pipes have been reported from Nouvelle Ferme on Île-aux-Oies, including at least one partially completed stone pipe ca. 1673-1684 (CgEo-01-05F5-159), and at least three partially completed stone pipes, ca. 1665-1702, from Fort Chambly near Montréal (Daviau 2009:69-71, 98). For an example of a wooden pipe, see the sheet-iron liner from Rocher de la Chapelle on Île-aux-Oies, Phase III, ca. 1668-1700 (Moussette 2009:Figure 86C). Examples of brick pipes from Rocher de la Chapelle include a partially drilled brick from the Phase II site, ca. 1646-1655, and a stemless pipe in process from Phase III, ca. 1668-1700 (Moussette 2009:Figures 54, 85B). Daviau subdivides antecedent forms into pipes with vasiform bowls, trapezoidal bowls, and calumets, and discusses micmac-style pipes as a defined group that includes specific types such as LeBoeuf and Bonsecours (2009). Chapdelaine also discusses stemless pipes as an example of crosscultural transfer (1996).
- 7.110. Pipes from a Native perspective (Drooker 2004).
- 7.111. The three examples from Indian Hill were collected prior to 1864 (Figure 7.33). The first is a complete graygreen soapstone with a rectangular pipe bowl and no basal perforation (Lorenzo collection Lo1999.256). Comparable trapezoidal examples have been reported from Rocher de la Chapelle on Île-aux-Oies, Phase III, ca. 1668-1700 (CgEo-2-4X8-2), from Place-Royale, Québec, from the last quarter of the seventeenth century (CeEt-9-6F15-554), and from Doty's Island, Wisconsin, where a pipestone example with a basal perforation was reported (Daviau 2009:89-90, 100-101, 263, 278; Moussette 2009:206, Figure 85A; Niellon and

Moussette 1985:531, Figure 101 #9; West 1934:II:Plate 164 #10). This pipestone one is probably from the late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century component of this multicomponent site (Mason and Mason 1993).

The second example is a pipe-bowl fragment made of either a fine-grained dark-brown stone or very highly fired clay (Lorenzo collection Lo1999.248), and may have been broken and redrilled. A similar bowl has been reported from Le Vieux-La Prairie in Québec—a dark-gray bowl fragment of similar shape and size with two bands of incised opposed triangles, ca. 1670-1700 (BiFi-23-02B13-74; Côté 2001; Daviau 2009:67, 258). Another was found at the Nouvelle Ferme on Île-aux-Oies—a broken and discarded micmac-style pipe with an undecorated bowl, ca. 1673-1684 (CgEo-01-05G8-226; Daviau 2009:100, 277).

As for the third bulbous limestone pipe, no clearly comparable examples have been identified (Lorenzo collection Lo1999.250).

7.112. The first of three vasiform pipes (Figure 7.34) is a classic example made of black slate from Brewerton (Antiquities 8:#755). Beauchamp describes this pipe as coming from a burial, and noted that the contents indicated that it is from the historic period, from a grave in the cemetery at Brewerton. In this were two skeletons, two gun barrels, two or three corrodedbrass kettles, a black stone pipe, a string of small shell beads (6-8 in long), 11 long shell beads, 15 beads of porcelain [glass], and 35 Jesuit rings tied together with buckskin. This burial was found in 1900 while digging a new grave (*Antiquities* 8:#745-761). Note that the pipe in Figure 7.34a is not from this burial, but it is a nearly identical, but unprovenienced, example. Other Onondaga-related examples are from Cross Lake and the head of Otisco Lake (Antiquities 1:#211, 8:#525). Comparable Seneca examples include a grayslate vasiform pipe with an incised motif from the Warren site (RFC 650/89) and a fragmentary dark-gray soapstone vasiform pipe from the Dann site (RFC 2998/28).

The second vasiform pipe has a shape similar to the first, although the bowl protrudes where the stem is inserted. Made from a dark-gray marble, this pipe has the incised figure of a horned panther or turtle on the obverse side. Originally in the Waterbury collection (RFC 11072/220), it was found on Big Ridge, 3.2 km (2 mi) north of Brewerton along the path to La Famine, the well-known Onondaga fishing site on Lake Ontario (*Antiquities* 5:#707).

The third pipe might be called a collared vasiform pipe, as the constriction between the body of the bowl and the rim is more distinct than in typical vasiform pipes. It is made from brown soapstone, and was found along the Cicero-Brewerton town line (NYSM 31825; *Antiquities* 1:#1123). Beauchamp also illustrated it (1897:49 #112). Fr. Louis Nicolas depicted an Oneida smoking a similar style pipe (Gagnon, ed. 2012:117).

- 7.113. A mission was formed at La Prairie in 1667 near Montréal by seven Christianized Oneida (JR 63:151-153). By 1672 it had become an asylum for those who wished to be Christian (JR 63:169). By 1676 the mission had been relocated from La Prairie to the foot of the Lachine Rapids, and was called St. Xavier du Sault, or the Sault (JR 63:191-193). By 1679 newcomers were flocking in from all nations, especially the Mohawk (JR 61:239-241). In 1682 there was an estimated 120-150 families, perhaps 600 people in the town (Richter 1992:120). The town was fortified with a palisade, ca. 1687-1689 (Côté et al. 2005:77).
- 7.114. "possessed nothing individually, . . ." (JR 63:165). Although Father Chauchetière intended this to be a complimentary comparison with the early Christian church, his assessment of Iroquoian social values was accurate.
- 7.115. The process of population replacement is often described by the phrase "mourning wars," or the quest for captives to replenish lost population (Richter 1992:32-37, 300). Hostilities occurred for many reasons. While mourning wars is one useful explanation, that does not explain everything. Instead, like Beaver Wars, this phrase reduces complex processes to a misleading simplicity.
- 7.116. "maintain peace among themselves" (JR 58:185). Father Millet provided a thoughtful and detailed discussion of wampum belts, speeches, and the styles of speaking, songs, feasting, and the exchange of presents by which this "peace" was accomplished (JR 58:185-189). An example of renewed and shared ritual was described by Fr. Jean Pierron, who lived among the Mohawk. It was a Condolence ceremony for an assembly of Onondaga, some Oneida, and important Mohawk, which was performed after the Loups attacked a Mohawk town in 1670 (JR 53:213).
- 7.117. "debauchery and superstition" (JR 57:121). Garakontié refused to be treated (JR 56:41-43). "affairs should no longer be confided to Him" (JR 57:137-139).
- 7.118. The word trophies is used instead of booty, which is Radisson's term for the skins, foodstuffs, weapons, pipes, clothing, and other objects of interest that his raiding party brought home (Warkentin, ed. 2012:154-157). "the sun, of thunder, of The bear, of missipissi, of Michabous, and of Their dreams" (JR 57:287). The 1673 description by Father Allouez of the practices of upper Great Lakes Algonquians (JR 57:287; Pouliot 1979a).
- 7.119. Comparison of Iroquois languages (Lounsbury 1978:336).
- 7.120. For examples of tulip-bowl style Susquehannock pipes from the Strickler site and the Susquehannock Fort of 1676 (Cadzow 1936:77-78, Plate 30; Curry 1999:24-27, Figures 16, 18; Kent 1984:Figure 27). Numerous examples from the Oscar Leibhart site were included in the November 2016 auction (Figure 7.37b; Cordier Auctions, Harrisburg, PA). Some of

them have painted lines on the stems. Tulip-bowl pipes from Indian Hill include an undecorated bowl from Sohrweide's midden excavations (Figure 7.37d), and another with ring-bowl style incising (Figure 7.37a; RFC 10204/216). His excavation also produced two pipe fragments with painted lines. There are three comparable examples of tulip-bowl pipes from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (Figure 7.37c; RFC 2124/103, RFC 6461/103, 2109/103).

- 7.121. Examples of brass spirals occur from Indian Hill (n = 10) and from Indian Castle (n = 15; Table 5.6.). None have been reported from the Oscar Leibhart site, ca. 1665-1674 (Barry Kent personal communication, 5/28/17, 1984:371; ). One example is known from the Susquehannock Fort of 1675 (Curry 1999:25-27). One reported from the Byrd Leibhart site, ca. 1676-1680 (Kent 1984:372-79). Thank you to Lisa Anselmi for sharing her comprehensive data on Susquehannock spirals and other metalwork (personal communication, 2/13/15).
- 7.122. "the english of merinlande", "come back with slaves loaded with clothes and booty" (JR 62:67). Zekiah's Fort (Flick et al. 2012). Thank you to Julia King from St. Mary's College, Maryland, for sharing her thoughts and the results of her field work. "the Pascattoway, Mattawoman, Choptico and all the rest of our ffriend Indians on both sides of the Chesepeake" (Browne, ed. 1898:17:98).
- 7.123. Very small discoidal beads from Indian Hill (2-3 mm in diameter,  $n \ge 600$ ; RFC 10008, 10230-31/216; Note 7.63). At present no Chesapeake-style clay pipes have been reported from Indian Hill. It is possible that the grit-tempered pottery from Indian Hill is a variety of Townsend Corded Ware (Figure 7.39b; Potter 1993:Figure 41c).
- 7.124. "a Warrior clad as an American from the south" (JR 60:191). "A large party of them . . ." (James and Jameson, eds. 1913:181-82).
- 7.125. "militaristic slaving societies . . . " (Ethridge 2009:29).
- 7.126. Encounters with Siouan people and others on the North Carolina piedmont (Gunter 2014:17-18; Ward and Davis 2001:135, 137-39). For the Catawba coalescence after the mid-seventeenth century (Beck 2009:134-138). There is one other piece of provocative, if ambiguous, evidence of Five Nations' interactions with the interior Southeast from the Seneca Dann and Boughton Hill sites-the reported presence of burials of flathead individuals, those whose crania had been intentional flattened as children (Cornwell 1959; Jordan 1913:34; Sublett and Wray 1970). Some of these crania were trophies, while others appear to have come from captives or adoptees. In terms of ethnic identification, the Waxsaw group, one of several small proto-Catawba people who lived on the Carolina Piedmont, is a likely candidate. John Lawson describes this practice (1709:33-34). Thank you to David Dye,

Madeleine Gunter, Marvin T. Smith, and Gregory Waselkov for their comments on cranial deformation in the Southeast.

- 7.127. "as many as 12 nations speaking 3 different languages" (JR 61:149). Several archaeologists have also commented on this problem in specific locations such as the St. Ignace area, the Green Bay area, and the southern end of Lake Michigan (Branstner 1992; Emerson and Brown 1992:104-113; Mason 1986:15-20).
- 7.128. These excavated pottery sherds came from a midden context (Figures 7.39a, b; Sohrweide collection). Complete vessel from the Dann site (Figure 7.39c; NYSM 0938; Penelope Drooker, personal communication, 2/1/10). "flows from the lands of the East where dwell the people called Chaouanons [Shawnee]", "They are not at all warlike, and are the nations whom the Iroquois go so far to seek" (JR 59:145, 312). For a recent discussion on the Shawnee (Warren 2014:81; Warren and Noe 2009).
- 7.129. Fragments of a thin coarse-grit tempered ware (n=13). Ehrhardt has suggested that these may be Danner Cordmarked, an Illinois-related ceramic that has been found at both the Haas-Hagerman and Zimmerman sites (personal communication, 6/1/10). Danner wares, however, are traditionally shelltempered with an appliquéd strip below the rim, traits not seen on the Indian Hill pottery sherds (Brown 1975:50). Another possibility is Bell Type II, a classic Fox-related ware of the 1680s period that Naunapper describes as either grit- or shell-tempered (2010). Behm describes it as having a coarser paste and larger grit temper with lip decoration of alternating or opposing pinches giving a piecrust-like appearance. It is a minority type at the Bell site and probably associated with one of the non-Fox groups who lived with them, likely Potawatomi (2008:44-46). Another example of comparable ware was recovered from the Gros Cap site and is described as grit-tempered and finely corded, or brushed, rather than having a smooth surface, similar to other grit-tempered wares from the Mackinac area (Nern and Cleland 1974:46-47, Figure 23A).
- 7.130. Fr. Louis Nicolas visited the Indians of central New York, which he called "Virginia" (Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate 7 Figure 11, 338). "Virginian women", "bags ... decorative headbands, bracelets, garters, [and]. .. tump lines for carrying heavy loads" "embroided and decorated with different coloured porcupine quills", "To our Western and Northern Americans, . . . " (Gagnon, ed. 2011:338-339).

Another example of women from different traditions living in Onondaga was the preference for porcupine quills used in making "a hundred other decorations, on shoes and stockings, on breeches and on tobacco bags, on robes of wolf, beaver, or otter skin, on two or three kinds of belts, jerkins and on other things" (Gagnon ed. 2011:314). Although porcupine bone occurs occasionally in Onondaga faunal assemblages,

it is rare.

- 7.131. Five Nations' raids prior to the peace treaties or after 1687 (Brandão 1997:93). An Onondaga was taken prisoner along with several Seneca by the Nez Percé, or Nés percez, a French term for the Beaver people or Amikwa Ojibwa (Note 6.45; JR 53:245). There may have been problems with other groups as well. Father Allouez reported that 18 Iroquois, primarily Tsonnontouan (Seneca), raided a Fox town in March 1670, capturing 30 women. He also noted that shortly thereafter, the Fox were visited by four Miami, or one of the Nations of the Illinois, who brought "three Iroquois scalps and a half-smoked arm, to condole relatives" killed by the Iroquois (JR 54:227, 55:201).
- 7.132. The marine-shell objects found out west are comparable in form to those from Indian Hill. The shell from the Richardson site near St. Ignace was limited to a single runtee (Greenman 1958). The marine-shell assemblage from the Gros Cap site in Michigan was substantially larger and included a large McBee-style gorget (~16 cm diameter), two marine-mammal effigy runtees, and three other runtees (Nern and Cleland 1974: Figure 16). Note that the marine-mammal effigies from Gros Cap resemble those from Indian Castle, while the later varieties from the Weston site parallel those found at the Lasanen site in Michigan. Large marine-shell pendants with a central single perforation from the LaCrosse area in Wisconsin, often referred to as gorgets, have been reported from the O'Regan and Malone II sites on the upper Iowa River (Henning 2003:203-204, 208-209, Figures 1, 5). Henning also reports an assemblage of marine-shell beads from the Hogback site in the Root River drainage, Minnesota, and a runtee from the Blood Run site along the Big Sioux River in northwestern Iowa (2003:210, 2007:77-79, Figure 6.6).
- 7.133. Pax Ioway (Henning 2007:79, Figure 6.3).
- 7.134. Curation is defined as the conscious act of maintaining and preserving culturally important objects and practices (Glossary). Curation includes the ongoing use of specific ancestral forms and objects such as smoking pipes and gorgets, passed down over generations through direct transfer, perhaps as a means for accessing ancestral orenda. Curation may also include the intentional salvage, repair, and/or embellishment of ancestral objects as they wore out or broke. Such repairs and embellishment may have been meant to recharge or revitalize these objects. For evidence of this process with respect to Mississippian copper plates (Hamilton et al. 1974:126-137, 187; Leader 1988:126-128, 140)
- 7.135. "in that same sacke are inclosed . . ." (Warkentin, ed. 2012:142). Radisson continued his explanation noting that "in this sacke there is nothing, but tobacco, and roots to heal some wounds . . . some others keepe in it the boanes of their deceased friends; most of them wolves . . . or any other beasts" (Warkentin, 711

ed. 2012:142). Several years later among the Dakota, Radisson notes that each of the elders had a similar sack (Warkentin, ed. 2012:277). Lamberville's detailed, if belittling, account of an Onondaga healing ceremony in 1676 includes gourd rattles, masks, and pouches filled with charms (JR 60:187-193). "the main instrument of their religion", "pouches filled with charms" (Gagnon, ed. 2011:348).

- 7.136. Disc-shaped forms at Indian Hill (n = 23) likely served several purposes, especially unperforated discs. Singly perforated discs were possibly gaming pieces, counters, or used as inlays, while multi-perforated discs may have been sewn onto equipment or regalia. Pendants at Indian Hill (n = 23) were almost all made of copper or brass and included 21 of the traditional disc shape along with one crescent and one square. On the other hand, of the newer triangular and trapezoidal shapes, three out of four pendants were made from marine shell, and eight out of nine were made from red stone. The increased preference for these new forms is also evident in unperforated pieces that may have served as inlays on clubs, smoking pipes, or other composite objects. Examples include two triangular pieces of Mercenaria excavated by Sohrweide and one trapezoidal piece of *Busycon* whorl (RFC 10027/216). A white-clay pipe stem incised with opposed triangles was recovered from an undisturbed midden context (Figure 7.40d; A. Gregory Sohrweide, personal communication, 10/5/12). Beauchamp illustrates another similar, but deeply carved, example from Indian Hill (1898:#230).
- 7.137. Note Marquette's 1673 comment describing other Indian people wearing their hair long and tattooing their bodies in the Iroquois fashion (JR 59:149). "the Master of their lives" (JR 52:183). "either a bear, a wolf, a serpent, a fish, a bird, or some other kind of animal" (JR 53:225). Among the drawings made by Fr. Louis Nicolas was of a representative sent by the Mohawk town of Gannachiouaé, the one to which Nicolas was assigned in 1670 (Gagnon, ed. 2011:118-19, Plate XI Figure 15). In typical fashion, however, Nicolas wandered off west to explore the country encountering Oneida and probably Onondaga people along the way (Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate X). He appears to have become thoroughly lost in the woods and great meadows of "Virginia," actually central New York, and might not have survived had he not stumbled across the Techiroquen (Oneida) River where he found a large number of Native people. Brewerton was a major Onondaga fishing site at the outlet of Oneida Lake and where the Oneida River originates. From there, Nicolas appears to have returned to Québec. Consequently, his picture with its reference to the gentlemen of Gandaouaguehaga may refer to either the people he saw near the Oneida River or later on his way back to Québec (Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XI).

7.138. "smired with redde and black", "more like a divel 712

than anything else" (Warkentin, ed. 2012:124, 121). "his face being painted red" (JR 62:87). The controversial bronze chest found by Robert Hill at Indian Hill was actually a cast-bronze tobacco box containing vermillion (RFC 10286/216; Note 7.32).

The process by which vermillion (mercuric sulfide or cinnabar) was introduced as a replacement for the traditional forms of iron oxide or hematite is unclear. Radisson and Des Groseilliers may have played a key role in that, since they took red "painte" with them as part of their trading supplies in 1659-1660, and used it successfully (Warkentin, ed. 2012:266, 273). Other red and dark-blue pigments, including red lead (lead oxide) and smaltes (cobalt diarsenide), were included in Hudson's Bay Company inventories as early as 1674 (Rich, ed. 1942:108).

7.139. Beads from Indian Hill are about 70% red.

- 7.140. The revival of lithic bar celts mounted on war clubs during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Note 3.82). Part of a large bar celt from the Susquehannock Oscar Leibhart site was among the items sold (November 12-13, 2016, Cordier Auctions, Harrisburg, PA).
- 7.141. Examples of club-shaped stone pipes from the Middle Woodland period have been documented from the Bugai site (20-SA-15) in Saginaw County in southwestern Michigan and the Pig Point site in Maryland which has a <sup>14</sup>C calibrated date of  $640 \pm 30$ years AD (Darrin Lowery, personal communication, 3/20/15; Halsey and Brashler 2013: Figure 16; Luckenbach et al. 2015:Figure 29). West reports Wisconsin has probably produced more, of what he calls, handle pipes than any other state, although he illustrates examples from Illinois, Ohio, and Kentucky (1934:I:216-218, 1934:II:Plates 131, 139, 155, 156). Unfortunately, West provides little chronological or cultural context for these pipes. Two complete examples from central New York with complex iconography from the Seneca River just west of Cross Lake have been reported. Both were surface finds—one by Sturgis in 1895 (RFC 11018/235), and the other by Mark Clymer (Beardsley 2013). Several more fragmentary examples have been reported. Archaeologist John Halsey has studied these pipes and speculates that they led at least two separate lives—one as unadorned pipes from Jack's Reef, ca. 1,200-1,600 years ago, and another when they were highly decorated and likely gained a much more powerful role in society starting 1,000 years ago. He thinks it may be important that all the known forms of the undecorated pipes, as well as pick-shaped blades or bar celts used on war clubs, often appear on sites of the same time period (John Halsey, personal communication, 5/30/14).
- 7.142. Of pipes found on Onondaga-related fishing sites (n = 7), the first of three made of brown soapstone is from the Bigelow collection (Figure 7.43a; NYSM

15862) and was found along the Seneca River. The bowl is split and the handle is oriented with the broad side parallel with the stem. The second pipe (Figure 7.43b; NYSM 31800) was found on the Bigelow family farm in Baldwinsville. Here the handle is oriented with the broad side perpendicular to the stem. Beauchamp illustrated this pipe twice (*Antiquities* 1:#48; Beauchamp 1897:#114). The third example was from the north side of the Seneca River just west of Cross Lake. Beauchamp reported this pipe (Antiquities 6:#795). It is very similar in form to the one from near the Seneca River, although the bowl is complete and the handle is less vertical. Its current location is not known. William Fox has suggested that this distinctive brown soapstone may come from a source in the Frontenac Axis of the Canadian Shield (personal communication, 11/11/17).

- 7.143. Of the next three, one is an unfinished pipe from the Vincent site on the north side of the Oneida River in Brewerton (*Antiquities* 6:#503). A second is of dark stone, found at "the ditch" on Seneca River (*Antiquities* 1:#220). The third is a black soapstone pipe "drilled with European tools" from the Seneca River near Weedsport, New York (*Antiquities* 8:#455).
- 7.144. The last example is an unusual portrait pipe, now in the National Museum of the American Indian, Washington D.C., described and illustrated by Beauchamp (Figure 7.43c; *Antiquities* 1:#20; Beauchamp 1897:#97). West also mentions this pipe and includes a photograph (1934:II:Plate 41 #7). Beauchamp speculated this pipe might depict a French Jesuit (1897:46). Another portrait pipe, with the figure facing away from the smoker, was found in 1931 by E. Andrew in Washington County, Ohio. While its context is not known, John Hart describes this as an Intrusive Mound culture-handled pipe and suggests a date, ca. 1,350 years ago (1978:127-129).
- 7.145. Thank you to Scott Meachum for sharing his observation that these club-shaped pipes probably depict a weapon (personal communication, 5/29/14). John Halsey points out that these club-shaped pipes and the pick-shaped lithic blades used on war clubs often co-occur on sites of the same time period (personal communication, 5/30/14). The congruence between atlatls and calumets (Hall 1997:107-123, 1977).

Another analogous example is the ceramic ax-form smoking pipe described by Brain and Phillips with examples from the Dallas and Citico sites in Tennessee, and the Etowah site in Georgia (1996:172, 243-244, 381-382, Photo Ga-Brt-E64). Blanton describes these as Mississippian monolithic-ax pipes, ca. 1350-1600 (2015:91-92, Figure 4.27).

Several examples of wood-hafted celts have been reported including one from Chittenango Creek, New York (Beauchamp 1897:12, #1a, b). A similar example was reported from Massachusetts (Willoughby 1935:Figure 76). These appear to be the utilitarian examples of this ritualized form, the best known of which are the Mississippian monolithic axes from sites such as Spiro, Moundville, and Etowah (Brain and Phillips 1996:376-377; Dye 2004:202-203; Peterson 1965:87, #14, #15).

- 7.146. Similarity between war clubs and smoking pipes (George Hamell personal communication 8/4/11, 1979).
- 7.147. The two-curve pattern that was commonly used (Parker 1912:613, Figures 60a, 61). "life, living and light", "sleep or death" (Parker 1912:614). "who copy these old designs, have [sometimes] forgotten their meaning" (Parker 1912:612). Double-spirals were common embroidery motifs on clothing and other objects decades before Parker's observations. For an example, see the GÄ-YÄ-AH or work bag made by the Seneca Caroline Parker and collected by Lewis Henry Morgan (Figure 7.44c; Tooker 1994:Plate 11). There are many views on the origins of double-spiral motifs in Native cultures in the Northeast. Archaeologist James B. Richardson, III, has argued that these may have been derived for traditional Native motifs (1977). Marcel Moussette has proposed that these are part of a bipartite ideology shared by Indian and French people, one reinforced by Baroque influences (2003:35-38). The close interactions between the Susquehannock and the Onondaga, as well as Seneca, may have been a factor in the continued popularity of spiraling motifs.
- 7.148. Mississippian Afterglow as a reconstruction of the linkages between Mississippian traits, their persistence among probable descendant populations, and their appropriation by others is a daunting task (Appendix 1). However, George Langford provides us with a good starting place. He observed that, in a slightly different context, in many respects the mythology of the Southeast is parallel to the mythology of the northern Algonquian people and the Siouan speakers. Therefore, it may not be too great a leap to examine their beliefs and myths in the hope of shedding light on meaning (Langford 2007a:15). Achieved rather than inherited authority or status (Drooker 2004).
- 7.149. "to Him who reigns in the sky, and not to dreams" (JR 58:203). "some will go into the sky, whereas others will fall inside the earth" (Steckley, ed. 2004:69). "admitted into sky, those who were of one mind" (Steckley, ed. 2004:73). "inside the earth, where it burns" (Steckley, ed. 2004:77). "devil" as "the earth-dwelling spirit" (Steckley, ed. 2004:119-21).
- 7.150. Fr. Paul Ragueneau was a careful observer and reporter (Pouliot 1979d). "a kind of monstrous serpent . . . but generally in Lakes and Rivers" (JR 33:217). "the god of the waters, the Great Panther . . ." (Blair 1911 I:59-60). "two painted monsters which . . ." (JR 59:139-141). Chimeric animals, mythic creatures composed of several different animals, were known by several names. One is the Piasa, a chimeric creature

with a combination of human, feline, bird, and snake attributes (Notes 7.159, 11.139; Glossary; Brain and Phillips 1996:298). There is also the *missibizi, or Mishipizheu*, a chimeric creature with the body and head of a panther, or the antlers of an elk or horns of a bison, and tail of a rattlesnake (Glossary). As George Langford appropriately notes, these were transformational creatures, whose forms easily morphed from one into another (2007a:109-116).

- 7.151. "a chief juggler" (JR 58:279). "offering almost constantly sacrifices . . ." (JR 61:149). "passionately attached to these fooleries" (JR 61:151).
- 7.152. Susan Branstner noted a similar preference for traditional forms, such as bone tubes from the Marquette Mission site in St. Ignace, Michigan. She also noted the influence of motifs from the Eastern Prairie, such as zoomorphic effigies including thunderbird figures fashioned from European materials and an incised breath line on a carvedbone-animal effigy (1992:186-187). Teler and Boszhardt provide a summary on Oneota rock art and iconography from the Eastern Prairie (2003:215-227).
- 7.153. The ceramic-pipe sample from Indian Hill contains complete and fragmentary examples (n = 75). Very few zoomorphic pipes with raptorial birds are known from precontact and early historic-period Onondaga sites. The birds usually depicted are gulls, pigeons, or crows (Figures 7.45a, b; Chapter Three). The percentage of effigy clay pipes from the Seneca Boughton Hill site, as reported by Wray and Graham, is larger than at Indian Hill. However, avian forms especially eagles still outnumber other animals (1966:59).

The one comb known from Indian Hill depicts mirror-image herons (Figure 7.45c, RFC 10113/216). George Hamell suggests that these are bitterns, small members of the heron family who tend to freeze with their heads looking up when startled. According to the Creation story, it was the bittern looking up who first saw Sky Women falling and alerted the other animals (personal communication, 8/4/11).

- 7.154. Birdman pendant personifying a celestial being (Esarey 2013:230-231). Examples from Indian Hill include a headless specimen (Figure 7.45f) and a detached head excavated by Sohrweide. Examples from Seneca sites include one from Boughton Hill (RFC 355/103) and several from Rochester Junction (Esarey 2013:231; Wray 1964:Plate 4).
- 7.155. Birdman as Morning Star or Red Horn (Brown 2007). The belief that Mississippian birdman figures are independent of those in the Northeast (Marvin T. Smith, personal communication 5/15/15).
- 7.156. Seneca Dann site comb with incised thunderbird (Figure 7.45d; NYSM 21161). Thunderbirds incised on pipes from the Caborn–Wellborn Grundy Hill and Murphy sites, and on a disc-pipe fragment from near Portsmouth in Ohio (Drooker 2012; Munson and

Pollack 2012).

- 7.157. "seeing the Holy Spirit pictured . . ." (JR 5:221). For additional examples of the conflation of thunderbirds and small birds among the Montagnais (JR 5:52). For the Huron Petun thunderbird and his helpers (JR 10:195). Claude François (Frère Luc) was one of six Récollects who came to New France with the intendant Talon in 1670. Although he stayed in Québec for only 15 months, his paintings were a major influence on religious art, especially in his use of angels, clouds, and doves. (Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:55-95; Morisset 1966). "some people begin to acknowledge the True god, who reigns in the Sky" (JR 62:235).
- 7.158. The references here are to Seneca combs because so few Onondaga examples are known. It is unclear whether this is the result of the depredations of the "Money Diggers" or a reflection of an Onondaga material cultural preference.
- 7.159. Piasa and Mishipizheu (Glossary). Comb with a chimeric Piasa figure from the Seneca Iroquois du Nord site at Baby Point, Ontario (Figure 7.47c; Carruthers 2007:Figure 8; Williamson and Veilleux 2005:14, Figure 3). The sheet-metal Mishipizheu figure found in 2008 by divers in Lake Huron off St. Ignace, Michigan (Figure 7.47d), unfortunately was offered for sale without specific provenience on eBay in June 2008. Thank you to Michael Galban for sharing this information (personal communication, 4/12/16). This figure is markedly similar to the Mishipizheu, or Great Lynx, pictograph on Agawa Rock on Lake Superior (Figure 7.47e; Rajnovich 1994: Figure 6). Brain and Phillips observe, that in their opinion, Piasas are not an eastern subject and would be at home only in the Mississippi Valley and westwards (1996:298).
- 7.160. "the damned are depicted . . . with serpents and dragons tearing out their entrails" (JR 14:103). Dragons and Iroquoian people (Barbeau 1967, 1951:82-83). For the unnatural history of dragons (Lippincott 1981). "dragons and other monsters" (JR 50:289). Marcel Moussette takes the convergence of Native and French beliefs even further, arguing that a true compatibility existed between representations of the world by the French and by Amerindians (2003:29).
- 7.161. Example of a comb depicting man-beings with European hats or clothing (Figure 9.34c). One of the three Seneca combs from the Rochester Junction site of a hocker figure (Figure 749a; Hamell 1979). Another is panthers with incised hourglass and diamond shapes (Figure 7.49d). Thank you to George Hamell for permission to use illustrations of these combs from his work. Wolf Clan Door-Keeper comb (Hamell and Dean John 1987).
- 7.162. The cut-out and the comb with horizontal hourglass shapes (Figures 749c, d). It is not clear what influences are reflected in this motif. Hourglass figures, whether vertical or horizontal, do not appear to be important motifs in mid-continental rock art. Examples

of both vertically and horizontally oriented hourglass figures incised onto pipestone objects have been reported from the Ioway Gillett Grove site—one on a pipe and another on a pendant (Titcomb 2000:Figures B.31, B.37). For heart-lines as an Oneota tradition (Theler and Boszhardt 2003:Figure 11.2, Appendix B).

7.163. The pewter cut-out from Indian Hill (Figure 7.49c).
"reel- or star-shaped", or Morning star, motifs (George Hamell personal communication, 4/26/13, 1979:Figure 12). Thank you to George Hamell for sharing his thoughts on iconography.

### **Chapter Eight**

- 8.1. For James's suppression of Monmouth's revolt (Webb 1974:74-78, 1995:85, 99). For background on James Duke of York and his polarizing activities (Jardine 2008:36-38, 62-63).
- 8.2. Joseph-Antoine le Fèbvre de La Barre was governorgeneral of new France, 1682-1685 (La Roque de Roquebrune 2017). Thomas Dongan became the governor of New York, 1682-1688. Previously James Duke of York held the title himself (Webb 1979:Appendix 149). Indian policy was about to get a lot more aggressive (Trelease 1960: 254).
- 8.3. "the most warlike people in America, & are bulwark between us & the French & all other Indians" (NYCD 3:393).
- 8.4. "Every year the five Cantons . . ." (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:58). Richter makes a similar argument about the absence of external diplomacy (1992:169-170).
- 8.5. While each of the Five Nations considered themselves autonomous, the concept of sovereignty and its corollary, land ownership, was still novel (Chapter Two, *Tribes and nations;* Notes 2.48-2.49).
- 8.6. Treaty protocol and its origins (Druke 1985:92-96; Fenton 1985:27-30). "Tree of Peace and welfare" (NYCD 3:775). The French governor-general was always called Onnontio after the first governor, Charles Jacques Hault de Montmagny (Note 4.11; Hamelin 2016). The spelling of Onnontio is used for consistency throughout.
- 8.7. "The savage does not know what it is to obey" (Blair, ed. 1911:I:145).
- 8.8. "Their custom is, when . . . " (Coyne, ed. 1903:25).
- 8.9. In 1684 there was a brief campaign by the Senecas against the Illinois among the Shawnee, or Chaouennons (NYCD 9:260). In 1685 Onondaga were fighting with a "far [Farr] nation of Indians," likely Wyandot (Leder, ed. 1956:91). In 1686 there were ongoing skirmishes between the Onondaga and the Shawnee, this time referred to as cherermons, and between the Seneca and the Wyandot, or Tionontati, and also the Miami, referred to as Oumiamis, Ominicks or Twichtwicks (Leder, ed. 1956:112; NYCD 3:488-489). The Piscataway request for aid against

Iroquois raids in Maryland and in Virginia involving the Nottoway, Saponi, and other groups, and to bring home prisoners taken by the Iroquois (Leder, ed. 1956:82-83, 85, 125). Iroquois raids on the Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina Indians in the 1680s were used to acquire captives to adopt (Richter 1992:145).

- 8.10. "the strongest head and loudest voice among the Iroquois" (NYCD 9:257). Richter is correct that Otreouti was a strong and charismatic leader, but he was hardly a neutralist (1992:176). The name Otreouti translates as *he has gotten punished*, and may refer to his imprisonment in Montréal in 1657 (Hanni Woodbury, personal communication, 6/26/09). "the triumverate" (NYCD 9:256). Although it is not clear exactly who the other members of the coalition were, the likely candidates for the triumverate were all Onondaga and definitely included Otreouti and Carachkondie, known as the second Garakontié (Note 6.58; NYCD 9:226-227, 384-385). The third may have been Annogogari, also called Hanagoge (Leder, ed. 1956:93; NYCD 9:260).
- 8.11. "the French [must] have a great desire to be stript, roasted and eaten" (NYCD 9:253). The Onondaga as "men of business" (NYCD 9:254).
- 8.12. Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, was in Canada 1683-1693 (Hayne 1982). "the *Grangula* [Otreouti] did nothing . . . (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:82, 84). Prior to the meeting at La Famine, Lamberville had assured Governor-General La Barre that Otreouti was entirely won over and was completely their creature" (NYCD 9:227).
- 8.13. "the Ottawa and other Savages who . . ." (NYCD 9:292).
- 8.14. Francis Howard, fifth baron of Effingham, was governor-general of Virginia, 1683-1692 (Webb 1979:Appendix 199). Robert Livingston as secretary to the Colony of Rensselaerswijck (Leder, ed. 1956:5-6) "Brother Corlaer . . . let your friend . . ." (NYCD 3:418).
- 8.15. Jacques-René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, governor-general of new France 1685-1689 (Eccles 1982a). "my desire . . . to preserve the Indian Trade . . ." (NYCD 3:349). "a bulwark between us & the French & all other Indians", "any where but at Albany and that not without my license" (NYCD 3:393). An estimated 90 ships carrying 7,200 people (Spady 2004:33).
- 8.16. "Let the Chaine be Kept Cleane & bright as silver", "wee [plant] againe a great Tree off wellfare" (Leder, ed. 1956:81). William Byrd I of Virginia, trader, demanded return of people taken prisoner (Leder, ed. 1956:84-86). "We have had no part in what happened to the Virginians" (Leder, ed. 1956:87-88). "If any evil has been committed . . .", "our young Indians", "disobedient because of the peace making [efforts] with the French" (Leder, ed. 1956:90).
- 8.17. Plan to capture Fort Albany and other Hudson's Bay Company outposts on James Bay (Rich, ed. 1958: 55). "at Niagara would render us entire masters of the

Iroquois" (NYCD 3:300). Fortifications also ordered to be built at de Troit (Detroit) between Lakes Claire and Erie (NYCD 3:300).

8.18. "That tribe [Onondaga] . . . is the most . . ." (NYCD 9:291). "must not rely on them . . .", (NYCD 9:291). "all the Iroquois are naturally cheats and traitors" (NYCD 9:292). "very sorry to see him exposed" (NYCD 9:298).

8.19. I hear there are a great . . . (Leder, ed. 1956:99-100).

- 8.20. "Now we see that our Governor . . . ", "We are one head, one body, and one heart", "we like to hear this which was not said for the sake of talk, but because it is true" (Leder, ed. 1956:101). Webb, like Dongan, overestimates the degree to which the Five Nations submitted to English authority (1995:120-121).
- 8.21. "we do not know whether we will be dead or alive" (Leder, ed. 1956:103).
- 8.22. Gave them powder and lead to go fight the Miami (Leder, ed. 1956:112-113). "a man incapable of breaking his word" (JR 64:243). "you have putt yor selves and . . . " (Leder, ed. 1956:111-112). "Wee have understood your Propositions", "as for our Intended voyage to Cataraqui . . . " (Leder, ed. 1956:115). Unfortunately, Livingston did not record the name of the speaker.
- 8.23. "Wee hear dayly Bad Rumors", "there is little union among our nations" (Leder, ed. 1956:120).
- 8.24. "Those Indyans", "His Majestie the King of England", the Duke of York's "coates of armes" (NYCD 3:448-449, 9:242, 247).
- 8.25. "desired assistance of men but . . ." (NYCD 3:428).
  "ye kings arms upon all ye Castles" (Leder, ed. 1956:127). "Therefor I command & Desyre of y<sup>u</sup>, not to keep y<sup>r</sup> Castles nor Engage (Leder, ed. 1956:131). "Send downe your old men women and Children" (Leder, ed. 1956:129). "I will make a Better Peace for y<sup>u</sup>, then you can make y<sup>r</sup> Selfs—I know y<sup>e</sup> french Better then you" (Leder, ed. 1956:131).
- 8.26. Ten leagues distant from Cataraqui (NYCD 9:362). An editorial note adds that Ganneious is now Nappanee near Kingston, Ontario (NYCD 9:362 Note 1). "not force enough to seize and carry off all the Iroquois" (NYCD 9:362). "plundered of their peltries", "were carried away to France" (JR 64:243).
- 8.27. "8 of the most notable Iroquois" (JR 64:247). "found two hundred Iroquois, men and women, who had been made prisoners", "could not procure the release of these wretched people, except for 7 or 8" (JR 64:249).
- 8.28. Denonville's force of men (NYCD 9:359). Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil (Eccles 1964:151; Zoltvany 2013). Denonville's Indian auxiliaries included ~400 from the Colony, primarily from the mission towns, and another 400 from Mackinac, primarily from Ottawa (NYCD 9:359, 363, 365). Denonville describes his western auxiliaries somewhat differently in an August 25, 1687 letter to Marquis de Seignelay, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis XIV's minister of state. Seignelay was the son of the previous finance minister,

the "great Colbert," Jean-Baptiste Colbert (Eccles 1964:6-21; NYCD 9:411 Note 1). Denonville stated that 300 Indians of all nations came east with Tonty, La Durantaye, and du Lhu [Luth] including "rascally" Ottawa, Huron of Michilimackinac, and Illinois. His highest praise was reserved for his Christian Indians, especially Iroquois who had fought against their relatives (NYCD 9:337-338; Weilbrenner 1982). An incredible amount of corn was destroyed, with an editorial estimate of 1.2 million bushels, fresh and dried, as well as a vast quantity of hogs (NYCD 9:338, 367, 368 Note 1). "I believe we may assure . . ." (NYCD 9:342). Denonville's initial report, his official memoir, and another account of the events (JR 63:269-293; NYCD 9:336-339, 358-369).

- 8.29. "ought not to treat with any forraigne Nation . . . " (NYCD 3:438-439).
- 8.30. "It is true that wee warr ...", "O Brethren ... why should you not joyne ... (NYCD 3:442).
- 8.31. "Wee are much inclined to get our Christian Indians back again from Canida, but we know noe way to effect it" (NYCD 3:444).
- 8.32. "There Capt<sup>n</sup> being an Onnondager . . ." (NYCD 3:480).
- 8.33. The Late Troubles (NYCD 3:771). "The french of Canada seem . . ." (NYCD 3:481). Arnout Cornelissen Viele frequently served as a messenger and translator for the Albany and New York authorities, especially in the 1680s (DAB 19:267).
- 8.34. "six great Gunns for our Fort at Onondage" (NYCD 3:485). The French supplied a great iron cannon (JR 63:245). In 1676 the mission of St. Xavier moved upriver from La Prairie to St. Xavier du Sault at the foot of the Lachine Rapids, in part to have more space, but also to separate themselves from the French (JR 63:191-193). Although the new community took the name St. Xavier du Sault or the Sault, many in Onondaga and elsewhere continued to refer to it as La Prairie.
- 8.35. "bring the Iroquois war to a speedy . . ." (NYCD 9:374-375). Killing nearly ten percent of the European population (Eccles 1964:155). Callière's summary of this invitation and subsequent events (NYCD 9:401-403).
- 8.36. "has adopted you his children, and will protect you" (NYCD 3:533). "in former times a sort . . ." (NYCD 3:534). "leave the whole business to your Excell: to manage" (NYCD 3:535). The tone of this exchange sounds far too ingratiating, and it is likely a reflection of Livingston's translation of what was said.
- 8.37. "exterminate", "as he ever loved the French" (NYCD 9:390). "could conclude nothing except by his orders", "to be friends of the French and English, equally, without the one or the other being their masters" (NYCD 9:384). "was only to observe a perfect neutrality" (NYCD 9:384-385). Treaty signing (NYCD 9:385-386).

There appears to be some confusion in the documents, especially in terms of the dates. One has the Declaration of Neutrality signed on June 15, 1688, while another places these events in July (NYCD 9:384, 390). Eccles provides another view of these events including quotes by Otreouti, but does not cite his source (1964:159).

- 8.38. The interception of Otreouti and his party (NYCD 9:391, 402). A biographical sketch of Kondiaronk (Havard 2001:199-202). Rekindle the war (JR 64:257). For more on Kondiaronk's actions (Fenton 1969; Havard 2001:55).
- 8.39. Neither particularly glorious nor a revolution (Jardine 2008:xv). Webb argued that the Glorious Revolution was as much Lord Churchill's coup as it was William of Orange's invasion (1995). "the greatest man that the sunn shines upon" (NYCD 3:535).
- 8.40. Peace with the Iroquois was useless (NYCD 9:401). Effects of the recent Revolution in England on America (NYCD 9:404-408). For Callière's request for arms from Seignelay (NYCD 9:412-415). "An end would be put to the War of the Iroquois" (NYCD 9:416). It is misleading to refer to these as the "Last of the Beaver Wars" (Richter 1992:162). Onondaga hostilities were driven by revenge and bad faith on the part of the French, not economic considerations.
- 8.41. Francis Nicolson was lieutenant governor of New York in 1689 (Webb 1979:Appendix 150). Although Nicholson remained in charge until 1691, Henry Slaughter (Sloughter) was appointed governor of New York, 1689-1692 (Webb 1979: Appendix 151). For an overview of the situation (Hall et al., eds. 1964:99-101). Jacob Leisler proclaimed William and Mary their majesties of England (DAB 11:156-157).
- 8.42. Albany was left deeply divided, largely along class lines (Armour 1986:22). Peter Schuyler became the first mayor of the incorporated City of Albany in 1686 (Bradley 2006:181; Pell 1982). Schuyler's agreement to recognize Leisler (Trelease 1960:299-300). Schuyler appears to have changed his name from Pieter to Peter around the time he became mayor of Albany.

The attack on Schenectady in 1690 was more than an example of how vicious border warfare would become over the next several decades. It provides a view into who was involved on the French side and their motivations. Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène, the second son of the Montréal merchant Charles Le Moyne, commanded the Montréal militia. Raised in Montréal, he and his brothers had extensive experience with Indian people and with living in the backcountry (Blain 2017). At least two of his brothers, François and Pierre, also participated in the raid on Schenectady. Pierre , like his older brother Jacques, had just returned from the successful expedition to capture the English trading posts on James Bay. He would become better known early in the eighteenth century under the name Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, the founder of Louisiana (Pothier 1982).

8.43. August 1689 attack upon the French (NYCD 9:431).

- 8.44. The Declaration of Neutrality (Note 8.37; NYCD 9:384-386, 390-391). At the collapse of the Declaration of Neutrality, Denonville summarized the affairs of Canada and what he recommended. His report was delivered by Callière (NYCD 9:401-404). Denonville considered Cataraqui useless in the spring of 1689, and Forts Niagara and Cataraqui were abandoned by the fall (NYCD 9:400, 432).
- 8.45. Governor-General Frontenac returns (Eccles 2015). "Peace cannot reasonably expected to be made with the Iroquois" (NYCD 9:428). Plan to capture New York rather than attack the Iroquois (NYCD 9:428-430). "so ugly a post... at such a distance from our settlements", "burnt and destroyed" (NYCD 9:445-446).
- 8.46. Frontenac continued to keep the diplomatic channel open (Havard 2001:56). The *petite guerres* tactics Frontenac employed were developed by Callière and Joseph-François Hertel de la Fresnière, governor of Trois-Rivières. Both were experienced frontiersmen and fighters, who had participated in Denonville's 1687 invasion of Seneca country with no love for the Five Nations (Douville 1982; Zoltvany 1982b). Schenectady became the trial run (Eccles 1964:171-172).
- 8.47. "Renew ye Covenant Chain of frindship" (Leder, ed. 1956:150). "had not answered upon the 2 main points of the Proposals," "Eastern Indians" (Leder, ed. 1956:156). "your warr is our warr & we will live and dye with you" (Leder, ed. 1956:157-158). "the hinge upon which . . . New England affairs doth turn" (Eccles 1964:177).
- 8.48. There was a League council meeting at Onondaga in February 1690, however, Wraxall says February 1689 since he was using the Julian rather than the Gregorian calendar (McIlwain, ed. 1915:14). The Five Nations were still subjects of the King of England (McIlwain ed. 1915:14). Although the Onondaga speaker was not identified, it was probably Tegannisoren. He was reported as speaker in other accounts at this time involving the French (NYCD 9:465). "Brethren, we must govern our Selves . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:15). "were all determined to preserve their Coalition with us [the English] & to make War upon the French in Canada" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:15). "took up the Ax against him" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:16).
- 8.49. "the Iroquois were negotiating with the Outaoüaes [Ottawa]" (NYCD 9:95). A rapprochement between the Ottawa and the Seneca would occur if the Ottawa no longer respected the French after La Barre's failure to attack the Iroquois (NYCD 9:244-248).
- 8.50. "know the dispositions of the Iroquois, and especially of the onnontague, the most treacherous of all" (JR 64:23).

- 8.51. Frontenac planned peace talks with the Iroquois (Eccles 1964:169-170). "consented . . . and sent return messages by means of collars, red-stone calumets, and bales of beaver-skins" (Blair, ed. 1911:II:96).
- 8.52. "they had entered into a Treaty of Peace & Alliance with the Wagenhaer [Ottawa] Nation" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:15). Ottawa ambassadors would endeavor to bring in the Wyandot, referred to as Tionontati, and other Ottawa (McIlwain, ed. 1915:15).
- 8.53. The Six Nations were established after 1720 when the Tuscarora joined. "Men! I give you notice that Onnontio, . . . has again returned" (NYCD 9:448). "strong enough to kill the English, destroy the Iroquois and to whip you if you fail in your duty to me" (NYCD 9:451). Claude-Charles le Roy de La Potherie's account of the episode between Frontenac and the Ottawa (Blair, ed. 1911:II:91-94; Eccles 1964:178). La Potherie was in Canada from 1697 to 1701, and he wrote a series of *Histoires* derived from his own experiences and from other so-called reliable witnesses including Jesuit missionaries, especially Nicolas Perrot (Pouliot 1982b).
- 8.54. Unpredictable French attacks (Haffenden 1974:84-86). Five Nations urged an assault on Québec (Trelease 1960:300-302).
- 8.55. "nothing more cheerful then to see so many arrowes togither in one sheafe as our meeting", "against the common ennemy, namely the French" (NYCD 3:712). "this most necessary and glorious work" (NYCD 3:713).
- 8.56. "the metaphor of the arrowes" (NYCD 3:713). "We come here and perceive . . .", "Brethren, pray attend well . . ." (NYCD 3:714).
- 8.57. William Phips's capture of Port Royal and New York's problems with support (Trelease 1960:303-304). French sources reported that smallpox had killed 400 Iroquois warriors and 100 Mahicans (NYCD 9:490). Attack on La Prairie (NYCD 4:193-196; 9:481).
- 8.58. Phips's force for the Glorious Enterprise and its failure (Baker and Reid 1998:96). The fate of one vessel lost during the return voyage was clarified by Robert Bradley and colleagues with the recent discovery and excavation of the bark the *Elizabeth and Mary* (2003).
- 8.59. Although Richter continues to place the new leaders into his Francophile, Anglophile, and Neutralist categories, their actions and reactions were more complex (1992:163, 170). Opportunistic may be a more accurate descriptor for these leaders, whatever their other biases.
- 8.60. Dewadarondore was known as *La Chaudière Noire*, or *Black Cauldron* in the Canadian version (Béchard 1979). He was killed in 1697 by Algonquians, or French-allied Indians (NYCD 9:681).
- 8.61. Aqueendaro alias Sadegenaktie as speaker, one of several spellings (NYCD 4:729). A source of confusion is that virtually all Iroquois names from this period have multiple spellings, usually depending on the

interpreter or scribe. "They have summoned me . . ." (Van Laer, ed., 1919:35:159).

