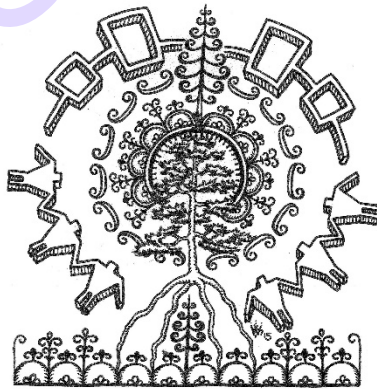


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Editor's Note:

This publication reflects the diverse approaches to the study of all things related to Iroquoia, which we define inclusively as all of the transnational native peoples whose origins and cultures stem from Iroquoian cognate speakers.

Many people contributed to this journal: Francis Scardera prepared the cover design, Victoria Ransom made the beautiful symbolic drawing on the cover. Much effort was expended by the anonymous peer reviewers and volunteer proofreaders. I appreciate their contributions. The steering committee of the Conference on Iroquois Research has been supportive of my efforts to begin a new publication. Most of all, the authors of these articles extended me their cooperation and patience.

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With gratitude,

Kathryn Lively Merriam

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A Wampum Belt Sent to Edward Jenner, M. D.

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Abstract

Following a program of vaccination for several First Nations peoples, representatives of these Five Nations tribes met with officials at Fort George, Upper Canada in 1807 to present formal thanks to Edward Jenner. These elders also wished to send to Jenner a belt of wampum and a string of wampum as a gift, in return for his gift of vaccination. Information regarding the possible configuration of that belt, and the ultimate disposition of these two examples of wampum, provide insights into examples of these Native American items that may still survive in European collections.

Wampum: An Introduction

White shell beads, of random sizes, were valuable objects among many if not all the North American tribes for centuries before the development of the relatively standardized size and form called wampum. Small, tubular marine shell beads of relatively uniform size and shape emerged as a native-made commodity during the years between 1590 and 1604, the middle years of the period of Dutch trade. Beads of wampum were, much later, specifically identified as “belt” or “true” wampum to distinguish them from the wide variety and different shapes of native-made shell beads.

Wampum beads could be produced only using introduced metal drills (*muxes*), allowing huge numbers to be fashioned, all smaller than any previously known tubular shell bead forms.

The name “wampum” derives from the Algonquian *wampumpeag*: white shell beads. The white examples were cut from the columella of the whelk, each of which yielded several beads. The term also became applied to the dark or purple examples made from the dark spot on the quahog clam shell. These dark beads generally were valued at double that of white beads (Becker 1980). Individual wampum beads were called *porcelain* by the French, reflecting their similarity to the new type of ceramic material (bone china) that by 1600 was becoming commonly available in Europe. Although many forms of porcelain were fired in France, attempts to produce ceramic parallels to wampum beads were extremely rare. Porcelain as well as glass beads of wampum-shape were not used in wampum diplomacy, but often appear in ornamental or decorative contexts.

Soon after 1600 wampum became an important commodity throughout the Northeast. Early colonial governments established values for the white and also the dark beads, incorporating them into the economy at “fixed” rates (Becker 1980). This monetization in several of the colonies, in a way similar to that of colonial produced dried fish or barrels of tobacco that also were used as a form of currency, valued beads at two to four beads to the penny depending on color and currency fluctuations (Becker 1980). The convenient and relatively standardized size of beads allowed them to serve as small change among the colonists. Large business transactions, either in trade or at treaties, often employed fathom lengths of strung wampum, each with a set value based on color. A fathom (ca. 6 feet) of wampum consisted of three ells according to Beauchamp (1898: 4). The “ell” generally varied from 25 to 54 English inches, placing Beauchamp’s figure at the low end of the generally accepted range.

The tubular shape of wampum beads, ca. 3mm in diameter and 8 or 9mm in length, enabled them to be “woven” into flat panels or bands. Bands that served decorative or ornamental functions commonly included beads of glass and/or

brass, and sometimes ceramic. These panels were affixed directly to clothing without a cloth or leather backing.

Soon after 1600 true wampum began to serve as a diplomatic interface between colonists and natives (cf. Ceci 1982, but see Becker 2012a). Wampum, and possibly white shell beads of all sizes, was generally believed to represent good faith, honesty, and commitment. Diplomatic wampum bands and strings did not incorporate imported materials. Wampum bands, generally referred to as belts in English and *colliers* in French, were “two sided” or “reversible.” Diplomatic belts were not known to have been worn during the period of wampum diplomacy (ca 1620-1810, see Becker 2002, 2012b), but when photography first recorded examples of surviving wampum bands they often were displayed draped around a man’s neck or over a shoulder like a sash.

