SHIRTS POWDERED RED: IROQUOIS WOMEN AND THE POLITICS OF CONSUMER CIVILITY, 1614-1860

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Female consumers seem familiar to the point of stereotype, but the shopping Indian is unexpected. Consumer culture has been constructed as antithetical to the pre-modern, natural and fictional idealized Indian. Iroquois women in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries purchased many of the same clothes and fabrics as contemporary non-indigenous consumers, but transformed them in evolving ways that asserted indigenous sovereignty, traditional values and cultural strength. In the nineteenth century reservation period, both non-indigenous "reformers" and Iroquois leaders focused on women's labor and purchasing choices as the heart of Iroquois self-definition: to change women's work was to change the nation. I argue that Iroquois women's consumer choices played a pivotal role in shaping their nations' engagement with expanding colonial settlements, in preserving distinct tribal identities in the face of religious and political pressure, and in crafting a modern indigenous community with traditional values.

This project begins with a shirt and ends with a dress—the shirt bought in the seventeenth century by a woman who minimized her daily work load by purchasing clothing rather than making it, and the dress made two hundred years later by a woman who attended college and argued that the best way for Iroquois people to preserve the remainder of their lands was to show Americans how modern Iroquois traditions were. Iroquois spatial mobility and control of their territories made sources of trade goods easily accessible without allowing European traders unsupervised access to Iroquois homelands. Unlike many other eastern Native groups, the Iroquois were able to maintain the integrity of their home territories well into the eighteenth century and negated settler attempts to coerce change in their communities through education and conversion, instead strategically inviting and directing change in ways to help maintain their sovereignty.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Maeve Kane graduated from Macalester College in 2008 with a double major in History and Linguistics summa cum laude with honors. In 2010, she attained a Master's of Arts in American History and advanced to candidacy in the Cornell University Department of History. In fall 2014 Maeve will join the faculty of the Department of History at the State University of New York at Albany as an Assistant Professor of early American economic history.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

Shirts Powdered Red: Iroquois Women and the Politics of Consumer Civility, 1600-1850

Introduction

In 1690, an Onondaga woman named Osissijenejo and her husband Nachssasija traveled to Albany.[1] They brought with them an otter pelt that would later go on to England, the Germanies or Muscovy. In Onondaga country, the otter pelt could have been used alone as a bag, or it could have been combined with many other small pelts to make a warm winter covering.

In Albany in 1690, the otter pelt could become a shirt, a kettle, lead shot or fabric. It could be made into garments that needed more time and more hides than a single otter to make, or into consumer luxuries and symbolically charged conduits of power. In Albany, one animal skin could be exchanged for an expanding global market of consumer manufactures and exotic imports.

Osissijenejo traded her otter pelt for a shirt and a pair of leggings, both the products of a team of European spinners and weavers and a European or settler seamstress. Seven spinners produced woolen yarn in Yorkshire to supply a weaver; another seven spun flax in Campen to employ a weaver there, not to mention the shepherds, farmers, shearers, fullers, dyers, merchants, inspectors, and other specialists who contributed to wool and linen cloth production in Europe.[2] Later in England, the Netherlands, or New York, a European or settler woman paid down her credit account with a merchant by taking raw cloth and sewing up a shirt or a pair of leggings for the Indian trade.[3]

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1 "Account Book of an Unidentified Dutch Trader" (Tarrytown NY, 1679-1690), Rockefeller Archives Center. 481a

2 For an overview of the European and North American textile industry in this period, see Adrienne D. Hood, *The Weaver's Craft : Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); Julia De Lacy Mann, *The Cloth Industry in the West of England : from 1640 to 1880* (Gloucester: Sutton, 1987); G. D. Ramsay, *The Wiltshire Woollen Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1943); Ursula Priestley, The Fabric of Stuffs : the Norwich Textile Industry from 1565 (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1990).

3 For the early modern intersection of women's labor, consumerism and credit, see Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation : the Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan,

Rather than exchange her otter pelt for the value of the labor she or her family had expended in procuring it, Osissijenejo exchanged it for the value of the future labor it would save her community. Contemporary women in Europe and the American settlements and their families performed respectability through their production and maintenance of domestic luxuries, freed from some basic production by the purchase of consumer goods,[4] whereas Osissijenejo purchased consumer goods in order to reduce the time she had to expend on labor. With a single otter, trapped and only minimally dressed, Osissijenejo purchased the labor of at least eighteen Europeans. With a single otter, she saved herself and her family the time and effort of hunting, dressing, tanning, and sewing up the four deer necessary to make the equivalent of the shirt and leggings she had purchased.