- 8.62. Tegannisoren was one of the principal war chiefs of the Onondaga (NYCD 9:192). For Tegannisoren's reply to La Barre (Eccles 1964:132). Richter identifies Tegannisoren as part of Otreouti's delegation at La Famine (1992:153). "being a man with two arms and two hands, one for peace and another for war" (NYCD 9:185).
- 8.63. "disjointed attempts to negotiate peace" (Havard 2001:55). One possibility for the difficulty is that Seignelay, minister of state and finance in France and Colbert's son, died in 1690 at 39 (NYCD 9:411 Note 1).
- 8.64. 1689 attacks (NYCD 9:431, 465). "in the name of the five Nations" (NYCD 9:465). "master of all the French prisoners" (NYCD 9:465-466). Another account of hostages and the Indians who were sent to France (NYCD 3:733-736).
- 8.65. Gerrit Luycasse and Arnout Cornelissen Viele as envoys in Onondaga, 1688-1690 (DAB 19:267; Trelease 1960:210; Van Laer, ed., 1919:31:159).
- The original reference to Luycasse preceding Viele as agent to Onondaga was dated November 20, 1690 (Van Laer, ed. 1919:36:142). Manuscript of Viele's report of his mission to the Five Nations in August 1684 (Brodhead and O'Callaghan, eds. 1866:II:142). Viele as an agent for Evert Wendell, Jr., a fur trader like his brother Johannes (Armour 1986:36; Bielinski 2012). In February 1691, Schuyler was accused of sending trade goods to Onondaga, but was exonerated (Armour 1986:36).
- 8.66. Sieur de Saint-Michel's report (NYCD 9:567).
- 8.67. For information on Charles Le Moyne (Lefebvre 2017; Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:74 Note 1). The Iroquois called him Akoussan, the partridge (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:74). Le Moyne fathered 12 sons and two daughters, several of whom played key roles in New France during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Le Moyne's eldest son was Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil, called *Sinnonquirese* by the Iroquois (Dupré 1982; NYCD 5:243). Another son Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, was called *Taouestaouis* or *Stow Stow* by the Onondaga (Havard 2001:203-4; Horton 1982; NYCD 4:492). Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, or *Sononchiez*, was adopted by the Seneca (Richter 1992:198; Shannon 2008:48-49; Zoltvany 1982c)
- 8.68. Millet told his story (JR 64:67-105). He was adopted and named *Otasseté* (JR 64:91-93). It is important to remember that Millet had spent at least three years in Onondaga 20 years earlier, 1668 to 1671, and continued to have valuable contacts there (Campeau 2015).
- 8.69. The Jesuits stated that a great number of Onondaga lived at La Prairie (JR 63:179). Movement back and forth between the two communities (JR 62:69, 249, JR 63:171-173). "the Christian Indians were . . ." (NYCD 3:478).

8.70. "Who would ever have supposed . . ." (JR 63:241).

8.71. "late troubles" (NYCD 3:773). Failure of the Glorious Enterprise of 1690 (Note 8.58). "whether they would be welcome to their father Onnontio, . . . to prove their ardent desire to put an end to the war" (JR 64:57). "as true children should do; But that they must really mean what they say . . . not like the Onondaga" (JR 64:59). "earnest in his desire for peace, . . . (JR 64:59-61). "disease, the heavy cost of clothing, . . . " (JR 64:63).

8.72. Instructions to Henry Sloughter, governor and captain-general of New York, 1689-1692 (NYCD 3:683-691; Webb 1979:Appendix 151). Dirck Wessels (or Wesslse Ten Broeck) was the recorder and deputy mayor for the City of Albany when Schuyler was mayor (NYCD 3:485). Together with Peter Schuyler, Domine Godfrey Dellius, and Evert Bancker, he was one of the four original members of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs appointed by Governor Fletcher in 1696 (Trelease 1960:309). The session with the Christian Mohawk, who were known as the Praying Indians of the three Tribes of the Mohawk (NYCD 3:771-772).

8.73. "Brethern, I am very glad . . . their Jesuits are too subtile for you" (NYCD 3:773).

- 8.74. "Wee have established . . . if we put your Excell<sup>cy</sup> in mind of the same" (NYCD 3:774). For a slightly different version (McIlwain, ed. 1915:16-17).
- 8.75. "one belt of Wampum for all the 5 Nations" (NYCD 3:777). Trouble with Frontenac's Praying Indians (NYCD 3:777). "prosecute the warr with all sped and violence" (NYCD 3:778).
- 8.76. "Going out against the Enemy", "how many of the Christians" (NYCD 3:780).
- 8.77. The Enemy's Praying Indians (NYCD 3:803). "successe and victory," from Schuyler's journal of this campaign (NYCD 3:800-805). Eccles reports this from the French perspective (1964:186-187). "People are extremely afraid to goe into the woods at present" (NYCD 3:784).
- 8.78. "I wish to God that . . ." (NYCD 3:783). Maj. Richard Ingoldsby was appointed acting governor by the New York Council (Webb 1979:Appendix 156).
- 8.79. "wee are a nation dispersed and scattered by y<sup>e</sup> French as far as Ondage [Onondaga]", "in a firm Covenant" (NYCD 3:806). "reprove and chide", "likewise entered in our covenant" (NYCD 3:807).
- 8.80. "Brothers, Wee have been sorry . . . (NYCD 3:807). "wee are much astonished . . . " (NYCD 3:808). "take better care in matters. . . " (NYCD 3:808).
- 8.81. Ingoldsby was in great want of munitions (NYCD 3:791-793).
- 8.82. "our best Indians of the Mohaks and Oneydes", "if this warr continues with us as formerly, most of our Inhabitants . . . will of necessity depart" (NYCD 3:817).
- 8.83. Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil was in a military position when Callière was governor of Montréal (Zoltvany 2013). French bounty on scalps (Eccles

1964:187). The English acknowledged the great loss suffered by the Five Nations at Cataraqui (NYCD 3:840). Although the Five Nations did suffer terrible losses, they inflicted serious losses on the French and their allies as well. They certainly did not stumble from defeat to defeat as some have suggested (Richter 1992:163).

- 8.84. The Native practice of taking an enemy's head, or scalp (Chapter Two, *Death and beyond*; Note 2.25). Taking and displaying of heads in North America (Axtell and Sturtevant 1980:470; Chaffrey 2005; Jaenen 1976:125-127; Lipman 2008). Suppression of the West Country in 1685 (Webb 1974:78). "not to fetch beaver skins this winter, but scalps" (NYCD 4:120).
- 8.85. "the good affection I have for the Brethren" (NYCD 3:840). They were all in the war together (NYCD 3:840-842). Benjamin Fletcher was the next royal governor of New York, 1692-1698 (Webb 1979:Appendix 152).
- 8.86. "Brother Corlaer; We the Sachems . . .", "We heartily thank Corlaer for . . .", (NYCD 3:842). "all one heart, one Blood . . . and all engaged in one War" (NYCD 3:842). Without guns the powder and lead were useless, and they needed a smith to repair what arms they had (NYCD 3:844).
- 8.87. "can be only the loosers by the continuation of the warr" (NYCD 3:843).
- 8.88. Governor Fletcher arrived in September (NYCD 3:846). "to animate the Indians and preserve their enmity against the French" (Leder, ed. 1956:162 Note 1). The accounts of several Albany craftsmen from these years include three blacksmiths—Johannis Appel, Johannes Beekman, and Warnaer Carstense making and repairing axes, repairing firearms, and making harpoons, as well as a gun-stock maker David Schuyler (Van Laer, ed., 1919:35:188a, 189b, 190a, 190b). "Principal Dissign", "give them a Blow at once & DeStroy there Indian corn & then come to talk with them", "Doe what dammage yu can." (Leder, ed. 1956:163).
- 8.89. "we will Spare them no longer" (Leder, ed. 1956:165). Private discussion between the Mohawk chief and Peter Schuyler (Leder, ed. 1956:166-167).
- 8.90. "an Oneida Chief belonging . . ." (NYCD 9:556). Parmenter's assertion that in 1684-1696 there was a profound reluctance for Five Nations people and the Mission Indians from Canada to kill one another is not supported by the documentary evidence (2007:44, 2010:219-226).
- 8.91. The want of troops and plans to attack the Mohawk (NYCD 9:555, 557).
- 8.92. "utterly impossible for this poor decayed Province to defend themselves", "Our Furr Trade is quite lost" (NYCD 4:2). "about to compell our Indians to a peace (NYCD 4:7).
- 8.93. "Though the Mohawk be not . . ." (NYCD 9:557). Although Five Nations people continued to refer to

the Jesuit mission community across the St. Lawrence River from Montréal as La Prairie, the French usually referred to it by its new location, the Sault. In a similar way, the Sulpician mission on Montréal Island was usually called the Mountain, or la Montagne.

- 8.94. For a French account of this raid (NYCD 9:557-561). Given the difficulties of their return, the French decided against any further winter campaigns (Eccles 1964:192).
- 8.95. "I came now for your releife . . . our enemys and yours" (NYCD 4:21).
- 8.96. Fletcher as Brother *Cajenquiragoe*, Lord of the Great Swift Arrow (NYCD 4:22). "custom first to condole the . . ." (NYCD 4:22). "presse us to goe & attack the French in Canida by land", "because a great part of our Strength is already broke" (NYCD 4:23). "prohibit the selling of rum . . ." (NYCD 4:24).
- 8.97. "our cheifest & cheapest bulwarks against the French" (NYCD 4:33).
- 8.98. "Wee are a mean poor people & have lost all by the Enemy" (NYCD 4:39). "I never did so much suspect ..." (NYCD 4:65). After the French attack, Peter Schuyler invited some of the displaced Mohawk to settle at his farm at the Flatts. Thank you to Paul Huey for introducing the 1695 map depicting Mohawk longhouses and a palisade there (Figure 8.22). It was also around this time that the Mohawk began to call Schuyler *Quider*. Although this was just the Mohawk way of pronouncing his Anglo-Dutch name, its use by Five Nations people paralleled that of other particular given names such as Corlaer and Cajenquiragoe.
- 8.99. "Cheife Sachim of Onondaga" (NYCD 4:62). The journal of Wessels's visit (NYCD 4:59-63).
- 8.100. "Wee are glad to see you ....", "Brother Cajenquiragoe, We have ...", "The Great King my Master" (NYCD 4:40).
- 8.101. "You are the Great flourishing Tree . . ." (NYCD 4:43). "It is proposed by all . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:20; NYCD 4:45). Fletcher's bland acceptance of this remarkable request suggests that he really did not care what the Five Nations did as long as they did not cause him any difficulty.
- 8.102. "to mediate with the other Iroquois" (NYCD 9:553). The Oneida Tareha brought Millet's letters to Frontenac (NYCD 9:566). "the horrible perfidy the Onondaga perpetrated on the French", "pursue them until they be wholly exterminated" (NYCD 9:566).
- 8.103. The League Council in August 1693 (NYCD 4:61). "we are come heither according to our old custome to consult [on] the welfare of our Countrey." (NYCD 4:61).
- 8.104. Schuyler's letter to Governor Fletcher (NYCD 4:47).
- 8.105. Praying Indians of Canada (NYCD 4:61). "eighty Sachims", "Tell Brother Caijenquiragoe [Fletcher] We have . . ." (NYCD 4:62).

- 8.106. "to hear all the news doe not . . ." (NYCD 4:76).
- 8.107. "The Ist [belt]. in which there are . . ." (NYCD 4:79-80).
- 8.108. "I am your Father, you are . . ." (NYCD 9:578).
- 8.109. "Father, I fear your war kettle", "to destruction, to be thrown into . . ." (NYCD 4:79).
- 8.110. Schuyler's travel problems (NYCD 4:81-83). "Wee the Representatives of the Five Nations. . . " (NYCD 4:85).
- 8.111. Peter Schuyler known as *Quider* (NYCD 4:86). "we must tell you we are . . ." (NYCD 4:87). "let them be buryed in oblivion and let our hearts [be] reestablished in love and unity as formerly" (NYCD 4:88).
- 8.112. "never did [I] imagine you would be so treacherous", "You may be sure his Excell<sup>cy</sup> will not be satisfied with your apology and excuse" (NYCD 4:89). Wraxall adds an interesting comment to his conference summary and Schuyler's harsh reply, suggesting that the English feared the Five Nations were playing a "double & deceatful part" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:21).
- 8.113. "a violation of their Antient Priviledges", "never was obstructed by any former Governors" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:22). Unfortunately, Wraxall's notes are far less detailed than many of the other records that survive. Since Tegannisoren was probably on route to Québec, Aqueendaro may have been the Five Nations speaker. The tone was certainly less conciliatory than at their last meeting.
- 8.114. "a Candid Account of the Proposals for Peace" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:23). These proposals contained 10 Articles and appear to be the same as those Tegannisoren presented to Frontenac. "they are now come & are . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:23).
- 8.115. "When the Christians first arrived in this Country we received them Kindly, though they were but a small People & [we] entered into a League with them to protect them from all Enemies", "This General Assembly Planted . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:24). Wraxall found there was no answer from Governor Fletcher to the above speech (McIlwain, ed. 1915:24).
- 8.116. "a new attempt at peace with the Iroquois was made, but in vain. The english . . . have ruined all hopes of peace." (JR 64:259). "Onnontio, that is to say our Father [Fontenac], has rejected your Belts . . . We have no other mind or aim than that of our Father" (NYCD 9:579). Two major mission towns near Montréal are the Sault and the Mountain (NYCD 9:579).
- 8.117. "before the principal Indian Chiefs and the most influential of the Clergy and Laity", "Father Onnontio! ... here we are on your mat, ..." (NYCD 9:579). "It is peace that brings me hither", "You have devoured all our chief men and scarce any more are left", "We present you this Belt to let you know that we have adopted Sieurs de Longueuil's and de Maricourt" (NYCD 9:580). Sieurs de Longueuil's and de Maricourt are two sons of Charles le Moyne, who had been

adopted by the Onondaga previously. (Horton 1982; Lefebvre 2017). "we have mutually butchered each other. Forget what is past" (NYCD 9:580). "Father! you have, no doubt, . . . " (NYCD 9:581).

Scholars have seen this event in very different ways. Compared to the version recorded here from the *Jesuit Relations,* Wraxall's version makes Tegannisoren sound more aggressive and pro-English (McIlwain, ed. 1915:26). As Richter presents it—

Tegannisoren led a delegation to Québec and, resplendent in a scarlet coat trimmed with gold braid and a new beaver hat provided by the governor of New York [Fletcher], met with Frontenac with great solemnity and offered peace on Iroquois terms (1992:181).

With all due respect to Richter, this does not sound quite right. As was noted by the French observers at the time, the whole tone of Tegannisoren's presentation was modest, even placating. Also, knowing Frontenac's temper, it is doubtful that Tegannisoren would have baited him by wearing a red coat. What is remarkable is how much Tegannisoren was willing to concede in order to make peace with the French. Perhaps this was an indication of how little he trusted the English.

- 8.118. "submissive and repentant, as children ought to be to their Father" (NYCD 9:581). "committed against him a fault as heinous", "Children! In answer to what . . ." (NYCD 9:582).
- 8.119. A magnificent entertainment for the Iroquois, who had come to beg peace but were sent away in disgrace (NYCD 9:583).
- 8.120. "I find the [Iroquois] Sachims so far . . ." (NYCD 4:114).
- 8.121. Aqueendaro reported to Fletcher that a peace agreement had been concluded (McIlwain, ed. 1915:26). Again, Wraxall provides no details. It should be noted that several of the groups in the upper Great Lakes, especially the Ottawa and Wyandot, were split over whether to stay with the French or join the Five Nations (Eccles 1964:189; Havard 2001:81-83). Presents from Fletcher (NYCD 4:126).
- 8.122. "I will speak of good thing's be not fearfull or jealous of my ill intent" (NYCD 4:120). Fetch scalps not beaver skins (NYCD 4:120).
- 8.123. "Onnontio, you call us children . . . the first & the ancient people" (NYCD 4:121).
- 8.124. In 1695 Frontenac sent a great belt of wampum to the Seneca and Cayuga, who had come to Montréal suing for peace the year before (JR 64:143; NYCD 4:123). "Let our Indians have powder and lead instead of rum," "Let not our Enemyes rejoyce and laugh at us" (NYCD 4:123).
- 8.125. "to destroy their Castle . . ." (NYCD 4:118-19). "I must tell you, since . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:27).
- 8.126. Colonists being scalped, killed, and taken hostage (NYCD 4:151-152). "Sinneckes" squaws killed (Leder,

ed. 1956:174). "sculking partys of French and Indians" (NYCD 4:150).

- 8.127. "the most mutinous nation" (NYCD 9:643). A force of 2,200 fighting men (NYCD 9:649-650). Frontenac's force had two corps of Indian auxiliaries, contrary to Parmenter's notion that an ethic of mutual nonaggression between the Iroquois and Praying Indians was further refined during this invasion (2007:48). One led by Maricourt was composed of the Indians of the Sault and some Abenaki. The second contained those from the Mountain and the Huron of the Lorette Mission, plus some additional Algonquians. Unlike Denonville's expedition, there was virtually no participation by the Wyandot, Ottawa, or other western tribes (NYCD 9:644-653). "a bright light was perceived" (NYCD 9:652). "dust and ashes" (NYCD 9:639).
- 8.128. "robbed . . . of the glory of entirely destroying them", "kettles, guns, hatchets, stuffs, . . ." (NYCD 9:654).
- 8.129. Frontenac let the Praying Indians burn the old Onondaga (NYCD 9:654). "Learn French dogs! [how to suffer] . . . ", brackets in the translation (NYCD 9:654).

#### **Chapter Nine**

9.1. "There is a hill in Pompey, which the Indians will not visit, and which they call Bloody Hill", "No old Indian weapons, such as stone-knives, axes and arrowheads are found", "French substitutes of iron." (Clinton 1818:8). "On the late Dr. Western's farm, . . .", "A vise and other blacksmith's tools were found here, as well as gate hinges and many trinkets", "wagonloads of old iron" (Clark 1849:II:260). It needs to be added that this last statement is at odds with the current archaeological evidence. Either these stories were exaggerated or the site was virtually picked clean of iron during the nineteenth century.

Several different names have been associated with this set of prehistoric and historic sites. Clark's description in 1849 mentions a small fortification on Dr. Western's (Elijah Weston's) farm in Lot 5 in the Town of Pompey, what is now called the Weston site, as well as substantial amounts of historic material from the farms of Samuel Hibbard and David Hinsdale, or Hinsdell (1849:II:260). On a farm owned by John Clapp's family, apparently near that of Dr. Western (E. Weston), the lines of an early fortification could clearly be traced early in the nineteenth century. An 1859 map of Pompey shows the location of several of their houses and names but no farm boundaries—E. Weston, Clapp, Hibbard, and Hinsdell (French, 1859).

The 1874 map of Pompey, in *Sweet's New Atlas of Onondaga County, New York*, shows one important change in ownership (Sweet 1874). J. F. Gates became the owner of E. Weston's property on Lot 5, located in the northwest corner of the map in the town of Pompey. In 1893 Nelson Wells found artifacts in

this area likely related to the Weston site (*Antiquities* 5:#1430). When Beauchamp published his statewide catalog of aboriginal sites in 1900, he listed the historic site on the Gates farm as #68 under Onondaga County, and he also listed a historic site on the Hibbard farm as #74 (1900:121-122). This is one of the few times Beauchamp confused the record rather than clarifying it by providing no new information about the Hibbard farm site, and only repeating Clark's description. He did note that on all of these sites the relics were from the historic period (1900:122; Clark 1849:II:260).

- 9.2. Unfortunately, Beauchamp also referred to the Gates farm site as Bloody Hill (1900:122). "Another name given to this . . . " (Beauchamp 1907:148).
- 9.3. Luke Fitch artifacts (Antiquities 9:#727-753). In dating the Bloody Hill, site Tuck referred to it as being "Chance phase" (Tuck 1971:104-119). Tuck suggested Weston was a late seventeenth-century site, and mistakenly suggested that it was coeval with the larger Pen site, by which he meant the Jamesville site (Tuck 1971:191). The historic Iroquois burial disturbed by collectors contained some human remains and an iron-knife blade (Tuck 1971:114-15). During the 1930s, at least one additional burial was excavated in the area by J. L. Besanson. Although few notes were kept, based on dentition this burial appears to have been an adult male, who was buried with a brass kettle, three iron knives, a number of marine-shell and pipestone beads, a large rectangular red-slate pendant, a ring-bowl pipe, two bone tubes, and a modified set of maxilla and mandibular bones (family Canidae). Besanson also excavated a portion of a large hillside midden, related to the early component of the historic Weston site, and a significant amount of material from the adjacent Chance phase Bloody Hill site. Some of his collection survives (OHA, Syracuse, NY).
- 9.4. Description of Weston at an early stage by Greenhalgh and Lamberville (Chapter Seven *Descriptions and interpretations;* JR 62:55; NYCD 3:251). The Duke of York's "coates of armes" were posted there in 1684 (Note 8.24; NYCD 3:449, 9:242, 247). "six great gunns for our Fort" (NYCD 3:485). The blacksmith's anvil (NYCD 3:844). "The fort of the Onontae which has been built by the English, has eight bastions and three rows of stockade" (NYCD 9:567). Frontenac's 1696 map (Figure 8.25).
- 9.5. Beauchamp reports the Jamesville site as #67, and says it was the one burned during Frontenac's invasion (1900:121-122). Peter Pratt has argued that Jamesville was the location of the town destroyed by Frontenac in 1696 (1963, 2007). Reported as such (Bradley 2005a:214). Evidence that it was the Weston site burned by Frontenac was produced in Sohrweide's excavations there. He provides the most thorough documentation of any historic-period Onondaga site to date (Sohrweide 2001). In May 2015 Sohrweide received the Theodore Whitney Award from the 722

New York State Archaeological Association for his outstanding work on Weston and on other historicperiod Onondaga sites.

9.6. Site excavation findings, dimensions, and interpretations (A. Gregory Sohrweide personal communication, 1/22/12, 2001). Small settlement mentioned by Greenhalgh and the town of Pompey location mentioned by Beauchamp (Note 9.1). Tuck estimated that the small site (Weston) was as much as three acres in size (~1.2 hectares; 1971:189).

Only a few collections survive from this site, some of which can be related to the period before and after the building of the fortifications. The hillside midden excavated by Besanson (OHA, Syracuse N.Y), by Claude Doxtator (referenced here from photographs of his collection) appears to date to the historic period, ca. 1675-1685. Warren J. Haberle's surface-collected material from his site #4 appears to have come primarily from a midden area southeast of the historic stockade, ca. 1685-1696, although he did purchase pieces from Besanson and others. Sohrweide's excavated material comes primarily from the period when the stockade area was occupied, ca. 1685-1696. A few objects are in private collections and Beauchamp references several pieces.

- 9.7. "an oblong flanked by four . . ." (NYCD 9:653). Details on post sizes and configuration (Sohrweide 2001:5-9).
- 9.8. House lengths and construction (Sohrweide 2001:18). Jordan summarizes Sohrweide's work at Weston and suggests that the dwellings be classified as true longhouses rather than short longhouses or cabins (2008:250, Figure 9.2). It is unclear from the archaeological evidence whether there were other European-influenced changes in house construction, such as use of a ridgepole and sloping roof instead of a traditional arched style. Given the presence of central hearths, that is not likely. Jordan discusses this (2008:255). Sohrweide also observed a lack of storage pits on the site, probably the result of the heavy, often wet, clay subsoil (Sohrweide 2001:18). "There are in the aforementioned fort 60 bark huts, and in addition 13 outside." (Blau et al. 1978:494, Figure 2). Sohrweide documented only one building outside the palisade (structure 10; 2001:18).
- 9.9. Attacks by the Praying Indians of Canada (NYCD 4:61). The town 20 or 25 leagues to the south (JR 65:25; NYCD 9:653, 639). The place to which the Onondaga retreated is not known. Estimates of 20-25 leagues (110-140 km) would place it near Binghamton or even further into Pennsylvania, which seems unlikely. More likely it would be near Fabius, Tully, or Cortland.
- 9.10. Population estimates are from Fletcher's 1698 census (NYCD 4:337). For population estimates and how they are calculated (Brandão 1997:163-64, Appendix C, Table C.4). For the effects of disease (Brandão 1997:Appendix B). Smallpox mortality in

Canada (Eccles 1964:155).

- 9.11. "that triangular tract of country" (Figure 9.5; NYCD 9:641). Sources on La Galette for 1673, 1682, 1687, 1690, and 1695 (NYCD 3:527, 9:113-114, 195, 332, 465, 651). "desecrated by the treachery perpetrated there" (NYCD 9:465).
- 9.12. Reports of one *vatt* in September 1685 and three *vatts* in July 1687 (Leder, ed. 1956:86,124). Examples of 30 *runletts* (kegs) in June 1691, 25 *runletts* or 50 gallons in June 1692, and 30 kegs of two gallons each in July 1693 (NYCD 3:774, 840-842, 4:41-42). Beaver exchanged for six quarts of rum in Albany (NYCD 9:409). The account book of Evert Wendell, Jr., covering the years 1695 to 1726, provides a documentary basis for assessing rum's significance in the Indian Trade and will be discussed in Chapter Eleven (Waterman 2008).

Dark-green bottle fragments from Weston ( $n \ge 1$ 25) and Indian Hill (n = 4) were all recovered from excavated contexts. A reconstructed bottle from Weston is from fragments found in a large hillside midden (Figure 9.6). For comparable examples from contemporaneous sites, ca. 1680-1695 (McNulty 1971:Figure 43 No. 9; Noël Hume 1974:Figure 8). Three intact bottles with the same form were recovered from the 1690 wreck of the *Elizabeth and Mary* found near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River (Bradley et al. 2003; Pointe-à-Callières 2000:9, 42). Two comparable bottle fragments have been recovered from contemporary sites in Virginia as illustrated by William Kelso (Bottoms and Hansen, eds. 2006:178 Figure g #16, 196 Figure 13 #27). Jordan discusses bottle glass as a proxy for alcohol consumption and reviews the evidence from contemporaneous Seneca sites (2008:309-316).

- 9.13. A bullock or hog often provided (Leder, ed. 1956:86, 124). Jordan discusses pigs at Boughton Hill and domesticates in general (2008:292-94). Faunal assemblage at Weston (n = 5,128). Along with pig, cow remains included a butchered mandible and shoulder blade, an incisor from a calf, and an extremely worn fragment of an upper molar from an adult. Other fragments of vertebrae, ribs, and long bones, many with cut or scrape marks on the surface, may have come from cow. The faunal analysis was conducted by Marie-Lorraine Pipes (Weston Site Faunal Report, 2012, NYSM, Albany, NY).
- 9.14. The data in Tables 9.1 and 9.2 are based on the analyses performed by Marie-Lorraine Pipes (Weston Site Faunal Report, 2012, NYSM, Albany, NY). Moose is represented by a proximal phalange from an immature individual, and bison is represented by an incisor, possibly a femur, and other long-bone fragments. Unusual in Iroquois territory, bison bone occurs frequently on mid-continent sites. Bison was the most important single species in the large faunal assemblage from the contemporaneous Illinois Zimmerman site, then elk and deer (Brown 1975:73).
- 9.15. "All the Indians, young and old, were in the woods

to fetch young pidgeons" (NYCD 4:561).

- 9.16. Although the Weston faunal assemblage is the largest in terms of the total number of bone fragments recovered (TNF = 5,128), there are a smaller number of identifiable units (MNU = 1,036) than at Indian Hill (MNU = 1,177). White-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) remain the most frequently represented mammal (40%) followed by unidentified small-sized mammals (16%), dog (Canis familiaris; 9%), unidentified medium-sized mammals (8%), bear (Ursus americanus; 8%), unidentified large-sized mammals (4%), beaver (*Castor canadensis*; 2%), and elk (*Cervus Canadensis*; 1%). Passenger pigeons (Ectopistes migratorius) continue to dominate the bird assemblage (93%; MNU = 512), and they outnumber even deer (MNU = 460). There is only some duck (Anas sp.) and turkey (Meleagris gallopavo) present. Fish remains were somewhat more diverse with catfish (Ictaluridae), salmon-related species, and eel (*Anguilla rostrata*) represented. Kuhn and Funk provide a comparable discussion of faunal remains from Mohawk sites (2000).
- 9.17. Data in Table 9.3 are based on analyses performed by Marie-Lorraine Pipes (Weston Site Faunal Report, 2012, NYSM, Albany, NY). Large-sized mammals (>7 kg)—deer, elk, bear, and moose, and unidentified large remains. Medium-sized mammals (2-7 kg)—dog, other *Canidae* including fox, beaver, and raccoon, plus other unidentified remains. Small-sized mammals (<2 kg) muskrat, woodchuck, rabbit, porcupine, grey squirrel, meadow vole, chipmunk, mouse and shrew, plus other unidentified remains. There are more unidentified remains at Weston (65%) when compared to Indian Hill (45%) and Indian Castle (50%).
- 9.18. Albany charter and trade restrictions (Trelease 1960:222-223; Amour 1986). For more on the Albany Charter as a means for exerting imperial control (Bradley 2006:180-182).
- 9.19. For a synopsis of the Roseboom expeditions (Trelease 1960:269-271).
- 9.20. "Merchandize commonly called . . . [and] other Indian goods" (NYCD 3:400).
- 9.21. Frederick Philipse's vessel *Beaver* arrived in February 1686 (Bonomi 1971:61).

Cargo of Philipse's vessel Beaver		
Quantity	Item	
537 ells	Holland linen	
72 gross	tobacco pipes	
45	swords	
99	musket barrels	
assorted	tools, books, and other items	

Historian David Voorhees, director of the Papers of Jacob Leisler Project, provides another example of the detailed information available in ship inventories and manifests. Leisler's vessel *Hopewell* departed, 723

from Amsterdam in September 1683 bound for New York, with a stop in Falmouth (Port Book Plymouth/ Falmouth, September 17-27, 1683, document 2816, Section 4, Jacob Leisler Institute, Hudson, NY).

Cargo of Leisler's	Vessel Hopewell
Ouantity	Itom

Quantity	Item
42	Barrels for Gunns
32	Lokes for Gunns
8 dozen & 1/2	huakes bells
14 dozen	Sissors
1 Dozen	Fire steels
quantity	Glass beads

Leisler, who also traded in the Chesapeake and Caribbean, appears to have operated as a wholesale supplier and did not himself engage in retail. Thank you to David Voorhees for sharing this information (personal communication, 4/1/15, 5/8/19).

- 9.22. "Our Furr Trade is quite lost" (NYCD 4:2). Comparative prices at Montréal and Albany (NYCD 9:408-409).
- 9.23. Gifts from William Byrd (Leder, ed. 1956:86). Examples of gifts given by the English (Leder, ed. 1956:92, 95-96, 124, 128). Gifts given at the June 1692 conference, "400 lbs. powder, 700 lbs. lead . . ." (NYCD 3:840-842). Fletcher's gifts (NYCD 4:41-42).
- 9.24. Two complete large axes, five broken blades, and a few fragments were reported. Ax shape seems variable, while the trend towards rounder eyes, first seen at Indian Hill, continues. The knife sample (n = 51)includes three basic forms. Two forms are case knives, half with a tapered tang, and a quarter with a flat tang. As for iron awls (n = 6), four are square in section and two are diamond shaped. There is one small heavily used adze, and a fragment of a triangular file.

Kettles are represented by different types of lugs, or attachments for handles as described in Chapter Five under European Materials, Kettles. Of the eight kettle lugs reported by Sohrweide from Weston, five are square lugs with folded corners, one has an omega-shape, and another is of one-piece construction. Another indication that omega-shaped lugs are English-related comes from a kettle recovered from the Baby Point site near Toronto, probably the location of the Seneca Iroquois du Nord site of Teyaiagon. This kettle had omega-style lugs and was unusual enough that the excavators noted this form was unlike those generally found on sites in Ontario (Carruthers 2007:17, 33, Figures 22, 23).

9.25. There were three seals with discernable devices. One is a small round alnage seal (1.2 cm) with the letters OX (?) on either side of a thistle beneath a crown (Figure 9.8; Doxtator #59b). A similar James II seal was reported from the Lightfoot site, James City County, Virginia (Bottoms and Hansen 2006:172, Figure d#1).

The two merchant seals include a thin one with a classical bust with the profile facing right, G\*\*PNG on the left side, and I\*\*\* to the right (Sohrweide collection), and a small oval seal with a very worn script monogram (Haberle 1187-4). Endrei and Egan provide a review of English seals (1982).

9.26. The list of pipe marks attributed to the Weston site is incorrect as noted previously (Note 5.27; Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:127). Table 9.4 provides a corrected and updated list. Most of these marks appear to be from Gouda makers or their subcontractors, and Duco is the most reliable source for identification of these marks (2003). For sources on the EB and HG marks (Dallal 2004:227; de Roever 1987:58; McCashion 1979:8-9). For the crowned HG mark (Duco 2003:#474). Note that Jonas Jansz de Vriendt, listed as having been active 1660–1696, may be the same pipemaker referred to as Jacobus de Vriend in 1672 (Note 7.31).

In addition to the 47 marked heels listed in Table 9.4, five unmarked examples have been reported including one flush heel (6/64 diameter), two low heels (both 7/64), and two high heels (6/64 and 7/64).

Added to the marked pipes in Table 9.4, there is an assemblage of pipe-stems fragments from Weston, some stamped with fleur-de-lis or rouletting.

<b>Overall pipe stems from Weston including</b> <b>surface-collected material</b> (n = 161)		
Quantity	Stem bore	
4	5/64	
99	6/64	
53	7/64	
3	8/64	
2	9/64	

Decorated pipe-stem	fragments from Weston
(n	= 36)

Decoration	Quantity	Style/ Variety	Stem bore
Fleur-de-lis	1	2	7/64
	1	3	7/64
	2	4	6/64
	2	4	7/64
	1	5	6/64
	6	5	7/64
Rouletting	1	1	6/64
C	5	2	6/64
	1	3	6/64
	1	4	6/64
	1	5	5/64
	4	5	6/64
	7	5	-
	1	6	6/64
	2	6	7/64
	1	7	6/64

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- 9.27. Ingoldsby's gift of "6 grosse of pipes" (NYCD 3:840-842). Fletcher's gift of 5.5 gross tobacco pipes (NYCD 4:41-42).
- 9.28. The overall bead assemblage comes primarily from Sohrweide's excavation (n = 1,402). Tuck provides a cursory breakdown of an additional 1,422 glass beads from Weston, however, his descriptions are not sufficiently detailed to be included here (Doxtator collection; 1971:191, Table 18). There is another large assemblage from Weston in the Haberle collection, but a complete count of those beads is not available.

Comparison of beads at four sites			
Site	Total of 10 most frequent beads	% Round	% Red
Lot 18	2,684	14%	54%
Indian Castle	3,391	7%	82%
Indian Hill	2,697	19%	86%
Weston	1,231	84%	52%

"Black Bead sites" (Rumrill 1991:35). Definitions according to bead diameter—very small (<2 mm), small (2-4 mm), medium (4-6 mm), large (6-10 mm), and very large (>10 mm; Kidd and Kidd (1970:66). Although terms such as seed beads and necklace beads are commonly used, these terms are used reluctantly. Small and very small beads probably were used primarily for embroidery, while larger beads, as with wampum, could be worn in strands, woven into belts or sashes, inlaid into wooden or other objects, or sewn onto clothing or other regalia.

9.29. Table 9.5 data are based on the collections available. Although exact counts for these new forms from Weston are not known, the following is a reasonably accurate estimate.

<b>Peanut-shaped beads from Weston</b> (n = 35)		
Estimated Number	Туре	
4	IIa15	
20	IIa54/57	
1	IIb11	
2	IIb40*	
1	IIb61*	
6	IIb72*	
1	IIbb27*	

About 12 wire-wound beads from Weston are type WIb6. All of the new forms of beads are from the Sohrweide and Haberle collections. For examples of these new forms from Charles Towne Landing, ca. 1670-1680, including a detailed discussion (Smith 2007; Stoner and South 2007). Other examples are from Fort Albany in Ontario (Kenyon 1986:56, Plate 144).

- 9.30. There were three measurable barrel fragments from Weston (.57, .60, and .62 caliber). English military calibers during this period were approximately .75 (Peterson 1956:165). "The Five Nations of Indians . . ." (NYCD 4:57).
- 9.31. More sophisticated technology and Baroque style in English production (Burgoyne 2002:12). Discussion of the Oakes-pattern lock (Gooding 2003:40-43). Care needs to be taken in using the chronology for Fort Albany data (Note 7.36).

The standardization of English arms was a slow process. For example, in 1692 Birmingham gunsmiths, England's largest producer after London, made muskets on which half the lock plates were flat and half were round (Blackmore 1961:37). One of King William's first actions was the establishment of a Board of Ordnance in 1689, and among the first muskets to be standardized were Indian fusils (Bailey 1999:15).

- 9.32. Of the three lock plates reported from Weston, two are Puype Type IX and one is Type VII. One of the former is a nearly complete lock with a Type IX plate and high-quality workings including a bridle on the tumbler. This pattern is similar to lock plates found on Seneca sites of the same period (Puype 1985:I:62-67, 79-81, 1997:230-231).
- 9.33. Small *fuzées* (fusils) are what the French call light muskets. The sample of lead balls and shot from Weston (n = 47) covers a wide range of calibers (.10-.62) in 6 clusters—13 small shot at .10 to .25 caliber, four large shot at .25 to .36 caliber, three .40 to .41 caliber balls, five .50 to .53 caliber balls, 11 .54 to .56 caliber balls, and 11 .57 to .62 caliber ball.

The presence of arms from Liège, France, is confirmed by Stephen van Cortlandt's 1694 memo listing goods proper to be presented to the Five Nations. It specified guns like the traders have from Liège (NYCD 4:126). Puype has suggested that during this period many of the firearms that came to America were probably made in Liège, regardless of the stamp on the lock plate (personal communication, 2/17/10).

9.34. There were three latten-spoon fragments from Weston in two styles. Two have a round bowl and rounded stem. One of them has a seal-top and the other has a slipped end (Haberle 4172-4; Sohrweide collection). The third has an oval bowl, flat stem, and trifid end (Sohrweide collection). At least 36 spoons of both styles were recovered from the 1690 wreck of the *Elizabeth and Mary* (Bradley et al. 2003:153, Figure 19). European ceramics from Weston include two small fragments of lead-glazed red earthenware, eight fragments of tin-glazed ware, two of which have cobalt decoration, and 11 pieces of Rhenish stoneware, four of which are gray with cobalt and sprig-molded decoration, and seven have iron-oxide

glaze. In addition to the dark-green bottle fragments (n  $\geq 25$ ), there are two pieces of aqua-colored glass from small medicinal bottles. Several fragments of pewter pipes, including three stem pieces and two bowls with unusually long platforms but no effigy figures, have been reported from Weston. Other pewter objects from Weston include three pewter buckles—one square example with an integral center post (2.5 cm long, ~2.3 wide), and two rectangular examples (~4.5 cm long, ~3.8 cm wide) with brass tongues (Sohrweide collection). There is an example of a repaired ax blade from Weston with a re-welded bit (Doxtator collection) very similar to the example from the Seneca Beal site.

- 9.35. "The stocks are better made at New York or Albany" (NYCD 4:126). The ice creeper from Weston was roughly cut and folded from flat stock (11 cm long, ~4 cm wide). The three belt axes from Weston are versions of the larger field axes (12-14 cm long) with a narrower blade (5-6 cm wide), a teardrop-shaped eye, and a short poll (3-4 cm high). Two of the belt axes from Weston were recovered during Sohrweide's excavation, and the third one is in the Haberle collection (4161-4). Two belt axes recovered from the 1690 wreck of the Elizabeth and Mary in Québec have slightly larger dimensions than those from Weston (Bradley et al. 2003:Figure 3). Three similar belt axes were found at the KeyCorp site in Albany, New York (Bobby Brustle, personal communication, 8/11/19; Fisher 2004: Figure 2.14; Huey 1987:22). At least three belt axes have been reported from the Susquehannock Strickler site with a good example at the North Museum in Lancaster, Pennsylvania (10.8 cm long, blade 5 cm wide, poll 3.1 cm high; GF-32648-9), which was probably made in Maryland or Virginia. "skulking way of war" (Malone 1991:6).
- 9.36. About the merchants and the *congé* system under Louis XIV (Dechêne 1992:93-94; Eccles 1964:109-110).
- 9.37. Sieur de La Salle's 1684 lists for a profitable trade (NYCD 9:220). Lahontan's "Inventory of Goods that are proper for the Savages", "Venice beads" (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:377-378). "Presents conjoined with kindness and courtesy are arms which the Iroquois scarcely ever resist" (NYCD 9:226).
- 9.38. Axes from the *La Belle* from 1686 (n = 664) included large felling axes (~20 cm long) and small ones (~9 cm long). The smaller ones could easily have been used as belt axes (Bruseth, ed. 2014:47). The French and their Native friends certainly used belt axes during this period, as in the 1694 order for tomahawks for the Indians of Acadia (NYCD 9:577). Gladysz and Hamilton summarize what is known about Canadianmade axes and belt axes, although most of their information comes from eighteenth-century sites (2012a, 2012b).
- 9.39. There is at least one long-tanged iron point from Weston. Comparable examples are reported from the

Marquette Mission at St. Ignace, Rock Island, ca. 1670-1799, and Lasanen, ca. 1685-1696, sites in the upper Great Lakes (Cleland, ed. 1971:22; Fitting 1976:222-223; Mason 1986:Table 6.13.

Most of the iron awls from Weston show heavy use and reuse (n = 12). Of the few relatively complete examples known, four awls were double-pointed, straight and square-in-section (8-10 cm long, 0.2-0.4 cm central width), eight were diamond-in-section ( $\leq 14$ cm long,  $\leq 0.4$  cm wide), three of which were straight and five were offset forms. Comparable French-related sites with similar awls include a complete example (~15 cm long) from Île-aux-Oies, Phase III (Moussette 2009:Figure 80 E, F). There are two examples from seventeenth-century features from the Marquette Mission—a double-pointed square-in-section example (9 cm long; Fea. 24) and an offset diamond-in-section one (Fea. 34; Fitting 1976:222-23). Awls from the Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, sites that are not described (n = 20; Branstner 1992:184, Table 7.1). The ones from the Lasanen site (n = 4) are described as double-pointed and straight—two are round-in-section and two are square-in-section (Cleland, ed. 1971:22, Table 2). At least one of these is offset and diamondin-section from Rock Island (17 cm long; Cleland, ed. 1971:Table 2; Mason 1986:Table 4.8, 53, Table 6.13).

There is one fire steel, or strike-a-light, from Weston. Other sites with comparable examples include two from the Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, sites and two from Lasanen (n = 2; Branstner 1992:184, Table 7.1; Cleland, ed. 1971:22, Figure 16I).

There are 10 fishhooks from Weston. Other sites with comparable examples include Île-aux-Oies, Phase III, the Rock Island site, and 13 from the Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, sites (Branstner 1992:Table 7.1; Mason 1986:Tables 3.13, 6.13, 6.14, 9.8; Moussette 2009:Figure 84).

9.40. Sources on the three types of folding knife-blade styles — *jambette* (<10 cm long), *flatin* (10-15 cm long), and siamois (Hanson 2008; Moussette 2000). Jambette and flatin as French styles were introduced in Note 5.39. There is some confusion in the use of terms. For example, a 1697 Montréal inventory lists 30 large jambettes, later called flatins (Moussette 2000:8). Jesuit references to jambettes (JR 12:119-21; 15:159). On the blades of the flatin or flattened style, both edges are straight. The dorsal edge often rises towards the tip, producing what Hanson calls a slightly skewed parallelogram. From the widest point, the spine of the blade drops down to meet the sharpened edge to form the point. Some scholars have drawn a distinction based on whether this produces a convex or straight edge. Cleland refers to the convex form as a hawk-bill, also known as a sheep's foot style, and the straight edge form as the angular-pointed style (Cleland, ed. 1971:19). La Salle's 1684 inventory of flatin blades (NYCD 9:220).

- 9.41. At least four folding-knife blades from Weston have legible marks (Haberle collection). Exposure to fire can produce a surface on iron objects that is more resistant to corrosion. There are at least three examples of the *La Belle*-style case knives from Weston with the most complete example having a blade (12.5 cm long) with a pointed tip and a flat tang (8 cm long) with three holes for handle pins (OHA 2200.249). For examples from the *La Belle* (Bruseth and Turner 2005:921-992). For knives from the Rock Island site, probably from Period 3a (Mason 1986:199-200, Plate 14.40). For examples from the Palais de l'Intendant (Moussette 2000:5).
- 9.42. One of the four marked folding knives from Weston has a flatin-style blade (13.2 cm long). It was wellused, has frequently been resharpened, and is stamped with two names, one above the other —ANTNOINE · ROVLAND and IANDRE·A·ACOVIER—with a Maltese cross to the right and a heart to the left leaning on its left side (Haberle 832-4). A second blade has the names ANTNOINE · ROVLAND and IANDRE·A·ACOVIER (Haberle 1319-4). A third marked knife is a fragment from a flatin-style blade also stamped with two names, ES · PALLEN and E·A·A· PERON, and has a heart to the left, leaning on its left side (Haberle 1741-4). Note that an asterisk denotes one or more missing letters in the following examples. A fourth fragment of a large flatin-style blade was stamped M \* A \* ES · PALLE (star) and IANDRE · PERON, with a heart on its left side (Haberle 830-4). A fifth fragment was marked HS, oriented vertically along the blade (Haberle 831-4). Sixth is a small jambette-style blade marked IRNAN \* IER and IANDRE \* AVID (Haberle 1320-4). Finally, the seventh is a blade fragment marked INAR with a heart on its left side (Haberle 1848-4).

The assemblage from Weston also includes three complete folding blades without marks. Two are flatinstyle (11.3 and 11.5 cm long) and one is a jambette-style blade (9.3 cm long). La Salle's 1684 inventory for Fort Frontenac (NYCD 9:220).

9.43. Several blades from the *La Belle* were stamped HUGUES Y PERRINET, and there were additional marks including a fleur-de-lis to the left and a heart to the right. These *La Belle* examples are described as clasp knives with a convex, or hawks-bill, tip on a blade that tapers towards the proximal end. Blade lengths are not given other than being slightly shorter than the six-inch (15 cm) long iron handles [sic?] (Bruseth and Turner 2005:921-992). From the Marquette Mission site, four examples of knife blades have been reported from seventeenth-century features, two with partially discernable names—AERAOL LAYN and [\* \*] OIN [ANTOINE?] (Fitting 1976:222-223, Figures 32C, 32F). Branstner reports another 38 examples including five case knives and the rest clasp knives, but provides no details (1992:184, Table 7.1). It is likely that ongoing research on this important site will produce more

marked examples. From the Lasanen site, 14 flatinstyle knife blades were recovered, and although several appear to have been marked few were legible (Cleland, ed. 1971:19-21). One flatin-style knife from Rock Island is stamped HVGVES PERRINET and has a second incomplete line beneath \* PIERRE. FLATIN. Several of the folding knives from the *La Belle* also had the maker's mark HUGUES Y PERRINET, with a fleurde-lis to the left of the name and a heart to the right.

The ca. 1670-1700 context at Rock Island also produced two marked case-knife blades. One blade, not described, was stamped IC above five illegible characters with the mark oriented vertically on the blade. The second appears to have the same flattang blade with a thin raised collar as seen on the *La Belle* examples, and is stamped with the name ANTOINE with a second unidentifiable name below. For information on siamois-style blades from the Rock Island site (Mason 1986:199-202).

- 9.44. Sedan, France, was also an early production center for arms, but was largely eclipsed by nearby Charleville after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Charleville became a royal manufactory in 1688 (Hayward 1963:II:42). For information on Tulle as a manufactory (Bouchard 1998). For information on St. Étienne (Gladysz 2011). No less than 600,000 fusils (Lynn 1997:182).
- 9.45. Branstner reports only two guns in the collection from St. Ignace and none from Lasanen, both near Michilimackinac (1991:238). Bruseth and Turner report that four white-pine boxes, each containing 20 to 24 muskets, were found in the main cargo hold of the *La Belle* (2005:94-95). These muskets appear to have had iron hardware and lock plates similar to Puype's VIII varieties. Some were embellished with a Sun King motif made of brass inlaid into the stock. Although they report that at least four different types of muskets were represented, minimal data have been made available (Bruseth, ed. 2014:76-77). Gladysz provides a recent review of French firearms from St. Étienne in New France, ca.1639-1699 (2011:28-50).
- 9.46. There were eight kettle lugs found at Weston. Most were made from sheet metal, folded then riveted over the rim and reinforced by folding the corners. The one kettle with similar lugs from the *La Belle* (~35 cm in diameter, ~23.5 cm high) appears to have been for domestic use rather than trade (Bruseth, ed. 2014:84). George Quimby first pointed out the predominance of kettles with eared lugs on Great Lakes sites (1966:69, Figure 11). Branstner reported one copper kettle and 10 kettle lugs from the Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, sites at St. Ignace, but did not specify their shape (1991:234, Table 9). Cleland mentions only a brass pail with iron lugs but no kettles from Lasanen (Cleland, ed. 1971:28, Figure 42f). Walder's counts include intact lugs and fragments (2015:435, Table 6.33).

- 9.47. "two hundred pounds of large black beads" (NYCD 9:220). Beads that are similar between Weston and the Rock Island site, ca. 1670-1700, and the Bell site, ca. 1680-1730, both in Wisconsin, include new forms—IIa15\*, IIb40\*, and WIb6—as well as more familiar varieties—IIa6/7, IIa13/14, and IIa55/56 (Behm 2008:7-85; Mason 1986:188-189, Table 14.4; Lorenzini 1996). Wooden box on the *La Belle* with more than 600,000 beads (Bruseth, ed. 2014:42).
- 9.48. The few religious objects from Weston (n = 9;Sohrweide, Haberle, and Doxtator collections). Mention of numerous references to rings, crucifixes, and medals from the site (Clark 1849:II:262). Rings at Weston (n = 7) compared to Indian Hill (n = 76). The stamped and cast motifs on rings from Weston include a Madonna and child, a crown above clasped hands over a five-pointed star, Jesus surrounded by rays facing right, IHS beneath a cross, a crucifixion, and an anchor [?] beneath a Maltese cross. The single cut and incised ring has a poorly executed L/ heart motif. Approximately 1,600 brass rings were recovered from the *La Belle* with motifs including 612 IHS, 341 crucifixions, 115 double M, or MV, 107 Mary at the cross, and smaller numbers of Virgin Mary, Christ, King Louis, St. Francis, L/heart, and other styles (Bruseth, ed. 2014:43; Bruseth and Turner 2005: 89-90). For a more detailed analysis (Mason 2003). Branstner reports 45 rings and six crosses from St. Ignace. Specifically, she reports 35 iconographic finger rings from the Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, sites. All are identified as cast. The following styles were specified—11 L/hearts, six IHS, five saints, three settings for stone, two double M, or MV, monograms s, two clasped hands, one bust, one crucifixion, and four unidentified or fragments (1991:Table 9, 1992:Table 7.3). Reported were 21 rings from the Lasanen site, with all appearing to have been stamped and cast. Styles include 10 IHS, two L/hearts, two Christ/saints facing left, three double M (or MV) monograms, one crucifixion, and one Mary/saint facing left (Cleland, ed. 1971:29-33, Figure 22).
- 9.49. One of the four Weston medals is a heavily worn small oval (~1 cm high; Doxtator #24). Although the obverse side has not been reported, it appears to have three crosses on the reverse. The second, recovered during Sohrweide's excavation, is larger (2.9 cm high, 2.3 cm wide) and it is also worn. On the obverse, it portrays a saint in profile facing right surrounded with rays, and the inscriptions are B•ALOY to the left and SIV•CONL• [?] to the right. The reverse depicts two saints in profile facing right with halos, and the inscriptions are •S •IGNA to left and •S•TRAN \* IRR• \* to the right. Large medals similar to this Weston one are known from several contemporaneous Frenchrelated sites, although most portray Christ facing right on the obverse and the Virgin facing left on the reverse. Examples include medals from Le Vieux-La 728

Prairie (BiFi23-2C38), Rock Island, Period 3, and from Lasanen (Cleland, ed. 1971:33-34, Figure 22D-22F; Côté 2003:Figure 17; Mason 1986:204-205). The third medal from Weston was described by Clark as portraying the figure of a Roman pontiff in a standing position. In his hand is a crosier and he is surrounded by the inscription *B. virg. sin. P. origi. con.* (The blessed virgin conceived without original sin). On the other side is a representation of a serpent and two nearly naked figures looking intently upon it (1849:II:273). The fourth Weston medal was reported to be in the Haberle collection (817-4). Unfortunately, neither this nor a reported crucifix (1329-4) could be located. 9.50. Sohrweide recovered one piece of Saintonge

green-glazed earthenware from Weston. Comparable examples of this diagnostic ware are reported from Le Vieux-La Prairie and Île-aux-Oies, Phase III (Côté 2001:103; Moussette 2009:197, Figure 72A).