We estimate that as many as 300 examples of woven wampum bands survive to this day, including those examples that have been recovered from archaeological excavations. Of the many surviving woven bands, most represent examples of diplomatic wampum, reflecting the vast quantities used in treaties. About 30 “ecclesiastical bands” (cf. Becker 2006a) and 13 “ornamental” cuffs are known (Becker 2007), as well as perhaps twenty bias-woven ornamental bands from the Penobscot region (Becker 2004, 2005, 2012c). Perhaps an equal number of “strings” also survive. Efforts to create a catalogue began in 1971. The work of Jonathan Lainey (2004) has greatly advanced this project, as well as helped to clarify the functions of specific bands (cf. Becker and Lainey 2004). The recently proposed idea that wampum had ritual purposes has been refuted by a recent major study (Becker and Lainey 2013).

Wampum to Europe

Over the 200-plus years (ca. 1600-1810+) during which wampum was basic to diplomacy within a specific region of the American Northeast (Becker 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Beauchamp 1901) a small number made their way to Europe, for a variety of reasons and by a variety of routes. Some of these belts, such as the four examples believed to have been sent to the Queen of England in 1710, were clearly diplomatic in intent. Each belt in

CAPTAIN JOHN ARCHIQUETTE: A FEDERAL INDIAN AGENCY POLICEMAN IN THE GILDED AGE

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The authors would like to thank George Miles and Matthew Mason of Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library for bringing the important John Archiquette Collection to their attention; Sue Daniels, Oneida genealogist, for sharing her information about the Archiquette family and the Wisconsin Oneida Tribal Police; and Matthew Payne, Archivist of the Diocese of Fond du Lac, for teaching the authors about the workings of the Episcopal Church in Wisconsin in the nineteenth century. Please note that the police captain's name is spelled two different ways—Archiquette and Archiquet—in his correspondence and in his military records.

Introduction

The John Archiquette Collection, recently acquired by Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Library, provides insights about the Wisconsin Oneidas during the Gilded Age. It also challenges many assumptions about federal Indian agency constabularies and their operations in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The collection is composed of church records, correspondence to the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington and to the Indian agency headquarters at Keshena, Wisconsin, diary notations in both Oneida and English about community events, tribal censuses and account books, and police reports for nearly a quarter of a century. Archiquette served as a federal lawman at the Wisconsin Oneida reservation from 1877 to 1901, and was officially appointed to the post of chief of police in 1881. His five-man constabulary at Oneida enforced the laws on the 65,400-acre reservation, 40 miles away from Keshena and approximately 1500 hundred miles from the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.

Archiquette, whose family was prominent in tribal affairs, was a member of the first elected tribal council that also served as the tribal court.¹ However, as his papers at Yale reveal, it was his role as an officer in the Episcopal church—he kept the records of the vestry council for over three decades—that apparently affected his overall career as a federal lawman more than other factors. Archiquette was a junior warden and a vestryman in the Hobart Indian Mission, the Episcopal Church, the largest and most influential house of worship on the Wisconsin Oneida reservation.²

The policeman had other significant leadership roles in his Oneida community as well. He was the leader of the Oneida National Brass Band and was in charge of ordering musical instruments and sheet music, arranging transportation and contracting performances at local, county, and state fairs that helped supplement the income of a dozen families on the reservation.³ Because he was respected by other veterans of the Civil War, Archiquette helped plan and organize Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) events and commemorative ceremonies.⁴ Further evidence of his commitment to his community's welfare

was his appointment to the board of trustees of the first Oneida hospital, a project promoted by Episcopal missionaries S.S. Burleson and F. W. Merrill, that opened on the reservation in 1898.⁵ Later, after his service as a police officer ended, he became a determined leader in the fight to hold onto tribal lands.⁶

Older studies of the federal Indian Agency police rely too much on the statements made by the commissioner of Indian affairs in their annual reports. The commissioners saw these constabularies in a colonial framework, mainly as lawmen largely hired to control reservation populations, undermine traditional leadership, and promote assimilation. In 1877, Commissioner E.A. Hayt stated that instituting a police system would relieve the army of maintaining law and order on reservations and “would materially aid in placing the entire Indian population of the country on the road to civilization.”⁷ Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan wrote in 1892 that the agency police “may be and sometimes are, merely the instrumentalities in the hands of the agent for his enforcement of power, which is almost absolute.”⁸

The standard work on the federal Indian agency police, written by William T. Hagan in 1966, had as its sub-title, *Experiments in Acculturation and Control*. In it, Hagan saw these constabularies as promoters of Euro-American values and enforcers of strict discipline in an effort to serve the federal Indian agent and facilitate the day-to-day operations on reservations. Although Hagan described a favorable side of these policemen’s work, namely their service as “reservation handymen,” he presented them primarily as agents of acculturation educating tribesmen to the laws and ways of the white man.⁹ Historian Francis Paul Prucha maintained that the Indian agency police that arose in the 1870s operated as “quasi-military units under the command of the agents that emerged as substitutes for the authority of the chiefs or the military control of the reservations.”¹⁰

Despite these assertions by late nineteenth century commissioners and early scholars writing on these constabularies, what happened on the ground at Oneida did not match the words and policy directives from Washington and

Keshena. It is true that that the federal agency police force appeared at the Wisconsin Oneida reservation at a time when the traditional chiefs' council was being replaced; however, the constabulary there under Archiquette's command never completely functioned as a tool of the Green Bay Indian Agency or as a paramilitary force.