Osissijenejo's use of that shirt, however, would prove to be uniquely disturbing to European observers; not specifically because of the paint or grease which might later be applied to it, or its recombination with decorated blankets, ribbons and beads to assemble a Native image from European raw materials, but because of the political and cultural independence which those

1998); Margot C. Finn, *The Character of Credit : Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780, 1996*; Marla Miller, *The Needle's Eye: Women and Work in the Age of Revolution* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

4 On the eighteenth century growth of consumption, refinement and consumer civility in Europe and European settlements, see John Styles and Amanda Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven, CT; London; New Haven [Conn.]; London: Yale Center for British Art ; Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2006); Richard L Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992); Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy : Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution : Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Lorna Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760* (London; New York: Routledge, 1988); *Daniel Roche, A History of Everyday Things : the Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, UK; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Anne McCants, "Exotic Goods, Popular Consumption, and the Standard of Living: Thinking About Globalization in the Early Modern World," *Journal of World History* 18, no. 4 (2007): 433–462; John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

sartorial choices signaled. The daily performance of European-style civility included binary gender roles of subdued, laboring masculinity and modest, chaste femininity; the restraint of the lower impulses of the body; agricultural and commercial labor; and rituals of respectability such as tea service and coffeehouse culture for elites, all of these performances mediated by the use of clothing and material culture in correct ways.[5] Closely tied to Christian values and European self-image as Christians, civility was a necessary prerequisite to Christian conversion. Osissijenejo's shirt was one of the most foundational signals of material civility in European understanding, and yet when powdered in red paint and combined with garments like leggings, Iroquois consumers utilized the most basic signal of civility to construct a distinctly and deliberately Native identity.

Osissijenejo's purchase of a shirt is deceptively familiar and prompts several questions: why did she buy a shirt; why a shirt and not rum, lead shot, or any other type of manufactured good; and why did her purchase of that shirt cause European—especially British Anglican and later American—observers such profound anxiety? Most of the objects she perused in Albany were available to European consumers throughout the Atlantic world, and most of the clothing she and other women in her community purchased was recognizably European in origin.

Osissijenejo's reasons for buying her shirt, like the motives of the anonymous woman in the image below, are knowable now through indirect sources. Women like Osissijenejo and the anonymous woman below don't often appear in the historical record, and when they do it's often in brief, prosaic, anonymous moments, divorced from their own social and political context, or contextualized in a colonialist framework. Our view of the woman and baby in the watercolor is

5 On the intersection between material culture and binary gender roles in early America, see Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*; Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*; Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy : Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America*; Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*; Brown, *Foul Bodies*.

mediated by an unknown French painter, posed coquettishly without context. The image is difficult to place historically because it lacks accompanying archival metadata such as the painter's name, the location and circumstances of its creation, or even a date, let alone the name of the woman portrayed or the certainty that she was Mohawk.

Figure 1: Mohawk Woman, mid-eighteenth century. Anonymous French. Courtesy of the University of Kentucky Special Collections

As a colonial product, this watercolor is an embodiment of Europe and the people without history,[6] the social context and significance of the anonymous woman's choices in clothing erased by the European observer who recorded her. Though clothing is one of the most

6 Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 3–23.

personal, specific choices an individual makes, the creation of this image divorced the woman it portrays from any information which may have given her a knowable history of her own. Nameless and without historical context of her own, her anonymity is typical of many Native women in the historical record left by European observers, in which Native peoples' choices and agency were flattened and described only in the most general terms, if at all. Almost everything the woman is shown wearing was manufactured in Europe and purchased from a European trader, much of it also made by a white seamstress but embellished after purchase by an Iroquois seamstress. The slippage between European cloth and Iroquois clothing could be interpreted from a colonial vantage as an erasure of Iroquois material culture by European manufacturing and trade.