At least three coins have been documented from Weston. Two are *liards*, one with a G mintmark (Haberle 1185-4, 4015-4). Haberle also reported a small silver coin with a cross and fleur-de-lis on obverse, and a crowned shield and fleur-de-lis on reverse, probably a *douzain* of Henri IV (1186-4). Similar examples have been reported from the Marquette Mission site at St. Ignace in Michigan, Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, Illinois, and Le Vieux-La Prairie near Montréal (Côté 2001; (Hall 1991:22-23; Skowronek and Houck 1990).

9.51. There were only four bells from Weston, while there were more than 1,300 small brass bells, often referred to as hawk bells, recovered from the wreck of the *La Belle*. At other sites, 21 were found at the Gros Cap site, eight at Lasanen, and two from the Illinois Naples site (Bruseth and Turner 2005:89; Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 17 D; Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 10A; Walthall et al. 1992:141). "overcoats (*capots*) and shirts . . . are the most efficacious means to gain over, or to preserve public opinion" (NYCD 9:257). At least two buttons are reported from Weston (Haberle 1212-4, 4998-4). One similar button is reported from Île-aux-Oies, Phase III, and 28 from the Lasanen site (Cleland, ed. 1971:26-27, Figure 20A-20C; Moussette 2009:Figure 79B).

The extent to which French cloth seals occur during this period is unclear. Mason reports three examples, none with diagnostic marks, from Rock Island, Period 3a (1986:204). One distinctive example from this period depicts Louis XIV and is from feature 13 at Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, Illinois (Hall 1991:23). While Neillon and Moussette report five lead seals from Champlain's Habitation de Québec, all are from post-1700 contexts (1985:149).

9.52. At the Marquette mission site, 82% of the glass beads reported (n = 370) are described as seed beads. The colors of these 304 seed beads are white (33%), light blue (32%), black (10%), dark blue (8%), and other colors (20%) including only four red beads (Fitting 1976:Table 7). Color preferences are similar among

larger beads. Only three of the 66 larger glass beads are red (Fitting 1976:Table 8). Branstner reports a similar result from the adjacent Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, site although the glass bead total (n = 4,834) is broken down only into seed beads (84%) and other glass beads (16%; 1991:190).

At the Lasanen site, most of the glass beads (n = 7,209) are described as seed beads (78%), while the remaining are described as round or tubular beads (22%). Color preferences for the 5,608 seed beads were black (54%), dark blue (32%), white (8%), light blue (3%) and clear (3%). Color preferences for the 1,569 larger round beads were black (81%), dark blue (8%), red (6%), white (4%) and light blue (<1%). These are calculations based on Lyle Stone 5(Cleland, ed. 1971:74-85). At the Illinois Naples site, ca. 1693 to 1700, the majority of beads were seed beads and predominantly white (Walthall et al. 1992:143).

The vast majority of the glass beads (n  $\approx$  2,500) recovered from the *La Belle*, 1686, were small to very small seed beads, primarily black, blue, and white. Very few (< 0.5%) were larger drawn beads. Bruseth and Turner state these beads were made in Venice, Europe's largest producer of fine glass at the time (2005:87-88). While that is possible, given the state of war between France and the Dutch Republic during this period, these beads are simple enough to have been made almost anywhere.

- 9.53. *"Roi de France et Dieu"* (Clark 1849:II:260-262). Hall reports that a bronze medal with a representation of Louis XIV was found at Starved Rock in Illinois during the nineteenth century (1991:17).
- 9.54. Precipitous decline in marine-shell objects (Esarey 2013:126, 133, Figure 8.2, 135-137; Sempowski 1989:88-89).
- 9.55. "Wampum has become rarer", "and is not as well worked up as formerly" (Lafitau 1977 [1724]:II:309). Less frequent shell forms at Weston include three crescents, one claw, and two loons as well as several types of pendants.
- 9.56. Complete examples of long tubular shell beads from Weston (n > 100; 7.5-15.0 cm in length). In addition there are about 100 more shorter or broken beads of this style than were present at Indian Hill ( $n \approx$ 60). While precise counts are impossible, Beauchamp's comment that one lot of these beads from Weston, when strung together, measured 8.5 feet long, provides some perspective on their frequency (Antiquities 6:#1188-1190). y-shaped, or triconcave, beads were represented in shell at Weston (n = 18, examples in Figure 9.19b). Esarey describes triconcave beads as a late seventeenth-century form that continues well into the next century (2013:239-240). One of the examples from Weston appears to have been made from a reworked runtee or other embellished form. Although a few smaller examples in this style are known from

Indian Castle, none have been reported from Indian Hill. Mason reports three pipestone examples from Rock Island, Period 3a (1986:Plate 14.8 #4).

9.57. Runtees were reported at Weston (n = 23). Of 19 circular examples, seven are small (<3 cm diameter), seven are medium (3-4 cm), and five are large (>3 cm). Thirteen of them have discernable motifs—four cross-and-dot, four arc rosette, two concentric circles, two drilled dots only, and one was clearly plain.

The four other runtees are zoomorphic. One is long and narrow, described as a fish by Beauchamp (1901:#59). Similar fish-like runtees first appear at the earlier Indian Castle site and are not common (Beauchamp 1901 #104). Beauchamp reports another early example from an unnamed Cayuga site (1901 #101). None have been reported from Indian Hill. The other three from Weston appear to depict marine mammals with a prominent dorsal fin, having a pattern of diagonal incised lines and drilled dots. Two are blocky (example in Figure 9.19c), and one could be described as a leaping dolphin or porpoise (Figure 9.19d; Beauchamp 1901:#105).

Although not as broadly distributed as circular runtees, these zoomorphic forms occur on sites across the Northeast and Great Lakes. A comparable example of the early fish style has been reported from the Gros Cap site in St. Ignace, Michigan (Nern and Cleland 1974:30 Figure 16 F, G). Comparable examples of the later marine-mammal style were recovered—one from an Esopus cache in Ulster County, New York, three examples from the Lasanen site, two from an unidentified Cayuga site, probably the Great Gully or Ganz site in central New York, two from the Munsee cemetery in the Delaware Valley, New Jersey, and one from a cache at the Sarf site in Pennsylvania (Antiquities 10#267; Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 23E; Cowin 2000:1-4, Figures 1, 2; Heye and Pepper 1915:Figures 14, 15; Kent 1970:Figure 3e).

9.58. Although gorgets are traditionally defined by two central perforations, there is considerable variability. Three of the five Weston examples were made with a single central perforation.

The first gorget from Weston is medium-sized and round with double perforations (>7.5 cm diameter, Figure 9.20a; NYSM 70715). It was plowed up by N. N. Wells of Pompey and sold to Otis Bigelow. Beauchamp appears to have drawn this piece more than once. His first drawing is a stylized version showing a slightly scalloped edge and several incised concentric circles, some with alternating triangles, some with drilled dots (*Antiquities* 3:#953). Beauchamp redrew this more carefully some years later and used this version in his *New York State Museum Bulletin* on shell (*Antiquities* 6:#1150; Beauchamp 1901:380, #155, #209). In the later description, he notes that the two perforations are centered and close together with a partially drilled

third hole between them. He also provides a more detailed drawing of the corroded obverse with its complex pattern of incising, drilling, and possible engraving. He also described and sketched the convex reverse side (*Antiquities* 6:#1911).

The second gorget from Weston is medium-sized and oblong with a single perforation (7.2 cm diameter, Figure 9.20b; Bigelow collection, NYSM A71454). It is deeply concave, and is finely incised with a double set of four-directions motifs, is labeled the Gates site [Weston], and is illustrated by Beauchamp (*Antiquities* 9:#1229).

The third is a medium-sized round gorget with a single perforation that was redrilled with two additional and quite worn perforations (6.3 cm diameter Figure 9.20c; private collection). The obverse has a complex, very finely incised motif, which is an almost fleur-de-lis style cross dividing the surface into quadrants, and each quadrant has a bird flying towards the center. The rim decoration is crosshatched triangles with the worn pattern indicating a larger original diameter (~6.8 cm). It is strongly concave on the obverse (~1.5 cm curvature).

The fourth gorget is a 4-pointed star-like with a single central perforation (4 cm wide, 4 cm long, ~2 mm thick, Figure 9.20d; private collection). The obverse surface is eroded, but appears to have been decorated with drilled dots. The form of this gorget is similar to a bead illustrated as a star/cross bead type (Beauchamp 1901a:#64; Esarey 2013:235).

The fifth gorget, which is large, round, and plain, has been lost. From Beauchamp's drawings, it has double perforations (13.3 cm diameter) that are off-center and a third of the way below the rim. Found by N. N. Wells and sold to Otis Bigelow, Beauchamp drew this piece three times (*Antiquities* 3:#954, #965, 6:#1149). Initially, he recorded a pattern of drilled dots, but later noted that the pattern was indistinct. After a closer examination, Beauchamp determined that the surface was perfectly plain. He also illustrated this piece in a photograph (1901a:Plate 17 #208). This example is similar to a large gorget from the Lasanen site in Michigan (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 23F).

- 9.59. "wampum pipes and Indian jewells" (Esarey 2013:135-137; Van Laer, ed. 1919:33:157).
- 9.60. The marine-shell objects included one runtee from the Richardson site, and one square-nose fish and one disk runtee from the Marquette Mission (Esarey 2013:Table E.11, 226-227). Mason does not report marine shell from Rock Island, Period 3a (1986). One set of shell beads is from Fort St. Louis at Starved Rock, Illinois (Hall 1991:20). No marine shell was reported from the Naples site (Walthall et al. 1992). For the Gros Cap assemblage (n = 11; Nern and Cleland 1974:28-30, Figure 16). The Lasanen assemblage was reported by Buckmaster and Canouts (Cleland, ed. 1971:35-40).

9.61. Seneca sites were anciently looted (Wray and Schoff 1953:60). Charles Wray believed the shell from Lasanen probably originated from the Boughton Hill and related sites destroyed by Denonville in 1687 (personal communication, 9/81). In terms of the overall similarity based on Wray's communication with Peter P. Pratt, Cleland observed that essentially every artifact type recovered at Lasanen is specifically duplicated at the Pen site, ca. 1697-1705 (Cleland, ed. 1971:92). He made a similar observation of the shell artifacts from Pen and Gros Cap sites three years later (Nern and Cleland 1974:31, 54). These comparisons remain valid, with the qualification that the Pen site burials are associated with the subsequent Jamesville site, ca. 1697-1715, rather than Weston, ca. 1683-1696.

- 9.62. "pillaged by our Frenchmen and Indians" (NYCD 9:654). "The Iroquois . . . have always been very religious in respect to their dead", "the most cruel mark of enmity" (Lafitau 1977 [1724]:II:239).
- 9.63. Pendants from Weston (n = 9) included six circular, one triangular, and two elongated rectangular forms. More than 150 brass or copper points have been reported with 101 determined to be triangular projectile points. Of these points, 59% are unperforated, and 89% retain a traditional isosceles shape, although exotic forms have a significant presence, particularly pentagonal points.

Implements included two knives—a small pentagonal blade (Doxtator #2), and one not described (Haberle 795-4). There were three saws—one small with fine teeth (Haberle 5003-4), one medium-sized with fine teeth (Haberle 1666-4), and one not described (Haberle 4017-4). Four awls were reported—a carefully formed and an expedient example (Sohrweide collection), and two examples labeled as barbs (Haberle 1357-4, 1358-4). Surprisingly, there are no double-pointed, centrally perforated weaving needles reported, although there are many from the previous and subsequent Onondaga sites.

- 9.64. Simple o- or e-shaped, and two B-shaped tubes were recovered from the Weston site (n = 17). Thirteen of the examples of tube forms showed various dimensions, and four examples were not available to measure (Haberle collection). Sohrweide's excavation produced two pieces of B-shaped tubing, one spiral strip bead, and one small clip. Conical forms (n = 59) included 30 tinkling cones (19 from Sohrweide's excavation, 11 reported in the Haberle collection catalog), one pipebowl liner, and 28 conical points (19 from Sohrweide's excavation, nine reported in the Haberle collection catalog).
- 9.65. Wire objects include two finger rings, one coil, and two spirals. The two spirals from Weston have a single asymmetric form made from very fine wire (mm thick, ~1 cm diameter, Figure 9.21e, f)—one with 2.75 revolutions and the other with 4 revolutions

(Sohrweide collection). There were two pieces of unutilized wire recovered—one of fine brass (2 mm diameter), and another of heavier copper (4 mm diameter; Sohrweide collection). A single spiral or copper coil from the Lasanen site provides an indication of how far west Susquehannock people, or their influence, may have dispersed after 1675 (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 17F).

- 9.66. Sohrweide's excavated sample of scrap metal (n = 122) contained approximately the same percent of used pieces of brass (72%) as compared to that at Indian Hill (78%). Another portion was not utilized (20%), and a small amount was melted (8%). Partially completed objects include two pipe-bowl liners or tinkling cones, two conical points, and a hinge. Techniques for the eight examples of metal-to-metal joints included the use of tube rivets, staples, wire lacing, and sheet metal lacing. Two of three metal-to-wood joints were brass patches to wooden ladles or bowls (Figure 9.22, Sohrweide collection). One well-preserved example was a rectangular piece of brass (3.8 cm long, 1.8 cm wide) folded over a crack in the edge of the ladle and secured with a small staple and two tube rivets. A second similar example was less well-preserved. The third example is a fragment of an elaborate metal-towood joint, one in which a long tapering brass cut-out was attached to a piece of wood with thin brass lacing. Another sheet-brass hinge from Weston (Haberle 3956-4) is similar to those described from Indian Hill. Other fragments of metal-to-metal joints include five tube rivets, a staple, an example of wire lacing, and a piece of sheet perforated for lacing. On a contemporaneous Camden site in Virginia, there were two diamondshaped pieces of copper recovered that were perhaps European rivet preforms (MacCord 1969:28).
- 9.67. Of the red-stone objects from the Weston sample (n = 94), virtually all are made of pipestone, while only one is red slate. At Indian Hill, 11 of the red stone objects were made of red slate, while only two pipestone objects were present.

At Weston there are 85 pipestone beads and four pendants, as well as another five unfinished pieces. Of the beads, 55 are tubular (0.5-4.6 cm long) with edge notching present on 13 of them. In cross-section, they are triangular, trapezoidal, circular, or acentric. In addition, 23 of the beads are flat (1.0-2.5 cm long) and are triangular to trapezoidal in shape, 14 of which have flat bases, eight have indented bases, and two are either damaged or not discernable. The remaining seven beads have other shapes—two round, two acentric, and two other flat shapes, plus one anthropomorphic effigy.

9.68. Comparative sites include the Marquette Mission, Wyandot, and Rock Island, all previously mentioned in Chapter Seven. Among the pipestone objects Fitting recovered from the Marquette Mission site

was a triangular pendant with an incurvate base and perforated at the apex (1976:Figure 18A). Fitting also recovered a trapezoidal bead partially drilled from both ends and seven tubular beads rectangular to square in section (1976:Figure 18B, 180). Branstner reported pipestone objects (n = 195) from her work on the adjacent Tionontate Huron, or Wyandot, site, but provides little specific description. She does note the presence of animal-effigy beads, human (face) effigy pendants, and worked fragments (n = 53; 1991:190). Some of the pipestone objects from Rock Island, Period 3a, may also date from this period. Mason estimated the Potawatomi occupation at Rock Island, ca. 1670-1700 (1986). The Naples site located in Scott County, Illinois, is the only contemporaneous Illinois site that has produced a pipestone assemblage. Among the seven pieces reported are four trapezoidal pendants, two with concave bases, one straight base, and one not described (Walthall et al. 1992:140).

Two other comparative assemblages of pipestone are primarily from mortuary sites. The large assemblage from Lasanen (n = 152) is well described (Cleland, ed. 1971). It is more difficult to assess the pipestone from Gros Cap. An estimate of the assemblage is at least 36 pieces including 26 beads—nine tubular, one trapezoidal, 11 v-shaped, and five others. There are seven pendants—one triangular with an incurvate base, one v-shaped, four zoomorphic, and one anthropomorphic. There are also two pipe fragments and a piece of worked scrap (Nern and Cleland 1974:23-28; Quimby 1966:128-29). Based on glass-bead styles, the Gros Cap and Lasanen assemblages are dated, ca. 1685 and 1705.

- 9.69. Susan Branstner reported that a significant portion of the pipestone assemblage from the Marquette Mission and adjacent occupation site was scrap (1991). Evidence for the production of pipestone beads produced at the Marquette Mission and adjacent sites at St. Ignace includes beads (n = 140), fragments or scrap (n = 53), along with anvils and grinding platforms with a significant portion of scrap (Branstner 1991:233, Table 9). At Rock Island, Period 3a, Mason reported 16 completed objects and 22 pieces of scrap or unfinished articles (1986:Table 14.3).
- 9.70. "red stone peace pipes" was reported by La Potherie in 1689 (Note 8.53; Havard 2001:81). "Warr between you & us", "two belts of wampum to . . ." (NYCD 4:121-122).
- 9.71. A similar preference for pipestone over red slate is apparent at the Seneca Boughton Hill site. Wray and Graham list 80 pipestone objects, and virtually all are beads, both tubular and trapezoidal forms, with one or two small pendants. In contrast only three red-slate objects, all pendants with v-shaped bases, were reported (Wray and Graham 1966:28, 37). Jordan suggested that red slate makes up almost half of the

finished artifacts from the subsequent sites, ca.1688-1715, although there is a sharp rise in the occurrence of pipestone as well (2008:306-307). However, it is likely that the revival of the use of red slate on Onondaga sites did not occur until the early eighteenth century.

The reddish-orange sandstone from Weston may have originated from the Upper Devonian Catskill formation in Pennsylvania (James Herbstritt, personal communication, 5/5/11). In addition to the pieces recovered by Sohrweide (Figure 9.24), there is a large discoidal bead of the same material in the Haberle collection (2568-4).

- 9.72. Plain grit-tempered pottery sherds were recovered during Sohrweide's excavation. The ceramic smoking pipes from Weston (n = 22, examples in Figure 9.25) include 10 elongated ring bowls, seven effigy forms, short, three barrel-shaped bowl, a trumpet form, and an hourglass-shaped bowl. Effigy forms include six zoomorphic figures including two eagles or nesting birds, one bear, two open-mouth turtles or snakes, one owl, plus one anthropomorphic example. Several of these also occur at the contemporary Seneca Boughton Hill site including an eagle/raptorial bird form (RFC 156/103), and an anthropomorphic figure (RFC 710/103). The Weston example with an hourglassshaped bowl, possibly a Susquehannock-related style, is identical to examples from Boughton Hill (RFC 75/103). Although Kent suggests this hourglassshaped bowl form is Seneca, not Susquehannock, pipes in this form appear to have been well represented at the Susquehannock Oscar Leibhart site (1984:Figure 27, far right). In addition to these pipe bowls, an additional 28 fragments have been reported from Weston including several examples with burnished and/or painted stems.
- 9.73. In the Weston sample of lithics (n = 17), 11 are triangular chert points compared with 120 points of sheet brass. Local Onondaga chert was used for four of the points (Sohrweide collection). Seven others were made of non-local material—four of western Onondaga chert (Sohrweide collection), one large white-flint point (Haberle 5081-4), and three arrowheads of a translucent foreign material (Haberle 1003-4, 1443-4, 1445-4). Other chert bifaces include four Native-made gunflints, a bifacial knife (Doxtator #49), and a chert drill (~5 cm long; Haberle 4182-4).

Chert unifaces include four scrapers—two from Doxtator (#56), one from Haberle (3224-4), and a well-made example of Fort Ann chert. There is also a large thinning flake with some edge use, and a rough attempt at edging a piece of Onondaga chert, perhaps into an expedient scraper. Ground-stone tools include a fragmentary and battered mano, a battered cobble or perhaps an expedient hammer, a mano fragment, a slightly battered large celt (~12.5 cm long), and another celt (Haberle 3225-4). Except where other collections are noted, these lithics were found during Sohrweide's excavations.

- 9.74. At Weston there were two combs found-one depicting mirror-image panthers (Figure 9.34a; Besanson OHA) and another depicting mirror-image horned (?) otters (Figure 9.34b; private collection). Wray and Graham reported 18 identifiable combs from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (1966:59). There are at least another 12 combs from Boughton Hill in the NYSM collection. Other evidence of worked bone at Weston includes a tarsometatarsus from a male turkey, a shaped deer ulna, a deer phalange cut horizontally at the distal end, and two large-sized mammal long-bone sections, worked but not finished. Also present were three pieces of worked bone comprised of an engraved fragment of bird long bone, a preform made from a large-sized mammal long bone, and a diamond-shaped object made from a medium-sized mammal long bone, possibly indented as an inlay (Pipes 2012).
- 9.75. Of the six axes from Weston, the complete example is large and partially split along the weld (Besanson OHA). There are four partial axes (Haberle 1174-4, 1175-4, 1433-4, 4161-4), and there is an ax blade (Doxtator collection). There is a fragment of an iron kettle reground into a knife (Haberle 1309-4). It is likely that bottle glass was used to make expedient tools such as scrapers, although the degraded condition of the glass makes this difficult to verify. This practice has been documented on other sites in the region. For example, two reused bottle fragments were reported from the late seventeenth-century component at the Harry's Farm site in the upper Delaware Valley (Kraft 1975:152). Small pieces of scrap brass and copper were discarded at Weston ( $\leq 2$  cm). Of the scrap brass (n = 140) from the early seventeenth-century Shurtleff site, 75% was reused (Bradley 2005a:Table 14, 2001:Table 4.2).
- 9.76. Examples of iron objects recovered during Sohrweide's excavation include an awl made from a kettle bail (~14 cm long, 0.5 cm maximum diameter), a rectangular iron scraper with a rounded bit (~5.7 cm long, ~3 .0 cm across), and a case knife-blade fragment reground into a semi-lunar shape (6 cm long). Since Native-made hatchet blades occur at the subsequent Jamesville and Pen sites, their absence at Weston is probably a matter of sampling.
- 9.77. Fragments of cast-pewter inlays from a wooden pipe were recovered during Sohrweide's excavation. These diamond-shaped fragments are similar to examples from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (Wray and Graham 1966:46). The cast-pewter medallion from Weston depicts an individual wearing a crown facing left within a border of short oblique lines. It has not been possible to record the reverse side (Figure 9.32b; Doxtator #22). Evidence for casting also comes from Beauchamp's mention of a ladle used for casting lead

found by Nelson Wells (Antiquities 3:text after #965).

- 9.78. Two cast-pewter rings were found at Weston—one is complete (Figure 9.33d; Doxtator #23) and another is fragmentary (Sohrweide collection). On the fragment there appears to be a small arc above each quadrant. At least three examples of pewter rings were reported from Seneca sites, although none appear to be similar to the Weston examples (Wood 1974:92, 93, 99),
- 9.79. For an example of the generic use of calumet see Vimont's 1645 gift of a handsome pipe—"*un beau calumet ou une pippe*" (JR 27:268, 271). Davineau provides a review of the many ways this term has been used (2008:43-52). Most archival references to calumets date from the mid-1680s on (Davineau 2008:228-232). "his Pipe in his Mouth, and the great *Calumet* of Peace before him" (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:75). Lahontan as witness (Note 8.12).
- 9.80. Five examples of round or large tubular red-glass beads with ground facets from Weston (NYSM 38844.1, 38844.2, 38844.9, 38844.10; Sohrweide collection).
- 9.81. Examples of distinctive ceramics from Illinois country include two pieces of possible Danner-style ware recovered during Sohrweide's excavation. One is a rim sherd with a light-gray paste and no visible temper (Figure 9.27a). Although somewhat battered, there is no evidence of cording, incising, or other marking, and the second piece is a small body sherd of the same ware (Kathleen Ehrhardt, personal communication, date 9/15/14). An example of the use of Great Lakes technology is an antler-tine point with a hollowed out socket (Figure 9.27b; Sohrweide collection) with comparable examples from Lasanen and Rock Island (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 30F #1-4; Mason 1986:181).

A soapstone effigy pipe depicting a bear or dog (Figure 9.27c) appears to be a hybrid between the typical Onondaga bear effigy shown previously (Figure 5.45b from Indian Castle), and a modified trumpet-like soapstone tube pipes reported from Wisconsin (West 1934:II:Plate 14 #1, Plate 121 #5, #7). George Hamell observes that given the presence of a tail this more likely depicted a dog than a bear (personal communication, 4/4/18). Revival of medicine-society practices and the changing role of dogs as ritual agents may be added indications of Great Lakes influence in Onondaga. As at Indian Hill, it is likely that much of the material evidence of Great Lakes peoples at Weston does not survive archaeologically.

9.82. For more on multiethnic communities along the Susquehanna River (Kent 1984:56-91, 104-106; Pencak and Richter 2004:Map 2; Warren 2014:134-153). Martin Chartier was an associate of another *coureur de bois*, Peter Bisaillon (Jennings 1978). It is unclear when similar mixed settlements in the New York portion of the upper Susquehanna drainage were first occupiedcommunities such as Owego, Otsiningo, Onaquaga, and Unadilla (Funk 1993:87-89, 294; Starna 2013:194-196, Map 9). Jordan also discussed the expansion of Seneca sites into the upper Susquehanna drainage during this period (2015). As Stephen Warren has observed, small European settlements such as Bohemia Manor, Augustus Herrman's private estate located at the head of Chesapeake Bay, also served as points of coalescence (2014:134-146). For more on multiethnic communities along the Delaware River (Kent 1984:91-93; Kraft 1975:151-155, 1989).

- 9.83. Iroquois Covenant Chain or the onset of Iroquois Dominion (Warren 2014:139, 146). Five Nations' influence on material traits may have also gone south as the style of a smoking pipe from the Camden site in Virginia suggests (MacCord 1969:Figure 7A).
- 9.84. "not be troubled at the sight you will see [of] faces painted red and black", (NYCD 9:256). "face had been painted red and black, as a victim to the demon of war and Irroquois wrath" (JR 64:91). About half the Weston beads are red and half are black and dark blue (Table 9.5). Vermillion and red-paint stone, or hematite, was found at Weston (A. Gregory Sohrweide, personal communication, 1/22/12). Another piece of hematite from Weston was reported by Haberle (1036-4). Vermillion appeared first at Indian Hill (Note 7.138). Earlier discussion of hematite (Note 3.15).
- 9.85. Although the rectangular pendant has two perforations similar to gorgets (Figure 9.28b, Besanson OHA), it can be described as a pendant since it would hang vertically. It has two acentric perforations at one end and double-incised lines along the edge on the obverse side (~12 cm long, ~4.3 cm wide). Although large red-stone pendants from this period are unusual, the Weston example is not unique. A similar red-shale gorget is reported from the Gros Cap cemetery (Nern and Cleland 1974: Figure 24C). Beauchamp reported a pipestone example from an unidentified Cayuga site (1897:28 #56). Though not common, comparable stone pendants have been reported from at least two early Iroquois-related sites. First is a lozenge-shaped pendant of greenish schist (8 cm long, 2.8 cm wide) from west of Syracuse, New York, ca. 650 years ago (Tuck 1971:69). Second is a pendant or gorget fragment with tally marks in groups from the roughly contemporaneous Nahrwold site in the Schoharie Valley (Ritchie and Funk 1973:279, 287, Plate 158 #1).
- 9.86. The guide to the future is the past (Greene 2013:34). Using the past to revitalize the present can occur on a larger scale than using ancestral forms. Examples include the choice made by Fort Ancient people to reinhabit the modified landscape of their Hopewellian ancestors, or more specifically the decision made by Creek people to reoccupy portions of the Etowah site (Mound A) to connect to local traditions and attempt to reformulate them (Appendix 1; King et al. 2011).

- 9.87. Of four bone tubes from Weston, two found by Besanson (OHA 2200.252) were scraped, slightly tapered, and have lightly incised lines around each end (Figure 9.29)—one small (5.1 cm long, 1.0-1.3 cm diameter, 2 mm thick walls) and one large tube (5.3 cm long, 1.4-1.6 cm diameter, 2 mm thick walls). The large one has four sets of diagonal lines in between. The other two bone tubes are somewhat larger, possibly avian, and were scraped, not embellished (9.5 cm long, 2.0-1.5 cm diameter, and 8.5 cm long, ~1.3-1.5 cm diameter; private collection).
- 9.88. "sucking tubes" (Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990:423). "cured by withdrawing from the patient's body the spell that caused his sickness", "by sucking the diseased part" (JR 33:199). Tooker reviews Huron-Wendat curing practices (1964:101-14). Fitzgerald's review of bone tubes from Neutral sites made from a variety of animal long bones (>10 cm long,  $n \ge 200$ ; 1990:44-46, Table 5). Bone and stone tubes from St. Ignace in Michigan (Branstner 1992:186). Two partially decayed bird-bone tubes were reported from the contemporaneous Seneca Boughton Hill site (Harry L. Schoff, Seneca Boughton Hill site, manuscript notes on burial 26, RFC, Rochester, NY). Alanson Skinner reported four more large and handsomely engraved bone tubes from the Cayuga Young Farm or Ganz site (1921:59, Figure 7). Bone tubes from a contemporaneous Munsee cemetery in New Jersey (burial #31; Heye and Pepper 1915:47).
- 9.89. As Fitzgerald noted, C. C. Willoughby previously described stone and bone tubes as shaman's medicine tubes and pipes, (1990:44-46, Table 5; Willoughby 1935:92-100). Another possibility is that these tubes, especially the longer blocked-end-style ones, were used as blow pipes for working native copper at Meadowood-related sites (Appendix 1).
- 9.90. The mandible found at Weston (Besanson OHA 2200.343) is probably dog given the size (Canis familiarus; Marie-Lorraine Pipes, personal communication 8/23/16). Comparable examples include one set of cut maxilla and mandibles identified as wolf and an unmodified set identified as dog from the Seneca Adams site (Wray et al. 1987:44). There are also three sets of cut maxilla and mandibles identified as from a dog, a wolf, and another dog or wolf from the Dutch Hollow site. These were generally cut between the third and fourth premolars and interpreted as being part of a robe or headdress (Sempowski and Saunders 2001:95-98). In addition to the bone tubes, Skinner also reported a modified bear mandible from the Cayuga Ganz site (Cemetery One, Bu. 5; Skinner 1921:71).

9.91. Dog feasts were one of the rituals used to heal the sick (Tooker 1964:93, 104-105, 110-112; Wright 2004:306-307). Dog sacrifice (JR 53:79, 60:219). "they usually sacrifice either Dogs . . . or tobacco" (JR 57:147). In 1682

Lamberville noted that two boiled dogs were prepared 734

for the death-feast of some captives (JR 62:75). Ten years later in 1692, Robert Livingston noted that when the leaders of a large group of Five Nations' warriors met with Peter Schuyler, they requested a dog, among other items, which they then killed and sang war songs over it (Leder, ed. 1956:164).

- 9.92. Three pipes from Weston include a large fragment of an owl-effigy pipe (Haberle 1280-4), and two with eagle-style bowls (Doxtator #27, #31), which are similar to examples from Boughton Hill (RFC 156/103). The bottle seal is unique (Figure 9.30a). Of the 651 different bottle seals recorded by Veit and Huey, only two portray eagles, both within a coat of arms (2014).
- 9.93. Eagles in the origins of the League (Woodbury et al. 1991:xxvii). "The Eagle . . . flyeing to and again" (NYCD 3:481).
- 9.94. The conflation of doves and thunderbirds (JR 5:52, 221). "one separates itself from the body . . ." (JR 10:287). "In this change of the soul . . ." (Lafitau 1977 [1724]:II:238).
- 9.95. There are several biblical references to Christian belief that the Holy Spirit often appeared as a white dove (Matt. 3:16; Mark 1:10 ESV). The dove was used frequently by French Catholics as a material representation of the Holy Spirit (Chapter Seven). The glass-dove pendant is from the archaeological site Le Vieux-La Prairie south of Montréal, ca. 1670-1700, in the mission town area referred to as La Prairie (Figure 9.30c, Note 11.47; Hade and Jacob 2002:Figure 5).
- 9.96. The convergent use of sun and son is explicit in the New Testament. "Jesus took with him Peter and James, and John his brother, and led them up a high mountain by themselves. And he was transfigured before them, and his face shone like the sun, and his clothes became as white as light . . . and a voice spoke from the cloud said, 'This is my beloved Son'" (Matt. 17:1-5 ESV). More modest versions of Ste. Theresa appear on religious medals (Rinehart 1990:Plate 30).

Rays and auras are among the common motifs used on religious medals, often surrounding the head of Christ, a saint, and other objects with divine attributes such as the soleil-style monstrance. A small St. Christopher medal with a monstrance on the reverse has been recovered from the earlier Onondaga Lot 18 site (Figure 5.13b). As Marcel Moussette has demonstrated, the association of Christ God incarnate with the sun is clearly manifest on the Catholic religious medals of the period. His Type II medal, the most frequent of three styles recovered from the remains of a storeroom in the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec, depicts a radiant soleil-style monstrance flanked by adoring angels (Figure 9.31d; Moussette 2001:299, Figure 4, 2003:33, Figure 1B). In his comparative analysis of 14 other French-related sites from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Moussette found this to be the most frequently

occurring reverse-side motif (2001:311, Table 3). Surviving seventeenth-century monstrances (Figure 9.31b;Barbeau 1957:50-55). Chauchetière's drawing *On fait la procession du Saint Sacrement* (Figure 9.31c; Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:53, Planche 11).

- 9.97. Funerary objects excavated by Kenneth Palmer at Jack's Reef in 1938 included three platform pipes, three large tubular *Busycon* beads, seven sharks teeth, three of which were perforated, three unilateral harpoons, and four fragments of decorated antler combs (Hart 1978:133-136; Ritchie 1944:148-150, Plate 69 #4). Examples of stone discs incised with rays have been reported from the Hummel site in Genesee County and the Bainbridge site in Chenango County (Guthe 1955:10; Ritchie 1944:97, Plate 46 #7). Red-slate discs with incised rays were found on the early contact site Atwell and on the Indian Hill site, ca. 1663 to 1682 (Figure 9.33b; *Antiquities* 9:#133).
- 9.98. The best known example of a rayed-hourglass figure is the large tattoo on the chest of Joseph Brant, one of the "four Indian Kings," painted by Jan Verelst during Brant's visit to London in 1710 (Figure 9.33g; Blackburn and Piwonka 1988:84-85, Plate 32; Fenton 1978:310, Figure 19). Similar motifs were incised onto Seneca and Cayuga combs of this period (Figures 9.33e, f, h) including two from the Rochester Junction site (RMSC AR 18473, RFC 409/29), and two from contemporaneous Cayuga sites (RMSC AR 17501, 20459). A similar motif was carved into the handle of a horn ladle from the Snyder-McClure site (RMSC AR 18589). West also illustrates a similar rayed hourglass incised on a pipestone calumet from Ross County, Ohio (1934:Plate 148 #3).
- 9.99. An alternative explanation is that crowns may have represented a link with the Great Horned Serpent of the World Below. In this view the crown is a series of opposed triangles, and possibly a traditional motif to represent such power (Fox 2004a:294-295). "about the heads of their warriors, like a crown" (JR 63:243). Unfortunately, the reverse side of the Weston medallion could not be recorded (Figure 9.32b, Doxtator #22).
- 9.100. Two of the pipe bowls from Weston represent serpent-like creatures with open mouths, one of which has inset-brass eyes (Doxtator collection, private collection). There are two combs known from Weston (Besanson OHA, private collection). Similar figures were found on several Seneca combs including from the Dann site (NYSM 20984) and from the Boughton Hill site (RFC 74/103).
- 9.101. Images of Europeans in hats occurred in a variety of media including smoking-pipe effigies (RFC 8669/28) and lead figures (RFC 7002/28) from the Seneca Dann site and on combs from the Seneca Steel site (RFC 436/100). During the last quarter of the seventeenth century similar depictions of horned or hatted anthropomorphs become a frequent motif

on antler combs. Examples come from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (examples in Figures 9.34 c, d; RFC 154/103, 2183/103, 548/103, NYSM 104B/5 A, 104B/5 B), and from Rochester Junction (RFC 160/29).

### Chapter Ten

- 10.1. "slaughter a great portion of them", "perish of hunger than we could have destroyed by fire and sword" (NYCD 9:640).
- 10.2. "the losse our brethren the Onondaga and Oneydes have sustained", "keep bright the Covenant Chain" (NYCD 4:235-236). Onondaga and Oneida would receive enough corn (NYCD 4:174).
- 10.3. "my march from Albany with a great army as numerous as the trees" (NYCD 4:174). "The French Count of Canada . . ." (NYCD 4:204). The three colonials given authority to treat, confer, and consult with the Five Nations (NYCD 4:177).
- 10.4. Originally Onondaga intended to fight (JR 65:25). Paul Le Moyne known as Maricourt (Horton 1982).
- 10.5. "renew the Covenant Chain", "Tree of safety and welfare" (NYCD 4:238). If the English would not come to their assistance, then they would make peace for themselves (NYCD 4:237-238).
- 10.6. The Oneida arrived in Montréal answering the French invitation to resettle there (NYCD 9:665). "the entire Mohawk Nation" (NYCD 9:665). "so little submission" (NYCD 9:666). "inclination he has to make peace with them" (NYCD 4:279). "Brethren," many repeated promises (NYCD 4: 281). "wholly put a stop" (NYCD 4:281).
- 10.7. Arratio was also called Aradgi (Hanni Woodbury, personal communication, 1/11/12; Havard 2001:191; Trigger 1982). "Father, your children, the Iroquois . . . accept what we advance", "Faith" (NYCD 9:679).
- 10.8. Frontenac kept Aradgi as a hostage and planned to visit the Mohawk with a force of men (NYCD 9:680). Gilles Havard takes a very different view and credits Frontenac with repeatedly attempting to negotiate a lasting peace with the Iroquois (2001:197).
- 10.9. The third Indian commissioner, pastor Godfrey Dellius, reported meeting with Onondaga on June 9, 1697 (NYCD 4:279-280; VanVeghten 2018).

"the rebuilding of our Castle" (NYCD 4:280). "gave us leave about 2 years since to make peace" (NYCD 4:279). "Father, is this offer true" (NYCD 4:279). "at the same time you knock our people on the head" (NYCD 4:280). "only a way of discourse to try your affection" (NYCD 4:281).

- 10.10. Defeats by the Twichtwichts Indians, also known as the Miami (NYCD 4:294). "our enemies and yours . . . with Belts of Wampum, desireing to make peace" (NYCD 4: 294-95).
- 10.11. Raiding parties from the Sault and the Mountain brought back scalps and prisoners from New York (NYCD 9:666-669). "scalped two others, one of whom survived . . . manner lost their scalps" (NYCD 9:671).

Richter again invokes the image of a defeated Five Nations, ineffective in fighting back (1992:187).

10.12. Laumet made up his title after he emigrated to Canada in 1683 and entered service on a French privateer (JR 9:671 Note 1; Zoltvany 1982e). "great confusion throughout all those countries", "You see I love war; the campaign I made last year against the Iroquois is a proof of it" (NYCD 9:672). "always laboring to annihilate the Iroquois" (NYCD 9:675).

The real reason for the troubles out west was Louis XIV's edict to close down the trade. Frontenac's conference was intended to deflect this. Or, as La Potherie observed in 1697, "the Governor was desirous of gaining time in order to withdraw the Voyageurs and garrisons next year, without allowing the Indians to discover the King's intention not to send any more Frenchmen or goods to their country" (Blair, ed. 1911:III:299; NYCD 9:675; Pouliot 1982b).

- 10.13. An Onondaga chief was captured in 1697 (NYCD 9:666). "more than one hundred Seneca Warriors
  ... have been killed or captured" (NYCD 9:672). The misfortunes of Dewadarondore, *La Chaudière Noire* (Béchard 1979; NYCD 9:681)
- 10.14. League Council meeting at Onondaga (NYCD 9:676).
- 10.15. "us Sinnekens" (NYCD 4:894). "they were weary of fighting . . ." (NYCD 9:670). The Oneida also were split between those who favored going to Canada and those who did not. In February 1697 a group of 30 to 40 Oneida did relocate to Montréal (NYCD 9:665).
- 10.16. "because we are still one body, one head, and one blood" (NYCD 4:342). "prevented by the Onnontaques and the Mohawks who retained them right and left" (NYCD 9:665). "was resolved by a generall vote of old and young, men and women" (NYCD 4:279). Ironically, Frontenac's insistence on dealing with the Iroquois as a whole, instead of exploiting the internal divisions, was a factor in keeping them together.
- 10.17. "form two parties, the one agrees . . ." was reported by La Potherie (Havard 2001:69). La Potherie as a contemporary observer (Note 8.53).
- 10.18. "You have heard my opinion, I refer the rest to the brethren" (NYCD 4:62). Richter's suggestion that Francophiles seized the opportunity to purge their opponents, or that there was a collapse of the Anglophiles, seem at odds with what is known about the internal politics of this period (1992:190-191).
- 10.19. "a large Tobacco-pipe made . . . ", "every nation adorns the calumet as they think fit" (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:125). "The Calumet . . . seems to be the God of peace and of war", "a safeguard among all the Nations" (JR 59:131).

"Every year the five Cantons . . ." (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:58). "the great *Calumet* of Peace before him" (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:75). "red stone peace pipes" (Havard 2001:81). Chichicatalo's pipe (Havard

2001:139).

Although it is not known what form of calumet was used in these historical references, it is possible that some were heirloom objects that had either been handed down or taken as trophies from western people, closer to the source of pipestone.

- 10.20. August 1696 report to the English Board of Trade (NYCD 4:181-182). "sculking through the woods", "the remainder of these Five Nations hate mortally those of themselves that are joined with the French" (NYCD 4:181).
- 10.21. Finding a middle course (Richter 1992:193). To the French governor-general say "Yes Father Onnontio ..." (NYCD 9:679). To the English governor say, "Certainly Brother Corlaer" (NYCD 4:407). "We have always loved the French" (NYCD 9:679). "they never were intended to make any separate peace with the Gov<sup>r</sup> of Canada" (NYCD 4:342).

Encouraging signs with Le Baron, a Huron (Wyandot) of Michilimackinac, hoping to settle near Orange (Albany) (NYCD 9:672). Le Baron is named as a Wyandot strategist (Steckley 2014:51-74).

Note that the surviving Huron–Wendat, and other Ontario Iroquoians, had been known as the Wyandot since 1649 (Note 5.92; Tooker 1978a). Peace overtures with the Ottawa (Havard 2001:81-84).

- 10.22. Frontenac died on November 28, 1698 in Québec. and Callière finally became governor-general (Eccles 2015; Zoltvany 1982). Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont, was appointed governor of New York in 1697 (Webb 1979:Appendix 123). John Nanfan, who was related to Bellomont, became his lieutenant governor (NYCD 4:277; Webb 1979:154). "his kitle boyl'd still, & that his hatchet was very sharp" (NYCD 4:498).
- 10.23. Callière's agents included Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, who although adopted by the Onondaga led a force of Praying Indians during Frontenac's 1696 invasion (Note 8.127). Another agent was Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire, who had been adopted by the Seneca (Note 8.67). Fr. Jaques Bruyas was among the Mohawks 1670-1679 (Jaenen 2014).

"great tracts of land for his Majesty from the Indians" (NYCD 4:290). Bellomont's instructions from William III, who referred to him as governor-general, the first time this designation was made for an English governor (NYCD 4:284-292). Bellomont's report to the Board of Trade in 1698 on corruption in the colonies (NYCD 4:203-306).

10.24. "I was strangely surprised and discouraged at the behaviour", "so sullen and cold." "they had been tamper'd with by M<sup>r</sup> Dellius" (NYCD 4:362). "being a people who have naturally a great quickness of understanding", "retrieved their affections" (NYCD 4:363). A summary of the transition from Fletcher to Bellomont (Richter 1992:191-192). Fletcher's "Cabals and clubbs" (NYCD 4:303). The one person in Albany upon whom Bellomont relied was Robert Livingston, in part because of his long-running feud with Fletcher (Leder, ed. 1956:8-9). Building a fort in Onondaga (NYCD 4:505, 532).

- 10.25. "they stuck fast to Corlaer's orders . . . and gave their vote soe as his Lordship was pleased" (NYCD 4:560). The Seneca declined to participate (NYCD 4:493). "the Cayouges & Oneydes . . . are ungrateful creatures", "now when your people of Onnondage & Sinnekes are prisoners, no body lookes after them" (NYCD 4:493). "we have fought & taken severall of [your] Castles" (NYCD 4:492). "you are called Brethren but you are treated like servants . . . who are punished for the least offense" (NYCD 4:493). "no better than Slaves to y<sup>e</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> of New York" (NYCD 4:493). Maricourt is referred to as Stow Stow, one of his Onondaga names, in these documents (Note 8.67; NYCD 4:492-494).
- 10.26. "This is the fourth time . . ." (NYCD 4:597). Fletcher's census (NYCD 4:337).
- 10.27. The Nations were full of factions (NYCD 4:690). "been bewitched as well as poisoned", "forced to flee" (NYCD 4:689). Aqueendaro would lose another son to the French Indians the following spring (NYCD 4:571). "taught to poison as well as pray", "beat out her brains" (NYCD 4:689). "live solitary in the country" (NYCD 4:799).

10.28. "will not put up the sword . . ." (NYCD 4:564).

- 10.29. "Onnontio not to lose patience", "all their chiefs and wise men are dead" (NYCD 9:685). "if they were of the Cheife Sachims of the Five Nations,", "They were the cheifest att present because the others were dead" (NYCD 4:498). Bewailed the death of Dewadarondore, *La Chaudière Noire* (NYCD 9:684-685). For example, a contemporary of Tegannisoren Carachkondie was active during the 1680s, but he was not mentioned after June 1691 in the historical documents (NYCD 3:774).
- 10.30. Ohonsiowanne, also called Tohonsiowanne and Schohasgowanee among other names, signed treaties with a wading-bird pictograph (Havard 2001:188). He was one of four Onondaga sachems who met with Mayor Dirck Wessels in 1698 (NYCD 4:341-342). Kachwadochon was one of an 11-member Onondaga delegation that met with Bellomont in August 1700 (NYCD 4:728). Aradgi, or Arratio, was a pro-French Onondaga sachem who met Frontenac in 1697 (Notes 10.7, 10.8). By 1700 Richter's categories of Francophiles, Anglophiles, and Neutralists may have been appropriate. Although Havard also uses these divisions, he correctly concludes that in reality it was not a question of being pro-French or pro-English, but of managing the interests of the League in the best way possible (2001:91-92).
- 10.31. Tagatsehede, or Takosondaghque and Tagodsage, was one of three Onondaga who brought proposals

from Governor-General Callière to Peter Schuyler in Albany in July 1700 (NYCD 4:695). He was also one of 11 Onondaga chiefs who then met with Governor-General Bellomont in August 1700 (NYCD 4:728). "who whip their Proselytes . . ." (NYCD 4:740). Jaenen discusses the problem of excessive fervor among Christian converts (1976:69-70).

- 10.32. "dogs" (Leder, ed. 1956:179). "mindless chickens" (NYCD 4:919).
- 10.33. Rumored rising of the Indians in January 1700 (NYCD 4:613-616). There were reports that the Onondaga and Seneca had helped supply the French at Cataraqui over the winter (NYCD 4:618).
- 10.34. The unnamed emissaries to Montréal in February 1700 were probably an Onondaga and a Seneca (Havard 2001:92 Footnote 3). Strawberry time (Havard 2001:92 Footnote 4). "A turning point in the peace process" (Havard 2001:92). Asked that representatives be sent to Onondaga (NYCD 9:708-711). "The Onondaga, my eldest brother", "The late Count de Frontenac", "we could transact business independent of the Mohawk" (NYCD 9:709). Callière wanted all of the Upper Four Nations represented (Havard 2001:94).
- 10.35. Jan Baptist van Eps, sent as an interpreter, told the Five Nations that Corlaer forbade them to meet with the French (Leder, ed. 1956:179-180). Corlaer's brothers not his Vassals (NYCD 9:716). "between the great kings over the great Water, Lett it Likewise be peace Between you and us" (Leder, ed. 1956:180). There is a second fuller account by Aqueendaro, or Sadekanaktie, to Bellomont (NYCD 4:740-743).
- 10.36. "keep fast to the Covenant Chain", "one heart, one head and interest with us", "against your corresponding with us" (NYCD 4:742). "did not claim a right . . ." (NYCD 4:743). "not to be kept at Onnondage according to the ancient custom" (NYCD 4:659). "where my father Onnontio has lit the fire of peace" (Havard 2001:96).
- 10.37. There were many delegations at the September conference in Montréal. Among 19 Iroquois, Onondaga ambassadors were not identified (Havard 2001:97). The Ottawa leader and Onondaga enemy, Kondiaronk (Fenton 1969; Steckley 2014).

Tree of Peace and the previous meeting (Havard 2001:98). "because you and the English Governor . . ." (NYCD 9:715). "When we came here last [July 18] . . ." (NYCD 9:716). "The best proof of Peace . . ." (NYCD 9:716).

- 10.38. "I am very glad . . . between all my allies and you" (NYCD 9:715-717).
- 10.39. "Onnontio, for the treatment we ...", "For ourselves, we promise to obey your voice." (NYCD 9:719). "the same with him and the ..." (NYCD 9:720). It is not known who signed for Onondaga.
- 10.40. Keeping the English at arm's length (Fenton 1998:343). "who have a greater leaning . . . and maybe

a minister as well" (NYCD 4:609).

- 10.41. "We are firmly linked into the Covenant Chain" (NYCD 4:657). Poison them and cause them to dwindle away to nothing (NYCD 4:657). "a good number of fuzils & a proportionable quantity of powder and lead" (NYCD 4:660).
- 10.42. "much dejected and in a staggering condition, tho' they are so proud and will not owe it" (NYCD 4:647). Presents alone would not do (NYCD 4:647). "perswade the Oneydes & Onondages to desert their habitations and remove nearer us" (NYCD 4:649). Livingston's proposal for De Troett (Detroit) as "the most pleasant and plentifull inland place in America" (NYCD 4:650). The king's plantations in Virginia and Maryland (NYCD 4:652).
- 10.43. "the same I always tooke them . . . ", "The French they fear, having . . . " (NYCD 4:652). "perpetual peace and friendship", "devour us both", "grow old and grey headed together" (NYCD 4:694-695). Richter interprets this in a fundamentally different way, as a treaty imposed on the Five Nations rather than a negotiated settlement (1992:202).
- 10.44. "the greatest fatigue I ever underwent in my life" (NYCD 4:714). "I have thought fit to begin my conference with you [on] . . . the subject of religion", "lying artifices which the Jesuits teach and practise" (NYCD 4:727). Praying Indians to come back to their homeland and live with you again (NYCD 4:728).
- 10.45. "Wee were ordered this Spring to come here and wait upon your Lordship", "to be instructed in the Protestant religion" (NYCD 4:730). The Five Nations had nothing more to say until the governor made some specific proposals (NYCD 4:730).
- 10.46. "Christians and faithfull subjects to his Majestie" (NYCD 4:731). "the goods be as cheap as formerly" (NYCD 4:733). "Sachems sonns" (NYCD 4:734). Payment for every Popish priest and Jesuit (NYCD 4:736). "of great moment and consequence", "do not well consist and agree together" (NYCD 4:737). "shut up in a close chamber . . ." (NYCD 4:714).
- 10.47. "They owne there is a God and Devil" (NYCD 4:652). The Jesuits Millet and Bruyas (Campeau 2015; Jaenen 2014). The resident French agents were Maricourt and Joncaire (Horton 1982; Zoltvany 1982c).
- Garakontié invoked "the master of life" (JR 60:193). "They look upon themselves as Sovereigns . . ." (Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:59). "The Great God of Heaven has opened . . ." (NYCD 3:771). "the Indians of the Sault, whom I formerly called Iroquois", "He who is above, and who . . ." (NYCD 9:580). "God Almighty hath been pleased to create us, and the Sunn hath shined long upon us" (NYCD 4:740).
- 10.48. "steddy adherence", "speedy orders for the fortifying [of] the fronteer", "an inviolable fidelity and obedience to the King our Master" (NYCD 4:739). "God Almighty hath been pleased . . ." (NYCD 4:740). "limitts and bounds" (NYCD 4:741).