More recent writings, most notably by Mark R. Ellis and Cathleen D. Cahill, describe why Native Americans sought federal employment and how they viewed their roles and responsibilities. Both historians rightly maintain that Native Americans had their own separate reasons for taking positions as federal lawmen that were quite distinct from Washington's overall objectives. Both Ellis and Cahill mention that certain communities such as the Lakotas desired to police themselves in order to avoid U.S military presence on their reservation. The two historians also insist that by becoming federal employees, Native Americans sought to help their tribesmen adjust to reservation life; however, both reasons do not apply to the Oneidas, who had occupied their federal treaty lands in Wisconsin since 1838 and who had been allies of the United States since the American Revolution.¹¹ To be sure, the Wisconsin Oneida historical experience sharply differed from Native Americans in the Trans-Mississippi West where most of these constabularies were established and operated. By the mid nineteenth century almost all Oneidas were farmers and had converted to the Episcopal and Methodist faiths. The census reports carried out by policeman Archiquette indicated that half of the approximately 1700 Oneidas living in Wisconsin could understand English. Moreover, their children were one of the largest student populations at Carlisle Indian Industrial School and other Indian boarding schools. Hence Archiquette worked in a far different Native community than described in previous writings on the federal Indian agency police.¹²

Cahill has also pointed out that Native Americans hoped to use these positions to "secure access to agency resources, and possibly to gain advantage in tribal politics."¹³ Yet, in Archiquette's case, it was just the opposite; becoming a federal agency policeman put him into the middle of tribal controversies and created risks both to his tenure as lawman and his standing

within his community. At a time of great changes faced by his Wisconsin Oneida people, he had to carefully navigate his way through the rapids of federal policies on one hand and tribal politics on the other—no easy task.

Archiquette viewed his employment as a way to supplement income from his small farm to support his large family—he had fifteen children; however, his deep Christian faith and his devotion to church matters clearly motivated him to take on this extremely difficult task of serving as federal agency lawman. He was baptized in the Episcopal Church by missionary Solomon Davis in March 1847. Later in 1868, Episcopal missionary E. A. Goodnough, performed his marriage to Elizabeth Smith in the same church. After her death in 1888, he married Christine Hill Summers in a church ceremony performed by missionary Bursleson in 1894. When he became incapacitated towards the end of his life, Jonathan D. Goodnough, the missionary's son, became his legal guardian.¹⁴

In order to succeed in his position as police chief, he built on the good will he established in his loyal service to the Episcopal Church. While ostensibly following orders from his federal employers, he, at the same time, was serving more in his capacity of church vestryman, helping individual Oneidas with their legal and family problems and protecting those tribal members too weak to fight back. Consequently he retained his position, although on occasions heavily criticized, he generated enough support from most Oneidas because of his commitment to the church and his support from the tribe's missionaries.

Becoming "The Policeman"

Archiquette was born on the Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin in 1847. He was the son of Martineus Archiquette and Phoebe Hanyost, Both of his parents had been born in the Oneidas' central New York homeland and both of their families had played major roles aiding the Americans in the American Revolution and War of 1812. As a result of pressures caused by land speculation that brought thousands of non-Indians into central New York with the building of the Erie Canal, the Archiquette family joined in the first migration of Oneidas out of New York into Michigan Territory (now Wisconsin) in the

1820s. They settled on reservation lands near the Episcopal Church, the Hobart Indian Mission on Duck Creek. Much like other Oneidas at the time, the Archiquettes struggled as poor farmers in their new home. Consequently, their son John had to commit himself to farm work rather than to spend time in the classroom, resulting in his attendance only through the third grade at the Episcopal mission school. He, nevertheless, was self-taught and his written reports indicate a level of success in mastering English. Because his parents were fluent Oneida speakers, John was well-versed in his Native language.¹⁵

The years during and immediately following the Civil War led John Archiquette to a career in law enforcement. During the last part of the war, Archiquette served in Company F of the 14th Wisconsin, along with at least thirty-eight other men from the Oneida reservation. He was a Union infantryman in General William Tecumseh Sherman's Grand Army of the West fighting in Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina.¹⁶ At war's end, the now seasoned veteran, highly disciplined with knowledge of firearms and accustomed to following army regulations, returned to the Wisconsin Oneida reservation. After the war, he married Elizabeth Smith and gave up his heavy drinking, turning back to his family's Episcopal faith and resuming farming.¹⁷ In September 1871, Archiquette was appointed to the temporary position of tribal constable.¹⁸ Six years later, he was hired as policeman by the Green Bay Indian agent, serving under the command of Joseph Scanandore, another Oneida.