However, as a record of their daily, domestic choices, Osissijenejo's shirt and the anonymous woman's clothing reflect their conscious and unconscious self-positioning in both their own communities and larger regional and global networks of power. At the heart of Iroquois communities' domestic decision making away from the frontiers of contact with settler colonies, these women's choices shaped the economic and political face their nations presented to the world. In a period most copiously recorded from a European or American perspective, clothing offers an indirect way to examine Native women's agency in structuring their subsistence and commercial activities; in rejecting and remolding colonialist signifiers; and in inviting and directing the impact of global trade in their local contexts. Clothing is productive lens through which to examine how individuals choose to position themselves; how race, gender and communities are socially constructed and perceived; and how tensions over changes in

religion, consumption, and labor are worked out on a daily basis—especially in cross-cultural contact.

Consumer Agency in Historical Perspective

The current scholarship of Native trade and economic history in early America overstates both the role of violence in Native economic life and the damage done to Native communities by trade with Europeans. Based on the experience of Native groups in New England and the Southeast,[7] on examinations of post-colonial relations,[8] or proceeding from presumptions of inevitable Native decline in the face of European colonization,[9] this scholarship mistakes effect for cause, arguing that sustained engagement with European trade caused Native groups to engage in a spiral of market-driven hunting that fueled violence and economic dependence that inevitably led their communities to succumb to colonialism.

Recent scholarship on early modern European consumers has explored the new avenues of choice and self-determination made available to women and men throughout the Anglophone Atlantic World and the ways in which consumers used goods to declare community, family and other affiliations. However, relatively little similar work has been done on non-white communities,[10] and what work there is on the adoption of manufactured goods in Native

7 For scholarship of cross cultural trade in early New England and the Southeast, see Lenig, "Current Perspectives"; Richard White, *The Roots of Dependency : Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change Among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815, Indians of the Southeast* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993).

8 Ann M Carlos and Frank D Lewis, *Commerce by a Frozen Sea: Native Americans and the European Fur Trade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

9 Carter, "Chains of Consumption : the Iroquois and Consumer Goods, 1550-1800" 166-173, 237-247; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1992); James Axtell, "The First Consumer Revolution," in *Beyond 1492* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). 125-151.

10 One exception is Steeve O. Buckridge, *The Language of Dress : Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica,*

American groups stresses the destruction of traditional culture. In the literature of the early modern European and Euro-American consumer revolution, women's purchasing roles are framed as evidence of their agency, and consumption generally is framed as both a unifying political act and an exercise of individual self-determination.

The scholarship on Native trade focuses largely on dependency and cultural damage as the cause of land loss and economic underdevelopment. Native economic dependence was strongly tied to the ability to control their own lands, and scholars' flattening tribal and national differences obscures the uneven and contingent nature of colonialism and dependency in early America. By universalizing the experience of communities that bore the brunt of early colonial wars and epidemics, and that were wracked by debt and indenture to white landowners, the scholarship of Native history in early America replicates problematic narratives of the inevitably vanishing Indian and erases the agency of individual Native people and nations.

My project is located at the intersection of recent work in Native studies which highlights indigenous power in shaping contact[11] and scholarship on the Atlantic consumer revolution which examines social constructions of the body and economic activity.[12] My work here

1760-1890 (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004).

11 Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground : Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Nancy Shoemaker, *Negotiators of Change : Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Theda Perdue, *Sifters : Native American Women's Lives* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Paige Sylvia Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-Nineteenth-Century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Juliana Barr and William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman : Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

12 Kathleen M Brown, *Foul Bodies : Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Ann M. Little, *Abraham in Arms : War and Gender in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy : Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America*; TH Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution : Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Andera Cremer, "Possession: Indian Bodies, Cultural Control, and Colonialism in the Pequot War," *Early American Studies* 6, no. 2 (2008): 295–345; Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women : Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation : The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*; Finn, *The Character of*

foregrounds Native agency and examines the ways in which Iroquois women used clothing to construct race, gendered power, and political legitimacy, expanding the literature of the consumer revolution to include consideration of non-white purchasers and pushing back against scholarly narratives of American Indian cultural decline from an imagined static past. Examining Iroquois women's consumer and clothing choices revises current scholarly understanding of Native American trade dependence, the construction of racial categories in early America, and how Natives and Europeans envisioned their political and cultural compatibility in both the pre- and post-American Revolution periods.