- 10.49. "old crafty Sachems of the Five Nations" (NYCD 4:687). It is telling that the English, who were obsessed with correct titles among themselves, could not apply this to the Iroquois leaders whom they continued to call "sachems," an Algonquian term. Note that sachem appears in the English translation of the French documents in the *New York Colonial Documents*, although apparently the French did not use that title (i.e., NYCD 9:676, 678).
- 10.50. Iroquois according to their custom (NYCD 9:712). The King's military engineer, Col. Wolfgang William Romer, employed by Bellomont, made maps of his journey through the Five Nations' territory in 1700 (Figure 10.8; Stephen and Lee, eds. 1885-1900:49:184). Tegannisoren suggested that Romer be put off until the following year (NYCD 4:783, 806). Bellomont blamed Peter Schuyler for the failure (NYCD 4:783). Romer reported the Onondaga "were not well pleased and went away angerly" (NYCD 4:800).
- 10.51. Leislerians and anti-Leislerians produced heated division and animosity in New York (NYCD 4:868; Trelease 1960:355).
- 10.52. Callière's reply in March (Havard 2001:105 Footnotes 69, 71, 72). "Wee hear they are going to warr in Europe tell us the truth of that matter" (NYCD 4:891).
- 10.53. "all the necessaries when you are a hunting", "Itt is now peace with all you Five Nations . . . do not harken to any ill discourse", "you shall have two Roads . . ." (NYCD 4:892). Havard presents a slightly different version (2001:105-6).
- 10.54. "a great deale of adoe about itt" (NYCD 4:892).
- 10.55. "They were much confused in . . . ", "Be not affraid of the French . . . " (NYCD 4:893).
- 10.56. "Wee are desired by both parties to turn Christian", "speak no more of praying or Christianity", "those that sells their goods . . ." (NYCD 4:893). "wee will hold fast to the peace, and if there be any breach itt will be your faults not ours" (NYCD 4:894).
- 10.57. "Our Five Nations of Indians are at present in good disposition", opportunity to confirm them . .." (NYCD 4:881). "I am not a stranger just come among you", "their practices and wicked artifices to deceive and seduce." (NYCD 4:897). "a young active man expert in war ... Wee will endevor to behave ourselves" (NYCD 4:898).

Although Livingston lists Onucheranorum, a Mohawk, as speaker, it is more likely that the reply was given by Sadegenaktie (Aqueendaro; NYCD 4:897). The tone and style of presentation was his, and he is identified as speaker later in the conference (NYCD 4:907). The 12 Onondaga chiefs were the largest contingent of the 33 who attended, with nine Mohawk and five Oneida chiefs present. Only four Cayuga and three Seneca representatives were listed (NYCD 4:897-898).

10.58. "soe well satisfyed", "you can never expect to hunt

...,", "to sitt still if a warr should happen between us and the French" (NYCD 4:900). "inviolate fidelity and obedience to the King" (NYCD 4:901).

- 10.59. Five Nations' relations to "Farr Indians" referred to by Nanfan, July 1701 (NYCD 4:901). "to cleave close to you and never to seperate our interest nor affections from you" (NYCD 4:904). This time the rhetoric used and specific requests made reflect Mohawk views rather than Onondaga ones, therefore the unnamed speaker may have been Onucheranorum (Note 10.57; NYCD 4:904-906). "give and render up all that land where the Beaver hunting is" (NYCD 4:905). "Christian enemy" (NYCD 4:906). Deed from the Five Nations to the King of England for their "Beaver Hunting Grounds" (NYCD 4:908-910). "great tracts of land for his Maj<sup>ty</sup> from the Indians for small sums" (NYCD 4:290) "free hunting for us and the heires and descendants" (Figure 10.10; NYCD 4:909). This treaty was written by the ever-opportunistic Robert Livingston, who also may have suggested to Aqueendaro that Livingston would be the best person to deliver it personally to the King. Brandão and Starna discuss details of this treaty and the map that accompanied it (1996:225-228, 2005).
- 10.60. "slip out of your memory", "What shall we doe if the French continue to draw away our people", "in a good, large Canoe" (NYCD 4:907).
- 10.61. Callière's grand treaty council (Brandão and Starna 1996:229, Footnote 135). For estimates of the delegation size and La Potherie's detailed primary account of the conference (Beaulieu and Viau 2001; Brandão and Starna 1996:243-244, Footnotes 136, 137; Havard 2001:119).
- 10.62. As many as 40 different nations had assembled in Montréal (Havard 2001:111-122). An example of the difficulties associated with the return of prisoners was Tegannisoren's confrontation with Maricourt over his efforts to forcibly take French prisoners back to Canada in June (NYCD 4:894-895).
- 10.63. "people of quality" (Brandão and Starna 1996:230). "I am exceedingly rejoiced to see all my Children assembled here", "deposited your interests in my hands" NYCD 9:722). Make no more mention of the attacks made during the war (NYCD 9:722). "I lay ahold anew of all . . . (NYCD 9:722). "not take vengeance . . . but . . . come and see me in order so that I may have justice done" (NYCD 9:722). Another version of Callière's closing comments was reported (Havard 2001:136, 211). For the summary reported to the Five Nations a few weeks later (NYCD 9:918-919).
- 10.64. According to La Potherie, Callière prepared 31 wampum belts, one for each delegation (Havard 2001:137, Footnote 118). No details or descriptions of those belts are known. In 2001 his depiction of the Montréal Peace Conference, Francis Back included a wampum belt with a specific motif (Beaulieu and Viau 2001:112). Unfortunately, this belt has been presented

on occasion as historical reality.

As discussed earlier, two-row or two-road belts have a long and controversial history (Notes 3.99-3.103). The earliest documentary reference to a "Road Belt" occurs in Conrad Weiser's 1748 journal account of his trip to Ohio –

That above fifty Years ago they [the Owendaets or Wyandot] made a Treaty of Friendship with the Governor of New York at Albany, & shewed me a large Belt of Wampum they received there from said Governor as from the King of Great Britain; the Belt was 25 Grains [beads] wide & 265 long, very Curiously wrought, there were seven Images of Men holding one another by the Han, the 1st signifying the Governor of New York (or rather, as they said, the King of Great Britain), the 2d the Mohawks, the 3d the Oneidos, the 4th the Cajugas, the 5th the Onondagers, the 6th the Senekas, the 7th the Owandaets, and two Rows of black Wampum under their feet thro' the whole length of the Belt to signify the Road from Albany thro' the 5 Nations to the Owendaets; That 6 Years ago they had sent Deputies with the same belt to Albany to renew the Friendship (Hazard, ed. 1851:351).

Although written in 1748, this reference describes a belt that was used at the turn of the eighteenth century. Therefore, it may refer to the 1701 Treaty of Albany. Although there is no documentary evidence that the Wyandot were participants, they certainly would have had an interest in the beaver hunting grounds the Five Nations had signed away. William Starna remarked that the belt in question may have been presented as part of a Condolence ceremony incidental to the treaty (personal communication, 1/18/18).

A similar account is recorded for July 30, 1743 in Wraxall's Abridgement of the New York Indian Records 1678-1751 –

Three Janondadee (Indians who are settled about the Western parts of Lake Erie) Sachems arive at Albany & say there had been formerly a Cov<sup>nt</sup> [Covenant] made between their Nation & us & that they are sent by their Sachems to know the particulars of the Antient Treaty between us. They at the same time present a Belt of Wampum w<sup>ch</sup> [which] had been given to their Nation by the Commiss<sup>ns</sup> [Commissioners]. The Commiss<sup>ns</sup> Answer them, that the Belt of Wampum they now present was given them above 40 years ago [ca. 1703] by the Commiss<sup>ns</sup> of Indian Affairs to be kept in confirmation of the Cov<sup>nt</sup> made with their forefathers & ours w<sup>ch</sup> was to be reciprocally observed to the End of the World. The purport of the Cov<sup>nt</sup> was, that there should be an Everlasting Peace between this Gov<sup>nt</sup> the 5 nations & their Nation & that the Road should be kept open & Secure between their Country & this City

with Free Liberty of Trade & all other rights of Hospitality—And that these conditions of the Treaty were signified on the great Belt of Wampum w<sup>ch</sup> they now show. That this Antient Cov<sup>nt</sup> was renewed about 38 years ago [ca. 1705] & again renewed about 22 years ago [ca. 1721] (McIlwain, ed. 1915:230-231).

While it remains difficult to match these dates with the known historical documents, the initial agreement and presentation of the belt may have been at the July 1702 conference in Albany (NYCD 4:979-982), and the first renewal sometime prior to August 1708 (NYCD 5:65). However, William Starna notes that a wampum belt was not mentioned on either occasion (personal communication, 1/18/18). At the second renewal of the treaty at the May 1723 meeting of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, a wampum belt is reported (NYCD 5:694). Whatever the vagaries of the historical record, it does appear that two-row or tworoad belts were in use during the early years of the eighteenth century.

After the mid-eighteenth century, references to "Road belts" became more common. One example is from the papers of Sir William Johnson in April 1760—

I now burry the bloody Harchet in the bottomless pitt and with this belt I clear the road of peace to the run [sun] rising, that we may travel it as our Forefathers formerly did to visit our Brethren, and I stop up the War road that it will not be possible to pass along it. – Gave a road belt (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:III:212).

A similar reference was made two years earlier in 1758 (Sullivan et al., eds. 1939:IX:949).

As George Hamell has observed, two-row could easily have been derived from two-road, or vice versa (personal communication, 5/21/14). Thank you to William Starna for his assistance in tracking down the references to these belts.

- 10.65. Distinctive pictographs (Havard 2001:139). Pictographs were mostly figures of animals (NYCD 9:725). "confirm this great Alliance . . . and to do it with all possible circumspection", "smoking the big peace pipe [Calumet of Peace] that Chichicatalo [a Miami chief]" (Havard 2001:139).
- 10.66. Presents from the king's storehouse included powder, musket balls, and caps decorated with laces of gold braid (Havard 2001:139-140, Footnote 134). "well received and find merchandise at a reasonable price" (Brandão and Starna 1996:231). "Sit peacefully on your mats" (Brandão and Starna 1996:265).
- 10.67. The real triumph belonged to the Five Nations (Trelease 1960:363). "remained autonomous, arms linked . . ." (Shannon 2008:62). Note that although the Mohawk did not arrive in Montréal in time to sign the treaty, they did agree to abide by its terms.

Alternately, Jennings is prominent among those who

believe the Iroquois were battered and beaten and that the Montréal Treaty of 1701 was imposed upon them by the French (1985:39). This view was echoed by Aquila's assertion that the Five Nations had come out on the losing end and found themselves struggling for their very existence (1997:70).

- 10.68. "two hands, one for peace and another for war" (NYCD 9:185).
- 10.69. "I have fixed our Indians in their obedience to his Majesty and in their friendship", "the great Indian of Onondage" (NYCD 4:888). Callière planning for the coming war with New England (NYCD 9:725-728).
- 10.70. "hinder the French [from] debauching . . . our Indians" (NYCD 4:917). This account, made by John Bleeker and David Schuyler, does not identify the French delegates other than Joncaire. Tegannisoren appears to have been speaker for the Five Nations (NYCD 4:917-919). "Children, it is now Peace . . ." (NYCD 4:919).
- 10.71. "wee are now come to a . . .", "because you both have made . . ." (NYCD 4:920). Trade and the Covenant Chain (NYCD 4:733). Perhaps it had been a military alliance at one time as Richter has suggested, but no longer (1992:161). "You are both to [too] dear with your goods" (NYCD 4:893). Translated by Robert Livingston, Teganissoren's words may have been stripped of any diplomatic subtly or nuance (NYCD 4:892-895).
- 10.72. "Our Indians are in great temper and I hope will so continue" (NYCD 4:928). Serious fighting soon followed (Lynn 2002:11, 62). Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, finally arrived in New York (NYCD 4:955). Callière's report of peace with the Five Iroquois Nations and the Indians allied with the French (NYCD 9:736). "nothing has since transpired between them to mar the Treaty", "will remain neutral during . . ." (NYCD 9:736). Callière's successor, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil (Zoltvany 2013).

#### **Chapter Eleven**

- 11.1. "a square fort . . .with bastions", "cedar pickets, which had been burned to the ground" (Schoolcraft 1846:185). Description of the palisade at Jamesville enclosing 10 acres (~4 hectares) of land and objects found (Clark 1849:II:277-282). "with nodding plume and . . . with their trembling neophytes" (Clark 1849:II:279).
- 11.2. After visiting the site in 1879, Beauchamp noted that the remains on the site were mainly European, and that it was identified satisfactorily as the fort destroyed at Frontenac's invasion in 1696 (*Antiquities* 2:117). "The stockade burned at Frontenac's invasion was on the Watkins farm a mile south of Jamesville" (Beauchamp 1900:121-122). Weston was the site burned by Frontenac (Sohrweide 2001).
- 11.3. Relocation of Seneca settlements (Jordan 2008:93, 171-176; 2010:99-100; 2018:181).

- 11.4. "were hunting on the river . . ." (NYCD 9:665). Retreating into the upper Susquehanna drainage made sense for several reasons, since as keepers of the Southern Door, the Onondaga knew this area well. They also had friends and allies in the emerging multiethnic communities such as the Susquehannock Conestoga Town, places that would play an important role in establishing relationships with the new colony of Pennsylvania during the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Kent 1984:30-91).
- 11.5. Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, 1692-1698 (Webb 1979:Appendix 152). "7 hands of wampum ..." (NYCD 4:280). Traditional fishing sites probably included La Famine on Lake Ontario at Sandy Pond at the mouth of the Salmon River (Chapter Two, Case Study 1; Beauchamp 1907:144, 146, 152, 171; NYCD 4:657). Raids in 1699 (NYCD 4:564-565, 597). "the Dianondados [Miami] who often kill their people near their Castles" (NYCD 4:659). "The Onondages ... must leave their Castle ..." (NYCD 4:649).
- 11.6. Thanks to Kurt Jordan for sharing his work on Seneca sites of this time period including multiple archaeological analyses, published and unpublished (2008).
- 11.7. Excavations were conducted on this pre-1500 site in Jamesville by Syracuse University between 1956 and 1960 under the direction of graduate students George Agogino and Ronald Kingsley. Kingsley called it the Keough site after the property owner Frank Keough, and obtained a NYSM designation number for it (Tly 1-2; Kingsley 1987). A participant in these excavations, Ethel Fine, incorporated Kingsley's artifacts, field notes, and grid map into her Masters thesis (1962). Tuck discussed the Keough site briefly, proposing that it was a Chance phase site, ca. 620 years ago, but did not conduct fieldwork there (1971:119-122).

As part of his background work on the Pen site, Peter Pratt excavated a series of test trenches at Jamesville in 1965-1966 in an attempt to identify palisade lines (2014:64). While both Fine and Pratt did document the presence of post molds, the limited nature of their testing makes interpretation difficult. Commenting on the field notes and drawings from the excavation by Kingsley, Tuck expressed the belief that based on the small size of the post molds, these palisade lines were more likely from the earlier occupation, the period of the Chance phase Keough site (Kingsley 1987; Tuck 1971:119). At present the extent of the Keough site and of the historic Jamesville site, and the condition of what remains below the plough zone are unknown. Discussions of the multicomponent nature of the site area, including examination of objects apparently indicative of Chance phase settlements (Tuck 1971:119-122). William Hinsdale's speculations that they were poor Indians (Handwritten notes and newspaper clippings, ca. 1920s, Hinsdale Papers, OHA, Syracuse, NY).

11.8. Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt's ongoing efforts to reestablish a mission at Onondaga (Horton 1982). There are several references to fires in Onondaga during the early years of the eighteenth century. In November 1709, the French governor-general, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil sent one of his agents, Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire known as Sononchiez, to Onondaga to keep Five Nations neutral (Zoltvany 1982c, 2013). He might have been successful, except Peter Schuyler's brother Abraham had the French chapel and house burned by pro-English Onondaga NYCD 9:829). With respect to other tales of destruction, Beauchamp reported that David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, recorded the following during a visit to Onondaga in July 1753 –

Another old woman told us that in her youth, two French priests had lived in Onondaga, and taught the Indians. At that time Onondaga was situated several miles farther east. It had, however, been destroyed by the French, and was afterwards rebuilt where it now stands (1916:175).

In addition to the reports of charred post molds, there is good archaeological evidence for burning events. Of the pieces of scrap brass from Jamesville (n = 128), more than 20% are in the form of melted-brass blobs, a higher percentage than from any of the previous Onondaga sites (Note 11.84). It is even more dramatic in terms of weight. In the 1.2 kg sample, collected over several years, melted blobs are ~42% by weight of the total, and the rest is 25% kettle lugs, 25% utilized scrap, and 8% unutilized scrap. William Hinsdale was apparently intrigued by this phenomenon as well, since he collected nearly 4 kg of melted blobs from Jamesville, the only form of scrap he kept (Fort Ticonderoga collection, Ticonderoga, NY).

11.9. After the discovery of the Pen site in the late 1940s, William Gallipeau was asked to assist in analyzing the two burials uncovered during farming operations (William Ritchie and William J. Gallipeau letters, 1949, Onondaga County Parks Department, Liverpool, NY). Although the site was on public property, New York State does not have laws that protect unmarked burials.

Pratt presented initial reports on his findings from the 1961-1962 excavations to OHA in Syracuse and to the Northeastern Anthropological Conference at Cornell University, in March 1963. To date, a complete report on this site remains unavailable. In March 2007 Pratt submitted an initial draft to the NYSM for review and comment. He continues to work on completion of this report. The burial ground, dated later than the Pen site yet associated with the Jamesville site, is to the south (Pratt and Pratt 2004; Tuck 1971:189-191).

While Pratt reports 60 burials, little information is currently available for nine of them. Therefore, the analyses presented here review only 51. Pratt's

convention was to number the burials sequentially as found, and if more that one individual was present, he labeled them alphabetically (Appendix 3).

The excavation was visited by Chief George Thomas, who was then the Tadodaho, the senior chief of the Onondaga (Note 1.14). On July 7, 1963, the human remains and associated objects were divided between the project's sponsors—William Ennis, on behalf of the Fort Brewerton Museum in Brewerton, New York, and Gilbert Hagerty, on behalf of the Fort Stanwix Museum, now the Rome Historical Society (RHS) in Rome, New York. Most of William Ennis's portion of the collection now resides in the RFC in Rochester, New York. Although a significant portion of Hagerty's collection went to RHS, he kept some of it in his personal collection.

In 1995 the Rome Historical Society was awarded a grant from the Native Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) to inventory the Pen site material in its possession. The inventory was completed by Carol Raemsch and Thomas Jamison of Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., which was published in the Federal Register (Raemsch and Jamison 1996). The report includes the following summary information—the collection at RHS contained burials P1-P59, the minimum number of individuals (MNI) was 85, there were 598 associated funerary objects (AFO), and the burials were culturally affiliated with Onondaga.

- 11.10. The initial newspaper account was entitled Onondaga Penitentiary Skeleton Find Unveils Long-Sought Indian Cemetery. The Associated Press picked up the story and circulated a summary version on November 14, 1949 (Newspaper clippings file, OHA, Syracuse, NY). On November 23, William Ritchie wrote to William J. Gallipeau, curator at the Onondaga County Parks Department, asking for additional information. Gallipeau replied on November 30 with a brief description of the site and of a related cemetery on the west side of the reservoir. The original correspondence is in the Office of Historic Sites (William Ritchie and William J. Gallipeau letters, 1949, Onondaga County Parks Department, Liverpool, NY).
- 11.11. The intention is not to provide a report on the Pen site here, rather to use some of the available information to conclude this story of the Onondaga at the turn of the eighteenth century. Pratt is currently completing the Pen site report and generously shared some of his notes, photographs, and thoughts in the 1970s (James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site, RFC, Rochester, NY). In addition, much of the material assemblage available from the site was studied. This included the William Ennis collection and accompanying documentation before, and after, it was purchased by the Rock Foundation (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

This documentation also includes Gilbert Hagerty's notes, Pratt's drawings and photographs, as well as related presentations, copies of notes, correspondence, and unpublished reports, such as an undated draft report on the physical anthropology of the Pen site population (Anderson and McCuaig report, 1963, RFC, Rochester, NY). This also includes early reviews of Hagerty's personal collection and the material from the Pen site located at RHS before it was repatriated, as well as review of the detailed inventory forms that use RHS collection numbers prepared by Jamison, Raemsch, and Tyree Tanner as part of the NAGPRA grant report (Raemsch and Jamison 1996). Other sources include Pratt's preliminary reports and presentations done by Jamison and Raemsch based on their analysis of the RHS portion of the collection (Jamison 1998; Pratt 1963, 2007; Raemsch et al. 1997; Raemsch and Jamison 1997). A summary of some of this information is in Appendix 3. At the request of the Onondaga Nation, and in keeping with the policies of the New York State Museum, no photographs of mortuary objects from the Pen site are shown in this book. Figures that illustrate objects from the Pen site are drawings.

In terms of the Jamesville site, a substantial amount of information is available from the numerous surface collections made over the past 200 plus years. These include material collected by Beauchamp, who made drawings of objects (Antiquities 1-10). William Hinsdale's collection is now at the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Ticonderoga, New York, and Warren J. Haberle's collection is at the Seneca Nation Museum, Salamanca, New York. Haberle's collection was cataloged by William J. Gallipeau (Inventory of the Warren J. Haberle Indian collection, 1949, OHA, Syracuse, NY). Other material was gathered by Stanley and Ruth Gifford with portions later bequeathed to Anton Sohrweide, and more that was collected by the Sohrweide family (Sohrweide/Gifford or the Sohrweide collection). There are several smaller collections in the RFC in Rochester and in the NYSM in Albany (NYSM A2017.57).

- 11.12. There were 500 men 10 years earlier (NYCD 4:337). Brandão's estimate of the Onondaga population in 1698 is ~3,750 (1997:Table C.5). In an undated 1701 letter, the French governor-general Callière reported to Louis Phélypeaux, Chancellor de Pontchartrain in the Court of Louis XIV, that the Five Iroquois Nations could muster only 1,200 warriors (NYCD 9:725). "have suffered extremely & had many people killed since the proclamation of peace" (NYCD 4:493). Richard Coote, the Earl of Bellomont, governor-general of New York, 1697-1701 (Webb 1979:Appendix 153). "The Onondaga Nation . . . being the most warlike . . ." (NYCD 4:689).
- 11.13. For example, evidence of trauma and malnutrition (Anderson and McCuaig report, undated, RFC,

Rochester, New York; Raemsch et al. 1997). Observations on the Onondaga at the turn of the century (Brandão 1997:158).

- 11.14. Denonville's invasion of the Seneca in 1687 (Note 8.28). "the Indian corn belonging . . ." (NYCD 9:447). "that the French at Cadaraque [Cataraqui] fort are supplied with Provisions from our Onondaga Nation" (NYCD 4:607).
- 11.15. Scarcely mention food products (Waterman, ed. 2008:Table 8, 166 [peas], 23, 100, 112, 196 [pigs]). The English provided 40 Keggs of Rum of two gallons each at Bellomont's second conference, August 1700 (NYCD 4:740). Another 40 kegs of Rum plus five Vatts of bear (beer) were reported at Nanfan's first conference, July 1701 (NYCD 4:901). Rum was second only to clothing (Waterman, ed. 2008:21-22). "A small cask of rum for a beaver", "3 bottles of rum for 2 martens" to "a Shawnee . . . who stays with the Onondaga", "owes an otter on a small cask of rum" (Waterman, ed. 2008:97-98). "within a half a mile of Onondage . . . unwilling to go further" (NYCD 4:800).
- 11.16. Bottle glass from Indian Hill (n = 7; Sohrweide collection) and from Weston (n  $\ge$  27; Sohrweide collection) compared to that from Jamesville (n = 56; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11), which includes 28 large dark green, globular bottle fragments, one lip/neck fragment, 16 body fragments, nine base fragments, and two small aqua bottle fragments. Rum was often traded in casks as well as in bottles (Waterman, ed. 2008:106). Bottle glass on Seneca sites (Jordan 2008:309-316).
- 11.17. Marie-Lorraine Pipes analyzed a small faunal sample surface-collected from the Jamesville site from a total number of bone fragments (TNF = 104; Jamesville Site Faunal Report, 2015, NYSM, Albany, NY). Of the minimum number of units of verifiable bone fragments (MNU = 82), mammals were the most abundant class at 78, with three bird bones, one from fish, and no reptiles present. Among identifiable mammal species, the most common were white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*; 31), followed by dog (*Canis familiaris*; 13), and beaver (*Castor Canadensis*; 12). As at the Weston site, large-sized mammals continued to provide the majority of meat at 41 (MNU), however, medium-sized at 29 and small-sized mammals at 8, together provided nearly as much.

From the known faunal data at the Pen site, there was evidence of many familiar native species—deer, moose, bear, beaver, mink, squirrel, and bald eagle (James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site). In 1967 Cleland analyzed photographs of bones sent to him by Pratt, and he identified the following—weasel (*Mustela erminea*), box turtle (*Terrapene carolina*), snapping turtle (*Chelydra serpentina*), passenger pigeon (*Ectopistes migratorius*), ivory-billed woodpecker (*Campephilus principalis*), fisher (*Martes pennanti*), and otoliths of freshwater drum fish (*Aplodinotus grunniens;*  Charles E. Cleland to Peter P. Pratt, letter, 11/8/1967, RFC, Rochester, NY).

On Seneca sites, Jordan discusses the broader patterns of use of mammals and the presence of European domesticates (Jordan 2008:Table 10.2, 292-297). Kuhn and Funk provide an overview of faunal assemblages from Mohawk sites (2000).

Data from the Weston site assemblage (Note 9.16, Tables 9.1-9.3).

11.18. New York and European politics at the turn of the century (Webb 2013). Farr or "far Indians" (Trelease 1960:324).

The Five Nations were not permitted to trade with the French (NYCD 4:569, 571). Aqueendaro's response to Schuyler and Bellomont (NYCD 4:789). "the trade which induc'd us at first to make the Covenant Chain" (NYCD 4:733). "The beaver trade here . . ." (NYCD 4:789).

11.19. "blew Coats [laced with broad Lace], laced hatts, and pair shoes with buckles", and other presents Governor-General Bellomont of New York distributed from the King at the August 1700 conference and additional gifts contributed by the government of New York (NYCD 4:740).

#### Gifts at Bellomont's second conference in Albany held during August 1700

200	Fuzees [fusils]
200	baggs of powder
2,000	lbs lead
2,000	flints
100	hatchets
200	knives
200	shirts
40	keggs of rum, 2 gallons each
63	hats

3 barrels of pipes with tobacco

"private presents of gunns, strouds [a coarse woolen cloth, blanket, or garment], Blankets, shirts, powder, lead, etc. given to the Sachims" (NYCD 4:740). Bellomont died in March 1701, and John Nanfan became acting governor, 1701-1702, before Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, arrived in New York to become the governor-general, officially 1701-1708 (Webb 1979:Appendices 153, 154, 155). Barely a year later, the acting governor John Nanfan distributed presents at a July 1701 conference that were almost as generous as Bellomont's had been (NYCD 4:901).

### Gifts at Nanfan's conference in Albany held during July 1701

- 25 kettles
- 16 dozen knives
- 25 looking glasses
- 3 pieces red strouds
- 3 pieces blew strouds
- 2 pieces duffels
- 1 piece blankets
- 40 kegs of rum
- 1,000 barrs lead
  - 200 bags powder
  - 15 bags tobacco
  - 50 shirts
- 120 pair stockings
- gross pipes
  - 5 vats of beer
- 200 wheat loaves

11.20. English-related archaeological sites of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in alphabetical order (Figure 11.3)—

- Altamaha Town in Beaufort County, South Carolina, ca. 1695-1715 (Sweeney 2009).
- Conestoga Town in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, ca. 1690-1725. An important Iroquoian town and refugee relocation center composed primarily of Conestoga (Susquehannock), and Conoy (Piscataway) people (Kent 1984:58-61, 390-391). Excavations uncovered five small cemeteries with a total of ~90 interments. Most were extended, although bundle burials and some evidence of coffins was present (Kent 1984:382, Figure 107).
- English Trading House adjacent to the Lower Creek town of Ocmulgee in Macon, Georgia, ca. 1690-1715 (Mason 2005:194). Waselkov suggests that the fortified component may date ca. 1702-1704 (1994:193).

Fredericks site (Occaneechi Town) in the drainage of the Eno and Neuse Rivers, North Carolina, ca. 1680-1710. This probably is the small palisaded village described by Lawson in 1701. A small cemetery was excavated as well as the occupation area (Dickens et al. 1987; Ward and Davis 2001:132).

Fort Albany in Ontario. Kenyon believed his excavation dated from the site's initial occupation to its capture by the French, ca. 1674-1686 (1986). Although based on the assemblage, it is more likely that it dates primarily from the period of English reoccupation, ca. 1693-1720s. A reevaluation of Kenyon's dating was discussed (Note 7.36).

Lancaster County Park Site in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, ca. 1700-1720 (or ca. 1695-1710, estimated; Kent et al. 1981). This is a small cemetery with 11 interments approximately a mile or so (~1.6 km) southeast of Conestoga Town in the Susquehanna Valley (Kinsey and Custer 1982).

- Munsee cemetery (Minisink site) in the Delaware Valley, Montague, New Jersey, ca. 1694-1710 (or ca. 1690-1705, estimated; Kent et al. 1981). Munsee cemetery has ~60 interments, and is roughly the size of the Pen site. It included burials that were extended (n = 28, flexed (n = 17), disturbed (n = 18), previously dug (n = 3), as well a reburial (n = 1; Heye and Pepper 1915:30).
- Sarf cache in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, estimated as ca. 1690-1705. A cache of marine-shell objects and glass beads (Kent 1970).
- Tarver sites in Jones County, Georgia, ca. 1695-1715, which are two Lower Creek sites near Macon (Pluckhahn 1996-1997).
- Wawarsing site in Ulster County, New York, ca. 1680. There was an Esopus-related burial described by Beauchamp (*Antiquities* 10:#263-68; Esarey 2013:182).
- William Kluttz (Sara) site in the Dan River drainage, North Carolina, ca. 1690-1710. A multicomponent site with at least 12 burials dating around the turn of the eighteenth century (Ward and Davis 1993:308-312; Ward and Davis 2001:135-137).
- Woods Island in St. Clair County, Alabama, ca. 1670-1715. A major Coosa–Upper Creek town (Smith 1989, 2000).
- 11.21. From Pratt's photographs of the Pen site axes ( $n \ge n$ 12; Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY), most are medium to large-sized utility axes with lighter blades and rounder eyes than those from earlier sites. One small ax from P26B was described by Pratt as a hatchet and has dimensions similar to those from Weston (James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site). Likely one of the nine axes in the Ennis collection, where two are cataloged as small belt axes (RFC 11007/237, 11015/237). The large sample of knives (n = 100; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY) included 46 case knives with a tapered tang and five with a flat tang. The remaining 49 are folding knives discussed under the French assemblage below. Knives were present in 33 of the 51 burials for which information is available. Iron awls from Pen include at least 10 straight double-pointed examples, and six that are diamond-shaped in section. Other implements include three hoes and three drawknife blades (James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site).
- 11.22. A count of brass kettles from the Pen site is based on Pratt's photographs (n = 30; Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The actual number may be larger, given the presence of at least two non-provenienced plow-damaged examples and two kettles recovered by Gallipeau (OHA, Syracuse,

NY). Kettle frequencies by size are four very large (>20 cm), 12 large (15-20 cm), 11 medium (10-15 cm), two small (6-10 cm), and one very small one (<6 cm). It is possible some of these sizes correspond to the "Brass Kettles of two, three, & four pound a piece" given out by Fletcher in November 1694 (NYCD 4:126). Kettle sizes are not specified in the Wendell account book (Waterman, ed. 2008). Twelve Pen site kettles had square sheet-metal lugs with folded corners, nine had omega-style lugs, two kettles have cast-brass lugs, one has sheet-metal lugs with clipped corners, and the rest had no lugs or were not diagnostic (James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site).

Jamesville site kettle lugs (n = 44) include 19 omegastyle lugs, six square sheet-metal with folded corners, three one–piece trapezoidal, two cast-brass examples, and 14 that were not diagnostic (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11).

11.23. Omega-style lugs from Fort Albany in Ontario (Kenyon 1986:71, Plates 89, 159). Omega-style lugs from the English Trading House in Macon, Georgia (Mason 2005:Plate XVIII Figure 1i). Kettles with cast lugs were present in P4 and P43 (Figure 11.5a, James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site). A similar large example from Jamesville is in the Hinsdale collection and a fragment of another in the Gifford collection.

11.24. Cloth was among the most requested items in the Wendell account book (Waterman, ed. 2008:21, Table 8). Specifically mentioned are red and blue duffel blankets, green and blue wool stockings, and red duffel stockings (Waterman, ed. 2008:156, 161, 165-168, 172, 174, 178). An adult male wearing a jacket was recorded from P13, as were portions of a dyed red blanket . . . [with] green trim from P20 (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

Dome-shaped two-piece buttons made from sheet copper with a flat U-shaped eye occur at the Pen site in nearly one-fifth of the burials (n  $\approx$  53) and also at Jamesville (n = 29; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). They come in three size groups—large (1.8 cm diameter), medium (1.5 cm diameter), and small (1.2 cm diameter). While most appear to have a copper finish, some show evidence of tinning. Similar buttons from the Southeast have been reported from the English Trading House and the Tarver sites in Georgia (Mason 2005:Plate XIII, bottom row, left; Pluckhahn 1996-1997:55). Kenyon reports 11 examples from Fort Albany, but he does not distinguish white metal from copper ones (1986:42, Figure 39).

Metallic braid may be another indication of clothing. This was apparently sold separately, but used to embellish coats and other clothing or regalia. This may be what the Wendell account book lists as *gemp* or *gijmp*, a textile where the cloth threads have been wrapped in another material (Waterman, ed. 2008:94). At least three styles of metallic braid have been reported from P5, P20, P31, and possibly others (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Similar examples have been reported from the slightly later Onondaga interments at the Jamesville Lake site (Pratt and Pratt 2004). Others include the contemporaneous ones from Conestoga Town in Pennsylvania and Ft. Albany in Ontario (Johnson 2009; Kent 1984:379-391; Kenyon 1986:Plates 82-85).

The three cloth seals from Jamesville have either initials RM or IW stamped on the obverse, or the scratched numbers 451/2 on the reverse (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). An unusual example from Jamesville is a large 1670s-style CAMPEN cloth seal in the Hinsdale collection that appears to have been perforated and worn as a pendant (Fort Ticonderoga Museum, Ticonderoga, NY).

11.25. European pipes from the Pen site (n = 14), three of which were stems only, and Native-made smoking pipes (n = 23; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Six of the European pipes from Pen are marked. The English ones have marks stamped on the bowl facing the smoker-three with TO probably for Thomas Owen of Bristol, and one with RT for Robert Tippett also of Bristol (Figures 11.7a, b; Huey 2008:49-50). Two Dutch pipes have marks on the heel. One has the letters S and H on either side of an anthropomorphic figure, which is a Gouda mark used by Steven Hendriksz van Steijn, ca. 1667-1675, and apparently used near the end of the century as well (Figure 11.6a; Duco 2003:#179). The other has a Gouda mark, ca. 1683-1711 (Figure 11.6d; Duco 2003:#250). Stem-bore diameters for the 14 European pipes from Pen are two at 5/64, nine at 6/64, and three at 7/64.

From Jamesville there are 34 marked pipes and a large assemblage of pipe stems (n = 245, Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). Overall pipe stem-bore diameters are 42 at 5/64, 137 at 6/64, and 64 at 7/64. At least three pipe fragments with plain unmarked heels have also been reported. This sample is entirely surface-collected material. The data in Table 11.1 are updated from that published by Bradley and DeAngelo (1981). In addition to bowl and heel marks, several of the pipe stems (n = 22) were embellished in various ways. Seven have an elaborate spiral fluting probably from English pipes made in Chester, UK (Noël Hume 1974:305).

**Embellishments on European smoking pipes from the Jamesville site** (n = 22)

Style	Quan- tity	Stem boreª
Elaborate spiral fluting <sup>b</sup>	2	5/64
	3	6/64
	2	7/64
		745

Bands of fine dots with chain of overlapping small circles <sup>c</sup>	6 1	5/64 6/64
Bands of fine dots with wedge- shaped border	3	5/64
Molded fleur-de-lis outlined with raised dots	1	7/64
Molded foliage/IH	1	6/64
Molded starburst	1	6/64
Single incised line <sup>d</sup>	1	6/64
Two bands of fine dashes	1	5/64

a Stem bore - measurements in inches

b Often associated with rouletting

c SH and figure heel mark, therefore Gouda production d Associated with the GLV heel mark

- 11.26. Beads were not included in Governor-General Bellomont's or Acting-Governor Nanfan's lists of presents. "221 lbs. beads" is from a 1705 list of Hudson's Bay Company trading goods (Williams 1975:66, Table 1).
- 11.27. The bead sample used here for the Pen site (n = 5,106) is based on the available information for 58 of the burials, 23 of which contained glass beads, 28 did not, and two were questionable (RHS, Rome, New York; RFC, Rochester, NY). No information was available for the remaining five.

Given the lack of clear distinction between round, oval, and elongated (R/O/E) shapes, it is difficult to parse the beads from Pen into the usual categories. As a result, they are reported in aggregate. Wiegand addressed this problem in examination of the glassbead assemblages from a set of contemporaneous Natchez-related sites in Mississippi (2013). Rather than use the Kidd and Kidd typology, she used the one developed by Jeff Brain to describe the eighteenthcentury glass-bead assemblage from the Trudeau site in Louisiana (Brain 1979:96-133; Kidd and Kidd 1970). Specific counts from Pen for small and very smallsized beads are not currently available.

With respect to bead color preferences, red beads in the Pen site assemblage decrease to 7% of the total compared to 50% at Weston, and white beads increase to 23% compared to 3% at Weston. Walthall discusses comparable color preferences on contemporaneous sites in the mid-continent (2015).

11.28. The large oval drawn-glass beads appear to be monochrome with black (IIa8), light gray (IIa10), white (IIa15), and dark blue (IIa54/57) as the preferred colors according to Kidd and Kidd (1970). Elongated oval beads also occur in these colors and some have simple stripes, for example IIb67/68, or compound stripes such as IIbb22/23, IIbb24, and IIbb27/28. Two other new forms appear to be good time markers for the beginning of the eighteenth century—one has spiral stripes, such as IIb'2/3, IIb'7, while the other has 746 wavy lateral stripes, such as IIj1-4. As archaeologist Jeffery Brain has observed, wavy lateral-striped beads (IIj1-4) appear to be of wire-wound rather than drawn construction. He classifies them as WIIIA4-6 (Brain 1979:112). These new forms and varieties were previously referred to as polychrome-revival beads (Bradley 2006:184). Marcoux also discusses several of these beads in his Cluster 2 assemblage on sites in the Southeast (2012).

- 11.29. Wire-wound beads constitute 11% of those analyzed in the Pen site assemblage. They come in five forms—multifaceted (WIIc), raspberry (WIId), melon (WIId), and ridged (WIIf), round and truncated cones (WIb; Kidd and Kidd 1970; RHS, Rome, New York; RFC, Rochester, NY). Color preferences include light gray, light gold, or amber, and a range of blues. This is a noticeably different set of color preferences from that at Weston and may reflect the interests of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in markets other than North America (Note 11.34).
- 11.30. Of the bead sample from Jamesville (n = 1,376), the majority was surface collected by Sohrweide and Bradley between 1961 and 2003. Warren J. Haberle surface collected another large assemblage (n  $\approx$  2,500), however, since only a portion of his collection was available for study, it is not been included in this analysis.
- 11.31. The most common bead color at Jamesville is red (36%), followed by black and dark blue (22%) and smaller percentages of other colors. Earlier forms such as red tubular beads (Ia1 and IIIa1-5) comprise 20% of the Jamesville assemblage. It is not clear what the resurgence of these earlier glass-bead types represents. Explanations range from trophies from looted burials to the unloading of obsolete merchandise by the European traders (Wray 1983:45-46).

Support for the latter is a known market in Europe for obsolete glass beads. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch created mosaics, grottos, and actual bead gardens, decorating them with exotic seashells, coral, colored beads, and other materials (Filstrup 1982:44-48). An archaeological example of such a mosaic has been reported from a domestic deposit, ca. 1715-1760, in Alphen aan den Rijn, 40 km outside of Amsterdam. This deposit contained hundreds of glass beads in several styles. Most common were tubular drawn beads, especially red ones (Ia1 or IIIa1-5), opaque-white elongated beads with simple red stripes (IIb21), compound blue stripes (IIbb15), and ones with three sets of spiraling blue stripes (IIb'7). A small number of wire-wound beads and pressed beads were also present as well as cowrie shells (Van Oosten 2008:2:71-82).

11.32. Amsterdam as a city of passive brokers rather than active traders (Mak 2000:150-152). After 1685 French Huguenots helped to stimulate new business (Shorto 2013:204-205). Two glasshouses established (Baart 1988:69; Karklins 1974, 1983:113) A glasshouse would have been required to produce the new types of drawn beads. Michel Hulst notes that this could have been in Haarlem, which is only 20 km from Amsterdam and known for bead production after the second Two Roses glasshouse moved there in 1679 (personal communication, 11/24/15). Wire-wound beads, on the other hand, could have been made in a simpler even domestic setting, although the subsequent shaping, or marvering, would have required a degree of skill (Kidd and Kidd 1970).

11.33. Van der Sleen was the first to report finding examples of these new drawn and wire-wound beads in and around Amsterdam (1963a, 1963b). Examples include bead types IIb'7, IIbb19/23, IIj2/4, WIIc2, and WIIc5 (Van der Sleen 1973:105-106, unnumbered color plate). The beads in the Van der Sleen collection were analyzed and published by Karlis Karklins and also reported by Bradley (2006:184, 209, Note 24; Karklins 1974). Jan Baart reported a wide range of familiar wirewound forms and colors from sites in Waterlooplein Square, Amsterdam (1988:72-73).

Recent research indicates that the wire-wound beads were made in the Fichtelgebirge region of southeastern Germany, a traditional center for glass button and bead production since the late Middle Ages. They were then distributed elsewhere through Amsterdam (Karklins 2019; Karklins et al. 2016). A more specific archaeological source for the production of drawn beads from this time period has yet to be identified.

- 11.34. It was the similarity between beads from sites in Africa and Indonesia with those from Amsterdam that sparked Van der Sleen's initial interest (1973:98-101, Plate VI-108-112). The 1711 shipwreck, *De Liefde*, was an East Indiaman owned by the Dutch East India Company (Karklins 1988). Oudepost I site in South Africa, ca. 1686-1732 (Karklins and Schrire 1991).
- 11.35. For the Mohawk sites primarily in Montgomery County, New York, ca. 1693 to 1710, the "Eastern" sequence includes the Milton Smith site, the "Central" sequence includes the Horatio Nellis site, and the "Western" sequence includes the Galligan #2 site, which is after 1700 (Wayne Lenig, personal communication, 12/15/2011; Rumrill 1991). For the Seneca sites, ca. 1687 to 1715, there is Snyder-McClure, east of Canandaigua, and White Springs, south of Geneva, New York (Jordan 2008; Wray 1983:45-46). Other English-related sites in the Northeast include Conestoga Town and the Lancaster County Park sites in Pennsylvania. Relevant drawn beads from Conestoga Town in Pennsylvania include small numbers of bead types IIb68, IIbb13, IIb'7, and IIj1-5, and wire-wound beads including types WIb5 ( $\sim$ 5%), WId1 ( $\sim 1\%$ ), WIIc112 (5%), and smaller numbers of WIb7, WIb9, WIIc2, WIIc5, and WIId6 (Kent 1984:218-222, Table 8). Relevant drawn beads from the Lancaster

County Park site include small numbers of IIb68, IIbb13, and IIj1-5 (~5%), wire-wound beads including WIb5 (~3%), and smaller numbers of WIb7, WId1, WId5, WIIc2, WIIc5, WIIc12, and WIId6 beads from feature 6 (Kent 1984:218-222, Table 8; Kinsey and Custer 1982:33). The Munsee Cemetery, or Minisink site, in New Jersey also contained a small number of wire-wound beads including type WIIa1 (n = 18; Heye and Pepper 1915:49-50). The Sarf cache in Pennsylvania contained type WIIc2 (n = 20; Kent 1970:Table 1).

- 11.36. For the beads from Charles Towne Landing in South Carolina (Smith 2007). Comparable beads from Altamaha Town in Beaufort County, South Carolina, ca. 1695-1715, include elongated white type IIa13/15 and black type IIa6/8 beads (Sweeney 2009:Figure 19). Comparable beads from the English Trading House adjacent to the Lower Creek town of Ocmulgee in Macon, Georgia, ca. 1690-1715, include one IIbb12, two IIbb16, one WIIc2, five WIIc5, and possibly others (Mason 2005:89-90, Plate XIII Figure 1). Comparable beads from the Tarver sites in Jones County, Georgia, ca. 1695-1715, include IIa54/57 (n = 156), one IIbb12, nine IIbb24/25, two IIbb27/28, one IIj2, one WIId1, and WIId4 (n = 86; Pluckhahn 1996-1997). Smith describes beads from the Upper Creek Woods Island site in Alabama as including wire-wound faceted beads, white elongated necklace beads and new varieties of striped beads, or types IIb39-41, IIb'3-7, and IIbb12-17 (1989:Table 6; 2000:Plate 7B). Comparable beads from the Fredericks site (Occaneechi Town) in North Carolina, ca. 1680-1710, probably the town described by Lawson in 1701, include one IIa55, one IIbb72, three IIbb28, and three IIj2 (Dickens et al. 1987:151-152; Ward and Davis 2001:132). For bead descriptions from the Mitchum, William Kluttz, and Upper Saratown sites I in North Carolina (Dickens et al. 1987:140-141, 308-310, Table 11.7, 428-429, Table 14.3).
- 11.37. The wire-wound examples reported by Kenyon include WIb6 (n = 12; 1986:Table 7). This continuum is especially evident with opaque-white beads, IIa13 (n = 168) and IIa15 (n = 6; Kenyon 1986:Plate 144). Other shared types include IIb32 (n = 60), IIb34 (n = 12), and seven IIj2 (Smith 2002:58).
- 11.38. Governor Fletcher distributed only 30 *gunn barrils* & locks in September 1696 (NYCD 4:236). By 1700 the Board of Trade had agreed to the next request by Bellomont for 400 light fusils and a quantity of lead and powder (NYCD 4:666). Bellomont specified light guns for the Indians, a little longer than carbines (NYCD 4:646).
- 11.39. The Pen site muskets had up-to-date lock plates (Type VIII or IX; Puype 1985: Plates 65, 81). Barrel lengths were between 43 and 52 in (109-132 cm) long and all were made of maple (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Three had

calibers in the range of .52 to .54 while the fourth was between .60 and .64, calibers that match the major clusters of musket balls recovered. Measurable lead balls found at Pen (n = 128) formed major clusters of calibers ranging from .53 to .56 (59%) and .58 to .63, (32%; Howard C. Miller to Peter Pratt, letter, 2/18/66, RFC, Rochester, NY). With respect to local manufacture, Livingston wrote to Bellomont in May 1700, "I have received 100 barrels & locks of guns of Col. De Peyster, which I cause stocks to be made to" (NYCD 4:648). Beginning in 1699, a series of special Indian fusils were produced under crown authority for presentation purposes. Fabricated in London, these had 46 in (117 cm) round barrels, walnut or beech stocks, locks with a bridled tumbler, and escutcheons stamped with the crown and WR cipher (Bailey 1999:25-26). No archaeological examples of these special muskets are known. With the exception of a cast-brass handle from a small pocket pistol, no pistols were present at Pen, although examples have been reported from other contemporaneous Native sites with strong English connections, such as the English Trading House in Macon, Georgia (Mason 2005:Plate VIII).

One of the complete muskets from Pen site P41 had an unusual and elaborate iron side plate (Figure 11.10, Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Four fragmentary examples of comparable iron side plates were among the wide assortment of tools and materials in P6 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). One of these appears to be very similar to an example found on the Jamesville site (Figure 11.10d, Haberle 4413-5). Iron side plates, with their somewhat serpentine form, mark a time of transition in firearms better documented in brass examples. The baroque loops and scrolls of the seventeenth century morph into what would become the familiar Land-Pattern forms on military muskets and the serpent side plates on trade muskets after ca. 1715. Burgoyne provides an initial discussion on the evolution of this distinctively English form in pistols (2002:74-78). Gooding does the same for trade muskets (2003:70-73). There is comparative archaeological evidence for trade muskets from opposite ends of British North America. Kenyon illustrates three fragmentary brass examples from Fort Albany in Ontario (1986:Plate 127). Note that none were found at the earlier site on Charlton Island in James Bay, ca. 1681-1682. Carol Mason illustrates a very similar brass example from the English Trading House in Macon, Georgia (2005:Plate XVIII Figure 1e).

11.40. Jamesville site gun parts were analyzed in the available collections (Note 11.11).

11.41. Halberd-style tomahawks (Peterson 1965:27-28, #57, #58). William J. Gallipeau, the curator at the Onondaga County Parks Department, oversaw the original excavations at the Pen site. The 1949 newspaper article on Gallipeau's excavation does not mention a halberd-style tomahawk (Newspaper clippings file, OHA, Syracuse, NY). However, an inventory of the objects found by Gallipeau and displayed at the French Fort in 1961 included four axes and a halberd-style tomahawk (Fine 1962:142-143).