On May 27, 1878, Congress formally authorized the establishment of the federal Indian police in the wake of the Sioux War of 1876-1877. The congressional act of 1878 allocated \$30,000 to hire 430 privates and fifty officers to be employed in maintaining order and prohibiting illegal traffic in liquor.¹⁹ After this authorizing legislation went into effect, the Green Bay Indian agent reported the next year that formal tribal constabularies on the Oneida, Stockbridge and Menominee reservations were being organized. "They have not yet entered upon their duties but will in a few days, and I have hopes as to the good they will accomplish in detecting those engaged in the illegal liquor traffic and in bringing them to an account."²⁰ By 1880, the commissioner of Indian affairs was hailing the

experiment. The commissioner insisted that the “practicality of employing an Indian police to maintain order upon an Indian reservation is no longer a matter of question.” By that time, federal Indian police totaled 162 officers and 653 privates operating at forty agencies.²¹ In his annual report for that year, the commissioner commented on what he considered their primary role, suggesting that these constabularies were acting as spies within their communities: “Vigilant and observant by nature, and familiar with every foot-path on the reservation, no arrivals or departures, or clandestine councils can escape their notice, and with a well-disciplined police force an agent can keep himself informed as to every noteworthy occurrence taking place within the entire limit of his jurisdiction.”²²

A Policeman’s Work is Never Done, 1877 – 1901

Although Archiquette’s police duties required him to carry out the enforcement of laws which on occasion ran counter to his people’s beliefs about tribal sovereignty, his actions and words in his correspondence reflect a real concern for his people’s welfare. In an interview for the WPA Oneida Language and Folklore project, in 1941, Oscar Archiquette, John’s youngest son by his second marriage, and one of the most famous tribal members of the twentieth century, described his father’s years as a policeman:

When he came back from war he worked out in lumber camps, worked in boats, harvesting grain with a cradle, and was quite a drinking man. When he was 24 years old [1871], he quit drinking and was married by this time, and he decided to settle down on the farm. He constructed a very nice house for his family and was a good provider. About this time he started to attend church services regularly. He became a big farmer and through his farming he helped many Oneidas. He joined the first Oneida National Brass Band and was a band leader for 20 years. He played 1st E.b. Cornet. He was a good speaker and a business man, and was soon known to be a very honest man, and was very smart. He was the first Sheriff appointed by the chiefs. He was an interpreter for Oneidas and use[d] to write business letters for some of the Oneidas, was a member of the Vestry in [Hobart Indian Mission] church, was a member of [the] Oneida

debating society, was always present to church doings and church bees. Finally he was made captain of the Oneida Indian police, he was looked up to as one of the legal advice for Oneidas. Not only was he known as an honest man to Oneidas but to surrounding towns, namely Green Bay, Depere [De Pere], West Depere [De Pere], Freedom, and Seymour, Wis[consin]. Oneidas could get anything they wanted from these towns provided they have this man's o.k. I will mention just one thing an Oneida got on credit by this man's o.k. It was a thrashing machine from Green Bay. He dressed like the average man, meals was same as others, always prayed at meal time... He was a man who meant every word he said... Was married twice and raised a family of 22. He was well posted about the Holy Bible... He was a member of the Episcopal church choir. This was the life this man lived which, I think, caused the Oneidas and whites to have high respect for him. Those who remember him will say he was a good man.²³

In 1878, the Wisconsin Oneidas changed their government from a council of chiefs to an elected council. In their first election held on November 9, Archiquette was one of six councilors elected to office. The change of government was not universally accepted, challenged by prominent men such as Cornelius Doxtator, who had served on the tribal council of chiefs since the mid-1840s.²⁴ The change created some resistance to the newly elected council's authority, causing initial criticism of Archiquette and his role as a tribal policeman; nevertheless, his relationship with the powerful and highly respected Chief Cornelius Hill, now the elected tribal sachem, was to smooth his way as a law enforcement officer. Besides serving together on the same tribal council, both Hill and Archiquette were leaders in the Episcopal Church and were also directors of the Oneida Nation's Band.²⁵

On May 31, 1881, after serving nearly four years in his post as tribal policeman, Archiquette was officially appointed chief of police.²⁶ By that time, Archiquette had already helped recruit Oneidas for the tribal constabulary. They included Jacob Hill, John Silas, Peter Swamp, and Thomas Wheelock. He organized them into district command posts and required them to