From earliest contact with European traders, Iroquois consumers sought out goods that were neither the stereotype of a handful of beads, nor necessarily what Europeans at the time recognized as entirely rational economic choices (a perspective which has colored the historiography of Native trade). Rather, the entangled commercial system that Iroquois consumers developed reflected Native social and labor needs that were not always understandable to European observers, a distinction unrecognized in the lingering scholarly debate over Native actors as rational or romantic.[13] Iroquois consumers, unlike their European observers, regarded Iroquoia as a center and the Atlantic market as a periphery to be integrated, and made purchases that served their own communities' needs.

Shirts Powdered Red

Chapter one, "Four Hands of Long Cloth: Labor and Engagement with the Atlantic World of Goods, 1550-1700," examines early Iroquois adoption and use of European goods. Pre-

Credit : Personal Debt in English Culture, 1740-1914.

13 Bruce G Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 4 (March 1991): 1195–1215.

contact Iroquois continental trade networks with other Native groups and the adaptation of European goods before sustained contact with European colonies shaped eventual direct trade. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Native traders acquired increasing amounts of European goods for the same number of furs, decreasing the labor necessary to fill basic needs and resulting in a greater orientation of women's work to traditional decorative objects. Iroquois spatial mobility and control of their territories made sources of trade goods easily accessible without allowing European traders unsupervised access to Iroquois homelands, and seventeenth century fluctuations in beaver and other peltry exports were correlated to periods of epidemic disease, warfare, and cool diplomatic relations of the Iroquois confederacy towards European settlements, rather than depletion of hunting areas as has been previously argued. Osissijenejo's 1690 purchase of a shirt offers a lens through which to view the interaction of Native people with settler colonies in a non-colonialist context.

For nearly a century after contact, Iroquois people bought very little from European traders; only when prices for basic clothing items fell significantly did Iroquois families begin to replace leather garments with purchased cloth clothing. Before contact, making clothing for an adult took about eight beaver and four deer, but only about three beaver to buy it after 1690. Rather than re-organizing Iroquois labor arrangements towards market-driven hunting, as was the case in the eighteenth century Southeastern deerhide trade or the nineteenth century Hudson's Bay beaver trade with their higher relative prices for Native consumers,[14] engagement with the Atlantic market allowed Iroquois people to organize their lives in ways that were labor-minimizing.

14 Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*; Carlos and Lewis, *Commerce by a Frozen Sea: Native Americans and the European Fur Trade*. 51-58, 185.

In chapter two, "A Lace'd Coat Unbuttoned: Gender Performance, Cultural Entanglement and European Anxieties, 1650-1750," I argue that although Iroquois communities dealt with European colonies, the presence of colonies did not establish colonialism.[15] After 1687, Seneca involvement in the Albany trade rose, shaped both by safer travel conditions without the worry of French attacks, and as prices in Albany fell dramatically. Prices for cloth and clothing in the early seventeenth century had been almost prohibitively high—the number of furs necessary to purchase a garment was sometimes equal or greater than the number necessary to just make it from leather. By the 1690s, population growth in Albany and elsewhere brought increased competition between European traders, increasing the variety of goods carried and lowering their prices.

The material culture of indigenous groups that experience colonialism reflect violent enforcement of colonialist dress, foodways, and daily practice, a lack of other options, or a combination of these. Although subversion and hybridity is possible within colonialist systems, it is often accompanied by material separation of colonizer/colonized and de jure or de facto penalization of subversion. Materially, colonialism looks like the required use of imported materials at work and the subversive use of indigenous materials at home.[16] Colonialism looks like the use of imported goods because the skills or resources to make indigenous material

15 Kurt Jordan, "Colonies, Colonialism and Cultural Entanglement: The Archeology of Postcolumbian Intercultural Relations," in *International Handbook of Historical Archeology*, ed. Teresita Majewskiand and David Gaimster (New York: Springer, 2009). 31-49

16 For scholarship of the material culture of colonialism in Native communities, see Stephen W. Silliman, Lost Laborers in Colonial California : Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); Kent G. Lightfoot, Antoinette Martinez, and Ann M. Schiff, "Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California," American Antiquity 63, no. 2 (1998): 199–222; Paige Sylvia Raibmon, Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-nineteenth-century Northwest Coast (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Jean Comaroff, "The Empire's New Clothes: Fashioning the Colonial Subject," in Cross Cultural Consumption, ed. David Howes (New York: Routledge, 1996), 19–50.