No swords were present at Pen, although two iron hilts were included among the miscellaneous iron goods in P37 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

- 11.42. The two examples of European ceramics from Pen are half of a French or Norman stoneware apothecary jar from P37, and the partial figure of a small spaniel-like dog made of early Staffordshirestyle slipware from P5 (Figure 11.36; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The French stoneware, probably from Beauvais in France, is virtually identical to examples recovered from the wreck of the Daphine, ca. 1703-1704, also known as the *Nantiere* #1 (Dagneau 2009). The partial ceramic figure of a small dog is unusual and more typical of Staffordshire wares produced early in the eighteenth century. It appears to represent a Charles II spaniel. No comparable examples are known. At Jamesville, pewter and latten spoons, both dark-olive and lightaqua bottle glass, and European ceramics are wellrepresented. Ceramics include lead-glazed red ware, tin-glazed ware, buff Staffordshire ware with combedslip glaze, and Rhenish stoneware (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11).
- 11.43. The Wendell account book lists several imported iron items including a small ax, other axes, beaver scrapers, and a harpoon (Waterman, ed. 2008:120, 142, 148). Scuffle hoes, which have a tubular socket and a long curved blade rather than a broad flat one, are a Dutch form. At least two have been reported from the Pen site (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). One is a well-shaped example from P59 and identical to one of the two reported from the Seneca Boughton Hill site (RFC 2288/103, 6722/103; George Hamell, personal communication, 12/2011). The second example from Pen P60 may have been a local copy. A complete ice creeper from Jamesville (NYSM A2017.57.23) is similar to the one from the Weston site and those illustrated from Michilimackinac (Stone 1974: Figure 43). There is also a miss-cut and discarded ice-creeper preform from Jamesville (Haberle 2874-5).
- 11.44. "a badge or the King's armes cut in silver to hang about the necks" (Beauchamp 1903:50). There is no evidence of any silver, including trade objects such as brooches and crosses, from either Pen or Jamesville.
- 11.45. Initially, only Fort St. Louis in Illinois country was to remain open as a trading outpost. This was amended to include Michilimackinac, Ft. St. Joseph at the foot of Lake Michigan, and Fort Frontenac at

Cataraqui (Eccles 1964:202-204). Changes in trade policies (Eccles 1964:220-221). Mohawk Praying Indians of Caughnawaga, also known as La Sault or La Prairie (Note 11.47). "We are come to trade ... a barril of strong beer" (NYCD 4:692-693).

- 11.46. Louis-Hector de Callière became governor-general in 1698 (Zoltvany 1982b). "I like Moose & Elk skins which you may sell to me", "who shall make every thing for you", "all necessary merchandize fit for your trade" (NYCD 4:799). The French did use presents at Indian conferences, but not as lavishly as the English. Before the 1701 Montréal treaty conference was over, the requisite presents were distributed from the King's storehouse including powder, musket balls, and caps decorated with laces of gold braid (Havard 2001:139-140, 258 Note 134).
- 11.47. French-related archaeological sites of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in alphabetical order (Figure 11.11)—
  - Bell site in Winnebago County, Wisconsin, ca. 1680-1730. A Meskwaki (Fox) occupation site on the shore of Big Lake Buttes des Morts. Behm suggests that much of the French-related materials came from raiding theses sites rather than trading (2008).
  - Fort Michilimackinac in Emmet County, Michigan, ca. 1715-1760. A multicomponent fort on the south side of the Straits of Mackinac, established by the French, ca. 1715. After 1760 it was briefly occupied by the British, and subsequently the Americans (Stone 1974).
  - Gros Cap site at St. Ignace, Michigan, ca. 1680-1705. The Gros Cap site is a mortuary site on the Lake Michigan side of the Straits of Mackinac. Burials are the extended type, although there is evidence of cremations, which are primarily Algonquian with some Iroquoian traits. They have been described as being strikingly similar to those at Pen by Nern and Cleland (1974:54). Based on glass beads, especially wire-wound types and rings, it is likely that this site extended later in time than Lasanen, perhaps up to 1705.
  - Guebert site in Randolph County, Illinois, was occupied for most of the eighteenth century, ca. 1719-1774 (Good 1972:31-39). The earlier sites at Lake Peoria 1691-1700, at Rivière des Pères where Fr. Sebastian Rale was assigned, ca. 1700-1703, and at Early Kaskaskia, ca. 1703-1719, are not known archaeologically (Good 1972:Figure 1; JR 67:153).
  - Hotel Plaza site at Starved Rock State Park in La Salle County, Illinois, was located on the south side of the Illinois River opposite the Zimmerman site, ca. 1690-1701. Although historical documents suggest that the Illinois and other Native people such as the Shawnee had left the Starved Rock area by 1690, the assemblage from this site indicated that someone was still there, ca. 1701 (Schnell 1974:42-45, Figure

20, Figure 21; Walthall 2015).

- Lasanen site in Mackinac County, Michigan, ca. 1685-1696. An Ottawa–Wyandot mortuary site on the Lake Huron side of the Straits of Mackinac at St. Ignace. Remains were described as a mass interment of disarticulated bundle burials (Cleland, ed. 1971:6-18). Cleland suggests these may have been burials described by Antoine Laumet de La Mothe Cadillac, ca. 1694-1697 (Cleland, ed. 1971:95). He also noted that essentially every artifact type recovered at Lasanen is specifically duplicated at the Pen site (Cleland, ed. 1971:92).
- Le Vieux–La Prairie, ca.1670-1700, is located on the south side of the St. Lawrence across from Montréal. It was one of the most important Jesuit settlements of Christian Iroquois. Founded in 1667, the mission town of La Prairie de la Magdelen has been known by several names. Commonly called La Prairie, it has also been known as St. Xavier du Sault, and Caughnawaga. Recent archaeological work has been done in Le Vieux-La Prairie, an old part of the town. Specific components of the site designated BiFi have more precise dates (Côté 2001; Hade and Jacob 2002).
- Naples site in Scott County, Illinois, was an Illinois camp on the east bank of the Illinois River, ca. 1693-1700 (Walthall et al. 1992). This may be one of the sites visited by Fr. Sebastian Rale before he returned to Canada (JR 67:163).
- Old Mobile in Alabama was the site of the first French settlement in Louisiana established by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, ca. 1701-1711 (Waselkov 1999, 2002). Although the connection between Mobile and Montréal may seem remote, it was not. As with La Salle's ill-fated voyage 16 years earlier, much of the leadership came from men who gained their experience with Indian people in the Northeast. D'Iberville was born in Montréal in 1661, third of the 12 sons of Charles Le Moyne (Pothier 1982). A hardened veteran of the border wars, D'Iberville had helped capture the English Fort Albany on James Bay in 1686 and participated in the attack of Schenectady in 1690. Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt, the most effective French agent in Onondaga, was one of his younger brothers, as was François Le Moyne de Bienville who was his partner in leading the Mobile settlement (Horton 1982; O'Neill 1974).
- Palais de l'Intendant in Québec, 1689-1713. Destroyed by fire in 1713, this governmental building contained the King's storehouse in the basement (Moussette 1994).
- Pointe-à-Callière in Montréal was a multicomponent site on the south shore of the Île de Montréal, ca. 1674-1765 (Desjardins and Duguay 1992). Stratagraphically, the occupation Period 2.2 is dated between 1674-1688, and is capped by a brief Period

3.1 deposited in 1688. Period 3.2 extended from 1688 to 1765. Thank you to Brad Loewen of the University of Montréal for his many observations and clarifications (personal communication, 11/19/14).

- Rock Island in Door County, Wisconsin, is a multicomponent site at the mouth of Green Bay, ca. 1670-1700. The Period 3a component is interpreted by Mason as a Potawatomi occupation (1986:217-218).
- Tracy Farm (Norridgewock I) and Old Point Mission (Norridgewock II) sites are located in Norridgewock, Maine. They are two important Abenaki settlements in the mid-Kennebec valley. As such, Tracy Farm is a multicomponent site with a primary occupation, ca. 1400-1690 (Cowrie 2002:63). Early in the 1690s, the primary settlement was moved to the east side of the river where Fr. Sebastian Rale established a new Jesuit mission and church in 1694. The Old Point Mission settlement was destroyed by English troops in 1703, then rebuilt between 1711 and 1713. It was attacked again and burned killing Father Rale, in August 1724. The site was reoccupied briefly off and on until 1754 (Cowie 2002:41-44).
- Trudeau site in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, ca. 1731-1781. This is a large mortuary site of the Tunica people (Brain 1979).
- Zimmerman site in La Salle County, Illinois, is a multicomponent site on the north side of the Illinois River, ca. 1670-1691. This is believed to be the location of the Grand Village of the Kaskaskia or Illinois people (Brown ed. 1961; Brown 1975:1; Walthall 2015).
- 11.48. Iron scrapers at the Pen site (n = 14) include iron points with a long tang (n = 5), and knives (n = 100; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC,Rochester, NY). Knives were reported in 33 of the 51burials for which information is available at the Pensite. There were 51 case knives. Of the 49 folding knifeblades, 36 have flatin-style blades, five have pointedtip siamois-style blades, seven have rounded tips, andonly one has a small jambette-style blade. There arefragmentary knife blades from Jamesville (Jamesvillesite collections, Note 11.11).
- 11.49. Knives from the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec (n = 78) were large flatin-style blades (≥10.7-13.4 cm long; Moussette 1994:61-64, 2000). Several of the Pen site examples are about the same size. The town of Thiers in France is a traditional center of cutlery production and source for such blades (Moussette 2000:7). Unfortunately, unlike the knife blades from the Palais de l'Intendant or Weston, none of those from Pen or Jamesville retain identifiable marks.

There are many examples of comparable knives from contemporaneous French-related sites. Examples include jambette-style blades from Le Vieux-La Prairie (Bergeron et al. 2004:Figure 14; Hade and Jacob 2002:Figure 6). There are flatin-style blades from Lasanen (Cleland ed. 1971:19-21, Figure 16#1, Figure 16#2). There are both jambette- and flatin-style blades from Gros Cap (Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 6). Mason reported several siamois–style blades with pointed and spatulate tips from Rock Island Period 3a, although most are probably early eighteenth century (1986:199-202, Plates 14.40, 40.41). Knife blades with similar marks are even more common on other early to mid eighteenth-century sites such as the Bell site in Wisconsin, the Guebert site in Illinois, and the Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan (Behm 2008:59-60, Figure 47; Good 1972:157-162; Stone 1974:Figure 160G, 265).

A note of caution—the presence of French-made knives does not necessarily mean French trade. Hudson's Bay Company records indicate that captured French goods, including French knives, awls and hatchets, were often used because they were more acceptable to the Indians than the English equivalents (Williams, ed. 1975:66 Note 2). This may explain the presence of typical French trade goods, such as iconographic rings, iron points with a long tang, and scrapers, at Fort Albany in Ontario.

- 11.50. Stone reports Type 1 lugs from Michilimackinac (n = 65; 1974:171-173, Figure 93). Behm illustrates five examples from the Bell site in Wisconsin and notes that at least 10 have been documented (2008:52, Figure 34). Good illustrates four examples from the Guebert site in Illinois (1974:166, Figure 41). Brain reports 69 kettles with Type A Variety 1 lugs from the Trudeau site in Louisiana (1979:166-168).
- 11.51. Examples of this new form of kettle at the Pen site (Figure 11.12) are reported from P20 and P28 and from the surface of the site (RHS 1138, Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Raemsch and Jamison 1996). The kettles are most similar to Brain's Type F Variety 2, which has a defined shoulder, slightly constricted neck, folded sheet-brass lugs, and a tendency to be ornamented with patternedbattery work (1979:180). Earlier examples of kettles with patterned-battery work come from the Grimsby site, ca. 1640-1650, in Ontario (Kenyon 1982:222).
- 11.52. Standardization of firearms—the British Long Land Pattern muskets adopted in 1715, later known as the Brown Bess, and the French Model 1717 muskets produced in the Charleville armory in France and elsewhere (Blackmore 1961:40-44; Darling 1970:15-19). Gladysz provides a detailed review of firearms from St. Étienne, France (2011). Bouchard discusses the rapid increase in the production of muskets in Tulle at the end of the seventeenth century (1998). The iron hardware from the Palais de l'Intendant appears to come from two distinct assemblages—one from the early fire, ca. 1713, and one from the later fire, ca. 1760

(Moussette 1994:61-63, Figures 34-36).

11.53. March 1702 request from Father Gravier, "ten livres [pounds] of large glass . . ." (JR 66:29). The February 1710 request (JR 66:133).

- 11.54. The typological system devised by Kidd and Kidd updated by Karklins is used here for beads (Karklins 2012; Kidd and Kidd 1970). Other typological systems have been developed for glass beads outside of the Northeast, especially for late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sites including the Trudeau site in the lower Mississippi Valley, and Lasanen and Michilimackinac in the upper Great Lakes (Brain 1979; Cleland, ed. 1971; Stone 1974). The following data are translated into Kidd numbers from the photographs referenced in order to make comparisons.
- 11.55. No glass beads were recovered from basement storeroom #4 in the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec (Moussette 1994:61-63). While many beads have been found at Pointe-à-Callière in Montréal, few can be documented from this brief period (Brad Loewen, personal communication, 11/19/14). Comparable beads found at Le Vieux-La Prairie from BiFi-23—more than one each IIa13 and IIa15, and nine WId (Côté 2001:Figure 3). Also at Le Vieux-La Prairie from BiFi-12, more than one each of IIbb25 and WIIc were found (Bergerson et al. 2004:Figure 13).

Beads comparable to those found at the Pen and Jamesville sites (Tables 11.2 and 11.4) have been found at the French-related Lasanen, Gros Cap, Rock Island, Hotel Plaza, and Old Mobile sites. The bead descriptions and counts are presented in Appendix 2 for each site (Tables A1-A4), except those from Old Mobile, which are listed below since there are no specific counts.

Comparable beads from the Old Mobile site in Alabama (1MB94) and from closely related sites include a large well-provenienced assemblage of beads ( $n \approx 2,500$ ) that was recovered from six structures, ca. 1702-1711. Smith provides an overall description, but no specific counts. He also distinguishes between beads that characterize the entire eighteenth-century presence of Europeans in French Louisiana and those that may be important time markers (2002:58). The following Kidd type beads are in the eighteenthcentury group (Smith 2002:Plate 2 top row)—

- IIb'7—an elongated-oval white bead with thin blue spiral stripes from Old Mobile site (1MB94)
- WIIc6—an amber multifaceted bead from Port Dauphin Village (1MB221), a site on an island in the Mobile River in Alabama
- WIId1—a light-gray raspberry bead from Old Mobile site (1MB94)
- IIb18—a gooseberry bead from Old Mobile site (1MB94)

All four bead types occur in the Pen and Jamesville assemblages, although they may not be listed in Tables

11.2 and 11.3, which list only the most frequently occurring beads.

Among the beads from the Jamesville site, the following types are comparable examples from other sites that may be important time markers. They occur with greater frequency on sites with longer eighteenth-century occupations including the Bell site, ca. 1680-1730, the Trudeau site ca. 1731-1781, the Guebert site ca. 1719-post-1800, Port Dauphin Village, ca. 1715-1725 (1MB221), the Old Mobile site, ca. 1702-1711 (1MB94 and IMB147), and Fort Michilimackinac, ca. 1715-1760 (Behm 2008; Brain 1979; Good 1972; Lorenzini 1996; Shorter 2002; Smith 2002; Stone 1974)—

- IIa10—a large oval monochrome bead of light gray from Port Dauphin Village (1MB221; Smith 2002:Plate 2 bottom row left, 59)
- IIb39<sup>\*</sup>—an ovoid white bead with two red, two black, and two green spiral stripes from Port Dauphin Village (1MB221; Smith 2002:58)
- IIb67—an ovoid navy-blue bead with three white stripes from Old Mobile site (1MB94; Smith 2002:46, Plate 2 third row second from right, 59)
- IIb'6—an ovoid white bead with thin red spiral stripes from Port Dauphin Village (1MB221; Smith 2002:46, Plate 2 third row fourth from right, 59)
- IIb'7—an ovoid pale-white bead with three sets of thin spiraling blue stripes from Old Mobile site (1MB94; Smith 2002:46, Plate 2 top row left, 58)
- IIb'8—an ovoid white bead with three yellow and navy stripes from the Old Mobile site (1MB94; Smith 2002:46, Plate 2 third row third from left, 59)

IIbb6—an elongated black bead with three thin redon-white stripes from the Old Mobile site (1MB94; Smith 2002:46, Plate 2 third row on right, 59)

Small wire-wound bead, black or dark burgundy, with yellow appliqué from the Old Mobile site (IBM147; Smith 2002:46, Plate 2, second row third from right, 58). This bead does not occur in the Kidd and Kidd typology (1970). Smith indicates this is one of a group of beads that duplicates types found on Spanish Mission sites in Florida, specifically San Luis de Talimali, a Franciscan mission, ca. 1633-1704, near Tallahassee (Deagan 1987:12). English-sponsored raids by the Lower Creeks decimated these missions, ca. 1702-1704, and drove them west to into French lands (Waselkov 1999:43-44). Pen is the only site known in the Northeast where this style of bead has been reported.

11.56. Another indication of overlapping sources of distribution is the occurrence of several of the same drawn and wire-wound forms found on Spanish-related sites of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-centuries in the Southeast (Deagan

1987:Figure 7.7, 171-79).

- 11.57. Brass rings, crucifixes, and medals were present in 16 of the 51 burials at Pen for which information is available. Compared to the seven rings and two medals found at Weston, both Pen and Jamesville have a substantially larger assemblage of rings, medals, and other religious objects (Notes 9.47-48, 11.59-60). Burials where religious objects may have served as trophies include P5, P35, and P58 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). A comparable example is the burial at Gros Cap in Ontario, where all 10 brass rings reported from the site were worn by one individual on one hand (Nern and Cleland 1974:7). "to have some toys to retaliate . . . [with, since] the Jesuits at Canada are so cunning" (NYCD 4:649).
- 11.58. In addition to glass beads, Fr. Jacques Gravier requested six gross of finger rings (*bagues à cachet*) for the Illinois missions (JR 66:30-31). Archaeologist Caroline Mercier, who has proposed a technological rather than a stylistic typology for differentiating rings, discusses the shift in production and motif (2011).
- 11.59. The Pen site ring assemblage (n = 35, e.g. Figure 11.13) includes 13 cast or stamped styles including three IHS (example in Figure 11.13a), three clasped hands, two St. Peter with key, and five single examples of motifs—L/heart, pieta, Christ facing left, unidentified portrait facing left, and a quatrefoil (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Later incised styles, characteristic of the late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century, include four XX (two examples in Figures 11.13 b, d; RFC 11600/237, 11597/237, RHS 677, Hagerty collection), two L/heart (RFC 11598/237, RHS 660), and two abstract motifs (Figure 11.13c). Bands or rings with no plaque include four heart in hands, two clasped hands, one plain, and seven where the style and motif are not discernable (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).
- 11.60. Of the hundreds of rings undoubtedly taken from the Jamesville site, not many were documented. Only 18 can be described. Two rings are the early incised-IHS style and one was a band with L/heart (Sohrweide collection). Seven are cast or stamped styles—IHS, L/heart, Christ facing left, Mary facing left, clasped hands over palms, VM monogram, and one unidentifiable (Sohrweide and private collections). Four have an oval plaque with late style incised motifs—L/heart (Haberle 5898-5), an H (Figure 11.13f, NYSM A2017.57.5), a VM monogram, and an abstract one (Sohrweide collection). Three have an octagonal plaque with an incised X, a backwards N, or an unidentifiable motif (Sohrweide collection). The last one has a heart-shaped plaque with an abstract incised motif (Figure 11.13e; NYSM A2017.57.4).
- 11.61. The French-related archaeological site Le Vieux-La Prairie is located in the area of the Praying Towns south of Montréal (Note 11.47). Three rings reported 752

from there in a refuse feature (BiFi-23) included a cast or stamped St. Peter with a key, an early style incised ring of the Markman-style, and one later style incised ring with XX in a large oval (Côté 2001:Figure 5; Mercier 2005: Figure 1). For late seventeenthcentury French-related sites, 21 rings were reported from Lasanen that were cast or stamped—10 IHS, four L/heart, two Christ facing left, three VM/MM monogram, one crucifixion, one Mary facing left (Cleland, ed. 1971:29-32, Figure 22). Nern and Cleland reported seven rings with plaques and two plain bands of the cast or stamped style from Gros Cap. Due to poor preservation, identification of motifs was limited to one L/heart and three of various saints (1974:Figures 2a-2i). Schnell reported two rings from the Hotel Plaza site in the cast or stamped style, with one depicting the L/heart motif and the other the Virgin facing left (1974:Figure 20h, Figure 20i).

- 11.62. Other French-related sites with assemblages of the late style of incised rings include the Bell site in Wisconsin, Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan, and Rock Island in Wisconsin, where they probably are from the second Potawatomi Period (Behm 2008:Figures 39-41; Hauser 1982; Mason 1986:Table 14.8; Stone 1974:123-131). Several rings were recovered from the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec, ca. 1689-1713. Although the total number found was not reported, Moussette illustrated five examples-four with large oval plaques and incised abstract motifs, and one incised band (1994:Figure 39). There is also one ring with an incised abstract design (CeEt-30-27C92-3) comparable to two from the Pen site (RHS 659, RHS 661; Moussette 1994:Figure 39, upper right). There are two rings with the incised L/heart motif from Pen (RFC 11598/237, RHS 660), one from Jamesville (Haberle 5898-5), and one from the Palais de l'Intendant (CeEt-30-27C91-1; Moussette 1994:Figure 39, upper row middle). While these late style incised rings are clearly associated with French-related sites, they occasionally occur on English-related sites as well. Two examples, one incised H and an incised L/heart motif both on large oval plaques, were recovered from the Yamasee site, ca. 1695-1715, in Altamaha Town outside Charleston in Beaufort County, South Carolina (Sweeney 2009).
- 11.63. Based on Pratt's photographs and the available records, 12 crucifixes plus one *Corpus Christi* figure were found at the Pen site (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The sample falls into six types—
  - Type I—six with a simple straight-edged cross with Christ on the obverse and Madonna with attending angels on either side on the reverse, similar to Stone's Type 2 specimen 5 (1974).
  - Type II—two with a simple straight-edged cross with Christ on the obverse and Madonna with IESVS and MARIA on the cross bar on the reverse, as in Stone's Type 2 specimen 4 (1974).

- Type III—one with a simple straight-edged cross with Christ and an expanded round base on the obverse, and Madonna with MATER and SALVAI on the cross bar on the reverse.
- Type IV—one with a simple straight-edged cross with Christ and a trapezoidal base on the obverse, and Madonna with attending angels on either side on the reverse.
- Type V—one with a cross with foliate ends, each having an angel's head, with Christ on the obverse, and a saint (?) with two attending angels on the reverse.

Type VI—one with a cross with two cross bars. The five crucifixes documented from Jamesville include three types –

- Pen Type IV—one in the Hinsdale collection and one reported by Clark (1849:II:280). It was also reported by Beauchamp (1903:#218).
- Pen Type V—one in the Sohrweide collection and one reported by Beauchamp (1903:#219).
- Pen Type VI—one reported by Beauchamp (1903:#216). Beauchamp reported an earlier example of type VI from Pompey, New York (1903:#213).

An additional five crucifixes are listed in the Haberle collection catalog (1875-5, 2956-5, 1891-5, 5586-5, 5548-5), but were not available for study.

- 11.64. There have been reported 17 medals from the Pen site and 12 from the Jamesville site (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). Of the 12 different types from Pen, only two are known from Jamesville. Conversely, of the seven types from Jamesville, none are known from Pen. This suggests that stylistic preferences changed rapidly during this period. At least half of the medals are generic and depict motifs such as the face of Christ on the obverse and Mary on the reverse, or the standing mother and child on the obverse and a monstrance with attending angels on the reverse. Most have minimal or no text. Surprisingly, no medals portraying Loyola, Xavier, or other Jesuit saints have been reported, although the Society's iconic IHS motif does occur. Medals commemorating other saints include St. Augustine with three from Pen and one from Jamesville, St. Benedict with one from Pen and three from Jamesville, and St. Francis with one from Jamesville. Moussette provides a broader discussion on medals of this period (2001). Jesuits as political agents of the Crown (Eccles 1964:223).
- 11.65. These interpretative scales represent an initial effort to evaluate the findings at the Pen site and what it might tell us about Onondaga people at the end of the seventeenth century. Until Pratt publishes his findings, any such attempt must be considered preliminary. Francophile and Anglophile (Richter 1992:105-128, 133-142).

11.66. For a modified version of Jamison's "Traditional" versus "Instructed" categories (1998:5-7). Christianrelated means the presence of iconographic rings, crucifixes, rosary beads, and medals, and their use within the accepted practice. Traditional means the presence of objects and materials customarily associated with spiritual or healing practices including turtle-shell rattles, evidence of pouches, quartz crystals, and depictions of animal friends on combs, pipes, or made of shell and pipestone.

Only four of the 51 burials for which there is information appear to demonstrate some level of accepted Christian practice, such as an extended or supine position preferably within a coffin and with no associated funerary objects with the exception of a rosary or crucifix (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). While the four interments P8, P9, P11, and P12 have a degree of spatial clustering, each has a different variant of this mortuary practice. About 14 of the burials were strongly traditional in terms of associated funerary objects and mortuary treatment, while nine contained a combination of Christian-related and traditional objects. The remaining 24 burials do not appear to fit into these categories.

- 11.67. Jamison used k-means clustering. After considering models ranging from two to 11 clusters, he determined that eight clusters were most appropriate. "This heterogeneity of affiliation within and uniformity between clusters suggests a well integrated community without major factions" (1998:5-7).
- 11.68. "the highest or most important social positions in the society" (Mainfort 1979:311). Mainfort's study focused on achieved versus inherited status at the Northern Algonquian Fletcher cemetery on the Saginaw River in Michigan, ca. 1740-1770. Although later and larger, the Fletcher site has several characteristics reminiscent of those at the Pen site (1979:311).
- 11.69. A description of the goods in the 51 burials from the Pen site breaks down as follows—seven lavish, 17 significant, 25 modest, two with none, and eight with no information (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The three terms are defined as *lavish*—containing two or more kettles, a firearm or large cache of tools, and a substantial quantity of shell, pipestone and/or glass beads— as *significant*—containing a kettle and two or more items such as a firearm, smoking pipe, antler comb, or religious object—and as *modest*—having at least one significant item.
- 11.70. P34 contained lavish material goods (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). "very influential Onnondaga chief" killed in 1697 (NYCD 9:666). "the great loss they had sustained by the death of Sakoghsinnakichte one of their Chief Capt<sup>ns</sup> who departed this life this last winter," reported 753

in June 1701 (NYCD 4:891).

- 11.71. The 24 burials for which information is available contained wampum or other marine-shell objects (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Examples of shell objects from Jamesville have been illustrated (Beauchamp 1901a:#138, shown upside down; Drake 1884:Plate 15 #29, #30; Schoolcraft 1846:101).
- 11.72. In his reply to the Farr Indians in July 1702, Governor-General Cornbury presented some "Indian Jewells," which were most requested—"110 Wampum Pipes, 9 Shells [gorgets?], 117 Small round Shells [runtees?], 32 Jewells that they wear in their noses or ears" (NYCD 4:981). The Wendell account book contains several transactions in which shell objects played a role. For example, there are two occasions on which wampum belts or sashes were used as payment (Waterman, ed. 2008:108, 117). Unfortunately, there is some uncertainty about how shell objects were recorded in Wendell's account book and translated by Waterman. He defines schijven or sijven as wampum although this could refer to other shell forms (Waterman, ed. 2008:95). He also translates pijpen as pipes, but does not always differentiate between smoking pipes and wampum tubes or tubular pipe beads (Waterman, ed. 2008:240, #216). There is one reference to a transaction in which three marten were exchanged for a shell, clearly an item of value (Waterman, ed. 2008:107).
- 11.73. Wampum beads from the Pen site were in 14 of 51 burials ( $n \approx 1,100$ ; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). In comparison, the Lasanen site in Michigan had wampum beads in 11 of 19 burials (n > 14,000; Cleland, ed. 1971:39-40). Pratt reports only two possible belts or sashes from Pen as, "Wampum occurred around neck (necklace?) and under each arm (part of a belt?) . . .We were able to completely restring the necklace accurately" from P22. He also noted, "Around the neck of individual C was a 4 row collar of white wampum" from P28. In contrast, portions of seven belts were recovered at Lasanen (Cleland, ed. 1971:39-40).

For the beads at Pen, long tubular pipe beads (n = 72) appear to have occurred in only four interments (P5, P28, P37, and P51; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Triangular to triconcave beads (n = 55) were present in seven interments—one from P18, approximately 43 from P19, three from P28, one from P29, one from P34, three from P51, and three from P54. Many of these are  $\gamma$ -shaped and similar to those from Weston. Pratt reports seven discoidal-shell beads from only one burial P27.

At Jamesville wampum remains the most common bead form at  $\geq$  60, followed by 51 long tubular pipe-bead fragments, 43 discoidal, 9 massive, and 2 triangular or triconcave beads (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). Only a portion of the Haberle 754 shell assemblage was available for study and this may explain the low number of triangular and triconcave beads. At present only two examples have been reported—one small triangular example with an indented base illustrated by Beauchamp, and one large Y-shaped example (1.6 cm long, ~1 cm wide; NYSM A2017.57.7; Antiquities 10:#1005).

In general, the preservation of shell at Pen was very good, a result of the non-acidic limestone-based soil. At Jamesville the condition of shell objects is very much a function of when it was collected. If collected during the nineteenth or first half of the twentieth century, shell objects were generally solid and retained embellishment. When surface-collected in the early 1960s, shell beads and other objects could still be found, but were generally soft and eroded. By the late 1970s, any shell objects that still occurred on the surface of the site had the consistency of putty. A walkover of the site in 2010 produced no evidence of marine shell, probably a consequence of continued intensive-cultivation methods and use of fertilizers.

- 11.74. Zoomorphic pendants from Pen (n = 11) and Jamesville (n = 9) consist of
  - Turtles—from Pen, three from P19, one from P51, and from Jamesville, a polished turtle head (Haberle 1699-5).
  - Creatures—from Pen, one otter from P51, one salamander from P54, one beetle from P54, and from Jamesville, a small quadruped of white shell similar to one from Beauchamp (2.6 cm long, 0.6 cm wide; 1901a:Plate 17, 217).
  - Birds, geese or loon style— from Pen, one from P37, one from P38, and one thunderbird from P51 (Figure 11.16d), and seven birds from Jamesville. Fish—from Pen, one flounder from P22.

Geometric pendants include one circular example from P54 at the Pen site, and one triangular example with an indented base from Jamesville (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Haberle 2445-5). There are similar examples from the Munsee cemetery in the upper Delaware Valley. Schoolcraft illustrates two anthropomorphic pendants from Jamesville. One is a small figure with drilled dots, possibly a reworked runtee (Note 11.79; Beauchamp 1901a:#149a; Schoolcraft 1846:144, Figure 2). The other is an anthropomorphic face made of seashell, perforated on the sides (Beauchamp 1901a:#139; Schoolcraft 1846:137, Plate III Figures 3, 4).

11.75. Of runtees from the Pen site (n = 23), six circular ones come from only three interments—one from P26, four from P29, and one from P54. Eight zoomorphic runtees were clustered in three interments—four from P28, one from P39, and three from P54 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). From Jamesville (n = 10), four complete circular runtees and five fragments have been reported (Jamesville collections, Note 11.11). In addition, George Slocum found a heavily worn zoomorphic runtee (Figure 11.17a), similar to ones from Pen, which Beauchamp unfortunately illustrated upside down (1901a:#138).

- 11.76. Four gorgets at Pen include a large plain one with seven lateral perforations from P19 (~11.5 cm diameter, Figure 11.16a), a plain gorget of the small McBee-style from P45, and two more highly embellished examples from P48 (Figure 11.16b) and P5 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Robert Hill recovered one gorget fragment from Jamesville (RFC 10048/220).
- 11.77. Isotopic analysis (Lowery et al. 2014:29-30, Table 5, Figures 14, 15). In these analyses, four origins of shell were linked to objects from Jamesville, including a reworked runtee from the Gulf of Mexico with a drilled-dots motif and sides ground to oblique angles (originally 2.4 cm diameter, Figure 11.17b; NYSM A2017.57.6), a fragment of a long tubular pipe bead from the mid-Atlantic coast (0.4 cm diameter, 3.4 cm long; NYSM A2017.57.24), a small runtee from the mid-Atlantic coast (NYSM A2017.57.25), and a large discoidal bead from the mid-Atlantic coast (1.4 cm diameter, 0.3 cm thick; NYSM A2017.57.26).
- 11.78. Sites in the adjacent mid-Atlantic drainages include the Esopus burials in the lower Hudson at the Wawarsing site, the Munsee Cemetery in the upper Delaware, and the Conestoga assemblage and Sarf cache in the Susquehanna Valley (Note 11.20, Figures 11.3, 11.12). Comparable pipe beads have been reported from the following sites—
  - Wawarsing site, Esopus burials—11 pipe beads (Esarey 2013:Table E.5),
  - Munsee cemetery—31 pipe beads (Esary 2013:Table E.5; Heye and Pepper 1915:43-44, Plate IXc),
  - Conestoga Town—67 pipe beads (Esary 2013:Table E.5; Kent 1984:173-174),
  - Lasanen in Michigan—24 pipe beads with some up to 12 cm long (Cleland, ed. 1971:38-39, Figure 23 A1-3; Esary 2013:Table E.5),
  - Fredericks site in North Carolina in one burial—11 pipe beads (Hammett and Sizemore 1989:127-128, Figure 5a-c).

Comparable runtees and pendants have been reported from the following sites—

- Wawarsing site, Esopus burials—one zoomorphic and six circular runtees (Esary 2013:Tables E.11, E.25),
- Munsee cemetery— six zoomorphic and ≥12 circular runtees (Heye and Pepper 1915:31-35, Figures 3-6, Plate VIII, 40-42, Figures 14, 15),

Sarf cache— one zoomorphic and five circular runtees, five zoomorphic pendants, excluding geese (Kent 1970:Table 2),

Conestoga Town— one zoomorphic and 10 circular runtees (Esary 2013:Table E11, Table E.25; Kent 1984:173-174) Gros Cap in Michigan—three circular and two zoomorphic runtees (Nern and Cleland 1974:28-31, Figures 16F-J),

Lasanen—10 circular, three zoomorphic runtees (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figures 23D, 23E).

Comparable plain gorgets have been reported from the following sites—

Gros Cap—one large McBee-derived gorget (Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 16E),

Lasanen—one large gorget (12.5 cm diameter; (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 23F),

English Trading House in Georgia—one plain gorget (Mason 2005:Plate XVIII Figure 2).

Comparable embellished gorgets have been reported from the following sites—

Munsee cemetery—one embellished gorget (Heye and Pepper 1915:35-36, Figure 7),

Conestoga Town—one embellished gorget (Esary 2013:Table E.30; Kent 1984:173-174),

Fredericks site in North Carolina—two embellished gorgets (Hammett and Sizemore 1989:127-128, Figures 2f, 2g).

11.79. Reported from Pen were a large unworked piece of *Strombus* shell from P57 (>8 cm long) and a large marine-shell bead, flat on one side from P21 (2 cm long, 1.5 cm wide; RHS 872; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Tyree Tanner's records in the Hartgen inventory clearly indicate this piece was only partially drilled (Raemsch and Jamison 1996). Seven examples come from Jamesville. One is a reworked runtee (Note 11.77; NYSM A2017.57.6). Two are reworked runtee fragments— a partial Y-shaped bead (Figure 11.17c; NYSM A2017.57.7), and a small anthropomorphic figure embellished with drilled dots (Note 11.74; Beauchamp 1901a:#149a, after Schoolcraft 1846:144, Figure 2). Three are incomplete pendants—an unperforated loon (Haberle 1708-5), and two perforated ones of Busycon shell (Haberle 2218-5; 2716-5). The seventh example is a disc-shaped piece identified as a worn and unfinished runtee (Beauchamp 1901a:#253a). Also reported are one unworked and three small pieces of *Busycon* shell (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). The Wendell account book contains one transaction in which three marten were exchanged for a shell (Note 11.72; Waterman, ed. 2008:107). There were two white-clay pipe-stem beads from Jamesville (Figures 11.17d, e; NYSM A2017.57.8, A2017.57.9).

11.80. Flat copper or brass forms from Pen include one crescent-shaped pendant from P31, one triangular point from P16 and three from P22, and a large knife plus half of a perforated weaving needle from P44 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

The Jamesville assemblage includes nine pendants, four of which are triangular or trapezoidal in shape. Beauchamp described one trapezoidal example with 755

two perforations as a "gorget" (1903:#275). Haberle described the remaining five as elongated pendants, although they were not available for study. No traditional disc-shaped examples have been reported. Projectile points from Jamesville (n = 116) reflect a new level of diversity in form preference. While traditional triangular shapes still predominate at 68% with about half perforated and half unperforated, pentagonal points now account for 29% and stemmed points for 3%. Other implements included one knife, six saws, four unperforated awls, and five perforated weaving needles (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11).

11.81. Of metal forms from Pen, Pratt illustrates one small tubular bead from P34 and possible examples associated with P51B and P54. At least 80 tinkling cones were reported associated with seven interments—P4, P5, P6, P26E, P26G, P27, P28C, P29, and P58. There were two brass-wire finger rings from P9 and P54, three iron-wire examples made from B-shaped tubing from P34 and P37, and one hair coil made from B-shaped tubing associated with P26D, three other hair coils from P34, plus an iron-wire example from P5. No conical projectile points or conical pipe-bowl liners have been reported from Pen (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

Of the metal forms found at Jamesville, the 29 o- and e-shaped tubular beads are of different lengths and diameters and do not seem similar to one another. There are also six sheet-metal finger rings, two bracelets, and a variety of cut-out forms. The cutout forms include three hinges similar to those from Weston and Indian Hill. There are also 52 tinkling cones, 16 conical projectile points, and a few wire forms including an asymmetrical spiral. Brass-wire forms include two coils, one asymmetrical spiral, and at least one wire bracelet. Five pieces of brass wire of different gauges have also been reported (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11).

- 11.82. None of the kettles were available for study. Comments are based on Pratt's photos and descriptions and the drawings made by Thomas Jamison and Tyree Tanner during the Hartgen inventory of the RHS collection (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Raemsch and Jamison 1996). The large kettle with several unusual patches was from P38 (RHS 1149). The kettle with at least four patches was from P4 (RHS 1206). "rivets that were formed like small rolled tinklers and inserted through the holes and hammered flat/ spread out" (Raemsch and Jamison 1996). The kettle from the surface, perhaps the plow zone, may have been from P23 (Figure 11.18a). It was in several pieces, the largest of which had several repairs (RHS 1138, 1140). Ladle with brass patch attached with tube rivets or pins from P56 (RFC 15028/237, Figure 11.18b).
- 11.83. Pratt illustrates eight reusable rivets from P37 (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Based on his

photo, these appear to include four conical examples, three tubular or medium-sized wire examples (~0.3 cm diameter), and one thick wire example (0.7 cm diameter). Two of these were inventoried in the RHS collection and described by Tyree Tanner (Raemsch and Jamison 1996)—the conical example (1 cm long, 1.3 cm wide at the planished end, 0.3 cm thick at the base of the rivet; RHS 1128), and the solid wire example (0.8 cm long, 1.6 cm wide at the planished end, 0.7 cm thick at the base of the rivet; RHS 1111). While the assemblage from P37 is unusual, it is not unique. Pratt illustrates brass patches from three other interments—P1, P6, and P34 (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

- 11.84. The percentage of utilized scrap metal from Jamesville (49%) is substantially less than that from the Weston (72%) or Indian Hill (78%) sites. However, when comparing it to the Pen site, it is important to remember that the Jamesville sample represents a longer occupation than the period, ca. 1696-1701, estimated for Pen (Appendix 2 Table A5).
- 11.85. Six examples related to metal-to-metal joints from Jamesville (Figure 11.19) include an e-shaped tube rivet and two tightly rolled e-shaped tubes from which sections had been cut (NYSM A2017.57.9), a piece of sheet with a knife-cut perforation (NYSM A2017.57.10), a diamond-shaped cut-out that could be used as a staple or rivet perform (NYSM A2017.57.11), and a small rectangular staple joint on a fragment of circular cut-out (NYSM A2017.57.12). Haberle's collection includes an additional five examples of tube rivets (2973-5, 2665-5, 4389-5, 1563-5, 2696-5). His catalog lists 18 more.
- 11.86. There is some confusion in terms of how the red stone from the Pen and Jamesville sites has been described. In his photographs, Pratt identified all the red stone as red shale (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). During the Hartgen inventory, some pieces were identified as pipestone, while others were identified as red slate or shale such as those from P19 and P47 (Raemsch and Jamison 1996). Examination of the available specimens from Pen indicates only pipestone is present with considerable variability in color and appearance. For Jamesville, comparable forms were being fabricated from red slate on site.
- 11.87. Pipestone from Pen (n = 139) occurs in 15 of the 51 burials for which there is information, and 96% of it is beads (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Four burials have more than 70% of all pipestone from the site—11 in P28, 12 in P45, 18 in P47, and 58 in P54. Pipestone forms include tubular beads (52%) that are usually square or occasionally triangular in section, often with notches on the edges or incising on one face. Also at Pen, there is a larger percentage of the new form of triangular or trapezoidal beads (44%) than at Weston (31%). The Pen examples are mostly small to medium-sized (<1.5 cm long) with flat

or slightly indented bases with only ~12 longer ones reported (>2 cm). Remaining pipestone objects (~4%) include one zoomorphic and three anthropomorphic pendants, and one fragment of a ring-shaped runtee.

- 11.88. Pipestone objects from Jamesville (n = 65; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). The majority of pipestone is beads including 34 tubular, 19 triangular or trapezoidal that are variable in size and proportions, and three other forms. The remaining pipestone objects include four fragments of ring-shaped runtees, three anthropomorphic pendants, one triangular pendant, and one reported pipe. The Haberle catalog lists an additional group as catlinite ornaments and beads (n = 74)—27 catlinite tubular beads, 14 damaged catlinite tubular beads, and 33 unfinished catlinite ornaments. One large Y-shaped pipestone-bead fragment from Jamesville (Sohrweide collection) is comparable to the three Y-shaped examples from Rock Island Period 3a in Wisconsin (Mason 1986:Plate 14.8 #4). No Y-shaped examples were reported from Lasanen in Michigan. Schoolcraft illustrates a very large triangular or trapezoidal bead (>4 cm) reputedly from the Jamesville site, but no comparable examples are known in the existing collections (Drake, ed. 1884:Plate 15 #1, #2).
- 11.89. The pipestone pendant from Jamesville is small and triangular in shape (1 cm long, 0.6 cm max width; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). There are 10 comparable examples from the Lasanen site in Michigan with straight and indented bases (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figures 26A-D). There is one example from Gros Cap in Michigan and one trapezoidal example from Rock Island Period 3a in Wisconsin (Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 15D; Mason 1986:Plate 14.8 #3). Of four triangular pendants from the Naples site in Illinois, one was notched for suspension and not drilled, and three were perforated at the apex two had concave bases and one had a straight base (Walthall et al. 1992:140).

The zoomorphic pendant reported from P54 at the Pen site has an otter-like shape and is unlike those from the Great Lakes (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Of the 10 quadruped pendants from Lasanen, most are beaverlike (Cleland, ed. 1971:43-45, Figure 24). Four examples from Gros Cap are also beaver-like (Nern and Cleland 1974:Figures 15A and 15B). There is another small beaver-like pendant from Le Vieux-La Prairie in Québec (BiFi-12 2E14-95; Bergeron et al. 2004:Figure 19). The quadruped and beaver-like examples from Rock Island Period 3 appear to be post-1700 (Mason 1986:Plate 14.8 #10, Plate 14.9 #1, #2).

The one example of a red-stone smoking pipe reported from Jamesville was a simple calumet style shown in a photograph (unidentified newspaper, 4/17/1927, Newspaper clippings file, OHA, Syracuse, NY). The Wendell account book records a transaction in November 1704 in which three beaver were exchanged for a red pipe, clearly an object of significant value (Waterman, ed. 2008:127).

11.90. Three small pipestone anthropomorphic pendants were present at Pen—two from P22 (example in Figure 11.21a) and one from P56 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Three from Jamesville included a small slightly triangular pipestone face (0.8 cm long; Sohrweide/ Gifford collection), a very small oval face (0.5 cm diameter; Haberle 2418-5), and a small pipestone face (Schoolcraft 1846:136-37, Plate IV Figure 1). It is notable that this form also occurs at Jamesville in other materials-one of red slate, two of soapstone (Figure 11.21b), one of shell, and one of bone (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). There is one example of an anthropomorphic pendant made from a pipe-bowl fragment reported from Gros Cap, ca. 1680-1705, which was specifically compared with a Pen example (Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 15, citing a personal communication from Pratt). None have been reported from nearby Lasanen, ca. 1685-1696.

Pen and Jamesville are the first Onondaga sites from which ring-shaped runtees have been reported. At Pen, a fragmented half was present in P31 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Four fragmentary examples have been reported from Jamesville. One is a multiply drilled fragment of about one-third of a runtee (0.4 cm wide, 0.3 cm thick, original diameter ~2.5 cm; NYSM A2017.57.13). Note that this piece was one of 26 pipestone samples submitted to Kurt Jordan and Charlotte Pearson for compositional analysis in September 2012. Three other ring-shaped runtee fragments include a small fragment (0.5 cm wide), a fragment with about one quarter remaining (~0.3 cm wide, 0.2 cm thick, original diameter ~2 cm), and a fragment with no perforations (1.1 cm diameter, <0.2 cm thick; Sohrweide/Gifford collection). In comparison, only one small example was reported from Lasanen, while one ring cut from a pipe bowl, but not perforated, was reported from Rock Island Period 3a (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 29 G4; Mason 1986:Plate 14.8 #5).

11.91. Marine-shell forms in pipestone from the Seneca Snyder-McClure site (Figure 11.22a; RFC AR 18574). The pipestone assemblage from Pen (n = 139) in ~51 interments with information associated with an estimated 120 individuals is significantly less than that from Lasanen (n = 152), which has only 18 burial pits and 52 individuals represented (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Cleland ed. 1971:Table 19; Pratt 1963, 2007). Only seven tubular beads from two burials were reported from the eastern Munsee cemetery in the Delaware Valley (Heye and Pepper 1915:45). A clear distinction between objects made from pipestone as opposed to red slate has yet to be made on the assemblages from

the Lancaster County Park and Conestoga Town sites in Pennsylvania (Note 11.95).

- 11.92. Most of the examples from Jamesville are partially worked pieces or fragments (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). Charles Wray, as a professional geologist, appears to have been the first to recognize that red slate and pipestone objects were important components on early eighteenth-century sites (1973:8). Charles Fisher's report on production of red-slate and pipestone objects at an early eighteenth-century Mohawk-related site was the first archaeological discussion of this issue (1993). Kurt Jordan has examined red stone at the Seneca White Springs and at the later Townley-Read site southwest of Geneva, New York, ca. 1715-1754 (2008:303-309, Figure 10.2).
- 11.93. There are Taconic-slate objects and fragments from Jamesville (n = 22; NYSM A2017.57 and Sohrweide collections). Two are complete beads (Figures 11.23a, f), four are fragments of large triconcave and trapezoidal beads some with a raised central ridge (3-5 cm long, Figures 11.23 b-e), one is a small unperforated gaming disc, and two are circular runtee fragments (Figure 11.22b; Hill collection, RFC Rochester, NY). Thirteen are pendants—one perforated disc-shaped, eight triangular with one complete and seven fragments, three large rectangular, and one anthropomorphic face (2.5 cm high, 1.8 cm wide; Haberle 4343-5). Of the 22 objects, 16 are red, four are purple, one is gray, and one is blue (Figure 11.23f ).

Of the three large rectangular pendants, the first is made of purple slate (8.1 cm high, 4.1 cm wide, Figure 11.23g; Sohrweide/Gifford collection) and appears to be the same one described as a red-slate pendant in Hinsdale's collection recorded by Beauchamp (*Antiquities* 10:#1500). A similar red-shale (slate?) gorget, actually a pendant, was found at Gros Cap in Michigan (Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 24C). The second is a fragment of a large rectangular pendant or gorget of red slate with tally marks incised along the edge (Haberle 2798-5). The third appears to be a reworked piece of red slate made into a rectangular two-hole gorget or pendant (Haberle 4088-5).

- 11.94. The catalog of Haberle's collection lists two ornaments of "Dutch roofing slate" from Jamesville (2798-5, 4088-5), as opposed to the more than 114 from the subsequent Onondaga Sevier site, ca. 1710-1725 (private collection).
- 11.95. There are two common forms of red slate from Pennsylvania sites—longitudinally drilled triangles and squares with circular cut-out centers. Other less common forms include triconcave beads, Y-shaped beads, and anthropomorphic pendants (Kent 1984:169, Figure 38). Thanks to James Herbstritt and Barry Kent, who made it possible to examine the Conestoga Town and Conoy Town assemblages (William Penn Museum, Harrisburg, PA, 6/15/10). Based on visual inspection,

at least half of the assemblage appears to be red slate, and not pipestone as reported. Kinsey and Custer identify three red-stone beads from the Lancaster County Park site as catlinite, or pipestone, using a streak plate and a Munsell color chart (1982:44, Table 9). Based only on form, these could just as easily have been made from red slate.

In order to find a more analytically sound basis for distinguishing red slate from pipestone, two projects began in 2011. The first was a visual examination of Taconic-slate specimens archaeologically and geologically with assistance from Dr. Marian Lupulescu, curator of minerals at the NYSM. The second was by Kurt Jordan and Charlotte Pearson at Cornell University, building a database of red slate and pipestone that lists sources and objects from sites in the Northeast. Their project began by examining red-stone samples from Seneca sites using X-ray fluorescencespectrometer scanning. Initial findings were presented at the Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Conference held in La Cross, Wisconsin, in 2011, and at the annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology held in Memphis, Tennessee, in 2012 (Jordan et al. 2012). This collaborative project is ongoing.

Forms virtually identical to those from Jamesville and the later Sevier site have been reported from the Mohawk-related Enders House site and from the Seneca Townley–Read site (Fisher 1993:Figure 2; Jordan 2008:303-309, Figure 10.2). For an example of production problems, a comparison can be made between an Onondaga example from the Sevier site, ca. 1710-1725 (Figure 11.24d, private collection), where abrasion used to finish shaping has penetrated into the perforation, with a trapezoidal slate bead illustrated by Kent (1984:Figure 38, bottom row right). For an example of a salvage solution, one from the Sevier site (Figure 11.24e, private collection) compares with a split and redrilled trapezoidal bead from the Lancaster County Park site, ca. 1700-1720 (Kinsey and Custer 1982:Figure 9B). No production debris has been found at the lower Susquehanna Valley sites (Kent 1984:171, 389).

11.96. The single ceramic fragment from the Jamesville site occupation is a thin grit-tempered neck sherd with fine herringbone-like incising (NYSM A2017.57.22).

Not reported elsewhere, a sample of pottery from the prehistoric Keough site is present in the surface collections from Jamesville (n = 49; NYSM A2017.57 and Sohrweide collection). Of the rim and/or collar fragments, 15 have cord-marked motifs, two of which have Chance phase round profiles (Tuck 1971). Of 15 with incised motifs, two have a Chance phase straight profile and one has a Chance phase round profile. The ceramic-body sherds found included one incised shoulder piece, three check-stamped, and 15 plain pieces. Small as this sample is, it is very similar to that from the nearby Chance phase Bloody Hill site, a fact noted by Tuck (1971:122).