Tiononderogue: the Struggle for a Mohawk Town, 1686-1797

Ann Hunter

In 1786 a Mohawk leader named Aneqwendahonji, or Johannes Crine, filed a petition with the New York State Legislature that tells a compelling story. At the beginning of the American Revolutionary War, Aneqwendahonji lived with his people at a place on the Mohawk River called Tiononderogue, where the Mohawks had been "from time Immemorial." He owned "three Good Dwelling Houses, two Barns and an Orchard thereon, And was also possessed of a considerable personal Estate consisting of Household, furniture, Farming Utentials, Cattle Horses, Sheep, Swine, etc." The petition recounts how Aneqwendahonji remained friendly to the Americans during the war. In 1780, he left his home to go on an American mission to Fort Niagara with three companions, but at Niagara the British put them in jail. Soon afterwards British troops raided the Mohawk Valley and took his wife and family prisoner. At the end of the war Aneqwendahonji returned home to find that the City of Albany and private individuals had taken the Mohawks' lands, improvements, livestock, and household goods, leaving them destitute and homeless.¹ Aneqwendahonji and the other Mohawk people who lived at Tiononderogue before the Revolution never got back their lands. This paper examines the hundred-year process that led up to their loss.²

"Tiononderogue" is the Anglicized version of the Mohawk word for the place where Schoharie Creek flows into the Mohawk River from the south about 40 miles northwest of Albany at the location of the present day hamlet of Fort Hunter. It is a little west of the 17th-century frontier between Mahican and Mohawk country. For most of the 17th century the larger Mohawk towns were located west of Tiononderogue, while the Mohawks used the fertile flatlands along the Mohawk River and Schoharie Creek to grow crops.³ By 1660 agriculture and land speculation had become profitable colonial ventures and the fur traders at Beverwyck, the small New Netherland town that would soon become Albany, New York, began to covet the flatlands of the Mohawk Valley, still entirely in the possession of the Mohawks. In 1661, a group of Beverwyck traders bought some land at Schenectady, about twenty miles east of Tiononderogue, where they farmed the river flats and traded illegally, ignoring the legal monopoly held by Beverwyck.⁴

In 1664 the British took over New Netherland and Beverwyck became Albany. It remained a small village run by mostly Dutch traders. In 1686 the village magistrates borrowed money to send two representatives, Pieter Schuyler and Robert Livingston, to Manhattan to buy a new charter from the British governor, Colonel Thomas Dongan.⁵ Dongan's enemies said he received seven hundred pounds for issuing the charter, but he claimed it was only three hundred.⁶ The charter reorganized the village as a city in the English style. The new mayor and clerk, named in the charter as Pieter Schuyler and Robert Livingston, together with the aldermen and commonalty, formed the board of the Corporation of Albany, which functioned both as the municipal government and as a business corporation. The charter included a license to buy Indian land at two locations outside the city limits. One was for five hundred acres of "low or meadow land" at "Schaahtecogue" in Mahican territory, where the Hoosick River joins the Hudson. The second was for one thousand acres of lowlands at Tiononderogue. The charter went on to "give, grant and confirm" the land to the city for an annual quit rent to the British crown of one beaver skin.⁷

New York colonists who bought land from Indians were ordinarily required to follow a three-step process. Prospective purchasers first applied for a license to buy, then bought the land

and obtained a deed signed by the native owners. The purchaser then went back to the authorities with the deed and applied for a patent (also referred to as a grant) for the land. Licenses generally contained a requirement that a purchase had to be made within a year; otherwise the license became void.⁸ Albany's charter departed from the norm by granting and confirming the land before a purchase had been made. The Corporation of Albany would later make use of this aberration.

For almost a decade, Albany took only a few preliminary steps towards using its license to buy Indian land.⁹ It is possible that no purchase was attempted because the Corporation of Albany knew that the Mohawks already had expressed concerns about expanding European claims at Schenectady and the city did not want to alienate them further.¹⁰ The extension of European settlements was part of a pattern of change that led hundreds of Mohawks to leave the Mohawk Valley around this time. The Jesuits had converted some to Catholicism and many converts moved to mission towns along the Saint Lawrence River where they could practice their religion more easily. Others left because pressure from neighboring European settlements and military threats from the French, the Mahicans, and other Indian nations made life more difficult in the Mohawk Valley towns.¹¹ Contrary to what one might expect based on later developments, the colonists saw the departure of Mohawk people as a serious problem and tried to persuade them to return. The colonists wanted Indian land, but they also wanted Indian people to stay in the colony and provide furs and military support.¹² The Corporation of Albany, which derived much of its income from the fur trade, had a strong motivation to avoid alienating its Native allies.