culture no longer exist.[17] Colonialism looks like the enforced disuse of indigenous material culture and the colonial refiguring of indigenous material culture as Other.[18] The ability to compel changes to material culture, like the ability to categorize, manipulate, and symbolically refigure bodies,[19] perpetuates and reinforces colonial power. However, the ability to recast material and embodied experience requires power to begin. European power in the early seventeenth century reached barely beyond sight of coastal settlements, and certainly not into the heart of Iroquoia. Iroquois consumers utilized European manufactured goods in ways that facilitated and enhanced Iroquois social norms, domesticating imported goods to fit within Native semiotic and sartorial systems.

Iroquois consumers readily integrated European goods as part of their own construction of self, utilizing manufactured goods as raw materials divorced from their European context. This shift was possible because the security of Iroquois territories from European colonialist encroachment from the seventeenth to mid-eighteenth century meant that Iroquois people could be aware of, but not feel affected by, European material performances of civility, gender, and

17 For analysis of replacement of indigenous material culture in colonialist contexts, see Stephen W. Silliman, "Culture Contact or Colonialism? Challenges in the Archaeology of Native North America," American Antiquity 70 (2005): 55–74; S. W. Silliman, "Change and Continuity, Practice and Memory: Native American Persistence in Colonial New England," *American Antiquity.* 74, no. 2 (2009): 211–230; Mandell, Behind the Frontier : Indians in Eighteenth-century Eastern Massachusetts; Silverman, "The Impact of Indentured Servitude on the Society and Culture of Southern New England Indians, 1680-1810." David B. Guldenzopf, *The Colonial Transformation of Mohawk Iroquois Society.* Dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, Dept. of Anthropology, 1986.

18 For recent scholarship of colonialist Othering of indigenous material culture and bodies, see Robbie McVeigh and Bill Rolston, "Civilising the Irish," Race and Class 51, no. 1 (2009): 2–28; Londa L. Schiebinger, Plants and Empire : Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Cohn, Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India; Gil J. Stein, "Introduction: The Comparative Archaeology of Colonial Encounters.," in The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives, ed. Gil J. Stein (Santa Fe NM: School of American Research Press, 2005), 3–31; Beth Fowkes Tobin, Picturing Imperial Power : Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-century British Painting (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

19 For recent scholarship of the body in early America, see Brown, Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs : Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia; Fischer, Suspect Relations : Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina; Jennifer Spear, Race, Sex and Social Order in Early New Orleans (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

political legitimacy and use European goods in the construction of a Native identity. Although they engaged with and drew from the same Atlantic world of goods as European and North American white and black consumers,[20] shifts in Iroquois consumer culture were part of a broader pursuit of political and cultural sovereignty.

The scholarship of consumerism in early modern Europe and European settlements argues that the consumer revolution oriented labor arrangements toward working for buying's sake and the scholarship of Native American trade has largely assumed the same. In the Iroquois case, buying minimized the amount of work women and their families had to do to meet basic needs, freeing their time for other pursuits. Like the adoption of European or non-Iroquois Native captives into Iroquois families, European goods were integrated as part of the assemblage of a larger Iroquois whole, not completely divorced from their origins but not wholly defined by their origins either. Although global Native and non-European integration of European manufactured goods is often interpreted within the framework of hybridization, hybridity more accurately characterizes the masculine material performance in diplomatic spaces, where blended material culture was used to create a liminal middle ground open to multiple cultural players because it was possessed by none. Within the domestic space of Iroquois territories, European material culture was stripped of its European significations and recast as Iroquois signifiers, a domestication of formerly foreign goods that were not valued for their exoticism but rather their usefulness in constructing indigineity.

The category of "traditional" versus "new/exotic" simply did not operate in the early years of Iroquois contact with Europeans. Like all social constructs, tradition had first to be

20 For scholarship on the political agency of white and black early American consumers, see Hartigan-O'Connor, The Ties That Buy : Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America; Steeve O. Buckridge, The Language of Dress : Resistance and Accommodation in Jamaica, 1760-1890 (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004); Haulman, Politics of Fashion.

articulated and defined to be defended,[21] and by the early seventeenth century, integration of European goods had been normalized for almost a century. Cloth and other European goods were integrated quickly and smoothly into Iroquois material culture because the choice between "traditional" and "exotic" was not an either-or choice. Unlike their nineteenth century descendants, who would be faced with the unattractive choice between tradition and removal on one hand or assimilation and integration on the other,[22] seventeenth century Iroquois people did not face such a binary imposed from outside their communities.