11.97. Native-made clay pipes from the Pen site (n = 23) include 10 elongated ring bowls, six anthropomorphic effigy styles, four short and slightly hourglass-shaped bowls, and three trumpet bowls (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). No zoomorphic effigy pipes were reported. The Native-made clay-pipe sample from Jamesville site (n = 18) includes nine elongated ring bowls, six anthropomorphic effigy styles, two zoomorphic effigy styles, and one bulbous bowl. As enumerated above, there was evidence of more than 250 European pipes on the Jamesville site alone (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11).

In addition, there are some Native-made ceramic smoking-pipe fragments that are likely from the prehistoric Keough component of the site present in the surface collections that have not been reported elsewhere (NYSM A2017.78 and Sohrweide collection). Included are six bowl fragments, a number of stem fragments, three rimmed trumpets and three ringed trumpets, similar to those from Bloody Hill (Tuck 1971:110, Plate 29 #6-8). At present it is not possible to assign the numerous round-stem fragments found (n = 27) to either the historic or the prehistoric component. The only pipe fragments that appear to be reliably related to the prehistoric component are two that are square in section and undecorated (1-2 cm; NYSM A2017.78.1, A2017.78.2). Tuck reports a square pipestem fragment of similar thickness from the Onondaga Cove II site located about a mile west of the Keough site (1971:90, Plate 20 #5).

11.98. The two chert triangular points were from Pen site P26, and the irregular-shaped flints were from six other interments (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The two hammer stones or mullers were from P29 and P60, the half of a beveled bar celt was from P41, and the whetstones were from several of the interments. The European reworked gunflint was from P21 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

Lithics related to the Jamesville historic component include three rectangular gunflints and five isoscelestriangular projectile points characteristic of the seventeenth century (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). Lithics related to the Keough component include 13 large triangular points (NYSM A2017.78, Sohrweide/Gifford collection). Haberle's catalog lists another 23 triangular points with an indented base. Other reported bifaces include a flint knife (Haberle 4102-5), two flint drills (Haberle collection), a very finely made semi-lunar biface (6.5 cm long, 3.0 cm wide; Sohrweide/Gifford collection), and a finely flaked midsection (Sohrweide collection). Several pieces of debitage, including two expedient unifaces and three unfinished or rejected triangular points, are present. Numerous ground-stone implements

are also known and could be from either the historic or earlier component. Beauchamp reported finding three hammer stones during his first visit to the site in 1879 (*Antiquities* I:211). Three additional examples plus a celt with a broken bit were found on the surface (NYSM A2017.57.20). Haberle reports seven more celts from the site in his catalog.

11.99. Implements from Pen include two bone awls from P5, an antler flaking baton from P38, and an antler-tine pressure flaker as well as half of a doublepointed weaving needle from P34 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Three beaver incisors from P27, P28, and P54 may have been intended as carving tools. In terms of the exotic bone and antler implements, three conical points from P26 appear identical to an example from the Weston site. The eight extremely thin bone needles from P58 are bipointed and unperforated (~10-30 cm long).

Similar implements from Jamesville include three split-bone awls, two fragments of bi-pointed centrally perforated flat needles, and a fragment of an antler flaking baton (Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). Other examples from Jamesville include the base of a large bone harpoon (RFC 10022/220) and two bone points (Haberle 5740-5, 2741-5). Since all these were surface finds, they could have come from either the Keough or the Jamesville component.

11.100. As for traditional objects found at Pen, there were three box-turtle-shell (Terrapene carolina) rattles from P7, P45, P54, and possibly one from P47. Evidence of four likely medicine pouches includes a small mink cranium from P4, the upper and lower jaws of an ivory-billed woodpecker (Campephilus principalis) from either P4 or P5 (with some confusion of provenience), a cat vertebrae with attached skull from P19 (Pratt's field sketch, Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY), and a short-tailed weasel (Mustela erminea) cranium from P48 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Cleland made the specific identifications (Charles Cleland to Peter Pratt, letter, 11/8/67, RFC, Rochester, NY). Other related objects from Pen include two unperforated bear canines from P2 and approximately six perforated moose incisors from P5. Similar examples from Jamesville include one piece of perforated box-turtle shell, likely carapace (Sohrweide collection), and three teeth—two canines from bear and one incisor from elk that were notched, grooved, or perforated (Antiquities 6:#678, 9:#567; Haberle 3069-5). Beauchamp also notes a small anthropomorphic bone bead and a larger bone face from Jamesville (Antiquities 6:#769). The bone armband from Pen site P3 (~9 cm long, 1 cm wide; Figure 11.33a; RFC 111698/237) is similar to one from the Fort Ancient Madisonville site in Ohio (Drooker 1997:Figure 6.18c). One incised and double-perforated antler pin from P3 appears to have been in two pieces (Figure 11.33b; RHS 903, 905), and there was another

pin fragment from P3 (RFC 11551/237). A similar pin is from P58. For more information (Note 11.121).

- 11.101. Antler and bone combs from the Pen site (n = 15; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). George Hamell suggested that the one comb motif from P60 may depict a Grand Council meeting (Figure 11.26d; personal communication, 4/26/13). One comb fragment has been reported from Jamesville with a crown-hat-horns motif and incising (Figure 11.26e; RFC 10009/220). Haberle also lists a bone carving from Jamesville, possibly from a comb (3075-5).
- 11.102. Wooden ladles (n = 28) were present in 22 of the 51 burials for which there is information (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Four examples have effigy finials including two anthropomorphic ones from P15 and P56 and two zoomorphic ones—a bear from P2 and a wolf(?) from P54. Prisch discusses comparable Seneca examples (1982). The ladle with a brass patch was from P56. While most of the ladles from Pen appear to be made from white pine (*Pinus strobus*), the example from P42 was made from black ash (*Fraxinus nigra;* RFC 15013/237).
- 11.103. Discarded and reused pieces of brass and copper at Jamesville (n = 128; Note 11.84). At Pen, three of the four interments that contained muskets had tool kits for their maintenance (P5, P34, and P41; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Wendell's account book lists several transactions that took place in Albany where specific gun parts, especially springs, were purchased, which is an additional indication that at least some Native people did their own repairs (Waterman, ed. 2008:106, 108–9). Tool kits occurred in five burials—three with men (P2, P6 and P38), and two with women (P44 and P59; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Unfortunately, no field records are available for P37, however, a newspaper article and analysis of collections' records permit some reconstruction of this unusual burial (Syracuse Herald Journal, 9/12/62, Newspaper clippings file, OHA, Syracuse, NY). If this assemblage had been recovered from a European context, it might best be described as a tinker's cache. Among the materials were those needed to repair kettles (Figure 11.27)-five varieties of lugs, seven pieces of cut sheet, and eight rivets. A few other burials, such as P16, also had small caches of reusable sheet brass (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).
- 11.104. Using a brass compass case to carry vermillion (Clark 1849:II:279). The seven cherry pits were from P22. The Staffordshire-dog figure from P5 (Figure 11.36) is one of only two pieces of European ceramic from the Pen site, both nonfunctional. The other is half of a Norman-stoneware apothecary jar from P37 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, 760

Rochester, NY). A virtually identical example of the jar was recovered from the 1704 wreck of the *La Dauphine*, also known as the *Natière* #1 wreck (Dagneau 2009).

- 11.105. One small knife-blade saw was reported from P58 (RHS 725), while Haberle reported four saws made from scrap iron from Jamesville (3970-5, 2386-5, 2757-5, 2168-5). Without detailed analysis, it is not possible to assess the degree to which the Onondaga may have used steel or practiced more sophisticated forging and heat-treating techniques. Comments are based on visual examination of the available specimens, many of which have not been conserved, and must be considered preliminary. A more sophisticated study of these objects through a chaîne apératoire analysis would be revealing.
- 11.106. Two iron celts were included in the Pen assemblage—a rectangular one from P2 that retained evidence of its original binding for hafting, and a larger trapezoidal one from P41 (Figure 11.28b; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). A single celt is reported from Jamesville (6.5 cm long, 3.7 cm across the blade end, 2.5 cm across at the poll end, 0.7 cm thick at its slightly battered poll; Figure 11.28a; NYSM A2017.57.18). Beauchamp illustrates a hafted example collected in Schoharie County, New York (*Antiquities* 4:#1124).

Three iron-hatchet blades from Pen came from two interments. Two were in P20 that contained an adult male with a significant material assemblage including a musket and other regalia. Both hatchets appear to have been made from iron-bar stock and are similar in form to the examples from Indian Hill. They also demonstrate different degrees of work. One from P20 is slightly asymmetrical and may not have been finished (RHS 976). In contrast, the other from P20 is carefully made and finished (Figure 11.29a, RHS 999). The third example came from P34, which contained another adult male with a lavish material assemblage including a musket that is similar in form to the first example from P20 above (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The single example from Jamesville (Figure 11.29b; Haberle 755-5) is a carefully shaped and finished piece that is elongated with a flat rounded poll similar to one from Indian Hill (RFC 10072/216).

- 11.107. Among the iron tools from Jamesville listed by Haberle in his catalog are a harpoon (2874-5), two spears with one having a roughly forged socket (1065-5, 2267-5), and a knife made from scrap iron (1805-5). Haberle's catalog also lists two punches (2248-5, 3211-5), a tapered punch or screwdriver (3274-5), a chisel (3277-5), a chisel with a slightly rounded edge (755-5), five more Native-made chisels of iron (2276-5, 2873-5, 4242-5, 3214-5, 3277-5), and four scrapers or chisels (3216-5, 2873-5, 3276-5, 4242-5).
- 11.108. French-style iron scrapers found at Pen (n = 14). Pratt illustrated several examples of musket-barrel

scrapers (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Two are quite long (>20 cm) and although they share the same form, there is a significant difference in fabrication. The carefully drawn-out scraper tapered to a curved spatulate bit is from P37 (4 cm wide; Figure 11.30b). A less skillfully made example with no taper is from P2. Fragments of musket-barrel scrapers have been reported from Jamesville (Note 11.11). Haberle also reported two "vials" made from iron gun-barrel fragments (2516-5, 3252-5). Pratt illustrated two examples of what might be another variety of scraper made from "beaten scrap metal" (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). An example from burial P59 was made from a piece of sheet iron worked into a conical form at the proximal end, then drawn out and tapered to form the distal or bit end (<1 cm thick; Figure 11.30c; RHS 993). As Jamison's drawing indicates, this careful and controlled workmanship produced an implement with a stable grip and a highly usable edge (Raemsch and Jamison 1996).

Although they represent different times, two detailed studies of European blacksmithing provide a basis for comparative evaluation of ironworking at these sites. First is from Pentagoet, a third-quarter seventeenthcentury French fort on the Maine coast, and second is from a late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century British blacksmith shop on St. Joseph's Island in Lake Huron, Ontario (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:Chapter 5; Light and Unglik 1984). They provide surprisingly similar views of how iron and other metals were used in a frontier setting. In both cases, the emphasis was on maintenance and repair rather than the fabrication of new items. This included working with brass, copper and iron. As a result, interested Natives probably had ample opportunity to observe how particular repairs were done. Importantly, poor quality work did not mean that it was done by Native people. As John Light observes, even trained blacksmiths were capable of careless work, and those who worked in the conditions available on the edge of the frontier may not have been among the most competent or conscientious of smiths, as Indian people often complained (1984:53). A mis-cut blank for an ice creeper from Jamesville (Haberle 2874-5) is exactly the kind of careless mistake even a trained blacksmith could make.

11.109. Evidence for Native casting from the Pen site includes a pewter-pipe mouthpiece from P4 and a Native-made wooden pipe with a pewter bowl from P38, possibly reusing a portion of the stem from a castpewter pipe (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Native-cast medallions from Pen include at least eight in two related styles. Unfortunately, there are provenience problems. The only reference in the available field notes is to P8, which contained an adult female and "several pewter (?) religious medals, with one showing a figure of Christ" (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Other cataloged medallions were attributed to P22, containing a young child, and to P54, likely containing an adult male and infant (Notes 11.143-147; Appendix 3).

No cast brooches were reported from Pen, indicating that they are probably a post-1701 phenomenon. There are three examples from Jamesville—one in the Haberle collection (1686-5), and two in the Hinsdale collection (*Antiquities* 10:#1263). Similar examples have been reported from the Seneca Snyder-McClure site. While no evidence of molds for casting is known from Onondaga, Beauchamp illustrated stone molds for this style of brooch from Fort Hunter in Montgomery County and from the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania (*Antiquities* 4:#1077, 10:#238).

- 11.110. Pratt identifies only one crooked knife from P41, noting its bent blade (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). While other examples may be in P5N and P6, it is difficult to identify them from the photos. A different form of confirmation comes from the Ennis portion of the Pen site assemblage, where six examples were cataloged as curved-knife blades from P5N, P6, P21A, P27, P43, and P56 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). At present no clearly identifiable crooked-knife blades have been reported from Jamesville.
- 11.111. Although uncommon, ground-stone bar celts were still part of Onondaga material culture at the end of the seventeenth century. Pen burial P41, which contained an adult male with a musket, spare parts, and a tool kit for its maintenance, also contained half of a large beveled bar celt (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The inventory of objects found by Gallipeau at the Pen site included a halberd-style tomahawk (Figure 11.31a; Note 11.41; Fine 1962:142-143). A unique feature of the halberd is that it has an oval eye for hafting rather than an elongated tang (OHA, Syracuse, NY). Other objects included parts of a bayonet, skewer, chisel, fragments of an antler comb, a wooden scoop, knife, hoe, and two kettles (16.5 cm in diameter and 22.9 cm in diameter; OHA, Syracuse, New York; Fine 1962:142-143).

Halberd-style tomahawks were developed in the early eighteenth century and were apparently of British origin. Peterson illustrates two comparable examples (1965:27). One was found between the walls of a seventeenth-century house in Kingston, New York, along with other pieces of Indian Trade goods (Figure 11.31b; Peterson 1965:#57). Forged as a single piece, this example has a long tapered tang for insertion into a wooden haft. Beauchamp illustrates a similar example found near Fort Bull in Rome, New York, ca. 1755 (Figure 11.31c; 1902:#89). Peterson's second example is a hafted specimen, unfortunately without provenience (1965:#58).

11.112. The spiked tomahawk, companion and successor to the halberd-style tomahawk, was developed shortly after 1700 and achieved its greatest popularity during the middle of the century (Peterson 1965:29). Many examples have been illustrated including several from New York, but none with specific provenience (Peterson 1965:#65-71). Beauchamp illustrated a large example from Jack's Reef on the Seneca River (21 cm long; 1902:#101).

Peterson discusses pipe tomahawks in detail and illustrates a large number of examples, but has little to say about their origin (1965:33-39). Although he speculates that they were among the gifts presented to the "four Indian Kings" during their 1710 visit to London, based on the Jan Verelst painting of *Saga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow, King of the Maquas,* no such items were included in the extensive list of gifts they received (Bond 1952:12-13, 104 Note; Peterson 1965:33-39). For discussion of the Verelst paintings (Figure 12.6; Blackburn and Piwonka, eds. 1988:84-85; Muller 2008).

- 11.113. "You both have made us drunk with all your noise of praying", "We must first come to ourselves again" (NYCD 4:920).
- 11.114. Liebmann also uses the terms dismembering and remembering to examine the ways in which Jemez people reestablished their identity during and after the Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico (2012:109-134).
- 11.115. A Shawnee savage who stays among the Onondagas (Waterman, ed. 2008:98, 223 Note 14, Plate XII). "Tankarores, a Shawnee savage . . . can barely speak Onondaga" (Waterman, ed. 2008:68). "long since adopted them as our nephews" (NYCD 9:716).
- 11.116. Until Pratt publishes his findings, there are several questions about the Pen site population that cannot be answered. These include any detailed assessment of what the Pen site population looked like in terms of age, sex, general health, and evidence of disease or injury. While the Pen site is almost certainly only one of the cemeteries used, ca. 1697-1711, it appears to have contained a representative sample of the Onondaga population rather than a specific subset. The available data from the Pen site suggest that the Onondaga used both selected groups and kin-based groups in terms of constructing identity (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY; De Vladar and Szathmáry 2017). A second burial ground related to this period is the Jamesville Lake site (Pratt and Pratt 2004; Tuck 1971:189-190). While the records for this site are incomplete, it appears to have had a similar diversity of mortuary treatments and a material culture similar to, but slightly later than, the Pen burials.

While a discussion of group selection versus kinbased selection as components in defining fitness is beyond the scope of this study, the available data from the Pen site suggest that both were essential in terms of constructing identity and evolutionary success or survival (De Vladar and Szathmáry 2017).

- 11.117. While there is no comparable information for Onondaga, Seneca mortuary practices have been well-documented. For detailed reports on mortuary treatment at the early seventeenth-century cemeteries associated with the Dutch Hollow and Factory Hollow sites (Sempowski and Saunders 2001:I:299-300, 302-303, 2001:II:573-574). Sempowski summaries Seneca mortuary data for later Seneca sites (Wonderley and Sempowski 2019:195-203).
- 11.118. For discussion of variability in burial orientation at the Pen site (Jamison 1998:7, Table 6). The heterogeneous quality of burial practices at Pen was obtained by examination of the photographs and available notes from the site (Appendix 3; Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY).

Summary of the Pen burials by mortuary treatment
(n = 6)

Quantity	Treatment	Burial #
1	flexed	P49
3	semi-flexed	P8, P42, P43
18	single extended	P1, P6, P7, P9, P13, P15, P18, P20, P23, P24, P30, P32, P38, P41, P44, P45, P47, P59
9	double extended	P2, P10, P16, P34, P35, P39, P40, P48, P51
6	multiply extended	P4, P21, P26, P28, P37, P54
3	in a coffin or box	P11, P12, P22
4	primary interments	P5, P14, P29, P56
11	empty interments	P17, P25, P33, P36, P46, P50, P52, P53, P57, P58, P60
4	secondary interments	P3, P19, P27, P31
1	unknown	P55

11.119. Pratt's field plan (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Subclusters of burial types (Jamison 1998). For the Lasanen site burials (Cleland, ed. 1971:6-18). For chronology, ethnicity, and specific comparison of Lasanen with the Pen site (Cleland ed. 1971:92-95). For a recent summary on coastal Algonquian-mortuary practices, especially ossuary burials (Curry 2015). In Pennsylvania at Conestoga Town, Kent reported 11 bundle burials (1984:387). At Conoy Town, there were 71 interred packages or bundles of more or less disarticulated-skeletal remains with as many as five bundles in one interment (Kent 1984:393-395). Pen burials with disarticulated remains or evidence of bundles—P3 with the disarticulated remains of five (?) people, P19 with three bundles and a flexed infant, P21 with two bundles plus two extended individuals, P26 with two bundles plus 10 (?) extended individuals, P27 with a secondary burial with 10 (?) bundled individuals in two levels, and P31 with one bundled individual (Appendix 3; Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Raemsch and Jamison 1996).

- 11.120. Busycon-shell dipper from P54 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). The upper and lower jaws of an ivory-billed woodpecker (Campephilus principalis) from P4 (Charles Cleland to Peter Pratt, letter 11/8/67, RFC, Rochester, NY). Antler combs depicting an eastern diamondback rattlesnake (Crotalus admanteus) from P30 and P40 (Figure 11.35; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). There is also a fragment from a large stone pipe with the rattle portion of a rattlesnake carved in relief (Haberle 2566-5). For more on this species of rattlesnake and its range (Hamell and Fox 2005:127, 137-38). Brain and Phillips note that the rattlesnake-style tradition, especially in terms of shell gorgets, was concentrated in eastern Tennessee and contiguous areas (1996:401).
- 11.121. Cleland's comment was that the most dynamic similarities between the Lasanen site in Michigan and the Pen site in New York are essentially that every artifact type recovered at Lasanen is specifically duplicated at Pen (Cleland, ed. 1971:92).

Pratt reports P3 was extensively disturbed. Although no field records are available, a photograph shows what appear to be two compact groups of disarticulated remains (Appendix 3; Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Raemsch and Jamison 1996). Anderson and McCuaig report five individuals were present (Pen site report, undated, RFC, Rochester, NY). The exotic Native-made items present include a bone armband notched on either end and embellished on the obverse side by deeply incised rows of drilled dots (~9 cm long, ~1 cm wide, Figure 11.33a; RFC 111698/237). Similar examples have been reported from the early seventeenth-century Madisonville site in Ohio and from the Gros Cap site in Michigan (Drooker 1997:162, Figure 6-18c; Nern and Cleland 1974: Figure 3B). There appear to have been two large bone, or antler, pins from P3 at Pen (Note 11.100). Although Pratt illustrates these as fragmentary sections of the same object, they appear to have been separate. One was two pieces together (13 cm long, 1 cm wide, Figure 11.33b; RHS 903, 905) and the other was broken at the lateral perforation (10.5 cm long, 1 cm wide; RFC 11551/237). P58 contained a small amount of mixed bone representing three individuals (Anderson and McCuaig, Pen site report, undated, p. 24, RFC, Rochester, NY). Included was an antler pin

similar in form to those from P3 that had incised crosshatching around the central portion (~13 cm long, 1 cm wide). Pratt illustrates eight examples of long very thin needles made from fish bone. Three have been repatriated (RHS 747, 748, 749). Four others include two long examples (both ~33 cm long, Figure 11.33c; RFC 11694/237, 11695/237) and two shorter examples (RFC 11650/237, 11651/237). One more was only seen in a photograph. There were also nine otoliths, or boney ear structures, from freshwater drum fish that may have been used as gaming pieces (*Aplodinotus grunniens*; Charles Cleland to Peter Pratt, letter, 11/8/67, RFC, Rochester, NY). Five examples were repatriated (RHS 638, 640, 643, 644, 645).

- 11.122. Three conical-bone projectile points were associated with P26F (RFC 11548/237, 11549/237, 11550/237). These are similar in style to four examples from Lasanen and from Gros Cap, both in Michigan (Cleland, ed. 1971:Figure 30F; Nern and Cleland 1974: Figure 20C). The small micmac-style stone pipe from P51 is similar to one from Gros Cap (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Nern and Cleland 1974: Figure 26I). Examples of metalwork included four brass hair coils made from B-tubing that occurred in two of the Pen burials (~3 cm diameter each, n = 4), including one associated with P26D and three with P34 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Several examples were present at Gros Cap-four small (1.5 cm diameter) and one large (2.8 cm diameter; Nern and Cleland 1974:Figure 10B).
- 11.123. Four examples of metalwork from the Illiniwik site in Illinois (Ehrhardt 2005:Figure 6.8c, Figure 6.8d). Brass hair coils made from B-shaped tubing in seven of 14 burials at the Zimmerman site in Illinois (n = 16; Brown ed. 1961:60, Brown 1975:32). There were also many fragments of B-shaped tubing from at least eight other features (Rohrbaugh et al. 1999:Figure 7.100-q).

11.124. Of two Native-made glass pendants from Jamesville (Figure 11.34), the first is represented by two fragments of a blue triangular pendant with rounded sides (Gifford 1424; (Sohrweide/Gifford collection). The upper portion of this pendant appears to have been made from crushed robin's egg-blue glass from type IIa40 beads. It has a rounded apex, was cast with a perforation, is convex in section, and is flat on the ventral side. The other fragment is the same color and texture, and appears to be a lower corner of the same example. A second example is a delicate roughly trapezoidal pendant with incurvate sides, apparently made from the same dark-olive-green bottle glass that occurs on the site (~1.9 cm high, 1.5 cm wide at base). This green color and shape have not been reported in the examples of Native-made glass pendants from the Midwest.

Other blue examples have been reported from the

later Onondaga Sevier site, ca. 1710-1725. A blue trapezoidal example with a white band across the base was reported by Beauchamp from Pleasant Beach at the Long Branch outlet of Onondaga Lake (2.3 cm high, 2.3 cm wide at base; NYSM 71410/2193; *Antiquities* 5:#29).

Thank you to William Billeck for sharing his extensive knowledge of glass pendants west of the Mississippi River and for commenting on the blue example from Jamesville (personal communication, 9/6/13). Heather Walder discusses how glass pendants were made by Native people, often from the beads available on site (2013, 2015:311-313).

- 11.125. Iconographic rings, crucifixes and/or medals occur in 16 burials, brass buttons in 12, and other ornamental forms occur in 21 burials including tinkling cones, beads, bells, thimbles, Native-made finger rings, and hair coils (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Taken together, some form of ornamental copper or brass objects was present in 33 of the 51 burials for which there is information. Note that utilitarian objects of copper and brass, such as projectile points, knives, and kettles, are not included in this count.
- 11.126. Quartz crystals have been reported from Pen in P4 (RFC 11142/237) and from Jamesville (NYSM A2017.57.21). A quartz crystal was also reported from one of the contemporaneous Munsee burials in the Delaware Valley (Heye and Pepper 1915:45). Clear-glass decanter stoppers may have functioned as contemporary analogs. Two examples were present at Pen in P54 and P57, and at least one was reported from Jamesville (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11). No evidence of decanters has been reported from either site. Kent reports a decanter stopper as well as five modified wineglass stems from the Conestoga Town burials in the lower Susquehanna Valley (1984:227-228, Figure 61).
- 11.127. "light, bright, and white" substances of power (Hamell 1992:455). Although Pratt identified these rectangular pieces of sheet glass as coffin glass at Pen in P5, P21A, P34, P51, and P52, it is more likely they were mirrors. Small round mirrors in sheetiron boxes were present in P19, P26, P58, and P60 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Comparable examples have been reported from contemporaneous sites, including the Munsee cemetery and the English Trading House in Georgia, ca. 1690 to 1715 (Heye and Pepper 1915:Plate XVI; Mason 2005:98). Mirrors were often included as gifts and listed as merchandise (NYCD 4:981). The Wendell account book lists transactions for large and small mirrors (Waterman, ed. 2008:115,125,139-140, 163). The French also appreciated the Native desire for mirrors. Among the items listed in a January 22, 1701, inventory of presents requested by the Fort at Biloxy, 764

Mississippi (French Louisiana), to be given to the Indians were three-gross medium-sized mirrors at 27 livres per gross (Hamilton 1980:16).

11.128. Governor Fletcher's list of presents (NYCD 4:126).

Textiles from Fletcher's November 1694 list of presents		
Color	Textile	
White	shirts	
white, red, and blue	stockings	
red and blue	duffels	
blue	coats	
Red	Stroud water cloth	

Fletcher included six pounds of vermillion along with the textiles. The French also used vermillion as a gift or in trade. At Pen it occurred in turned-boxwood containers in P22, P54, and in very small kettles in P34. It was scattered over remains in at least seven burials including P13 along the left thigh, associated with P21B on the chest, in P22 on a large patch over the hips and hands, in P23 around the cranium, associated with P26G and in P27 on the faces, and in P45 (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Raemsch and Jamison 1996). Other pigments may have included black lead, an archaic name for graphite. A test tube of finely powdered black pigment was collected from Pen, but no provenience was specified (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). A 1706 Hudson's Bay Company inventory included 60 lbs. of black lead (27.2 kg; Williams 1975:67). A piece of graphite schist from Pen site P24 (RFC 11044/237). Two pieces of hematite paint stone from Jamesville (Haberle 1095-5, 525-5).

- 11.129. "clinched them with silver nailes" (NYCD 4:492). Special Indian fusils (Bailey 1999:25-26). "a badge or the King's armes cut in silver to hang about their necks" (NYCD 4:651). "fancy silver plated tack" (Haberle 2373-5).
- 11.130. At least three eastern box-turtle-shell rattles (*Terrapene carolina carolina*) were present at Pen in burials P7, P45, P47 [?], and P54 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). A rattle fragment was also found at Jamesville (Sohrweide collection). Evidence for this practice extends back several thousand years in central New York. The evidence for pouches or comparable regalia includes weasel, mink, or similar remains from four different interments (P4, P5, P19, and P48; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). A modified otter cranium and a mink mandible have been reported from the contemporaneous Lasanen site, Michigan (Cleland, ed. 1971:56).

In addition to other burials with zoomorphic shell, or bone, or antler imagery, several contained more direct evidence of animal friends, for example unmodified bear canines from P2, perforated moose incisors from P5N, and the cranium, mandible and phalanges from a bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*, burial not specified; Charles Cleland to Peter Pratt, letter, 11/8/67, RFC, Rochester, NY). Modified teeth have also been recovered from Jamesville—a notched bear canine (Haberle 3069-5), a grooved bear canine, and a perforated elk incisor (*Antiquities* 6:#567, #678).

11.131. Half of a bar celt is from Pen site P41, and the incised-bone armband is from P3 (Figure 11.33; Notes 11.98, 11.100). Bone armbands decorated with incised cross-striated bands from the Kipp Island site at the northern end of Cayuga Lake near the Montezuma marshlands (Ritchie 1944:Plate 63 #6, 7, 1965:Plate 80 #9). Ritchie illustrates several elaborately embellished combs from Jack's Reef-related mortuary sites in central New York, ca. 1,000 years ago—four from the Jack's Reef site on the Seneca River and three from the Kipp Island site (Ritchie 1944:150, 184-185, Plate 87).

Two examples of rectangular Jack's Reef-style pendants have been reported from the Jamesville site including one large pendant (8.1 cm high, 4.1 cm max width; Sohrweide collection), and a red-slate pendant reported by Beauchamp (Antiquities 10:#1500). Also, two examples of rectangular Jack's Reef-style gorgets have been reported from the Jamesville site including a reworked piece of a red-slate gorget with two holes (Haberle 4088-5) and a fragment of a red-slate gorget with tally marks along one side (Haberle 2798-5). It is possible of course that one, or even all, of these may have been related to the earlier Keough site, ca. 1400. Other red-slate objects from Jamesville include a fragmentary perforated disc (1.9 cm diameter, 0.3 cm thick; Sohrweide /Gifford collection) and a small unperforated disc (Sohrweide collection).

The location of the Jamesville site itself may be another indication of a desire to identify with the ancestral past. While the previous locations at Indian Hill and Weston are adjacent to older Onondaga sites, the Jamesville site overlaps the earlier Keough site.

11.132. The range of the eastern diamondback rattlesnake (*Crotalus adamanteus*) does not extend beyond southern North Carolina. The northern-timber (*Crotalus horridus*) and eastern-massasauga rattlesnakes (*Sistrurus catenatus catenatus*) occupy territory as far north as southern Ontario (Hamell and Fox 2005). Rattlesnake comb from Pen site P30 (Figure 11.35a; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York) is similar to one from the contemporaneous Seneca Synder–McClure site (RMSC AR 18557).

11.133. Huron–Wendat people had long considered dogs as spiritual messengers (Wright 2004). There are many examples of dogs being used as spiritual messengers by Great Lakes and mid-continent Algonquians. For example, while visiting Illinois country in 1694, Fr. Jacques Gravier pulled down a little dog suspended at the end of a pole stuck into the ground. When he asked why it was there, he was told this was to protect against disease and to appease the lightning because one of the children had been ill (JR 64:187). Antoine Laumet de La Mothe Cadillac was commandant of Fort de Buade at the northern tip of lower Michigan, which was garrisoned between 1683 and 1701 (Zoltvany 1982e). The ceremony was held at the nearby St. Ignace Mission. "... at the same time they kill ..." (Cleland, ed. 1971:95). No dog burials were present at either the Lasanen or the Pen site.

11.134. The ceramic Staffordshire dog figure was in Pen site P5 (Figure 11.36), a complex interment for which there is limited information (Appendix 3; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Raemsch and Jamison 1996). P5 appears to have been a primary burial that contained the partially removed and comingled remains of two adult males and an infant of about two years old. A field photograph shows what appear to be two crania and partially bundled remains. The associated funerary objects were lavish, if scattered, and included an unusual array of high-status European- and Nativemade objects. In addition to the ceramic dog and one of the four muskets from the site, this included a large assemblage of marine shell with an incised gorget, three brass rings, two crucifixes, a medallion, two complete English white-clay pipes, and several hundred glass beads.

No similar ceramic-dog figures have been reported in the literature, although this becomes a popular form later in the eighteenth century and is often referred to as King Charles spaniels. Beauchamp reports another ceramic figure from one of the traditional Onondaga fishing locations along the Oneida River. While he describes this as a recumbent lamb, he adds that it could be an animal of a very "different nature" and that it probably had some sacred use (1898:#233).

As Blau observed, a linkage between dog sacrifice and Sky Holder in Onondaga can be traced as early as 1656, when Jesuits in Onondaga recorded an incident in which three returning warriors were instructed by "He who holds up the Sky" that three dogs be sacrificed along with additional gifts in order to continue protection (1964:105 citing JR 42:197). There are two recognized sources about the White Dog Sacrifice (Blau 1964; Tooker 1965). For discussion of the Mid-Winter Tobacco Invocation as derived from the ancient Huron–Iroquois White Dog Sacrifice (Foster 1974:162-165).

Perhaps the best summary of this ritual and its importance comes from George Hamell—

Teharonhiawagon and his young brother are locked in a continuing annual contest for the control of [day] light and of all living things. In the fall of the year, the growing cold and weakening daylight are signs of the growing potency and control of his younger brother. At Mid-Winter,

the orenda of Teharonhiawagon is at its lowest as evidenced by the cold, ice, and snow; the very short days [periods of daylight] and the general absence of green vegetation and animals.

The younger primal brother is the *winter god* whose potency has waxed since the fall equinox, as the potency of his elder brother has waned. At Mid-Winter Teharonhiawagon is near death and sings his death song, but the people have been chartered with that which will resuscitate him, bringing longer days and the return of vegetation and the animals.

This is the Dream-guessing Ritual by which they guess that which is necessary to resuscitate himthe sacrifice of a White Dog. In my reconstruction the White Dog is in fact a Little White Wolf, an alter ego of the younger brother who is a [white] flint man-flint man-being. [White Wolves and White Flint are one and the same symbolically and metaphorically; they may in fact have been separate brothers in the earliest traditions, but have since been conflated.] The little brother is strangled and flayed, with his animate and animating skin used to re-robe the elder brother and thus resuscitate him for another year. Shamans knew how to flay animals such that their flayed skins remained animate and animating. The White Dog Sacrifice was formerly known as Re-robing the Creator.

Disease, famine, and warfare are all expressions or signs of Teharonhiawagon's ill-being and weakened state-of-being, and require his resuscitation through some sacrifice made to him. Teharonhiawagon was most frequently represented by a red spirally-painted pole, and in at least two late eighteenth-century Seneca villages, by a white pine statue 19 feet high, the upper portion of which was carved in his image, painted and decorated, and decorated with white dog skin. Officers on Sullivan's expedition, when they asked their Oneida guides of the meaning of the dogs they saw hung from poles in the villages they entered, were told by their guides that the dogs were to be used to make a new jacket, or a new vest, or a new pipe bag for the Creator (George Hamell, personal communication 10/7/10).

- 11.135. "We must first come to ourselves again" (NYCD 4:920).
- 11.136. "the presnt form of this world is passing away" (1 Cor. 7:31 ESV). "They owne there is a God . . ." (NYCD 4:652). "his soul is in heaven" (NYCD 4:898).
- 11.137. The eagle is an old Judeo-Christian symbol of renewal. "They who wait for the LORD shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings like eagles" (Isa. 40:31 ESV). The eagle was also the symbol of the evangelist St. John and was used frequently in churches as the form for the brass lectern designed for Gospel readings (Figure 7.46). Thunder and lightning have been closely tied to the voice of God with many 766

examples from the Old and New Testaments.

The archaeological evidence from Pen provides some information on the residents of the World Above including a marine-shell thunderbird from P51, a few loon and bird-head pendants, an avian bone comb from P26, and the inclusion of non-food bird remains in at least three interments—the upper and lower jaws of an ivory-billed woodpecker from P4, a cranium, mandible, and phalanges from a bald eagle, and another avian cranium from a bird larger than a blackbird but smaller than a crow. The Pen site artifacts were identified in photographs (Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester), and those without specific provenience by Cleland (Charles Cleland to Peter Pratt, letter, 11/8/67, RFC, Rochester, NY).

There were a few loon and bird-head pendants from Jamesville (Sohrweide collection). Interestingly, no Native-made smoking pipes with avian imagery have been reported from either Pen or Jamesville.

The animal agents of medicine societies are replaced by more human-like effigies (George Hamell, personal communication 11/24/09). There is a noticeable increase in the depiction of anthropomorphic images, especially on smoking pipes and as pendants at both Pen and Jamesville (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, New York; Jamesville site collections, Note 11.11).

- 11.138. "can Ruine the tree of Peace", "then he will be the Devill." (Leder, ed. 1956:156). "Now I throw the axe in a hole, & so throw him to the Devil" (NYCD 4:798). Their Father the Devil (NYCD 4:659). "underground darke dealing . . . with the French" (NYCD 4:898).
- 11.139. The Jesuits had exhibited an excellent representation of the Last Judgment where the damned are depicted, "some with serpents and dragons tearing out their entrails" (JR 14:103). Serpents also had multiple meanings within the Judeo–Christian tradition, from poisonous snakes as a symbol of death to one of healing as the serpent of bronze upon a pole (John 3:14, Num. 21:6-9 ESV).

As with the World Above, the archaeological evidence from Pen and Jamesville provides some evidence for the dwellers of the World Below. In addition to rattlesnakes, these included marine-shell turtles from P19 and P51, long-bodied four-legged creatures from P51 and P54 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Comparable examples come from Jamesville (Sohrweide collection). Haberle's catalog lists a steatite turtle pipe from Jamesville (969-5). There is also a pipestone longbodied otter-like pendant from P54 (Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Several of the large pipestone beads from Pen and Jamesville are incised on one or more sides with a row of opposed triangles, a traditional way to depict snake-like attributes (Hamell and Fox 2005:Figure 19).

11.140. "There are great divisions . . ." (NYCD 4:998).

"Wee Sinnekes [Upper Four Nations] are minded to have one faith" (NYCD 4:894). The term Sinnekes, or Sinnekens, had been used to describe the Upper Four Nations as early as 1634 (Note 2.61).

11.141. "put to death in the flesh but made alive in the spirit" (1 Pet. 3:18 ESV). To name something was to call it into being. Renaming in the bible was the recognition of a new identity such as Saul renamed Paul after his conversion, Abram renamed Abraham, and Sarai renamed Sarah (Acts 9:17, 13:9, Gen. 17:5, 15 ESV). Peter Manseau examines the practice of venerating human remains in several religious traditions (2009). Relics did not have to be human remains. Fr. Claude Dablon had related the story of an ill Onondaga woman who dreamt that she could only be cured by a black gown (*une robbe noir*). After obtaining the cassock of Fr. Joseph Poncet from the Dutch, she was cured, although Dablon remained quite disparaging about her attachment to this precious relic (JR 43:273). Christianity as ritual cannibalism with Jesus's words,

Truly, truly, I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you. Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up on the last day. For my flesh is true food, and my blood is true drink. Whoever feeds on my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me, and I in him (John 6:53-56 ESV).

In his thoughtful essay *Taku Skanskan: Power Symbols* of the Universe Parallels in the Cosmos of Plains Indians and White Missionaries, Colin Hastings discusses this common ground in more detail. As he notes, both cultures recognized that the way to the sacred was through complex ritual, song, and symbology. In addition, both believed in the mediating powers of guardian spirits and messengers from the World Above (Buffalo Bill Historical Center 1992:57-71).

11.142. "I lay my life down in order to take it up again ... I have authority to take it up again" (John 10:17-18 ESV). The ever-growing tree (Fenton 1998:49). The red-striped pole of the Mississippian world (Hall 1997; Langford 2007a:30-33). The cross-like pole Father Chauchetière illustrated was located at La Prairie (Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:48).

11.143. One of the four medallions found on the Seneca Snyder-McClure site is Pen II-style (RMSC AR 18522) and was described and illustrated by Beauchamp (1903:#230). A second (RMSC AR 18670) has a more complete figure of Christ as Sky Holder, holding a horizontal bar on the obverse and an unrecognizable motif within a dashed border on the reverse (RMSC AR 18670). A third medallion depicts an anthropomorphic figure with a hat/horn/crown motif on the obverse and a large cross with attending longbodied creatures on the reverse (RMSC AR 18523). George Hamell pointed out the relationship between the cross and the symbolism of the Whirlwinds, located at the Four Quarters, portrays good and bad (personal communication, 6/20/80). The fourth medallion has complex iconography on both sides, not distinct enough to interpret (RMSC AR 18669).

Don Rumrill found three other Native-cast medallions at the contemporaneous Mohawk Horatio Nellis site. Although their surfaces have significant erosion, two have discernible motifs. The first has a bust-like portrait facing right with a dashed border on the obverse and an apparently plain reverse (NYSM A2005.13BJ.99.18.3; Rumrill 1988:Figure 9d). The second depicts two individuals on the obverse with a smaller one leading a larger one to the right. Bordering these two figures is a band of small dashes slanted left to right in a clockwise direction, a trait shared with Pen I-style medallions. The reverse depicts a large reverse S-shaped figure between two poles (NYSM A2005.13BJ.99.18.2; Rumrill 1988:Figure 9f). Dean Snow illustrates a comparable example from the Brown collection from an unknown Mohawk Valley site with a similar motif on the obverse, but the reverse imagery is a simple large cross with a slightly raised plain border (Snow 1995b:18, Figure 4.2, Figure 4.3). The third Rumrill medallion from the Horatio Nellis site is too worn to identify the motif (NYSM A2005.13BJ.99.18.4; Rumrill 1988:Figure 9e).

11.144. At least six examples of the Pen I-style of medallion have been documented from the Pen site, although their context is not clear (example in Figure 11.39a). They appear to be from either P22 (RHS 650, 663) or P54 (RFC 11150/237, 11151/237, 11152/237, 11153/237). The dashed motif used as a border around the central motif is also on the single cast-pewter medallion found on the Weston site. Examples of this style of medallion have been published (Bradley 1987:Plates 12e-f; Campbell 1989:Figure 234).

At least three examples of the Pen II-style have been documented from the Pen site. One is likely from P22 (Figure 11.39b; RHS 649) and two from another unidentified burial (RFC 11579/237, 115780/237; Collections and Pen site documentation, RFC, Rochester, NY). Two examples of this style are known from Jamesville. One is described as a Native-made pewter Christ medal (Haberle 3973-5), and a second was described by Clark as a medal of lead, ovalshaped, an inch and a half long, with a figure of a man suspended by his outstretched hands, supposed to be a representation of our Savior on the cross, and a figure of a serpent (1849:II:280). On the opposite side is a figure of a man in a sitting posture, resembling the characteristic position of the native prophets, or the devil, as an some interpret it.

Schoolcraft described this same medallion (1846:99). A simplified drawing of it occurs in Drake (1884:Plate 13). Beauchamp mentions the same Jamesville example in comparison with a similar one from the Seneca Synder–McClure site (1903:#230). Rumrill reports

Montgomery County, ca. 1646-1659 (1988:22-23, Figure 8a). If so, it may have been dropped on this midseventeenth-century site at a later point in time. Wayne Lenig suggests that it is more likely this Pen II-style medallion came from the Mohawk Horatio Nellis site, which was contemporary with the Pen, Jamesville, and Synder–McClure sites (personal communication, 10/1/11). The Horatio Nellis site is where Rumrill found three other Native-cast medallions.

The Pen I-style medallions found appear to have been cast from the same mold, and the same is true for the Pen II-style examples. The eroded surface condition of the metal, especially those of pewter, makes more explicit comparisons difficult.

- 11.145. "a representation of our Savior on the cross" (Beauchamp 1903:27). The crouching anthropomorphic figures depicted on these two styles of medallions are similar to the figure on the medallion from the earlier Indian Castle site and may depict a shaman in a trance wearing an animal robe (Figure 11.39). George Hamell's description, "a complex chain of associations . . .," and more detail on his thoughts on these medallions and their meaning within the broader context of Seneca culture and cosmology (personal communication, 6/20/80; James W. Bradley research files on the Pen site, RFC, Rochester, NY).).
- 11.146. Examples of European-like motifs juxtaposed to Native motifs on the same medallions from Jamesville have descriptions written on cards attached to them by Warren J. Haberle (Figures 11.41b, c; Haberle 2345-5, 4800-5). "L'etat, c'est moi," attributed to Louis XIV of France. "the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body" (1 Cor. 12:12 ESV). "one voice, one mind, one heart" (Fenton 1998:30-31).

#### **Chapter Twelve**

12.1. There are several references to historic period Onondaga sites on the east side of Butternut Creek, upstream from the Jamesville site. These include the Gould farm and the Keene farms in Pompey (Clark 1849:II:281). However, it is difficult to identify these locations with confidence. Burials from this period have been reported by Tuck, who salvaged a small cemetery in 1965-1966 at the Jamesville Lake site, also known as Storto's Grove (1971:180-191, Plate 43). At least one burial was also found in an adjacent location and transported to the Onondaga County Medical Examiner's office, where it was recorded by Gordon DeAngelo (1965). Associated funerary objects from these interments are very similar to those from the Jamesville site and, to a lesser degree, the Pen site. A Phase 1A Cultural Resource Survey for this property conducted by Pratt and Pratt prior to residential development summarizes much of what is known about this location (2004).

The Sevier site as the town of Onondaga is the most 768

likely successor to the Jamesville site, ca. 1710-1725. Located 3.2 km south on higher land, findings from this ~2-ha unpalisaded site are typical of the period.

Occupation sites and burials have also been reported on the west side of Butternut Creek, although few details are known (Beauchamp 1900:#66; Gordon DeAngelo, personal communication based on conversations he had with Ray Benson, Onondaga County Parks Department, 8/2/1977; William J. Gallipeau to William Ritchie, letter, 11/30/1939, OHA, Syracuse, NY).

In addition, evidence was found for the use of traditional fishing locations in this period comes from several sites to the north—

- Kaneenda at the outlet of Onondaga Creek, with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic pipestone pendants and a brass religious medal (*Antiquities* 2:#438-441),
- Brewerton at the outlet of Oneida Lake, with pipestone, shell, and glass beads (*Antiquities* 1:#254-61),
- Caughdenoy, downriver and to the north of Brewerton, with an anthropomorphic pipestone pendant (*Antiquities* 6:#170),
- Phoenix on the Oswego River, with two Roman-style glass beads, type IIj2-3 (*Antiquities* 1:#1161, 4:#1144; Kidd and Kidd 1970).
- Lot 15 in Fabius, a small site reported by Beauchamp from which a large triangular pipestone bead, plus red- and blue-glass and wampum beads were found (*Antiquities* 2:#1483-1489). Just within the watershed of the West Branch of Tioughnioga River, this site at the northern edge of the Susquehanna drainage may have been the location referred to by Governor-General Cornbury in July 1702 (NYCD 4:983).

It is also possible that some Onondaga people moved into the Onondaga Valley at this time, where the majority of Onondaga lived by 1740 (Bradley 2005a).

- 12.2. "Grand Settlement" (Wallace 1957). Treaties of 1701 as a precarious framework (Richter 1992:214-215).
- 12.3. Among those with black ancestry was Tachanuntie, also known as the Black Prince, a prominent Onondaga chief during the 1740s (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:IX:28). There are several other references in the Sir William Johnson Papers to blacks and slaves who lived in Five Nations' towns, or in mixed settlements such as Otseningo on the upper Susquehanna River (Eliot 1977; Hamell 2004).
- 12.4. The Tree of Peace as fundamental (Havard 2001:142-145, 258 Note 10). "Here we are assembled ...." (Havard 2001:145). "deep roots so that ... do good business" (Havard 2001:144). There are many other examples of the Five Nations' use of the Tree of Peace rather than the Covenant Chain as the preferred

metaphor. For example, the Five Nations' answer to the English governor-general Henry Sloughter in Albany on June 2, 1691 (NYCD 3:775).

- 12.5. Although tattooing on the face and chest had been used for generations as a means of personal identification, both Europeans and Native people began to record them more frequently during the early eighteenth century. Perhaps the best-known examples are those recorded by Jan Verelst in his 1710 paintings of two of the Four Kings during their visit to London (Figures 9.33g, 12.6; Fenton 1978: 310-311, Figure 19, Figure 20). At a more mundane level, a trader like Evert Wendell recorded facial tattoos as an easy way to keep track of Native customers, ca. 1695-1726 (Waterman, ed. 2008:38-39). Native people also appear to have marked personal items more frequently during this period. Although pictographic depictions are known on seventeenth-century war clubs, the practice appears to have expanded to include antler combs and bone powder measures (Meachum 2007).
- 12.6. Stabilization of the external diplomatic situation and the internal political debate after 1710 (Richter 1992:214-215). Richard Aquila's "Restoration Policy" analyzes Iroquois actions of this period, but through western, especially English, eyes and motivations such as the Covenant Chain, empire, and hegemony (1997:16-17).
- 12.7. Onondaga chief Ohonsiowanne, also known as Ouhensi8an, Ohonjoane, 8entsi8an, Tohonsiowanne, La Grand Terre, or Great World. Hanni Woodbury describes his name as O/when/ge/o/wan (*uhwęjyowanę*) or great land or nation, and speculates it may have been an ambassador's nickname (personal communication, 1/11/12). There is a brief summary of his part in the lead up to the treaties of 1701 (Corkran 1982). Ohonsiowanne visiting his father in Canada (NYCD 4:492-493). First Onondaga signer of the 1701 Montréal treaty (Havard 2001:119, 214). As his signature, he used a wading-bird pictograph possibly of his clan (Havard 2001:188). "zealous . . . partizan of the French" (NYCD 9:743).
- 12.8. Aqueendaro has been mentioned before (Note 8.61). He is a major character in this period. Aqueendaro, also spelled Aquadarando, Aqueendero, Aquandarondes, Kaqueendara, Aqueenderande. Hanni Woodbury describes this as a word that may have lost its front part, ag-wed-R (personal communication, 1/11/12). "Aqueendera, alias Sadegenaktie, Speaker" (NYCD 4:729). Sadegenaktie, also spelled Sadaganacktie, Sadekannaghtie, Sudagunachte, Sadekanaktie, and Sadegajeidon. Hanni Woodbury writes this as Sat/e/kan/knoch'/ta (personal communication, 1/11/12).

Gilles Havard describes Sadekarnaktie as the leading pro-English voice in Onondaga, who was extremely hostile to the French (2001:92). Fortunately, in this case the interpreter at one conference noted that the speaker was Aqueendaro alias Sadegenaktie, an important clarification (Note 1.37).

In the index for NYCD, Sadaganacktie is listed 11 times as "speaker for the five nations" in Volume IV (NYCD 11:548). "ye Cheiff Sachem of onnondage" (Leder, ed. 1956:177). Disingenuously signed over the beaver hunting lands (Note 10.59). Refused a summons from the French governor-general Callière until he had heard from the English (NYCD 4:992-993). Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, was appointed governor of New York as of June 1701, and he requested military status in September 1701, thus he was "captain-general and governor-in-chief" (Stephen and Lee, eds. 1885-1900:28:393; NYCD 4:883, 912-913). He did not arrive in New York until May 1702 (NYCD 4:955). From this time the governor of New York was empowered as the governor-general, as had been the case for the political leaders of New France since 1663. Aqueendaro outsmarting the English again after the treaty of 1701 (Note 10.59).