A few years after Dongan issued the charter, New York fell into chaos when King James II was overthrown in the Glorious Revolution. Puritan leaders in Massachusetts arrested Sir Edmund Andros, the current governor of New York as well as New England, on the grounds that he represented the old regime. No functional government remained in New York, where militia captain Jacob Leisler seized control without authorization from the Crown. In 1690 the French took advantage of the confusion to attack Schenectady and burn it to

the ground. The Corporation of Albany had more serious matters to deal with than buying land.¹³

After the attack of 1690, the Mohawks condoled the colonists for their losses, reproached them for not keeping a better guard, and encouraged them to rebuild rather than abandon the area.¹⁴ When the French attacked all three of the major Mohawk towns in 1693, Pieter Schuyler organized a force of colonists who accompanied the Mohawks in pursuit of the enemy and rescued some prisoners. The British provided food and temporary shelter for the Mohawks while they rebuilt their homes.¹⁵ Eventually the three Mohawk towns were consolidated into two with the upper (i.e., upriver) "castle" at Canajoharie, and the lower castle at Tiononderogue.¹⁶ The Corporation of Albany's license to purchase now covered the site of a major Mohawk town, making the location even more important to the Mohawks.

Even after the political situation began to stabilize, European settlers were still reluctant to return to the Mohawk and upper Hudson valleys, which remained vulnerable to harassment by the French. A census taken in 1698 showed that the population had declined significantly since 1689.¹⁷ But in spite of the obstacles to persuading people to come to the area, New Yorkers began to engage in the opening transactions of what soon became a competitive scramble for Mohawk land.

The onslaught began in 1695 when Godfridius Dellius, the Dutch Reformed minister to the Protestant Christian Mohawks, joined with Pieter Schuyler, Albany mayor Dirck Wesselse Ten Broeck¹⁸, and former mayor Evert Bancker¹⁹ in a land venture that went far beyond the scope of the license in Albany's charter. After Colonel Benjamin Fletcher became governor of New York in 1692, he appointed these four men as his Commissioners for Indian Affairs putting them in a position to exercise both religious and political influence with the Mohawks. They used this influence to persuade several Mohawk clan leaders who were members of Dellius's congregation to sign a deed giving the four commissioners all the land for several miles on either side of the Mohawk River from the western boundary of Schenectady to present day Herkimer, including Tiononderogue and most of the rest of the Mohawk heartland.

The Peacemaker¹, I Presume? Journeys up the Historical Streams of Iroquois Scholarship

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Introduction

North American anthropology began with the study of the continent's indigenous peoples. Of those peoples, the Iroquois were among the earliest and most significant scholastic topic. Within Iroquois scholarship, the foundation of the Iroquois Confederacy stands out as a critical issue, which has been addressed differently over time.

Cultural anthropologist and American Indian ethnologist Fred Voget's *Anthropological Theory and Iroquois Ethnography* analyzed "how the ethnographic literature of any culture region reflects theoretical emphases in the general development of anthropology" (Voget 1984, 343). He argued that, "In some ways, the persistence of cultural-historical objectives and methodology in Iroquois studies from 1880 to the present lends

support to [William] Fenton's (1941a:135) conclusions about patterns, namely that 'once a fundamental pattern becomes established it tends to persist despite substitutions within its framework'" (1984, 357). It is true that many of the research objectives and some of the methods of Iroquois scholarship have remained consistent. In particular, the foundation of the Iroquois Confederacy² has been of particular interest to scholars throughout Iroquois Studies historically. However, by looking at how different scholars approached the Confederacy's foundation, we find that rather than remain consistent, the frameworks within which they approached history have varied over time. It is these shifting frameworks that led to different representations and interpretations of the Confederacy's foundation by scholars.

Voget posited Iroquois scholarship as a good example that, with some modification, fits into three basic stages of American anthropology between 1850 and 1970: Evolutionism, Cultural Historicism, and, Differentiation and Specialization. Iroquois scholarship, among the oldest and most extensive ethnographic study in North America, can serve as an index of broader intellectual trends in American anthropology. Whereas Voget's analysis was a broad survey of literature within each stage, I look at how representative scholars from each stage approached one specific topic, narratives of the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy. The theory, methods and goals of scholars in discussing the Confederacy's founding, and its narratives, have varied based on the broader scholastic paradigm they were working within. By holding their texts up against one another, we can gain insight into the history of American Anthropology and Iroquois scholarship. Perhaps most poignantly, we can see an increasing awareness of the complex relationship between the unrecorded historical past and its narration in the ethnographic present. As these scholars learned more about ways in which the past was articulated, they developed new frameworks to extract deeper understandings of both that past and the people who lived it.

Voget divided Iroquois scholarship into three historical stages and four paradigms. They are:

- (1) Evolutionism (ca. 1850 to 1940)
 - (2) Culture-Historicism:
 - (a) The Salvage Ethnography Phase (ca. 1880 to 1940)
 - (b) The Historical Upstreaming Phase (ca. 1940 to 1970)
 - (3) Differentiation and Specialization (ca. 1940 to 1970).
- (Voget 1984, 343)

Here, I suggest a representative scholar for each stage to be examined in greater detail.