Despite strong Iroquois interest in European manufactured goods, Native consumers adopted cloth without a corresponding interest in European style *clothing*. Unlike many other eastern Native groups,[23] the Iroquois were able to maintain the integrity of their home territories up through the American Revolution and negated settler attempts to coerce change in their communities through education and conversion, instead strategically inviting and directing change in ways which maintained their sovereignty. Anglican religious anxiety regarding

21 Liebmann M, "The Innovative Materiality of Revitalization Movements: Lessons from the Pueblo Revolt of 1680," *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 3 (2008): 360–72.

22 Hauptman, Conspiracy of Interests, 185-188, 191-199, 210-212; Hauptman and McLester, The Oneida Indian Journey. 53-69.

23 For the recent scholarship on the experience of contact for other eastern North American Native groups, see Daniel H. Usner, *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley : Social and Economic Histories* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees : Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Cambridge; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Little, *Abraham in Arms : War and Gender in Colonial New England*; Jill Lepore, *The Name of War : King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Knopf, 1998); Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*; Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads : Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Mandell, *Behind the Frontier : Indians in Eighteenth-Century Eastern Massachusetts*; Karen L. Anderson, *Chain Her by One Foot : The Subjugation of Women in Seventeenth-Century New France* (London; New York: Routledge, 1991); Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians out of Existence in New England*, Indigenous Americas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010); Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Indians and English : Facing off in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000); Amy C Schutt, *Peoples of the River Valleys: The Odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Bruce G Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic : A History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976); Richard White, *The Middle Ground : Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Iroquois conversion played a much greater role in Anglo-Iroquois interaction than previously recognized, and Iroquois engagement with European trade was shaped by Native social needs rather than colonialist pressure.

Social and economic entanglement of Iroquois, European and early republic American communities in early New York[24] gave white observers hope for the political and cultural incorporation of the Iroquois, though the meaning of this shifted over time and reflected European and American anxieties over the reproduction of their own cultures in the North American context.[25] Iroquois geographic position, which conveniently buffered vulnerable English colonies from New France and hostile Native groups further west, as well as Iroquois interest in European manufactures and mission schools all fueled British hopes that the Iroquois might fit within what David Armitage has called the emerging construction of the British empire as Protestant, maritime, republican and free.[26]

Like most ethnographic descriptions, European and American plans for Indian conversion reveal more about their writers than the purported subject of the description. Shifting European and American anxieties regarding Iroquois clothing from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century reflected European and American perceptions of their own communities' standards for political legitimacy, and Indian conversion became a venue, if a difficult and uncooperative one, to articulate the imagined characteristics of civility and later whiteness. Seventeenth century Dutch and English ambivalence regarding Iroquois conversion[27], both spiritual and material,

24 David Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

25 Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Little, *Abraham in Arms : War and Gender in Colonial New England*.

26 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 173.

27 On seventeenth century Dutch and English interaction with the Iroquois, see Donna Merwick, *Possessing*

reflected a concern for the niceties of political courtship and a willingness to acknowledge that Iroquois and European coexistence was possible (though not preferable) without the political incorporation of one by the other. Even as non-white, non-European and non-Christian, Iroquois political and military power in the seventeenth century forced European acknowledgement of the equivalency of European and Native nations, and the very limited scope of European colonialist ambitions.[28] Seventeenth century Iroquois interest in European cloth without a corresponding interest in adopting the signifiers of European clothing sufficed as a marker of possible political cohabitation if not political compatibility.