- 12.9. Other members of the Onondaga leadership who worked to maintain balance, that is to be "Neutral," include Annogogari (also spelled Annagogga, Annagogar, Awenagogare) and probably Hanagoge, along with Carachkontie. The last two appear to have been chiefs since Otreouti's time, and would play important roles in Onondaga diplomacy between 1701 and 1711. Both deserve more study than can be given here. Carachkontie in particular had a long and complex history. He was probably the second Garakontié, "brother" of Daniel Garakontié, and of the same generation as Tegannisoren (Richter 1992:153). Hanni Woodbury writes this name as *ga-Rahgw-udye-?*, pronounced *garahgudye?* or sun/moon moving along (personal communication, 1/11/12).
- 12.10. Tegannisoren, also spelled Teganissorens, te Gannisoran, Cannisore, Cannaughsora, Dekanissore, has already been introduced (Note 8.62). He may also be Lamberville's Tegannehout. Hanni Woodbury writes this as *te-ga-en-ihsor-?*, or it spreads a blanket, or *de-ga-hnehs-oRe-s*, it splits shoulders (personal communication, 1/11/12). His birth and death dates are unclear, ca. 1660-1725, or 1732. His biographical summary is by W. J. Eccles (1982b). Richter describes Tegannisoren as an influential Onondaga neutralist and outstanding orator (1988:64-5, 180). Havard calls him the strategist for the Five Nations' diplomatic efforts, one opting for a neutral position between the two European empires and peace with all the French Indian allies (2001:208). "one of the principal Onondaga war chiefs" (NYCD 9:192). "a man with two arms and two hands, one for peace and another for war" (NYCD 9:185). "He comes to exhort the French, as he has done the English, not to break this general peace" (NYCD 9:747-749). "chickens" of the French, or

"doggs" of the English (Note 10.32; Leder, ed. 1956:179; NYCD 4:919, 919 Note 1).

12.11. Governor-General Callière's "Projects against New England" (NYCD 9:725-728). Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville et d'Ardilliéres was brother of Paul Le Moyne de Maricourt and third son of Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil et de Châteauguay (Horton 1982; Lefebvre 2017; Pothier 1982). D'Iberville's memoir (NYCD 9:729-735). Governor-General Cornbury's report to the Board of Trade about the colony (NYCD 4:967-971). "smoke in quietness on their mats without taking sides" (NYCD 9:736).

Fr. Jacques de Lamberville was the brother of Jean de Lamberville, who had spent many years in Onondaga up until 1686. Jacques was with Jean at Onondaga in 1684 and followed him to Fort Frontenac. Jacques returned to Onondaga in 1701 and remained until 1709 (Jaenen 1982). Jacques de Lamberville with another lay brother and a smith departed for Onondaga (NYCD 9:737). Callière's report on the Onondaga to Chancellor de Pontchartrain in France (NYCD 9:736-738). "very well received by all . . ." (NYCD 9:738).

- 12.12. Tegannisoren asked for continuance of the general Peace (NYCD 9:747). The attack on Deerfield, its context, and some of its consequences are discussed by Demos (1994). "ensnarl members of the Five Nations in the conflict" (Richter 1992:218). There are significant gaps in the English Indian records for this period. Peter Wraxall noted no records entered of Indian Affairs between July 1701 and December 1704 (McIlwain, ed. 1915:42).
- 12.13. Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil was the eldest son of Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil et de Châteaugay (Dupré 1982). He had commanded four companies in Denonville's invasion of Seneca country in 1687. Both he and his younger brother, Paul le Moyne de Maricourt, were accepted by the Onondaga, and Tegannisoren announced in 1694 that they had been adopted in the place of their late father (Note 8.67). Longueuil frequently served as an ambassador to Onondaga, especially after Maricourt's death in 1704 (NYCD 9:759).

Dutch interpreters of the Five Nations speakers, Lawrence Claessen van der Volgen and Jan Baptist van Eps, enter the records in 1700, but they spoke no English. Apparently one or both had been captured as children during the Schenectady Massacre of 1690 and, as captives at a Canadian mission, learned the Mohawk language. Escaping several years later, they became interpreters for Livingston and Schuyler in Albany. Unfortunately, Trelease gives this background to Van Eps while Richter attributes it to Claessen (Trelease 1960:212; Richter 1992:219-220). After that it appears that Claessen was assigned to interpret for the Upper Four Nations and spent time in Onondaga, while Van Eps was assigned to the Mohawk and wrote his reports from Schenectady. Still, Van Eps 770

and Claessen were listed in the records together as interpreters several times (Leder, ed. 1956:177-179, 188, 189; Richter 1992:219; Trelease 1960:358). Perhaps because he had no personal kinship with the Indians, Claessen was not successful with any of his negotiations, nor had he significant influence on the Onondaga. (Leder, ed. 1956:178 Notes 1, 2, 194; Richter 1992:220).

The French came to Onondaga to condole Maricourt's death with "admirable" presents in May 1704 (Leder, ed. 1956:194). "quider [Peter Schuyler] will make all hast to bee there forthwith" (Leder, ed. 1956:197). Wraxall notes several instances when the French requested a meeting at Onondaga, although no details are provided (McIlwain, ed. 1915:42-43). Schuyler and Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil were of the similar age and background—Schuyler was born in Beverwijck (Albany) while Longueuil was born in Montréal, both had seen active military service and knew how important relationships with Onondaga were (Dupré 1982; Pell 1982).

- 12.14. Louis-Thomas Chabert de Joncaire together with Longueuil was chosen by Governor-General Vaudreuil to carry out the most important part of the French wartime policy of preserving Iroquois neutrality. Being a Seneca adoptee, Joncaire was very influential with the Seneca at the same time as the interpreter Claessen was attempting the same at Onondaga unsuccessfully (Note 8.67; Dupré 1982; Richter 1992:219-220; Zoltvany 1982c). Fr. François Vaillant was a Jesuit who had been among the Senecas when he accompanied Joncaire to Onondaga in 1704 (Campeau 1982). "each having managed his friends, nothing was decided" (NYCD 9:764). Schuyler's overtures to the French-allied Indians were a concern for the French (NYCD 9:764). "till Canada is reduced, we shall never be able to keep the Indians steady without presents" (NYCD 4:1121-1123).
- 12.15. "4 Nations of the farr Indians" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:44). "Strings of Wampum to wipe away all Blood which hath been shed by them" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:44). "so high that it would pierce the heavens" (NYCD 9:767-768). "our brothers of the Sault [La Prairie] and the Mountain" (NYCD 9:768). Vaudreuil promised not to attack, or turn his "hatchet" towards the English in New York including the governor and Peter Schuyler, but he excluded New England (NYCD 9:769).
- 12.16. Vaudreuil sent Joncaire to Onondaga in the spring of 1706 (NYCD 9:775). Fr. Pierre de Mareuil arrives in Canada and is sent to Onondaga in 1706 (Campeau 1974; NYCD 9:836 Note 2). Claessen reports nine killed by either Farr Indians or French allies (Leder, ed. 1956:195). Comments from the Five Nations to the Albany Commissioners in August (McIlwain ed. 1915:47).
- 12.17. An Abridgement of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes: Transacted in the Colony of New York,

*from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751*, by Peter Wraxall in 1754 (McIlwain, ed. 1915). "a Prudent & Capable Person . . . that they were neglected" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:48-49).

12.18. After the Treaty of Union, this text refers to England as Britain and the English as British. As early as September 1700, the English heard reports that the Oneida, and possibly others, were off raiding to the south where the Flatheads live (NYCD 4:802). A year later, a Captain of the Oneida came home who had been fighting against a nation of Indians called Ondadeonwas (Catawba). He had also talked with some Indians who lived "behind Carolina & Maryland," where all was peace and quiet (NYCD) 4:918). Since most European settlement was along the coast, behind Carolina & Maryland probably refers to the Virginia–Carolina Piedmont (Figure 10.10). By 1707 it appears that great numbers of the Five Nations were out fighting against the "Flathead Indians [the Cattabaws]," who lived at the "back of Carolina" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:50, 52).

There was a long-standing antagonism between the Onondaga and the Catawba, or Flatheads, since the end of the Susquehannock War. In contemporary reports, the raids against the Catawba were usually attributed to Sinnekens or Sinnagers. In 1701 John Lawson reported evidence of Sinnagers, or Iroquois raids at several points during his trek across the Carolina Piedmont (2001 [1709]:43). Ward and Davis suggest that "Sinnager" raiding occurred in the vicinity of Occaneechi Town in North Carolina (2001:139). As seen in earlier chapters, Sinnekens did not mean Seneca only, but referred to the Upper Four Nations in general, and often Onondaga and the two younger brothers, the Oneida and Cayuga, in particular. The Onondaga may have begun to raid this far south as early as the mid-1680s (Note 8.9). While Lawson noted that Indians from Canada were feared by the English traders from Virginia and the Piedmont Indians, he also observed they were not invincible. The Saponas he visited had captured and killed several of them (Lawson 2001 [1709]:43, 44, 47).

- 12.19. Indian trader Montour had come over from the French (McIlwain, ed. 1915:50). "would not accept . . . the Mediation of the Five Nations between him & New England" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:50). "send a fit Person with Belts of Wampum to each of the 5 Nations" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:51).
- 12.20. Cornbury finally met with Five Nations' delegates (McIlwain, ed. 1915:48). Two more ssues presented by an unnamed Onondaga to Cornbury in September 1707 (McIlwain, ed. 1915:51). Shawnee "toward Maryland" (Figure 10.9; McIlwain, ed. 1915:51 Note 1).

"those Indians who are desirous of settling under their Protection", "behave themselves with that Duty & Obedience to this Government" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:51). Interpreter Claessen's report (McIlwain, ed. 1915:52).

- 12.21. "desired they might be . . . usual amongst the Indians" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:52). "in consequence of a belt . . . a good price for their Bever" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:53).
- 12.22. Hiding the anvil (NYCD 9:816). Garrisoned forts proposed at La Galette and at Niagara, New York (Figure 13.1; McIlwain, ed. 1915:54, 54 Note 1; NYCD 9:816). The Onondaga considered La Galette theirs, and Niagara was in Seneca territory (McIlwain, ed. 1915:57-58). Fr. Jacques Lamberville had a "Considerable Store of Goods, which he daily distributes to the Indians to gain their affection" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:55). "since they have been so long slighted & no care taken of the Covenant" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:54). Commissioners to Cornbury, "We cannot but acquaint . . . "(McIlwain, ed. 1915:55).
- 12.23. "a chief Sachem of Onondaga" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:56-57). "gone & dead and . . . expect it to be your turn next", "One Heart, One Head, One Flesh, One Blood," (McIlwain, ed. 1915:57). "sorry the Indians had neglected meeting him at the appointed time", "that better care may be taken for the future" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:58).
- 12.24. Flatheads and Cherokee (McIlwain, ed. 1915:60, 60 Note 2). "But . . . you ought to have . . . " (McIlwain, ed. 1915:60). "Everlasting Peace" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:61). "We are become Poor therefore desire you will order our Guns & Axes to be mended" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:60-61). "That they had no business [of consequence], came only to Trade" (NYCD 5:64).
- 12.25. September 1708 Albany conference, "The Queens Affairs oblige him to remain at New York" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:62). "a fixt Place . . . for the Bretheren of New England, Maryland & Virginia to meet", "the government . . . taken no notice" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:62). "fifty pieces of cloth, . . ." (NYCD 9:817). Sir John Lovelace becomes governor-general following Cornbury's recall to Britain at the end of 1708 (NYCD 5:67; Webb 1979:Appendix 157).
- 12.26. In 1709 Queen Anne directed Governor-General Lovelace that an expedition be made against Canada, followed by details from Lord Saunders (NYCD 5:70, 72-73). Rumors of secret English plans to "Cut Off the 5 Nations" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:63). "a great Confusion" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:63). Previous negotiations with the Ottawa in 1690 presented in Chapter Eight. "some fit Person" and proper presents for the Ottawa (McIlwain, ed. 1915:64). Governor-General Lovelace died May 6, 1709 (NYCD 5:82).
- 12.27. Montour's murder (McIlwain, ed. 1915:64-65; NYCD 9:830, 902). Vaudreuil discussed the deserter from Detroit that was killed by an Onondaga and why he pardoned the chiefs, November 1708 (NYCD 9:814). "I direct all my attention . . ." (NYCD 9:814).
- 12.28. Jacques de Lamberville returned to Montréal,

and Pierre de Mareuil was escorted to Albany (NYCD 9:829, 836). "the Rev<sup>d</sup> Father de Lamberville has placed us in a terrible state of embarrassment by his flight" (NYCD 9:838).

- 12.29. "should Return to the land of their ancestors, where they had been born" (Leder, ed. 1956:212).
  "Indians are divided there . . ." (Leder, ed. 1956:212).
  "Reducing Canada, w<sup>h</sup> you have So much Long'd for" (Leder, ed. 1956:207). Lieutenant governor and military chief, Richard Ingoldsby, became governor-general in July 1709 (Leder, ed. 1956:206; Webb 1987:Appendix 156). Sadegenaktie (Aqueendaro) of Onondaga deferred present giving (Leder, ed. 1956:209). Smallest number of warriors was from Onondaga at 88 out of the 443, and the Seneca did not participate (McIlwain, ed. 1915:69).
- 12.30. Failure of the Glorious Enterprise of 1690 (Note 8.58). As Samuel Vetch had proposed, the plan was for the British to attack Montréal by way of Lake Champlain and to attack Québec via Acadia on the St. Lawrence River (DAB 19:260-261; Waller 1982). The British royal vessels never arrived in Boston to pick up the colonial soldiers, and a minor attack on Acadia floundered. The colonial governors sent Nicholson, accompanied by Schuyler and four Indians, to England to ask Queen Anne for assistance (Hinderaker 2010:82-83; NYCD 5:79, 81, 9:830-843). Schuyler traveled to England with the "four Indian Kings," who were actually three Mohawk chiefs and a Mahican. Their portraits were painted and they became celebrities (Notes 9.98, 11.112; Bond 1952; Hinderaker 2010). The "Canadian Expedition" failed and the outcome favored the French (NYCD 9:843).
- 12.31. Governor-General Vaudreuil's report (NYCD 9:842). "take possession of their Land . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:69). "general Meeting to be held at Onondaga" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:70-74). In August Claessen was sent back to Onondaga with smiths for Oneida and Onondaga. The blacksmith for Onondaga, William Printup, was also asked to announce that they were all coming to a meeting (McIlwain, ed. 1915:70).
- 12.32. "singing the Song of Joy", "long Stone Pipes in their hands... hung with Feathers as big as Eagles Wings", "Token of Friendship" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:70). "Go with us to your Brother Corlaer, The Door stands open for you." "You have taken us ..." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:73). "You have given us ..." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:74).
- 12.33. "They replied it was . . . " (McIlwain, ed. 1915:71). "It is reported of us . . . ", "Weigh All Matters for the general Good" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:73).
- 12.34. Robert Hunter was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of New York and New Jersey in 1709, and he arrived in New York City in June 1710 (DAB 9:401-402). Hunter's draft instructions included 112 specific articles, plus several pages of supplemental

orders and instructions (NYCD 5:124-157). Renew their "Submission to our Government" and abandon construction of a fort in Onondaga (NYCD 5:140). The Indian conference with Hunter in Albany ran from August 14 to 21, 1710. "We are glad . . . that we See one another's face in Peace" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:73, 76-78; NYCD 5:219-229). "to renew the Covenant Chain . . ." (NYCD 5:221).

12.35. "French of Canada . . . (NYCD 5:222). Hunter's August 16, 1710, message to the Five Nations (NYCD 5:222). "year after year, routed all his [Louis XIV's] forces" (NYCD 5:222). "joyn our forces together" (NYCD 5:224). "a Garrisons Planted in one or more of your Castles . . . for your defence and Protection." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:76; NYCD 5:221). "a medall for each Nation with her Royall effigie on one side, & the last gain'd battle on y<sup>e</sup> other . . . [to] be kept in your respective Castles for ever" (Figure 12.8; NYCD 5:222). The presents from Hunter (NYCD 5:222)—

The presents given to the Five Nations by
Governor-General Hunter

Governor	Ocheral Hunter
100	<i>Fuzées</i> [fusils]
1000 lb	Powder in Bags
2500	Flints
5 P <sup>s</sup>	Strouds
2½ Ps	Blankets
2 P <sup>s</sup>	Duffels
20 Doz	Knives
50	Looking Glasses
75	Shirts
25	Kitles
7	Hatchetts
25 lb	Paint
500	Bars of lead
5 Gros	Tobacco Pipes
150 lbs	Tobacco

- 12.36. Aqueendaro as Speaker, listed as Kaquendero for all Five Nations present, followed by an unnamed Seneca (McIlwain, ed. 1915:77-78; NYCD 5:223-225). "a good Soldier to be Gov<sup>r</sup> over y<sup>e</sup> Christians and the Indians in this Country," (NYCD 5:223). "5 Nations together to renew the Covenant Chain which . . . we renew most solemnly", "a garrison of Soldiers planted in each of our Castles" (NYCD 5:224). "intercede with her majesty that goods may be cheaper and Bever dearer" (NYCD 5:225).
- 12.37. Claessen's report of the July 1710 meeting with the French in Onondaga (McIlwain, ed. 1915:75-76; NYCD 5:217-218). "y<sup>e</sup> five nations to joyn . . ." (NYCD 5:218).

"live in peace in their Castles, . . ." (NYCD 5:218). In addition to stopping the sale of rum, they requested a fort to protect them from the French, and, once again, a resident blacksmith at Onondaga and Oneida (NYCD 5:218). Wraxall expressed his poor opinion of not honoring the oft-repeated request for a blacksmith. He said that when smiths did go to Onondaga and Oneida they did not stay long (McIlwain, ed. 1915:79-80 Note 1).

- 12.38. "a great number of people with me to settle here" (NYCD 5:221). Mohawk complaint of underhanded dealings, especially the Queen's settlement of people on a tract of land called Schoharie that belonged to them (McIlwain, ed. 1915:78-79).
- 12.39. "Right of Sovereignty over the Five Nations" (NYCD 5:74-75).
- 12.40. "under the Confederacy's protection in the Susquehanna watershed" (Richter 1992:238). "as a Sanction of their Sincerity" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:80). "Newly arrived governor at Menathe [Manhattan] . . ." (NYCD 9:850). Concern for a grand uprising of Indian people throughout the mid-Atlantic against the British (Richter 1992:238).
- 12.41. "had sent some chosen Men", "to endeavor to prevail on those Indians to return to their Native Country to live" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:80). Request for a smith and ammunition for Onondaga (McIlwain, ed. 1915:80). "to take Revenge & are going out to War against them", "once Canada was destroyed the Ottawa would fall an easy prey to them" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:80-81). Go next door to Oneida for a smith (McIlwain, ed. 1915:81).
- 12.42. "A French Interpreter with an Officer & 30 Men are arrived at Onondaga" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:81).
  "with 7 hands of Wampum" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:84).
  Instructions from Hunter to Schuyler (Leder, ed. 1956:219-220). "are bussy building a house of Planks", "they are designd to stay there about 2 months or Longer", "in the midle of their Castle . . . to live in it when he comes there at any time" (NYCD 5:243).
- 12.43. "Children, I do condole the deaths . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:82; NYCD 5:243-244). Longueuil 's gifts of ammunition and a blockhouse with soldiers (McIlwain, ed. 1915:82; NYCD 5:243-244).
- 12.44. Schuyler's trip to Onondaga in April 1711, and the report by the Five Nations concerning Longueuil's visit (NYCD 5:246). "Hatchett in Hand" (NYCD 5:246).
  "some evill design by sending for the Waganhases [Ottawa]", "deceitful and not to be trusted" (NYCD 5:247). Interestingly, Wraxall found it hard to believe that they really spoke to Monsieur Longville (Longueuil) in this manner (McIlwain, ed. 1915:84).
- 12.45. "be broke clear down & destroyed", "a token that the French have no jurisdiction in your country", "had other naçons [nations] besides the Waganhases [Ottawa] at their command", "more nations . . . in Covenant with us." (NYCD 5:248).

"They must be carefull . . . ", "bid them farewell presenting them with one keg of Rum", "After I went 3 or 4 hundred yards . . . " (NYCD 5:249).

Journal of Colonel Schuyler's Negotiations with the Onondaga Indians (McIlwain, ed. 1915:82-87; NYCD 5:245-249). It is surprising that Schuyler was so abrupt and dismissive with Tegannisoren. The two men had known one another for at least 20 years, and Tegannisoren was, and would continue to be, an important player. Between 1711 and 1717, he is listed as speaker for the Five Nations at least 12 times (NYCD 11:182). One gets the feeling that Schuyler was sick of dealing with the Five Nations in general, and Onondaga in particular. Unlike the Mohawk, who deferred to the British, the Onondaga continued to act on their own.

12.46. Sent "three strings of Wampum" to Vaudreuil (NYCD 9:859). Six Farr Indians came to Albany (McIlwain, ed. 1915:87). Hunter's goal was "to have all their Nations in the same Covenant with him as the 5 Nations" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:84).

The speaker said Christians should fight Christians, but the Five Nations preferred no war, cheaper prices for goods, and gunpowder, not the queen's coat of arms (McIlwain, ed. 1915:88). Public presents were "but Trifling" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:88).

"a good Quantity of Powder and Lead" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:89). "to see Justice done" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:89). "they did so out of Fear, not with Sincerity or Inclination", "follow his orders & keep the Covenant Chain inviolable" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:90).

12.47. In the Proceedings of the Congress held at New London, there is no mention of the Five Nations in these planning documents (NYCD 5:257-261). The Five Nations had agreed to participate in the expedition (McIlwain, ed. 1915:91). The August 25, 1711, conference in Albany involved Brother Corlaer (Governor-General Hunter), Brother *Annadagarriax* (Lieutenant-General Nicholson), *Quider* (Col. Peter Schuyler), and chiefs of the Five Nations with Dekannissore (Tegannisoren) as speaker (NYCD 5:269-270). A growing anti-French fervor (NYCD 5:267).

"may be pardoned and received again as friends" (NYCD 5:269). Bowing to the European use of prisoners and their request to acknowledge their competency in the "Art of Warr" (NYCD 5:269). As for the promised warriors, Wraxall's summary has slightly different numbers of participants (McIlwain, ed. 1915:91; NYCD 5:270). Onondaga participation was the lowest of the three "Elder Brothers," perhaps one third of their available men, based on Hunter's 1712 census of Five Nations' warriors. The estimate is 350 Onondaga, second only to Seneca at 1,000, with a total of 1,800 (Leder, ed. 1956:220). The speaker asked how many Christians were going (NYCD 5:270).

12.48. August 25, Governor-General Hunter's reply

(NYCD 5:270-271). "the Pictures of the 4 Indians . . ." (NYCD 5:270). "shall be received with open arms", and other answers to the requests by the Five Nations (NYCD 5:270). The number of Christians would be told tomorrow (NYCD 5:271). "to hang on the kitle [kettle] of War", presents of five oxen and five barrels of beer (NYCD 5:271). "Forts, Chappells and House for the Missionaries in your Country", "in the presence of the Indians, at which they were much amazed having never seen the like before" (NYCD 5:271).

- 12.49. August 26, Tegannisoren's reply (NYCD 5:271-272). August 27, Hunter's promised presents and charge, "I do now engage you to persevere . . ." (NYCD 5:272-273).
- 12.50. Tegannisoren's reply on August 28, "We desire that the kettle . . ." (NYCD 5:273). "Gunns & Hatchetts" ready for the march (NYCD 5:273-274).
- 12.51. "Prepare your Self to hear a melancholy account of the disasters that have happened" (NYCD 5:277-278). Tore off his wig and trampled on it (Richter 1992:228). Nicholson and Hunter's charge to inform the Indians (NYCD 5:277). "Brethren, We have now tried twice . . ." (McIlwain, ed. 1915:92).
- 12.52. "We see god is against us . . ." (NYCD 5:278). Contract for British forts (NYCD 5:279-281). Queen Anne's silver (Beauchamp 1905:422, Plate 14).

#### **Chapter Thirteen**

- 13.1. In May 1712 there were 350 Onondaga and a total of 1,800 Five Nations men (Leder, ed. 1956:220). Fletcher's count of 250 in 1698 (Note 9.11; NYCD 4:337)."ConSiderable number", "Tributaries" (Leder, ed. 1956:221).
- 13.2. The Tuscarora War (La Vere 2013:67, 69). Tegannisoren explaining the Tuscarora at the conference held on September 20, 1713 (NYCD 5:375-376). "to act as mediator between . . ." (NYCD 5:376). "the Tuscarore Indians are come to shelter themselves among the five nations" (NYCD 5:387).

The Tuscarora settled on land between the Onondaga and Oneida, ca. 1715 (Landy 1978:520). The adoption of the Tuscarora had substantial consequences for the Five Nations, including greater hostility towards the Catawba in North Carolina, and a deeper skepticism about the British and their real intentions in terms of taking land. The journal of Henry Hansen, Johannes Bleecker, and Lowrens Clase (Lawrence Claessen), translated from the Dutch, reported their journey to Onondaga under orders from Hunter in September 1713. Upon their arrival, a Five Nations' conference was held on September 20, when Tegannisoren related that four Indians from the South, way off (de wegh uyt) towards Merrielant (Maryland), had given 20 large belts and strings of wampum to clear the path between their nations. The Onondaga chiefs requested these Indians be able to live under the jurisdiction of the Five Nations (NYCD

5:375-376). A year later, Tegannisoren informed Hunter that some of their Five Nations had been in Maryland with the Tuscarora, where they received 10 Belts of Wampum to confirm the peace, and he asked Hunter to accept the Tuscarora as their "Children" (NYCD 5:387). On May 21, 1723, Claessen informed the Albany Commissioners that the "Tuscorores are received to be a Sixth Nation, so that from this time the Six Nations take their Date" (McIlwain, ed. 1915:144).

- 13.3. The Treaty of Utrecht had provisions that would reshape colonial America, such as the British right to a 30-year monopoly on the importation of African slaves to Spain's American colonies. Of historical note, the independent principality of Orange in Provence, which had been inherited by the late King William III, was ceded to the French crown (Richter 1992:235).
- 13.4. "Brother Colaer", "Great King", "continuall trade & commerce together . . . & had good satisfaction", "our children after us will always insist upon the same subject till it be granted" (NYCD 5:488). For a somewhat different version (Leder ed. 1956:224-225).

"of Pride or malice should be the agressors & fall upon their Indian neighbors Without cause" (Leder ed. 1956:225).

- 13.5. Information is drawn from several sources (Elliott 1977; Heidenreich 1987:Plate 39; Kent et al. 1981).
- 13.6. Hunter left New York and New Jersey after much turbulence in British politics. There is also information on how he had become governor-general of New York and New Jersey in 1709 (Scanlon 1973). About William Burnet (Webb 1979:Appendix 159). Conassoro (Tegannisoren) came before the Albany commissioners as a private person on July 6, 1719 (NYCD 5:528-529). "going out to make warr to the Southward upon the Indians in Allyence with the English" (NYCD 5:565).
- 13.7. Responses by Tegannisoren and another Onondaga chief, Ajeechwayhta, at the September 1720 conference (NYCD 5:567-569). In addition to being a speaker at the 1720 conference, Ajighwaghtha (Ajeechwayhta), had served as an Onondaga messenger taking belts to Canada in 1709 (Leder, ed. 1956:212). Later, in September 1726, Ajewachtha (Ajeechwayhta), was speaker at the Indian Conference in Albany with Governor-General Burnet (NYCD 5:786). No "Patent" to be granted for Mohawk lands (NYCD 5:569).
- 13.8. Brethren, I am come hither . . . " (NYCD 5:635). "We are Brethren indeed & hope to live and dye so" (NYCD 5:638). "well Satisfyed" (NYCD 5:640). Burnet's assessment of Tegannisoren as a French spy (NYCD 5:632).
- 13.9. Tegannisoren was appointed speaker by the Six Nations. (NYCD 5:721). "seven inches thick" (Woodbury et al. 1992:698). "accept the advice of D'Kannasore (Tegannisoren) in matters of consequence for the Public Welfare" (NYCD 5:721). "Excellency a good Journey home" (NYCD 5:721).

Considerable confusion surrounds Tegannisoren's activities late in his life. Gilles Havard argues that according to Charlevoix Tegannisoren died around 1725 in Sault St. Louis (St. Xavier du Sault) near Montréal (2001:208, 276 Note 94). Richter argues that based on documentary sources Tegannisoren died during the summer of 1732 (1992:386 Note 40).

13.10. Indian Conference in Albany, September 1726 (NYCD 5:799-801). Onondaga chief Ajewachtha was speaker and had accompanied Tegannisoren in 1720 (Note 13.7). Sadegenaktie's (Aqueendaro's) mark of an arrow on the new deed signed in 1726 was the same as on the treaties of 1701—the clan of the wolf (NYCD 4:910; 5:800, 801 Note 2). Another signer, Kachwadochon, also known as Kachradochen and several other names, had used a simple wavy line with a split end as a mark in 1701, and later he clearly used a deer in 1726 as a member of the Clan of the Deer (NYCD 4:910, 5:801, 801 Note 1).

Few things are known about the Onondaga chief, Kachradochen, except the many different spellings of his name. In August 1700 he was one of the 11 members of the Onondaga delegation that met with Governor-General Bellomont (Note 11.18; NYCD 4:728). In July 1701, he (Kachradogha) was one of 12 Onondaga sachims who met with Lieutenant Governor Nanfan and the Commissioners (NYCD 4:898). On July 13 1701, he (Kachwadochon) was one of the five who signed the deed giving the beaver hunting lands to the English King (NYCD 4:910). In July 1702, he (Kachradagie) was one of the 11 members of the Onondaga delegation who met with Governor-General Cornbury (NYCD 4:986). Then in September 1726, he (Kachjakadorodon) and Aqueendaro (Sadegenaktie) were the two Onondaga who signed the new deed (NYCD 5:800, 801).

- 13.11. "What is one hundred years . . ." (Colden 1958 [1747]:103).
- 13.12. "Indeed we have had some . . . " (Colden 1958 [1747]:105). Ethnohistorian William Starna provides a biographical sketch of Canasatego (2004).
- 13.13. Sir William Johnson's settlement in Mohawk country (O'Toole 2005:68-69). "Warraghiyagey", "a man who undertakes great Things" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1962:XIII:192)

13.14. Sir William Johnson's opportunity to recruit the Iroquois to the British side during King George's War (O'Toole 2005:74, 158-65). It was not only personal ambition that drove Johnson. With Bonnie Prince Charlie's invasion of Scotland in August 1745, there was also the need for Irish Catholics to demonstrate their loyalty to the British Crown (O'Toole 2005:72). Johnson was appointed colonel (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:59-62). Scalp bounties (O'Toole 2005:80-82). Fort Johnson was mentioned in a letter dated January 1750 (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:256).

- 13.15. Sir William Johnson's meeting in Onondaga, April 24, 1748 (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:155-165). "great Rope tied the English to Onondaga", "strong Silver Chain which would never break slip or Rust" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:158). "as one Heart, one Head, one Blood" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:160). Return kin from Canada (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:159). "We listen to you with open Ears . . . Our firm Resolution is to stand by you as Brothers for ever" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:164). Johnson sent William Printup, Jr., to Onondaga (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:307). Printup's father William Printup, Sr., played a similar, if less effective, role in the early 1700s (Note 12.37; McIlwain, ed. 1915:70, 79; Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:308). ).
- 13.16. On April 15, 1755, Edward Braddock, commanderin-chief of his majesty's forces in North America, appointed Johnson Secretary for Indian Affairs (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:465-466). On April 16, 1755, James De Lancey, lieutenant governor and commander-in-chief of the Province of New York, appointed Johnson as major-general and commander-in-chief of the forces raised by New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island for the expedition against Canada (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:468). Johnson was instructed to go north to attack Fort St. Frédéric, while Braddock's forces were focused west toward Fort Duquesne at the "Forks of the Ohio," where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers join to form the Ohio River (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:469-470, 598 Note 2).
- 13.17. Quenched the council fire in Albany (O'Toole 2005:161). The Onondaga also used the occasion to remind Johnson that the first fire at Onondaga, which was carried to Albany, never burnt clear (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:629). "the clearest light", "dazzle and scorch", "like a great Bundle of sticks which could not be broken whilst they are bound together" (NYCD 6:965).
- 13.18. O'Toole discusses this conference in detail and argues that Kakhswenthioni, or *Red Head*, was selected to be speaker because he was pro-French, making his consent all the more impressive (O'Toole 2005:114-120; Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:925). Red Head's comments (NYCD 6:977-979). "Union, friendship and Brotherly love", "too thirsty of money" (NYCD 6:979).
- 13.19. Braddock's Defeat during the French and Indian War was a failed British military expedition that attempted to capture the French Fort Duquesne in Pittsburgh in the summer of 1755. It has been described as one of the most disastrous defeats for the British in the 18th century (Cassell 2005:11-15; Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:712). Ever attuned to opportunity, Johnson took the liberty of changing the name of Lac du Saint Sacrament to Lake George in honor of the British sovereign in September 1755 (O'Toole 2005:135). First Baronet and sole superintendent William Johnson

(O'Toole 2005:152-153).

- 13.20. "the largest pipe in America, made on purpose" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:IX:373). "a prodigious large belt" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:IX:375-376). This belt apparently depicted the sun and figures representing the Six Nations, and O'Toole argues that Johnson's goal was to be installed as a chief (2005:161-64). "strong & durable fort" (NYCD 7:92). Promises to build a new fort at Onondaga and to send the blacksmith William Printup, Jr., known as Sagudderiaghta (NYCD 7:91-93, 99, 111). Johnson's instructions to head-carpenter Jacob Vroman to build a fort at Onondaga (NYCD 7:101-102). Presents (O'Toole 2005:165; Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:IX:377). Not everyone accepted Johnson's self-appointed role. As O'Toole points out, at the same time Sir William was in Onondaga, a delegation of 150 Oneida and Onondaga was in Montréal renewing their agreements with the French governor-general, Vaudreuil (2005:163, conference transcript; NYCD 10:445-453). One request was that Tekanesoren, the son of a great man (Tegannisoren), be made a chief (NYCD 10:449).
- 13.21. In his November 1763 report to the Lords of Trade, Johnson said that the number of warriors in Onondaga had dropped to 150, the lowest of the original Five Nations (NYCD 7:582). Even adding the 80 Oswegachys, warriors who were chiefly Onondaga settled at La Galette on the St. Lawrence River, the Onondaga population was at a historically low level. (NYCD 7:582).
- 13.22. "You know that the chief and only council fire burns at your house and Onondaga" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:XIII:223).
- 13.23. Sir William Johnson and Gen. Jeffery Amherst had differences of opinion with respect to Indians (O'Toole 2005:237-238). "If they were rash enough to venture upon any ill Designs, I had it in my power . . . to punish the delinquents with Entire Destruction" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:III:514). "Extirpate them Root & branch" (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:III:520).
- 13.24. Johnson's attempts to regulate trade (O'Toole 2005:270-271). "until the whole of the Six Nations should think proper of selling part thereof" (NYCD 7:578). The difficulty in establishing a boundary line as related in 1767 (NYCD 7:1004-1005). Boundary agreements settled in the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768 were nearly all overturned (Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:XIII:143).

- 13.25. The death of Sir William Johnson (O'Toole 2005:316-323; Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:635-646). The Confederacy policy of sitting on their mats held (Graymont 1972:48-53). "resolved to maintain peace, both with the King and the Bostonians, and receive no Ax from each either" (Graymont 1972:95).
- 13.26. Six Nations divided during the American Revolution, and the Battle of Oriskany marked the beginning of an Iroquoian civil war (Graymont 1972:142).
- 13.27. Onondaga was a nation rent into three parts (Graymont 1972:192). From the Journal of Captain Thomas Machin—"the whole of their Settlement . . ." (Cook, ed. 1887:193). The council fire in Onondaga had been extinguished (Clark 1849:I:332-333).
- 13.28. In 1788 a treaty was signed at Fort Schuyler. The Americans renamed it Fort Stanwix (Taylor 2006:181). The Onondaga exchanged their claim to central New York for a modest reservation of 100 square miles (259 sq km; Taylor 2006:181). The "Military Tract" of central New York, also called the "New Military Tract," consisted of nearly two million acres (8,100 sq. km) of bounty land set aside to compensate New York's soldiers after their participation in the Revolutionary War (Taylor 2006:181). Blau et al. discuss the establishment of the reservation and subsequent land sales (1978:496-497). Nearly half of New York's revenue came from selling recently acquired Indian land (Taylor 2006:201).
- 13.29. Hostile or indifferent to the efforts of Christian missionaries. Wampum belts were returned after the Buffalo Creek Reservation lands were sold (Blau et al. 1978:496-97).
- 13.30. Many Onondaga continued to pursue seasonal activities (Tooker 1978b:463). Issues of contention (Connors et al., eds. 1986:6-10, 21-26).
- 13.31. Report of the Special Committee to Investigate the "Indian Problem" of the State of New York, commonly known as the Whipple Report, was published in two volumes (1889). "just so long as they [the Onondaga] are permitted . . ." (Connors et al., eds. 1986:9; Whipple 1889:1(1):45).
- 13.32. Seat of an activist "Grand Council" (Powless 2016:56). "the seventh generation" (Powless 2016:37).

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Frontispiece. Photograph of the Pine Tree, or Hiawatha, Wampum Belt. Courtesy of Onondaga Nation People of the Hills—Wampum, <u>https://www.</u> <u>onondaganation.org/culture/wampum/</u>, accessed 1/20/20.

#### **Chapter One**

- **Title image**. Pine tree drawing by William Rohrbeck from the dust jacket for *Indians in Pennsylvania* (Wallace:1961).
- Figure 1.1. John Reid, cartographer, and William Winterbotham. *The state of New York*. John Reid (publisher), New York, 1796. Map. Online database– Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, <u>https://www.loc.gov/</u> <u>item/2018590097/</u>, accessed 6/13/18.
- Figure 1.2. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on USGS 15-minute quad maps for Tully, 1897, and Cazenovia, 1899, NY.
- Figure 1.3. Clark 1849:I:Frontispiece.

Figure 1.4. Clark 1849:II:280.

- Figure 1.5. "Map of Ho-de-no-sau-nee-ga or the territories of the People of the Long House in 1720, exhibiting the home country of the Iroquois with the aboriginal names of their villages, lakes, rivers, streams & amp; ancient localities, and the courses of their principal trails," map by Lewis Henry Morgan, 1851, Sage and Brother, Albany, NY, engraved on stone by R.H. Pease. A copy is in the Manuscript and Rare Book Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University. Online database—Courtesy of the Beinecke Library Digital Images, <u>https://brbl-media.</u> <u>library.yale.edu/images/15535629\_quarter.jpg</u>, accessed 1/16/20.
- Figure 1.6. William M. Beauchamp, *Antiquities of Onondaga*, 10 volumes, unpublished manuscript and notebooks, 1879-1904. Photograph courtesy of the Research & Collections, Division of Archaeology, NYSM, Albany, NY.
- **Figure 1.7**. Photograph courtesy of the Research & Collections, Division of Archaeology, NYSM, Albany, NY.

Figure 1.8. Fenton 1940:179, Figure 11.

Figure 1.9. NYSM 2019.14.2.

- **Figure 1.10**. Wallace 1961. The illustrator William Rohrbeck, deceased 1992, was a supervising artist for the State of Pennsylvania.
- Figure 1.11. JR:5:Illustration II.
- Figure 1.12. RMSC 39.400.1.
- Figure 1.13. Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:Frontispiece.
- Figure 1.14. Tooker, ed. 1994:Plate 1.
- **Figure 1.15**. MacGregor 1983:111 Figure 2. Tradescant Collection AN1685 B.133 9, Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK.
- **Figure 1.16**. Engraving attributed to Theodor de Bry is in *America (Historia Americae sive Novi Orbis)* by Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry, Part VIII, Frankfurt, Germany, 1634, p. 7, Plate V. This image is from a copy of the book at the British Museum, London, UK, G.6631, Plate V, held by Alburn/ Alamy Stock Photo; R52thp. Courtesy of Alamy Inc., Brooklyn, NY.
- **Figure 1.17**. Michael J. Leahy, deceased 1979, created a collection of photographs of New Guinea on his expedition in 1933. This image is from the National Library of Australia, Canberra. Online database— National Library of Australia digitized item, <u>http://</u><u>nla.gov.au/nla.obj-141344932</u>, accessed 4/1/14.

### **Chapter Two**

- **Title image.** Drawing of a Five Nations longhouse by Gwen Gillette, courtesy of the Research & Collections, Division of Archaeology, NYSM, Albany, NY.
- Figure 2.1. Used with permission from Ian Wallace.
- Figure 2.2. Redrawn by MK Bradley (Sabo 2012).
- Figure 2.3. (a) RMSC 36.359.14, (b) RMSC 36.359.1.
- **Figure 2.4**. (a) Willoughby 1935:169, Figure 94, (b) Cadzow 1934: 30-31, Chart II; Nevin 2004:253, Figure 14.10e, (c) Bouck and Richardson 2007:16-17, Figure 12, (d) Hedden 1991:42, (e) Cooper 2005:65-66, Figure 5a, (f) RFC #11001/231, (g) Hart 1978:72-73, Figures 91, 92. All figures redrawn by MK Bradley.
- Figure 2.5. (a) Cadzow 1934:30-31, Chart II; Nevin 2004:253, Figure 14.7, (b) Vastokas and Vastokas 1973:96, Figure 29a, (c) Drawing of NYSM 16079, courtesy of Edmund S. Carpenter, (d) Abel 1984, Figure 1.
- **Figure 2.6.** (a) *Antiquities* 1:#1172; Beauchamp 1897:36, Figure 69. (b) *Antiquities* 1:#965; Beauchamp 1897:35-36, Figure 68.
- **Figure 2.7**. This figure is by JW and MK Bradley. All others with the same map as its base were derived from a topographical map of North America by Jeff Boudreau, 9/16/11. He enhanced the rivers.
- **Figure 2.8**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Clark's map of Onondaga County, 1848 (1849:I:Frontispiece).
- Figure 2.9. Used with permission from L. F. Tantillo.

Digital reconstruction modified by MK Bradley. **Figure 2.10**. RMSC 37.332.25.

**Figure 2.11**. (a) Hedden 2004:327-328, Figure 19.3, ca. 3,000-2,200 years ago, (b) Arsemault 2004:355-356, Figure 20.7, ca. 2,500 years ago, (c) Cadzow 1934:32, Chart III; Nevin 2004:252, Figure 14.6, (d) Vastokas and Vastokas 1973:55-59, Plate 14.

Figure 2.12. (a) Lenik 2002:188, Figure 158, (b) Willoughby 1935:89, Figure 49e, (c) Beardsley 2013:46, Figure 7, (d) Moorehead 1917:62, Figure 37, (e) Lenik 2002:226-227, Figure 185, (f) Oxford site, Talbot County, MD, ca. 1300 years ago, courtesy of Darrin Lowery, (g) Lenik 2002:236-237, Figure 193. All figures redrawn by MK Bradley.

Figure 2.13. (a) RSPM #94.11.1; Bradley 2005:65 Plate 5e, (b) Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XXXIX Figure 56.

Figure 2.14. Used with permission from Ian Wallace.

Figure 2.15. RMSC 36.359.9.

Figure 2.16. RMSC 37.488.1.

Figure 2.17. Used with permission from Ian Wallace.

Figure 2.18. Foster 1974:106-107, Figure 7.

Figure 2.19. RMSC 37.332.27.

Figure 2.20. RMSC 35.220.1.

**Figure 2.21**. Courtesy of the NYSM, Research & Collections, Division of Archaeology, Albany, NY.

Figure 2.22. RMSC 36.359.4.

**Figure 2.23**. Map by JW and MK Bradley.

### **Chapter Three**

**Title images.** Three traditional high-value materials from sixteenth-century Onondaga sites—marineshell gorget (Bradley 2005:Plate 6i), copper spiral (Bradley 2005:Figure 7), and red-stone pendant (RFC 5028/101).

Figure 3.1. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 3.2, 3.5, and on Hoffman 1994, Milner et al. 2001, Smith 2000, Trigger 1987:Plate 33.

Figure 3.2. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Note 3.5 and on Milanich 1994, Milner et al. 2001, Smith 2000, Trigger 1987:Plate 33.

Figure 3.3. Bradley 2006:15, Table 2.1.

**Figure 3.4.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Heidenreich 1987:Plate 35, Milanich 1994, Milner et al. 2001, and Moussette and Waselkov 2013.

**Figure 3.5.** Drawings by Gene Mackay from Hamell 1979—(a) Figure 8c, (b) Figure 8f, (c) Figure 8d, (d) Figure 9f, (e) Figure 9h, (f) Figure 9, (g) Figure 9o. Thank you to George Hamell for permission to reproduce these drawings.

**Figure 3.6.** (a-c) Ellis et al. 1990:Figures 4.28K, 4.28J, 4.28I, (d) drawing by MK Bradley based on Ritchie 1969:Plate 60 #15.

Figure 3.7. Drawing by MK and JW Bradley.

Figure 3.8. Bradley 2011:27, Figure 1.

Figure 3.9. Drawing by MK and JW Bradley.

**Figure 3.10.** Illustration isolated from Lafitau 1974 [1724]:I:6, Plate III.

Figure 3.11. Map by JW and MK Bradley. Illustrations from (a) Vastokas and Vastokas 1973:106, Figure 34, (b) Burkett and Kaufman 2005:34, Figure 6, (c) Cadzow 1934:27, #52, (d) Willoughby 1935:169, Figure 94.

Figure 3.12. Drawing by MK Bradley, after Hamell 1979.

**Figure 3.13.** (a) Ritchie 1944:308, Plate 161, (b) courtesy of Michael Beardsley.

Figure 3.14. (a) *Antiquities* 1:#636, (b) NYSM 32103; *Antiquities* 1:#1231, (c) *Antiquities* 5:#1503.

Figure 3.15. (a & b) Courtesy of Michael Beardsley, (c) RFC 11018/235.

**Figure 3.16**. (a) NYSM A2009.35K.99.33, (b) NYSM 31925; *Antiquities* 7:#617, (c) NYSM 31834; *Antiquities* 7:#616, #676, (d) NYSM 31830; *Antiquities* 6: #940. Photographs by John Yost, courtesy of the NYSM, Albany, NY.

Figure 3.17. (a) NYSM 31927; Antiquities 9:#788, (b) NYSM 31911; Antiquities 7:#613, #675, (c) NYSM 31889; Antiquities 7:#1273, (d) NYSM 31891; Antiquities 7:#620. Photographs by John Yost, courtesy of the NYSM, Albany, NY.

Figure 3.18. (a) NYSM A2017.36. (b) *Antiquities*:7:#1376, (c) RMSC AR19278, drawing by Gene Mackay, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (d) RMSC 72.34.764, drawing by Gene Mackay, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY.

**Figure 3.19**. (a) Ritchie 1949:37 Figure 10, (b) Ritchie 1965:117, Plate 40, (c) Ritchie and Funk 1973:69, Plate 29.

Figure 3.20. Ritchie and Funk 1973:iv.

Figure 3.21. Drawings by MK Bradley based on Ritchie 1965:116, Plate 39, 16-20.

Figure 3.22. Drawings by S. J. Mallery, courtesy of Jess Robinson.

**Figure 3.23**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 3.37-3.39, and 3.41. For information on shell (Kozuch et al. 2017; Lowery 2012, 2016; Trubitt 2000). For copper (Ehrhardt 2005; Gollup and Luckenbach 2013; Gunter et al. 2019; Lattanzani 2007)

Figure 3.24. Drawings courtesy of William Fox.

**Figure 3.25.** (a & b) Drawings by S. J. Mallery, courtesy of Jess Robinson, (c) Dragoo 1963:145, Figure 8A.

Figure 3.26. (a) *Antiquities* 3:#150, (b) *Antiquities* 2:#220, (c) *Antiquities* 2:#321, (d) NYSM 31717; Moorehead 1917:209, Figure 163 #2, (e) NYSM 31716; Moorehead 1917:207, Figure 162 #1.

Figure 3.27. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on—(a & b) Henning 2007:76, Figure 6.3, (c) Bluhm and Liss 1961:123, Figure 63b; Brown and O'Brien 1990:71, Figure 4.4, (d) Conway 1984, (e) Williamson and Robertson 1998:106, Figure 32a, (f) Munson and Pollock 2012, (g) NYSM 27416, (h) RFC 5028/101.

Figure 3.28. (a) NYSM 30948; Snow 1995b:104, Figure 16.11, (b) NYSM A2002.32AA.18.8, (c) NYSM A2009.07.AZ.99.39, (d) RMSC 72.34.381; Bradley 2005:68 Plate 6g, (e) RMSC AR 39901; Bradley 2005:68,

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## Figure Credits

Plate 6i. Photographs (a-c) by John Yost, courtesy of the NYSM, Albany, NY,

Figure 3.29. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 3.56-3.58. For information on shell (Smith 2017). For copper (Abel and Burke 2014; Dussubieux et al. 2008; Fitzgerald et al. 1993; Fox et al. 1995; Petersen et al. 2004). For brass (Bradley 1979, 2005a).

Figure 3.30. Bradley 2005:71 Figure 7.

- Figure 3.31. (a) NYSM A2009.35K.99.29.1 and NYSM A2009.35K.99.30.1, (b) NYSM A2009.13B.99.15, (c) NYSM A2009.35K.99.29b, (d) RFC 5028/101, (e) NYSM 27416. Photographs by John Yost, courtesy of the NYSM, Albany, NY.
- Figure 3.32. Antiquities 10:#551-553.
- Figure 3.33. (a) RFC 10026/217; Bradley 2005:124, Figure 10e, (b) RFC 815/28. Drawings by Gene Mackay, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY.
- **Figure 3.34.** (a) Fitzgerald 1982:223-224, Figures 36, 58 #8, (b) Kent 1984:204, Figure 51 lower left, (c left) Kent 1984:204, Figure 51, (c right) drawing by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 3.35.** (a-c) Drawings by JW and MK Bradley, (d & e) drawings by MK Bradley based on Egan 2005:Figure 87.
- **Figure 3.36**. (a) Drawing by MK Bradley based on Wray et al. 1987:454-455, Figure 3-23, (b) drawing by MK Bradley based on Dragoo 1963:159, Plate 51, (c) NYSM 15654, (d) Hamell 1979:Figure 91.
- **Figure 3.37**. (a) Hagerty 1963:97, Figure 2, (b & c) Bradley 2005:151, Figure 17.
- Figure 3.38. Bradley 2005:147, Figure 16.
- Figure 3.39. Above, NYSM A2017.56.33, below, Bradley collection NYSM.
- **Figure 3.40.** (a) Photograph courtesy of Paul Huey, (b) Gelder 1965:124, Figure 95.
- Figure 3.41. Fenton and Moore, eds. 1977:II:295.
- Figure 3.42. Beauchamp 1901:Plate 16 #188.

Figure 3.43. Beauchamp 1901:Plate 25.

**Figure 3.44**. (a) RFC 3365/24, (b) RFC 3364/24, (c) RFC 577/100. Drawings by MK Bradley.

#### **Chapter Four**

- **Title images.** Selections from the title page for *Le Grand Voyage Du Pays des Hurons,* by the Récollect friar Gabriel Sagard, Paris, 1632 (Figure 4.5; Wrong, ed. 1939:Frontispiece.)
- **Figure 4.1**. Artist Ivan Kocsis, deceased 2008, was also an amateur archaeologist and historian. Drawing courtesy of William Fitzgerald.
- **Figure 4.2.** Frontispiece from *Jerome Nadal's* 1595 book *"Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia"*, the 1595 edition reprinted from an engraving of the title page of the 1593 edition (MacDonnell, 1998 [1595]).