Voget's first stage, 'Evolutionism' is represented by Lewis Henry Morgan, whose keystone volume on Iroquois Ethnography, *League of the Haudenosaunee* (1851) looked at the history of the Confederacy's founding, and its underlying social networks. The underlying theory of social evolution was articulated by Morgan in his subsequent volume, *Ancient Societies* (1878).

American Ethnologist Horatio Hale "set the tone" for Voget's second stage, 'Salvage Ethnography', with the publication of *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (1999), in which he dedicated a chapter to the history of the Confederacy's foundation (Voget 1984, 345). Hale's theoretical understanding of cultural degradation and the consequent need for salvage ethnography was visible in his linguistic discussion of the Confederacy's foundation in "*Above*" and "*Below*": *A Mythological Disease of Language* (1890).

William Fenton, founder of Voget's other second stage, 'Historical Upstreaming', published extensively until his death in 2005. While his most extensive treatment of the Confederacy's foundation in *The Great Law and the Longhouse* (1998) were published long after the Voget's time frame for the upstreaming phase, two representative texts within Voget's time-frame shed light on Fenton's understanding of upstreaming's usefulness in analyzing narratives of the Confederacy's foundation: *Seth Newhouse's Traditional History and Constitution of the Iroquois Confederacy* (1949a) and *Collecting Materials for a Political History of the Six Nations* (1949b).

Unlike the previous stages, 'Differentiation and Specialization' was about applying a wider range of theoretical approaches to specific questions in Iroquois scholarship. Voget dedicated more attention to anthropologist Anthony Wallace than any other scholar in this stage (1984, 356). Wallace applied a psychoanalytic framework and a broader theory of 'revitalization' in his own analysis of the Confederacy's foundation narrative in *The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement* (1958).

For the purpose of this paper, I focus on presentation and analysis of the Confederacy's foundation solely by non-Iroquois scholars. It may be difficult to definitively differentiate between 'Iroquois' and 'Non-Iroquois' within Iroquois scholarship given the number of scholars of Iroquois descent, most notably Arthur Parker and J.N.B. Hewitt, themselves often considered "outsiders" as well. At the same time, it should be recognized that this paper is regrettably limited to 'outsiders' perspectives, and not those of either Iroquois scholars or traditionalists such as Seth Newhouse or the Chiefs which have been influential within Iroquois communities.

During each different period, the scholars I discuss approached the narrative of the Confederacy's foundation very differently. Juxtaposing their texts chronologically, we can see implicit and explicit dialogue on the goals, methods and validity of ethnography and history.

Confederacy's Foundation 'Narrative'

Before exploring each stage in detail, a summary of the Confederacy's foundation narrative will be useful. Though we may refer to a single narrative, or story, there is a tremendous variety of form, substance and narration. Christopher Vecsey cited seventy-one references from forty authors containing "the stories that describe the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy" ranging from fragments to hundreds of pages (Vecsey 1986, 79). There is no ideal or 'true' version of the story, although some deviate from the mean more than others. At the same time, Vecsey considered the narrative as "a story" rather than "stories" since the key themes of how the Confederacy came to exist and key personalities involved have been more or less consistent (Vecsey 1986, 80, 90). What is important for our subsequent analyses is the fact that scholars were exposed to different variants of a single story, and part of their methodology involved determining how to approach and present these stories in their research.

For the reader's sake, I include Dean Snow's 'core' version of the narrative to contextualize subsequent discussion³. Snow's 'core' version is a good compromise of depth and brevity, discussing key events and themes within the narrative. I use footnotes to elaborate upon points of interest.

The Deganawida [Peacemaker] legend has basic elements that appear in all of its complete oral versions, although sometimes in different orders. The scene always opens on villages of male hunters and female farmers that are scattered and disrupted by chronic warfare. There are a few reasonable but marginalized people who cannot stop the violence. Deganawida lives north of Lake Ontario in a community of displaced people. Like most prophets he is an outsider, fatherless, and capable of making miracles⁴. Ayonhwathah (Hiawatha) is a recidivist Onondaga cannibal⁵. He dreams of better life, but loses his daughters, wanders, and is eventually cured by the protocol of greeting strangers in Mohawk country. A "mother of nations" who has fed passing war parties accepts the message of peace. She is a symbol of the maternal role⁶. Atotarho (Tadodaho) is magically⁷ cured by song, and he gives up excessive sex, cannibalism, and violence. Deganawida's code rests on three points: the good word (righteousness), power (civil authority), and peace (health of society). Hiawatha is concerned about condolence for the