By the early eighteenth century and the visit of the "Four Indian Kings" to the English court, Iroquois and English thinkers had begun to entertain the possibility of political incorporation of the other, though the meaning of this potential integration differed markedly for each group. Iroquois political equivalency in earlier Dutch and English contact had relied on the principle of non-interference; early eighteenth century overtures of political compatibility on both sides hinted at the possibility of incorporating both individuals and nations in a broader structure. Rather than a mutually constructed hybrid, both English and Iroquois leaders

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Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Donna Merwick, *The Shame and the Sorrow : Dutch-Amerindian Encounters in New Netherland* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland : A Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009); Janny Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003); Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace : Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca; Cooperstown, N.Y.: Cornell University Press ; New York State Historical Association, 1993); Lenig, "Current Perspectives"; Thomas E Burke, *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady New York 1661-1710* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009); Lois M. Feister, "Linguistic Communication between the Dutch and Indians in New Netherland 1609-1664," *Ethnohistory* 20, no. 1 (1973): 25–38; Laurence M. Hauptman and Ronald G. Knapp, "Dutch-Aboriginal Interaction in New Netherland and Formosa: An Historical Geography of Empire," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 121, no. 2 (1977): 166–82; Oliver A Rink, *Holland on the Hudson : An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, N.Y.; Cooperstown, N.Y.: Cornell University Press ; New York State Historical Association, 1986); Allen W. Trelease, "Indian-White Contacts in Eastern North America: The Dutch in New Netherland," *Ethnohistory* 9, no. 2 (1962): 137–46.

28 Nicholas Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (October 1973): 575–98.

envisioned this political compatibility as the incorporation of the other within their own broadly-defined, pre-existing cultural paradigm. Especially during the 1710 visit of the Four Kings and early Anglican missionary overtures, English writers envisioned the Iroquois as essentially civil and easily incorporated as both Indian individuals and part of the British empire if only they would convert to Christianity.[29]

Early eighteenth century English writers were certain that Iroquois individuals and nations could remain culturally Native even if religiously converted and politically incorporated into a larger British whole. Iroquois individuals, for their part, remained uncooperatively disinterested in the religious conversion English writers envisioned as necessary for their political compatibility. Iroquois leaders pursued policies of political compatibility and incorporation at the national rather than individual level, seeking diplomatic and economic arrangements that would ensure the stability of Iroquois integration of European communities on the periphery of their territories already under way.[30]

Chapter three, "So Prittily Ingaged in Their Studies: Gendered and Racialized Labor in the Education of Civility 1750-1770," examines the tensions arising from Iroquois disinterest in European-style civility. Eighteenth century British political incorporation necessitated Christian conversion, and Christian conversion required material civility. British men's clothing was increasingly plain and somber in color as the eighteenth century wore on to advertise seriousness

29 For further on the "Four Indian Kings," see Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians in British Art, 1700-1840* (Norman: University Of Oklahoma Press, 2005); Eric Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 487–526; Laura M. Stevens, "Spare his life to save his soul": Enthralled Lovers and Heathen Converts in "The Four Indian Kings Garland." Atlantic Worlds in the Long Eighteenth Century: Seduction and Sentiment (2012): 97; Kevin R. Muller, "From Palace to Longhouse: Portraits of the Four Indian Kings in a Transatlantic Context," *American Art*, 22:33 (Fall 2008), 26-49; Richmond Pugh Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952; John G. Garratt and Bruce Robertson. *The four Indian kings*. Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985.

30 Jon Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods: Iroquoia 1534-1701* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2010). 54-55, 195-196, 201-202, 230, 234-237, 240-257, 271-273

and dedication to business and politics, while women's clothing was intended to advertise chastity, delicacy and refinement.[31] Although many British subjects did not themselves live up to those ideals,[32] they were the frame of reference against which British officials and missionaries formed their hopes and anxieties regarding Native clothing and conversion. For the British, religious conversion was economic conversion and vice versa.

With the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1754, many observers in Britain and North American had come to view Iroquois nations as politically compatible with British ambitions, but not Iroquois individuals. Although Iroquois nations remained essential military allies in the contest for dominance of the North American continent, Iroquois individuals' continued disinterest in adoption of European material mores underlined the performativity and instability of European-style civility and raised the worrying possibility that Iroquois nations might decide to pursue military as well as economic goals counter to British interests. In this framework, the political incorporation of Iroquois nations as distinct nations was essential to the continued safety of British colonies in North America, but was predicated on the material and religious conversion of Iroquois individuals through schemes like Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut.

Wheelock's school is a case study of diplomatic and domestic Anglo-Iroquois conflict over material and religious conversion. While previous scholarship has focused largely on Wheelock's Algonquian Indian alumni, due in part to the availability of bodies of papers written

31 David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity : England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). 20, 125-131143-149.