Figure 4.3. Used with permission from L. F. Tantillo.

Figure 4.4. Preparatory study for a lost ceiling painting from the Jesuit Church, St. Charles Borromeo, Antwerp, Belgium, in the collection of the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY, 195214. Courtesy of the Albright-Knox Art gallery/Art Resource. NY.

- Figure 4.5. G. Wrong, ed. 1939:Frontispiece.
- Figure 4.6. JR 8:201.
- Figure 4.7. JR 5:Frontispiece.
- Figure 4.8. JR 35:Frontispiece.
- **Figure 4.9**. Chasuble embroidered by hand, ca. 1724, NAC 2008.296.1 in the Museum of the Ursulines of Québec. Photograph courtesy of Pôle culturel du Monastère Ursulines, Québec, QC.
- Figure 4.10. MacDonnell 1998 [1595]:Plate v.
- Figure 4.11. Clark 1849:II:147.
- **Figure 4.12.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based in part on Heidenreich 1987, Richter 1992:Map 4, Milner et al. 2001, Moussette and Waselkov 2013.
- Figure 4.13. Gagnon 1975:125, Planches 11, 23.
- Figure 4.14. Drawing by Francesco Giuseppe Bressani in Novae Franciae accurata delineatio. Macerata, Italy, 1657. Map. Online database—Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, <u>https:// www.loc.gov/item/00561829</u>, accessed June 21, 2019.
- Figure 4.15. Beauchamp 1901:#237.
- **Figure 4.16.** Original map by François du Creux in *Historiæ canadensis, seu Novæ-Franciæ libri decem, ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI,* 1664, published by Sebastianum Cramoisy et Sebastianum Mabre-Cramoisy, Paris. Map between pages 46-47. Filmed from a copy of the original publication held by the Library of the Public Archives of Canada, and colored by MK Bradley. Online database—The Internet Archive, <u>https://archive.org/details/cihm\_47682/</u> page/n85, accessed July 22, 2019.
- **Figure 4.17.** Original drawing by François du Creux in *Historiæ canadensis, seu Novæ-Franciæ libri decem, ad annum usque Christi MDCLVI,* 1664, published by Sebastianum Cramoisy et Sebastianum Mabre-Cramoisy, Paris. Illustration after page 71. Filmed from a copy of the original publication held by the Library of the Public Archives of Canada. Online database—The Internet Archive, <u>https://archive.org/ details/cihm\_47682/page/n127</u>, accessed July 22, 2019.
- Figure 4.18. Brush and Dilyard 2005:66, Figure 4.
- **Figure 4.19**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based in part on Heidenreich 1987, Richter 1992:Map 4.
- Figure 4.20. NYCD:9:48-49.
- **Figure 4.21.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based in part on Heidenreich 1987, Richter 1992: Map 4.
- Figure 4.22. NYCD 9:45, 47.
- **Figure 4.23**. Map from JR 49:Facing 266, colored by MK Bradley.

#### **Chapter Five**

- Title images. (Left) Beauchamp 1901a:#159, (center) Baart 2005:85:Figure 13, (right) Beauchamp 1901a:#161).
- **Figure 5.1**. Plan courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, modified by MK Bradley.

- Figure 5.2. Plan courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, modified by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 5.3**. Susquehannock Strickler site is in Lancaster County, PA (Kent 1984:350, Figure 98). Plan modified by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 5.4**. (a) NYSM A2017.56.32, (b) NYSM A2017.56.33. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 5.5. Drawings by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 5.6. (a) NYSM A2017.56.1, (b) NYSM A2017.56.2, (c) NYSM A2017.56.3, (d) NYSM A2017.56.4. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 5.7. (a) NYSM A2017.56.5, (b) NYSM A2017.56.6, drawing by Gordon DeAngelo, (c) NYSM A2017.56.7, (d) NYSM A2017.56.8, (e) NYSM A2017.56.9. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 5.8. (a) RFC 6242/24, drawing by Patricia Miller,
  (b) Puype 1997:209, Figure 104, (c) RFC 10147/217,
  drawing by Patricia Miller, (d) Puype 1997:218, Figure 121, (e) NYSM 35159, drawing by MK Bradley, (f)
  NYSM 35159, drawing by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 5.9.** (a) Bradley 2006:118, Figure 4.32a, (b) Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figures 2a, 2b, (c) Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figure 2g, (d) Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figures 5a-e.
- **Figure 5.10**. (a) NYSM A2017.56.10, (b) Haberle 5987-20, drawing by Gordon DeAngelo (c) Gifford collection, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (d) NYSM A2017.56.12, (e) NYSM A2017.56.11, (f) private collection, drawing by Gordon DeAngelo. Photographs a, c-e by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 5.11. Bradley 2006:122, Figure 4.34.
- **Figure 5.12**. (a-c) knife-blade-style drawings by Jeff Boudreau, (d) Fitzgerald 1990:Figure 58, (e & f) Fitzgerald 1990:Figure 61.
- Figure 5.13. (a) NYSM A2017.56.13, (b) NYSM A2017.56.14. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.
- **Figure 5.14**. (a-d) NYSM A2017.56.15–A2017.56.18, (e) NYSM A2017.56.19, (f) NYSM A2017.56.20. Drawings by Jeff Boudreau.

**Figure 5.15**. Page 2004:242, Figure 12.

**Figure 5.16**. Beads from the second Two Roses glasshouse, photographs courtesy of Amsterdam Historical Museum, Department of Archaeology, Amsterdam, Netherlands. Beads from Lot 18 and Indian Castle (NYSM A2012.56, A2012.05C), photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 5.17. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

- **Figure 5.18.** (a) RFC 10019/219, (b) Puype 1997:Figure 125, (c) private collection, (d) Puype 1997:Figure 132.
- **Figure 5.19**. Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figures 2h, 3a, 5d, 6a, 6c.
- Figure 5.20. (a) RFC 10015/219, (b) NYSM 15270, (c) Gifford collection, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (d) Antiquities 10:#562, (e) Antiquities 10:#555.
- Figure 5.21. (a) NYSM A2012.05C.43, (b) NYSM A2017.55.1, (c) NYSM A2012.05C.64, (d) NYSM A2012.05C.68, (e) NYSM 32221.A, (f) NYSM 32221.B, 780

(g) NYSM 32228, (h) NYSM 32221.B, (i) NYSM 32212.B. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

- **Figure 5.22**. (a) Rick et al. 2011:161-162, Figure 6H, courtesy of Darrin Lowery, (b) Bradley, 2005a:Plate 6i, (c) Schmitt 1952:Plate 23e, (d) NYSM 21141.
- Figure 5.23. (a) NYSM 32812, (b) NYSM 32311, (c) Gifford collection, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (d) NYSM 20998.
- Figure 5.24. (a) Haberle 2350-3, (b) Haberle 662-3, (c) NYSM A2012.05C.67, (d) NYSM A2012.05C.65, (e) Gifford collection, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (f) NYSM A2012.05C.66, (g) Beauchamp 1903:#309. Drawings (a-h) by Jeff Boudreau.
- **Figure 5.25**. (a) NYSM A2017.56.21, (b) NYSM A2017.56.22, (c) NYSM A2017.56.23, (d) NYSM A2017.56.24. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.
- **Figure 5.26.** (a) private collection, (b) private collection, (c) RMSC AR1382, (d) RFC 815/28. Drawings by MK Bradley.
- Figure 5.27. (a) left–RFC 6000/28, drawing by Gene Mackay, courtesy of RFC, Rochester NY, right–Hamell 1978:Plate 5B, (b) left and center–Kinsey 1989:Figure 6, right–Kinsey 1989:Figure 7.
- **Figure 5.28.** Courtesy of the North Museum, Lancaster, PA.
- Figure 5.29. (a) La3/54, courtesy of the William Penn Museum, Harrisburg, PA, (b) #CF3 -112952-2, courtesy of the North Museum, Lancaster, PA, (c) HS-70-4/Mus 2947, courtesy of the North Museum, Lancaster, PA.
- **Figure 5.30**. (a) RFC 6706/100, (b) Bennett 1984:Plate 7, Figure 4.
- Figure 5.31. Drawings by JW and MK Bradley.
- Figure 5.32. Courtesy of Tyree and Helen Tanner.
- **Figure 5.33**. (a) Drawings by MK Bradley of Rosebrough et al. 2012:63, Figure 36, (b) NYSM 20921.
- Figure 5.34. (a) NYSM A2012.05B.49, (b) NYSM A2017.56.25, (c) NYSM A2012.05C.1, (d) NYSM A2017.56.27, (e) NYSM A2017.56.26. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.
- **Figure 5.35**. (a) NYSM A2017.56.28, (b) private collection, (c) Haberle 4999-20, (d) NYSM A-74746.1.
- Figure 5.36. (a) Drawing by MK Bradley after Sempowski and Saunders 2001:I:258, Figure 3-198, (b) RFC 5267/94, graphite drawing by Gene Mackay, courtesy of RFC, Rochester, NY, (c) NYCD 9:48-51, (d) NYSM 15199.4; Antiquities 5: #1406; Beauchamp 1903:26, #268.
- **Figure 5.37**. (a) NYSM A2017.56.29, (b) NYSM A2017.56.29, (c) NYSM A2017.56.30. Photographs and drawing by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 5.38. (a) Beauchamp 1903:#273, (b) RFC 6001/217; Bradley 2005a:Figure 18a, (c) Beauchamp 1903:#291, (d) Bradley 1979:Figure 11b.
- **Figure 5.39**. (a) RFC 6128/28, (b) RFC 1726/99, (c) RFC 4045/28. Drawings by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 5.40**. (a) RFC 612/100, (b) RFC 3889/28. Drawings

by MK Bradley.

**Figure 5.41**. Drawings by Patricia Miller, Courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY.

**Figure 5.42**. (a) Courtesy of the North Museum, Lancaster, PA, (b) Gifford collection, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.

Figure 5.43. Courtesy of Tyree and Helen Tanner.

**Figure 5.44.** (a) RFC 11119/250; Bradley 2005a:Figure10a, (b) *Antiquities* 10:#580, (c) NYSM 31870.

**Figure 5.45**. (a) *Antiquities* 10:#572, (b) NYSM 31907, (c) NYSM 31922.

**Figure 5.46**. (a) NYSM A2017.56.31, (b) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 5.47. NYSM 31802, photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 5.48. (a) NYSM 31808, (b) Moorehead 1910:II:Figure 461, (c) Moorehead 1910:II:Figure 481, (d) NYCD 9:47, Figure O, text 50.

Figure 5.49. (a) NYSM A-31799; Beauchamp 1897:4(18):#103, (b) NYSM 31813; *Antiquities* 1:#36. Photograph by John Yost, courtesy of the NYSM, Albany, NY.

**Figure 5.50**. (a) RFC 88/99, (b & c) Eugene Winter personal communication, 5/14/91, (d) NYSM A2005.13BJ.99.19.4, (e) Willoughby 1935:Figure 130.

**Figure 5.51**. (a) NYSM 31801, photographs by Jeff Boudreau, (b) West 1934:II:Plate 149 #3, drawing by Jeff Boudreau.

**Figure 5.52**. (a) Anselmi 2004:Plate 105, (b) Kenyon 1982:Figure 136, (c) RFC 307/29, drawing by MK Bradley, (d) *Antiquities* 7:#1479, (e) *Antiquities* 3:#500.

### **Chapter Six**

Title images. The start of an imperial era—(left) Charles II coronation medal, used by permission from Sovereign Rarities Ltd., 32 St. George Street, London W1S 2EA UK, (center) cast-brass ring with a Sun King motif, Indian Hill site, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (right) King James II coin. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.</u> <u>php?curid=423210</u>, accessed 1/29/20.

**Figure 6.1**. Used with permission from L. F. Tantillo.

**Figure 6.2**. The original painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud is in the Department of Paintings of the Louvre, Paris, France. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early</u> <u>modern\_France#/media/File:Louis\_XIV\_of\_France.</u> jpg, accessed 3/13/18.

**Figure 6.3**. The original painting by John Michael Wright is in the National Portrait Gallery, London, UK. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles\_II\_of\_ England#/media/File:King\_Charles\_II\_by\_John\_ Michael\_Wright\_or\_studio.jpg, accessed 3/13/18.

**Figure 6.4.** Claude François (Frère Luc; Morisset 1966 (2016). The original painting by Claude François is in the Monastère des Augustines de l'Hôtel-Dieu-de-

Québec, Québec, Canada. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/</u> <u>wiki/File:Portrait\_de\_Jean\_Talon\_(éclaircie).jpg</u>, accessed 3/13/18.

Figure 6.5. The original painting by Henri Gascar is in the King's Presence Chamber in the Queen's House, Greenwich, UK. This image is JP91D2; mauritius images GmbH/Alamy Stock Photo. Courtesy of Alamy Inc., Brooklyn, NY.

**Figure 6.6**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 6.17, 6.18 and on Heidenreich 1987, Milner et al. 2001, Moussette and Waselkov 2013, Gallay 2002:42, Richter 1922: Map 5).

**Figure 6.7.** Ĥarris, ed. 1987:Plate 49, View of Montréal, from Cartes Marines 105 (Ayer MS Map 110).

Figure 6.8. Gagnon 1975:Planche 13.

Figure 6.9. Gagnon 1975:Planche 12.

**Figure 6.10**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 6.40-6.45 and on Heidenreich 1987:Plate 38.

Figure 6.11. Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XX Figure 30.

**Figure 6.12.** Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XXII Figure 39, modified by MK Bradley.

Figure 6.13. Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:Planche 3; JR 63:151

**Figure 6.14**. The original painting by Mary Beale is at the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, VA. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://www.wikiart.org/en/mary-beale/portrait-of-sir-edmund-andros-1637-1714/</u>, accessed 3/13/18.

Figure 6.15. NYCD:9:48-49 Figure G.

**Figure 6.16.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 6.61-6.63 and on Heidenreich 1987:Plate 38, Moussette and Waselkov 2013, Gallay 2002:76.

Figure 6.17. Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate V Figure 9.

Figure 6.18. Map by Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:156-157, colored by MK Bradley.

**Figure 6.19.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 6.81-6.84 and on Heidenreich 1987:Plate 38.

Figure 6.20. (a) NYCD:9:48-49 Figure A, (b) Fenton and Moore, eds. 1977:I:320, Plate XIII, (c) Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate LXXIV.

### **Chapter Seven**

**Title images.** (Left) marine-shell birdman figure, Seneca Rochester Junction site, RFC 245/29, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (center) photograph of a cast-pewter *putto* figure, Indian Hill site, NYSM A2017.55.11, (right) pipestone pendant with incised lines, H. E. Ransier collection, OHA, Syracuse, NY. Photograph by Jeff Boudreau.

**Figure 7.1.** Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, modified by MK Bradley.

**Figure 7.2.** (a) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (b) drawing of reconstruction by MK Bradley based on Heidenreich 1971:Figure 9.

Figure 7.3. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Note7.14 and on Adams 1986, Heidenreich 1987:Plate 38,<br/>Konrad 1981, Richter 1992.781

Figure 7.4. Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate LXXIV.

**Figure 7.5.** (a & b) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (c) RFC 6167/177. Drawings by JW Bradley.

**Figure 7.6**. (a) Haberle 4010-2; Bradley 1980:Figure 1e, 1f, (b) NYSM A2017.55.7, (c) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (d) NYSM A2017.55.8.

Figure 7.7. Bradley and DeAngelo 1981: Figures 3b, 3c.

**Figure 7.8**. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

**Figure 7.9.** (a) Puype 1985:12, 1997:Figure 130, (b) Puype 1985:12, 1997:Figure 132, (c) NYSM 74744.2, (d) Puype 1985:58, 1997:Figure 142, (e) RFC 10282/216.

**Figure 7.10.** (a) Bradley 2006:Figure 5.33 Ia, (b) NYSM 15199.1, (c) NYSM 15199.3, (d) RFC 6076/98.

**Figure 7.11.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 7.43, 7.44 and on Heidenreich 1987.

Figure 7.12. NYSM A2017.55.9.

**Figure 7.13**. (a) Gifford 1957, (b) Lincklaen collection Lo1999.245.005, courtesy of Lorenzo State Historic Park, Cazenovia, NY, (c) Haberle collection, (d) private collection.

**Figure 7.14**. (a) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (b) NYSM A2017.55.10, (c & d) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (e) NYSM A2017.55.11.

**Figure 7.15**. Tradescant Collection AN 1685 B.370, courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, UK.

**Figure 7.16.** (a) NYSM A2017.55.12, (b) RFC 10235/216, (c) RFC 10019/216, (d) RFC 10234/216.

Figure 7.17. (a) NYSM 38844.1.15, (b) RFC 10233/216, (c) RFC 10024/216, (d) RFC 10257/216, (e) RFC 10258/216.

**Figure 7.18**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 7.67, 7.69, 7.70—(left) RFC 704/28, (right) NYSM 21740

Figure 7.19. (a) NYSM A2017.55.1, (b) NYSM A2017.55.2, (c) NYSM A2017.55.3, (d) NYSM A2017.55.4, (e) NYSM A2017.55.5.

Figure 7.20. (a) NYSM A2017.55.13, (b) NYSM A2017.55.14, (c) NYSM A2017.55.15, A2017.55.16, (e.) NYSM A2017.55.17, (f) NYSM A2017.55.18. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 7.21. (a) NYSM A2017.55.19, (b) NYSM A2017.55.20. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 7.22. (a) Gifford collection #258, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (b) NYSM A2017.55.21, (c) Gifford collection #1407, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (d) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (e) RFC 10188/216.

Figure 7.23. NYSM 1785. Photograph by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 7.24. (a) NYSM A2017.55.22, (b) NYSM A2017.55.23, (c) NYSM A2017.55.24, (d) NYSM A2017.55.25, (e) NYSM A2017.55.26, (f) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (g) H. E. Ransier collection, OHA, Syracuse, NY. Photographs by Jeff Boudreau.

Figure 7.25. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes

7.84-7.86.

**Figure 7.26**. (a) NYSM A2017.55.27, (b-d) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide. Profiles drawn by JW Bradley.

**Figure 7.27.** (a) RFC 10075/216, (b) RFC 10311/216.

Figure 7.28. (a) Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XXI Figure 35, (b) Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XXI Figure 37, (c) Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XVIII Figure 24.

Figure 7.29. (a) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (b) Gifford collection #616, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (c) Lincklaen collection, courtesy of the Lorenzo State Historic Park, Cazenovia, NY, (d) RFC 10073/216, (e) RFC 10072/216, (f) Peterson 1965:101, #102.

Figure 7.30. (a) NYSM 15197.1, (b) top, NYSM 15197.2, middle, NYSM 15197.3, bottom, NYSM 15197.6, (c) NYSM 15199.2, (d) NYSM A2017.55.6.

**Figure 7.31**. (a) RFC 794/28, drawing by MK Bradley, (b) Duco 2003:#160, (c) McBride et al. 1975:241, Figure 3.

**Figure 7.32**. (a) RFC 3888/28, (b) RFC 1194/29, (c) RFC 2388/103. Drawings by MK Bradley.

Figure 7.33. Lincklaen collection—(a) Lo1999.256, (b) Lo1999.248, (c) Lo1999.25. Courtesy of Lorenzo State Historic Park, Cazenovia, NY,

**Figure 7.34**. (a) NYSM 71488, (b) Waterbury collection #62, RFC 110/220, (c) NYSM 31825.

Figure 7.35. Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate VII Figure 11.

Figure 7.36. (a) RFC 10206/216, (b) RFC 10198/216.

**Figure 7.37**. (a) RFC 10204/216, (b) Cordier Auctions & Appraisers online catalog for Lot 405, sold 11/12-13/16, Harrisburg, PA, (c) RFC 2124/103, (d) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.

**Figure 7.38.** (a) Private collection, drawing by Gene Mackay, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (b) RFC 10103/216.

Figure 7.39. (a & b) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (c) NYSM 20938; *Antiquities* 7:#1469.

Figure 7.40. (a) NYSM A2017.55.17, (b) NYSM A2017.55.28, (c) NYSM A2017.55.26, (d) NYSM A2017.55.23, (e) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.

Figure 7.41. Gagnon, ed. 2011:Plate XI Figure 15.

Figure 7.42. (a) RFC 3890/28, (b) RFC 3891/28. Drawings by MK Bradley.

**Figure 7.43**. (a) NYSM 15862, (b) NYSM 31800; *Antiquities* 1:#48, (c) *Antiquities* 1:#20.

Figure 7.44. (a) Private collection, photograph by Jeff Boudreau, (b) RMSC AR7.1.07/18440, (c) Tooker 1994:Plate 11, (d) Parker 1912:Figure 60a.

Figure 7.45. (a) RFC 10196/216, (b) RFC 10103/216, (c) RFC 10113/216, (d) NYSM 21161, (e) RFC 245/29, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (f) Lincklaen collection Lo1999.344, courtesy of Lorenzo State Historic Park, Cazenovia, NY.

**Figure 7.46**. (a) Original painting by Claude François (Frère Luc) is in the Collection of the Monastère des Augustines, Chapelle de l'Hôpital Général, Québec City. Online database—Canadian Online Art Book Project, <u>https://www.aci-iac.ca/art-books/</u> <u>louis-nicolas/significance-and-critical-issues/</u> <u>Claude-Francois (Frère Luc)</u>, accessed 6/27/19, (b) photograph by JW Bradley, Honfleur, France, 2013.

- Figure 7.47. (a) RFC 74/103, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (b) RFC 5284/28, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (c) Note 7.159; Carruthers 2007:Figure 8, (d) Note 7.159; photograph courtesy of Michael Galban, (e) Dewdney and Kidd 1962:81; Rajnovich 1994:Figure 6; Agawa pictographs, Lake Superior Provincial Park, Ontario. Photograph taken by "twurdemann." Online database – Flickr. com, <u>https://www.flickr.com/photos/68678468@</u> <u>N06/29950113670</u>, accessed 6/27/19.
- Figure 7.48. (a) Etching by Jacques Callot, published by Israël Henriet, 1635. This print was a bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel in 1957 to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Creative Commons Zero license. Online database—Courtesy of metmuseum.org, <u>https://images.metmuseum.org/CRDimages/ dp/original/DP846853.jpg</u>, accessed 6/27/19, (b) the original sculpture by Jean Cargot pictured on a postcard from the Musée Sainte-Croix, Poitiers, France. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/</u> <u>File:Effigie\_en\_bois\_de\_la\_Grand%27Goule.jpg</u>, accessed 7/27/19.
- **Figure 7.49.** (a) RFC 440/29, Hamell 1979:Figure 4b, (b) RFC 6146/216, (c) NYSM 15200.1, (d) RFC 3133/29, drawing by Gene Mackay, courtesy of RFC, Rochester, NY.

## **Chapter Eight**

- Title image. Hammer and anvil, iStock illustration by Maksym Rudoi, 2018. Courtesy of iStockcom by permission, <u>https://www.istockphoto.com/vector/</u> <u>anvil-icon-on-white-background-gm1055162994-</u> <u>281941119</u>, accessed 1/30/20.
- **Figure 8.1.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Notes 6.17, 6.19, 6.61-6.63, 8.17 and on Gallay 2002, Heidenreich 1987:38, Merrell 1989; Moussette and Waselkov 2013, Myers 1924-1925.

Figure 8.2. Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:124-125.

- Figure 8.3. Antiquities 10:#957.
- Figure 8.4. The original painting by an unknown artist is at the McCord Museum, Montréal, Québec. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jacques-Rene\_de\_Brisay, Marquis\_de\_Denonville.jpg</u>, accessed 7/20/19.
- Figure 8.5. The original painting by an unknown artist is at the New York Historical Society, NY. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Colonel

Thomas\_Dongan.jpg, accessed 3/15/18.

- **Figure 8.6.** The original painting by an unknown artist is in the Archives Nationales de France, Section Outre-Mer, Dépôt des fortifications des colonies, Aix-en-Provence, France, 1685. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://upload.wikimedia. org/wikipedia/commons/5/50/Fort\_frontenac.jpg</u>, accessed 7/30/19.
- Figure 8.7. Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:254-255.
- Figure 8.8. Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:Planche 9; JR 63:193.
- **Figure 8.9.** *Carte du Pays des Irroquois*, map of Iroquois country, attributed to Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, ca. 1688. Original is in the bibliothèque historique centrale de la Marine, Paris, France. A photocopy was available at OHA, Syracuse, NY, and was colorized by MK Bradley.

Figure 8.10. NYCD 9:386.

- Figure 8.11. The original painting by Sir Godfrey Kneller is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, Scotland. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William</u> <u>III of England#/media/File:King William III of</u> <u>England, (1650-1702) (lighter).jpg</u>, accessed 7/30/19.
- **Figure 8.12.** The original engraving entitled "The Trainbands Signing Leisler's Declaration" by Alfred Fredericks, printed in 1873-1900. A copy is in the New York Public Library, NY. Online database—Courtesy of Digital Collections of America, <u>https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5e66b3e9-2803-d471-e040-e00a180654d7</u>, accessed 6/17/19.
- **Figure 8.13.** Prospect of the City of Albany in Province of New York in America attributed to Thomas Davies, probably after William Burgis (active 1717-1731). Purchased by the donor from the Hall Park McCullough estate in Bennington, VT, for the Albany Institute, Gift of Marjorie Doyle, Rockwell, 1980.17. Courtesy of the Albany Institute, Albany, NY.
- **Figure 8.14.** Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:Facing page 1. Map colored by Jeff Boudreau.
- **Figure 8.15**. Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:80-81.
- Figure 8.16. Detail from Carte de l'Amérique Septentrionnale: depuis le 25, jusqu'au 65° deg. de latt. & environ 140, & 235 deg. de longitude, by Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, King's hydrographer, Québec, Canada, 1910 [1688]. Map of North America. Online database—Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Louisiana: European Explorations and the Louisiana Purchase, <u>https://</u> www.loc.gov/item/2002622264, accessed 2/28/18.
- **Figure 8.17**. Lahontan 1905[1703]:I:247-249, 316-317.
- **Figure 8.18**. A copy of the painting by an unknown artist is shown in *Le Château Fort de Longueuil, 1698-1810,* by Louis Lemoine, Raymonde Gauthier and Claude Perrault, Société d'histoire de Longueuil, Longueuil, Quebec, 1987, p. 48a. Online database—Courtesy of

Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Charles\_Le\_Moyne\_(1656-1729).jpg</u>, accessed 3/17/18.

- Figure 8.19. The original drawing is by Christian Robert de Massy for la Fondation Lionel-Groulx, Outremont, Québec, 2016. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/Louis\_de\_Buade\_de\_Frontenac#/media/</u> <u>File:Louis\_de\_Buade, comte\_de\_Frontenac\_et\_de\_</u> <u>Palluau\_(1622-1698).jpg</u>, accessed 3/17/18.
- Figure 8.20. The original engraving entitled "Costumes de Différents Pays, 'Guerrier Iroquois'" by Jacques Grasset de Saint-Sauveur, 1797, is at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, CA. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/</u> File:Costumes\_de\_Differents\_Pays, %27Guerrier\_ <u>Iroquois%27\_LACMA\_M.83.190.373.jpg</u>, accessed 3/17/18.
- Figure 8.21. Guillet and Pothier 2005:77; The original engraving by Jean-Baptiste Scotin after a drawing by Claude-Charles le Roy de la Potherie, 1722, is at the Smithsonian Library, Washington, DC. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Histoire\_ de\_l'Amerique\_Septentrionale\_-\_divisée\_en\_quatre\_ tomes\_(1753)\_(14783593273).jpg, accessed 6/23/19.

Figure 8.22. Miller 1903 [1695]:52-53, Figure 6.

**Figure 8.23.** Description of the first belt presented to Frontenac (NYCD 4:79). The belt shown was reconstructed by Richard Hamell in 2014 using tanned deer hide, artificial sinew, and 3,315 ceramic beads (13 rows of 255 beads, 108.56 cm by 15.24 cm; NYSM 2019.14.1). Courtesy of the NYSM, Research and Collections, Division of Ethnology, Albany, NY.

Figure 8.24. Fenton and Moore, ed. 1977:II:10-11.

**Figure 8.25.** The original map may be attributed to Jean-Baptiste-Louis Franquelin, Canada, ca. 1696. Copy of the map courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide (Blau et al. 1978:Figure 2; Sohrweide 2001:Figure 2).

#### **Chapter Nine**

- Title images. New forms in both traditional and new materials—(left) elaborate shell gorget, NYSM A71454, (center) fragments from an exotic glass bottle, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, reconstructed, photographed, and drawn by Jeff Boudreau, (right) elaborate bone comb, private collection.
- **Figure 9.1.** Portion of the 1696 map shown in Figure 8.25 (Blau et al. 1978:Figure 2; Sohrweide 2001:Figure 2). Marked and rotated by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 9.2**. Excavation map (Sohrweide 2001:Figure 1). Reoriented and modified by MK Bradley
- **Figure 9.3**. Excavation map of Structure 9, the northwest bastion, and palisade (Sohrweide 2001:Figures 6). Reoriented and modified by MK Bradley

- **Figure 9.4.** (a) The original excavation map of the northwest bastion (Sohrweide 2001:Figure 5). Reference marks added to match with digital reconstruction by MK Bradley, (b & c) used with permission from by L. F. Tantillo.
- Figure 9.5. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Note 9.11 and on Heidenreich 1987, Richter 1992:Map 6.
- **Figure 9.6.** Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide. Bottle reconstructed, photographed, and drawn by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 9.7. a) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (b) Kenyon 1986:Plate 159.
- **Figure 9.8.** Doxtator collection #59. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- Figure 9.9. (a-h) Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figures 2c, 3e, 3f, 3j, 3h, 3i, 3d, 3g.
- Figure 9.10. Drawings by JW and MK Bradley.
- Figure 9.11. Bradley 2006:184, Table 6.1.
- Figure 9.12. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 9.13.** (a) Puype 1985:53,1997:Figure 136, (b) Puype 1985:62, 1997:Figure 146.
- **Figure 9.14**. (a) NYSM 74454; *Antiquities* 7:#469, pewter pipe that barely survived the 1911 Capitol fire, which destroyed much of the Museum's early collection, (b & c) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 9.15**. Tracing by JW Bradley, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- Figure 9.16. Drawings by JW and MK Bradley.
- Figure 9.17. Haberle collection.
- **Figure 9.18**. (a) Doxtator collection #19, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (b) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 9.19**. (a-c) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (d) NYSM 38844.13. Drawings by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 9.20.** (a) NYSM A70715, (b) NYSM A71454, (c & d) private collection, drawings by MK Bradley.
- Figure 9.21. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 9.22**. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide. Drawings by MK Bradley.
- Figure 9.23. (a) NYSM 38844.3, (b) NYSM 38844.15, (c) NYSM 38844.13, (d) Doxtator collection #29, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- Figure 9.24. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 9.25**. (a-f) Doxtator collection #27-31, courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- Figure 9.26. (a & b) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- Figure 9.27. (a & b) Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (c) NYSM 31824.
- **Figure 9.28.** (a) NYSM A2011.32D.66, (b) Besanson collection, courtesy of OHA, Syracuse, NY, drawing by MK Bradley, (c) Beauchamp 1897:#56, colorized by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 9.29.** (a) Besanson collection OHA 2200.52, courtesy of OHA, Syracuse NY, drawing by MK Bradley, (b) courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- Figure 9.30. (a) Haberle 4248-4, (b) Hade 2001:Figure 2,

(c) Fitzgerald 1990:Figure 69, (d) private collection, drawing by MK Bradley (e) RFC 734/29, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY; Wray 1963:Figure 2h.

Figure 9.31. (a) Reliquary by Gian Lorenzo Bernini is in St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City. A wooden chair or throne encased in a sculpted gilt and bronze casing, 1647-1653. Photograph by Dnalor 01. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chair\_of\_Saint\_ Peter#/media/File:Rom, Vatikan, Petersdom, Cathedra Petri (Bernini)\_4.jpg, accessed 7/31/19, (b) photograph courtesy of the Neville Public Museum of Brown County, Green Bay, WI; Barbeau 1957:52, (c) Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:Planche 11, (d) Moussette 2001:299, Figure 4.

**Figure 9.32**. (a) RSPM 94.11.15, courtesy of Robert S. Peabody Museum, Andover, MA; Bradley 2005a:Figure 15a, (b) Doxtator collection, #22, photograph courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.

Figure 9.33. (a) Hart 1978:133-136; Ritchie 1944:148-150, Plate 69 #4, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY; (b) Antiquities 9:#133, colorized by MK Bradley, (c) NYSM A2017.55.26, (d) Doxtator collection #23, photograph courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, (e) RMSC AR 18473; Hamell 1979:Figure 11i, (f) RMSC AR 20459; Hamell 1979:Figure 11j, (g) description of the paintings and how they occurred, and recognition of the rayed hourglass in Brant's tattoo (Hamell 1979'Figure 12b; Blackburn and Piwonka 1988:32, 84-85); Original painting of the Mohawk chief Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow (Brant) by Jan Verelst is in the National Archives of Canada, 1710. Photograph courtesy of the Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, Online database-Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, https://upload. wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/5a/ Mohawk-kings.jpg, accessed 8/1/19, (h) RMSC RFC 409/29; Hamell 1979:Figure 12e.

Figure 9.34. (a) Besanson collection, courtesy of OHA, Syracuse, NY, drawing by Jeff Boudreau, (b) private collection, drawing by MK Bradley, (c) RFC 154/103, drawing by Patricia Miller, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (d) RFC 2183/103; Hamell 1979:Figure 10a, (e) RMSC AR 523; Hamell 1979:Figure 10b.

### **Chapter Ten**

Title images. Royal monograms—(left) William and Mary of Great Britain. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://upload.wikimedia.</u> <u>org/wikipedia/commons/8/8a/Royal Monogram</u> <u>of William and Mary of Great Britain.svg</u>, accessed 11/19/19, (right) Louis XIV of France—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://upload.wikimedia.</u> <u>org/wikipedia/commons/0/0d/Royal Monogram</u> <u>of King Louis XIV of France%2C\_Variant.svg</u>, accessed 11/19/19.

- **Figure 10.1.** Engraving by Howard Pyle was originally published in *Sea Robbers of New York* by Thomas Janvier, in Harper's Magazine, NY, November 1894. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pyle</u><u>pirate\_tales.jpg</u>, accessed 6/23/19.
- **Figure 10.2**. Original watercolor by John Henry de Rinzy, ca. 1920s, is in the Library and Archives of Canada, C-013325, Kingston, Ontario. Online database— Courtesy of the Library and Archives of Canada, <u>https://www.watercolourworld.org/painting/frontenac-his-way-cataraqui-tww015c66</u>, accessed 8/7/19.
- **Figure 10.3**. Original watercolor and ink on paper by James Eights after John Miller, ca. 1850, is in the Albany Institute of History & Art, Albany, NY. Photograph courtesy of the Albany Institute of History & Art Library, MAP 1, DI 500.

Figure 10.4. Original engraving after a drawing by Louis-Armand de Lom D'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, is in *Nouveaux voyages de Mr. le baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, Volume 2, Memoires de l'Amérique septentrionale, La Haye: Frères l'Honoré, Amsterdam, 1703. Illustration FC71 L3 1703b. p. 101. Also in translation (Lahontan 1905[1703]:II:187). Online database— Library and Archives of Canada, <u>http://www.</u> <u>collectionscanada.gc.ca/earlyimages/026017-119.0-e.php?&image\_id\_nbr=106&brws\_</u> <u>s=1&&PHPSESSID=sco4e34seg64m861rc1m3#php</u>, accessed 6/17/19.

- **Figure 10.5**. Illustration by Francis Back, deceased 2017, copyright Raphaëlle & Félix Back.
- **Figure 10.6.** A copy of the engraving by Samuel Smith Kilburn is in the Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, Print Collection of The New York Public Library. Online database—Digital Collections of America, <u>http:// digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47da-324ba3d9-e040-e00a18064a99, accessed 6/17/19.</u>
- Figure 10.7. Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:Planche 10.
- Figure 10.8. Original ink and watercolor drawing by cartographer Wolfgang William Romer, ca. 1700, is in the British Library, London, UK. Map reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA. Online database—Courtesy of Digital Collections, Boston Public Library, <u>https://collections. leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:hx11z585s</u>, accessed 6/17/19.

Figure 10.9. NYCD 4:910.

**Figure 10.10**. Map by JW and MK Bradley includes an outline of the territory called the "Beaver Hunting Grounds", otherwise known as the Indian Country given to the English by the Iroquois as shown in

a map by Samuel Clowes, 1701. Map references include Brandão and Starna 2005:424-433, Figure 3, Heidenreich 1987, Kelton 2009:314, Merrill 1989: Map 1, Milanich 1994:285.

- **Figure 10.11.** Illustration by Francis Back, deceased 2017, copyright Raphaëlle & Félix Back.
- Figure 10.12. Original document is in the Archives Nationales de France, Section Outre-Mer, Aixen-Provence, 1701. Seven out of 32 pictograph signatures are shown from an illustration, p. 105, in *The Great Peace, Chronicle of a Diplomatic Saga* by Alain Beaulieu and Roland Viau, Montréal, Éditions Libre Expression, Montréal, 2001. Online database— Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons (PD–US), <u>https://</u> <u>commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grande\_Paix\_</u> <u>Montreal.jpg</u>, accessed 6/17/19.

### **Chapter Eleven**

- Title images. (Left) marine-shell raptor pendant, possibly a thunderbird, Pen site, drawing by MK Bradley after a photograph by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (center) Native-cast pewter medallion depicting a "Man on Horseback" over a cross within a dashed border, Haberle 2345-5, (right) anthropomorphic pipestone pendant, Pen site P22, RFC 11663/237, drawing by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 11.1.** (a) Schoolcraft 1846:178, (b) Clark 1849:II:277, (c) *Antiquities* 1:211.
- Figure 11.2. (a) Pratt 1963, (b) Jamison 1998.
- **Figure 11.3**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Note 11.20.
- **Figure 11.4.** (a) private collection, drawing by JW Bradley, (b) RFC 11017/237, drawing by MK Bradley after a photograph by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (c) RHS 988, drawing by MK Bradley after a photograph courtesy of Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., Rensselaer, NY,
- Figure 11.5. (a) RHS, Rome, NY, drawing by MK Bradley,(b) Hinsdale collection, Fort Ticonderoga Museum,NY.
- Figure 11.6. Bradley and DeAngelo 1981: Figure 4a-j.
- **Figure 11.7**. Bradley and DeAngelo 1981:Figures 6e, 6f, 6b, 6d, 5g, 5f, 5h.
- **Figure 11.8**. Drawings by MK Bradley after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY,
- Figure 11.9. Courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 11.10**. Drawings by MK Bradley after (a) photograph by Gilbert Hagerty, courtesy of the RHS, Rome, NY, (b) photograph courtesy of Howard C. Miller, and in situ, Tuck 1971:Plate 43 (c) photograph by Gilbert Hagerty, courtesy RHS, Rome, NY, (d) photograph, Haberle 4413-5.
- **Figure 11.11**. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Note 11.47.
- **Figure 11.12**. (a) RHS 142, drawing by MK Bradley, (b & c) RHS 1138, 1140, drawings courtesy of Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., Rensselaer, NY.

- **Figure 11.13.** (a-d) Drawings by MK Bradley after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (e) NYSM A2017.57.4, (f) NYSM A2017.57.5.
- **Figure 11.14.** Map of the Pen site cemetery according to data from Jamison (1998). Colorized by MK Bradley. Note burial 55 is missing.
- **Figure 11.15.** Map of the Pen site cemetery according to data from Jamison (1998). Colorized by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 11.16.** (a, b, d) drawings by MK Bradley after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (c) RHS 1095, drawing by MK Bradley after photograph courtesy of Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., Rensselaer, NY,
- **Figure 11.17.** (a) Slocum collection OHA 5112/59, Syracuse, NY; Beauchamp 1901:#138, (b) NYSM A2017.57.6, (c) NYSM A2017.57.7, (d) NYSM A2017.57.8, NYSM A2017.57.9.
- **Figure 11.18.** (a) drawing of RHS #1206 according to inventory notes by Thomas Jamison, 9/8/95, courtesy of Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., Rensselaer, NY, (b) RFC 15028/237, drawing by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 11.19**. (a) NYSM A2017.57.9, (b) NYSM A2017.57.10, (c) NYSM A2017.57.11, (d) NYSM A2017.57.12.
- **Figure 11.20**. (a) NYSM A2017.57.13, (b) NYSM A2017.57.14, (c) NYSM A2017.57.15, (d) NYSM A2017.57.16, (e) NYSM A2017.57.17.
- **Figure 11.21.** (a) RFC 11663/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (b) Hinsdale collection, Fort Ticonderoga Museum, NY.
- Figure 11.22. (a) RMSC AR 18574, (b) Hill collection, RFC Rochester, NY),
- Figure 11.23. Photographs courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.
- **Figure 11.24**. Private collection, photograph by Jeff Boudreau.
- Figure 11.25. (a) RFC 11123/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (b) RFC 11555/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (c) RHS 136, drawing by MK Bradley, (d) *Antiquities* 10:#991, (e) RFC 11554/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (f) RFC 11659/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (g) *Antiquities* 10:#990.
- **Figure 11.26**. (a) RFC 11553/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (b-d) drawings by MK Bradley after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (e) RFC 1009/220, drawing by MK Bradley.
- **Figure 11.27**. (a) RFC 11185/237, (b & c) RFC 11192/237. Drawings by MK Bradley after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY,
- **Figure 11.28**. (a) NYSM A2017.57.18, (b) drawing by MK Bradley after a photograph by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (c) *Antiquities* 4:#1124.
- **Figure 11.29.** (a) RHS 999, drawing by MK Bradley after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC,

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Rochester, NY, (b) Haberle 755-5.

**Figure 11.30.** (a) drawing by MK Bradley from a photograph by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (b) RFC 11082, drawing by MK Bradley, (c) RHS 993, drawing by Thomas Jamison, NAGPRA inventory sheet, 10/13/95.

**Figure 11.31**. (a) Courtesy of OHA, Syracuse, NY, drawing by MK Bradley, (b) Peterson 1956:#57, (c) Beauchamp 1902:#89.

Figure 11.32. Map of the Pen site cemetery according to data from Jamison (1998). Colorized by MK Bradley.

**Figure 11.33**. (a) RFC 11698/237, drawing by MK Bradley, (b) RHS 903, RHS 905, two pieces drawn together by MK Bradley after photographs courtesy of Hartgen Archaeological Associates, Inc., Rensselaer, NY, (c) RFC 11694/237, RFC 11695/237, drawings by MK Bradley.

**Figure 11.34.** (a) Gifford 1424, photograph courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide, with possible alignment of glass fragments by JW Bradley, (b) photograph courtesy of A. Gregory Sohrweide.

**Figure 11.35.** (a) drawing by Jeff Boudreau after a photograph by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY, (b) RFC 11661/237, drawing by Patricia Miller, (c) Haberle 2566-5.

Figure 11.36. Private collection, drawing by MK Bradley after a photograph.

Figure 11.37. Original engraving from a drawing by Louis-Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan, is in *Nouveaux voyages de Mr. le baron de Lahontan dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, first edition, La Haye: Frères l'Honoré, Amsterdam, 1703, frontispiece. The image used is from the second edition, 1728. Online database—Courtesy of Sothebys.com, <u>http://www. sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/lot.164.</u> <u>html/2012/books-manuscripts-n08919</u>, accessed 6/15/19.

**Figure 11.38.** Gagnon and Cloutier 1976:I:Planche 6; JR 63:201-203.

**Figure 11.39.** Drawings of two examples by Jeff Boudreau after photographs by Peter Pratt, courtesy of the RFC, Rochester, NY.

**Figure 11.40**. (a) RFC 11546/237, (b) RFC 11547/237, (c) RFC 155/27. Drawings by MK Bradley.

Figure 11.41. (a) Haberle 3973-5, labeled as "Christ medal, pewter, native made," (b) Haberle 2345-5, labeled as "Equestrian medal," (c) Haberle 4800-5, labeled as a "Woman medal, pewter, native made," (d) RMSC AR 18522, (e) RMSC AR 18523, (f) RMSC AR 18670.

**Chapter Twelve** 

**Title image.** Serpent side plate from a British military musket with a broad arrow stamp on the reverse, Oneida Prime's Hill site, RFC 11075/234. An identical one exists from the Onondaga Coye site, RFC 11142/238, but has not been conserved as well.

**Figure 12.1.** Lafitau 1977 [1724]:II:Plate II Figures 1, 2, 6, 8.

- Figure 12.2. (a) *Antiquities* 5:#690; Beauchamp 1902:286, Plate 18 Figure 184, (b) NYSM 32307; *Antiquities* 9:#1227, (c) drawing is attributed to Evert Wendell and was apparently in the original *To Do Justice to Him* & *Myself: Evert Wendell's Account Book of the Fur Trade* with Indians in Albany, New York, 1695-1726. The figure was not included in the translated and edited version by Kees-Jan Waterman, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA, 2008. The image herein was a detail from a page listed as from a copy of Evert Wendell's Account Book, which was to be sold on eBay, accessed by George Hamell, 1/9/11.
- Figure 12.3. Original painting by an unknown artist is in the Centre d'archives de Montréal. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds Armour Landry, p. 97. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>http://www2.ville.montreal.</u> <u>qc.ca/archives/500ans/portail\_archives\_en/rep\_ chapitre3/chap3\_theme2\_doc1\_page1.html,</u> accessed 6/9/18.
- Figure 12.4. Original painting by Henri Beau is in the Library and Archives of Canada, 1923. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippe\_de\_</u> <u>Rigaud, Marquis\_de\_Vaudreuil#/media/File:GG-Vaudreuil.jpg</u>, accessed 6/9/18.

**Figure 12.5**. Original painting is in the office of the Mayor of the City of Albany, NY (Bradley 2006:189).

Figure 12.6. Mezzotints by John Simon after paintings by Jan Verelst, ca. 1710, which are in the National Archives of Canada. The photoengraving shown is in the New York Public Library, NY, b17620536, printed 1878. Online database—Courtesy of Digital Collections of America, <u>https://digitalcollections.</u> <u>nypl.org/items/510d47e1-1a16-a3d9-e040-</u> <u>e00a18064a99</u>, accessed 8/12/19.

**Figure 12.7**. Original painting attributed to Sir Godfrey Kneller is in the New York Historical Society, NY. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons (black and white photograph of the painting), <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robert</u> <u>Hunter (governor).jpg</u>, accessed 6/9/18.

**Figure 12.8**. Images courtesy of Timothy Millet of Timothy Millet Limited, London, UK, <u>https://</u> <u>historicmedals.com/viewItem.php?no=2747&b=</u> <u>1&img=B</u>, accessed 8/12/19.

Figure 12.9. Antiquities 8:#881.

**Figure 12.10.** (Above) Drawing in Moody and Fisher 1989, *The Bulletin, Journal of the NYSAA* 1989:99:1. Online database–NY Archaeology, <u>https://</u> <u>nysarchaeology.org/download/nysaa/bulletin/</u> <u>number\_099.pdf</u>, accessed 1/30/20, (below) copy of a drawing of "Fort Hunter and Queen Anne Chapel" Online database—Courtesy of Creative Commons

(CC BY 3.0), <u>https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.</u> php?curid=32201619, accessed 1/30/20.

#### **Chapter Thirteen**

- Title image. 1794 Canandaigua Treaty belt, also known as the George Washington Belt. Digital Collections— Six Nations Public Library, <u>http://vitacollections.ca/</u> <u>sixnationsarchive/2687019/data</u>, accessed 11/19/19.
- **Figure 13.1.** Map by JW and MK Bradley based on Note 13.5.
- **Figure 13.2**. Engraving attributed to Thomas Davies, likely after a watercolor and ink drawing by William Burgis, is in the Albany Institute of History and Art, 1980.17, Albany, NY. Courtesy of the Albany Institute & Art Purchase.
- Figure 13.3. Original painting by John Watson is in the Massachusetts State House, Boston, MA. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/</u> <u>File:WilliamBurnetByJohnWatson.jpg</u>, accessed 6/13/18.
- Figure 13.4. NYCD 5:801.
- **Figure 13.5**. Original print by Lee Teter, P.O. Box 892, Chillicothe, Missouri 64601. Print 481/1000 is in JW Bradley's private collection.
- **Figure 13.6.** Original painting by John Wollaston is in the Albany Institute of History and Art, Gift of Laura Munsell Tremaine in memory of her father, Joel Munsell, 1922.2, Albany, NY. Courtesy of the Albany Institute & Art Purchase.

Figure 13.7. Sullivan et al., eds. 1921:I:260-261.

**Figure 13.8.** Original map attributed to John Mitchell, Thomas Kitchin, and Andrew Millar, "A map of the British and French dominions in North America, with the roads, distances, limits, and extent of the settlements, humbly inscribed to the Right Honourable the Earl of Halifax, and the other Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade & Plantations," published in London, UK. Sold by Andrew Millar, 1755. This illustration is from a second impression of the 1st edition of the handcolored map in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Online database—Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, Louisiana: European Explorations and the Louisiana Purchase, <u>https://www.loc.gov/74693173/</u>, accessed 6/13/18.

- Figure 13.9. Map by JW and MK Bradley based on several sources including Bartram et al. 1973[1751]:28, Eccles and Laskin 1987, Elliott 1977, Heidenreich 1987:Plate 40, Kent et al. 1981, Pencak and Richter, eds. 2004:Map 2, Preston 2009:21, Map 2.
- **Figure 13.10**. Original painting by Edward Lawson Henry is in the Albany Institute of History and Art, 1993.44, Albany, NY. Courtesy of the Albany Institute & Art Purchase.
- Figure 13.11. Original map by Guy Johnson, Map of Country of the VI Nations, 1771, is in the *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 1851, Volume 4, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, p. 1090. Online database— Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.</u> wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Guy\_Johnson, Map\_of\_ <u>the\_Country\_of\_the\_VI\_Nations, 1771.jpg</u>, accessed 6/13/18.
- Figure 13.12. Original painting by Benjamin West is in the National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection, 1940.1.10, Washington, DC. Online database—Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, <u>https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Guy</u> Johnson by Benjamin\_West.jpg, accessed 6/13/18.
- Figure 13.13. Engraving by Cornelius Tiebout of an original map by Simeon De Witt, 1st. sheet of De Witt's state-map of New York, Map 1792, is in the American Antiquarian Society Collection, Worcester, MA. The image reproduced here is in the Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library, Boston, MA. Online database—Courtesy of Digital Collections, Boston Public Library, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/ commonwealth:z603vg68n, accessed 6/13/18.

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# About the Author

James W. Bradley is an archaeologist and historian with a particular interest in the Native peoples of northeastern North America. He received his Ph.D. from the Maxwell School at Syracuse University in 1979 and served on the staff of the Massachusetts Historical Commission in Boston from 1979 to 1990. From 1990 to 2001 he was director of the Robert S. Peabody Museum of Archaeology in Andover, MA. Between 1998 and 2003, he also served as a member of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) Review Committee. In 2001, he founded ArchLink, a small consulting firm focused on linking archaeology with education and preservation. He has been a Senior Research Associate at the New York State Museum since 2005. Bradley is an active scholar and has received numerous awards for his publications and partnerships.