*dead. Together they conceive requickening and the short-circuiting of blood feuds. The joint mission of Deganawida and Hiawatha is to get the code accepted among the nations, who eventually come together as two moieties*⁸. (Snow 1996, 60)

Morgan, Hale, Fenton and Wallace encountered various versions of this narrative and engaged with it in different ways. Morgan prefaced his discussion of the narrative with “if we may believe their testimony” (1851, 57), leaving the reader to determine its veracity. Hale distinguished between different narratives choosing the ones he felt were most historic. Scholars after Hale and the salvage ethnographers had a far greater wealth of narratives to utilize, but with that came a need for new methods of discriminating between texts. William Fenton saw Seth Newhouse’s manuscript detailing the form and foundation of the Iroquois Confederacy as a more valuable depiction of modern approaches to the past than as a window to the past itself. Fenton valued other narratives (esp. Chief Gibson’s) not for their ‘historicity’ per se, but for their consistency with broader cultural patterns, which was a window into a deeper and more significant understanding of history. Finally, Wallace psychoanalyzed the narrative and its characters, searching for meaning hidden within the narrative rather than taking it at face value.

These very different treatments of the narrative speak to different aims of research, theoretical paradigms, and conceptions of history among authors. An increasing wealth of material about the Confederacy’s foundation combined with more and more scholarship enabled, and perhaps forced scholars to see the Confederacy’s foundation as more complex. This, in turn, necessitated new paradigms to approach both narratives and scholarship about the narratives. In subsequent sections, I give a summary of each author’s use of the narrative in their discussion of the Confederacy’s foundation and draw comparisons between them.

Morgan

Voget’s first stage, ‘Evolutionism’ (1850-1990) was defined and dominated by Lewis Henry Morgan. Morgan sought to relate his own understanding of Iroquois ethnography to his theoretical paradigm of social evolution. Morgan’s keystone ethnological

Evidence for Rock Art in Iroquoia

Francis Scardera

Abstract

The cultural landscape of the Northeast, specifically Iroquoia, has often been considered by some as void or unadorned by the vestiges of rock art. The debate continues over whether there is sufficient evidence for the existence of rock art amongst the Iroquois during both Contact and Pre-Contact periods and how these representations manifest themselves onto the cultural landscape. The following article reviews both the archaeological record and ethnographic references documenting rock art sightings in Iroquoia while elucidating some of the challenges in assigning cultural affiliations to these works. To further our understanding of art as displayed in the Iroquois landscape, it is also proposed to broaden the perimeter of cultural activity and shift from a focus on a single medium - rock faces, to a larger cultural landscape where consideration is given to other less conspicuous media that may have eluded the archaeological record.

The compilation of rock art sites presented here should be treated as a preliminary list and not as an exhaustive, comprehensive study. There are a number of unconfirmed or anecdotal references to rock art “sightings” throughout the area of study, including the Finger Lakes region of western New York which require additional research; however, provided here is a description and context of nine rock art sites identified within Iroquoia that have been either associated with significant historical references or whose continued visual presence has been confirmed.

Introduction

The origin of the common belief or perception suggesting an “absence” of rock art in Iroquoia is not clear, but its acceptance, by some, has skewed the thoroughness of archaeological assessments and inquiry in the Northeast, often with simplistic and uncorroborated academic assumptions.

It seems unlikely that any of the Iroquoian people, whose corn-raising practices determined their occupancy of relatively rockless country, put any pictographs on rock. And, though limestone is far less durable than granite, the fact that I have found paintings on limestone in the Rockies, and just south of the Shield edge in Saskatchewan and Manitoba suggests that if there had been any number of them in Southern Ontario at least a few should have survived (Dewdney and Kidd 1967:157).

Richardson and Swauger, for example, also maintain that there is no evidence of rock art in Iroquoia. They interpret what they refer to as a “petroglyph black hole” as a third reason, in addition to archaeological and linguistic evidence, to support the in-situ hypothesis for the origins of the Iroquois (Richardson and Swauger 1996:43).¹ On the other hand, a holistic review of a compilation of rock art references examined by historians, anthropologists and archaeologists such as Hough (1853, 1854, 1880), Beauchamp (1900), Parker (1920), Dewdney and Kidd (1967), Edward Lenik (2002, 2009), Coy (2004) and Keating (2012), collectively provide ample evidence to suggest a landscape that was ‘well-marked’ by its inhabitants and sojourners in transit.

Much of this research remains in its germinal stages. As a result, attempts to interpret iconography, determine functionality or intended use, confirm temporal sequences or identify cultural affiliations, are limited, but should be treated as a framework of antecedents for future research. On a more personal note, it is hoped that this preliminary research incites an interest in the search for additional rock art sites as a means to help foster a wider archaeological lens to the cultural landscape of Iroquoia.

In order to protect the vulnerability of the sites discussed, a general geographical location is provided as a point

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