32 For the incivility of white British subjects in North America, see Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783*; Spear, *Race, Sex and Social Order in Early New Orleans*; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs : Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*; Merwick, *Possessing Albany*.

by those alumni,[33] both male and female Iroquois alumni were the majority of enrolled students and the school's funding from both colonial and metropolitan British sources was contingent on Iroquois enrollment.

Both Iroquois and British leaders hoped for the cultural and political compatibility of the other, and Wheelock's school revealed the fundamental tension in the construction of whiteness and civil European masculinity. In the process of being made fit to become British political subjects, Native boys and girls received their education in manual labor alongside enslaved men and women. Although the Iroquois represented the imagined key to British control of eastern North America, black and female labor was the unspoken foundation of the attempt to recreate British civility in new territory.[34] Iroquois communities and families actively sought to enroll their young adult children in Wheelock's school, but Wheelock's detractors and eventually Wheelock himself declared his Iroquois alumni failures because they used their educations to critique British racial hypocrisy and further Iroquois diplomatic goals rather than aiding the hoped-for mass conversion of their communities into a friendly buffer state under the British Crown.

Chapter four, "For Want of a Sufficiency: War, Conversion Efforts and Gendered Work in

33 For the scholarship of Wheelock's Algonquian alumni, see Laura J. Murray, "Pray Sir, Consider a Little: Rituals of Subordination and Strategies of Resistance in the Letters of Hezekiah Calvin and David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock," in *Early Native American Writing : New Critical Essays*, ed. Helen Jaskoski (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Joseph Johnson and Laura J. Murray, *To Do Good to My Indian Brethren : The Writings of Joseph Johnson, 1751-1776* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998); Daniel Littlefield, "'They Ought to Enjoy the Home of Their Fathers': The Treaty of 1838, Seneca Intellectuals, and Literary Genesis," in *Early Native American Writing : New Critical Essays*, ed. Helen Jaskoski (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Margaret Szasz, "'Poor Richard Meets the Native American: Schooling for Young Indian Women in Eighteenth Century Connecticut.,'" *Pacific Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (May 1980); James Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, ed. Michael Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984).

34 On the intersection between enslaved black labor and the construction of whiteness in early America, see Morgan, *Laboring Women*; Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*; Fischer, *Suspect Relations*; Edmund Sears Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom : The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: Norton, 2003).

the Early Reservation Period, 1770-1810," argues that shared Iroquois and American experiences as Atlantic consumers exacerbated conflicts over political legitimacy. The American Revolution is typically figured as a decisive breaking point in Iroquois history because it precipitated a series of land cessions and an unequal negotiating ground. However, examination of the pre- and post-revolutionary periods together reveal continuity in Iroquois goals of community integrity and sovereignty maintenance as opposed to previous scholarly focus on disruptive breaks in land control and agency. Social and economic exchange between Iroquois and settler groups had fostered similar levels (in degree, if not kind) of property accumulation in Iroquois and Euroamerican communities on the eve of the war,[35] and attacks on Iroquois communities and bodies during the war focused on symbolic denials of Native claims to civility and political legitimacy. In the immediate post-war period, Iroquois leaders utilized the rhetoric of white and Native religious revivals as well as appeals to natural law and the new Constitution to critique American barbarity in land seizures.

Early post-Revolution American sovereignty was delicate enough that the continued sovereignty of Indian nations within the same space could not be tolerated, prompting the violent shift away from viewing Native individuals or nations as politically compatible under any circumstances. "Such small bodies" could not "be permitted to exist" within the envisioned bounds of the new American nation.[36] When early nineteenth century Americans pressured Iroquois reservation communities to learn to spin, weave and sew their own clothing or face removal west, it meant dismantling a commercial culture that Iroquois people had been using for more than two hundred years to reinforce their political and cultural identity as Iroquois. Faced

35 Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 20-21, 288-291.
36 United States War Department, "Report of the Secretary of War," December 5, 1818, HM 34684, Huntington Library.

with the choice between removal or acceptance of an age of homespun, which Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has argued was imaginary even for the white American communities that deployed it as a marker of political legitimacy,[37] the Iroquois were forced into a position of accepting economic underdevelopment as the price of remaining on their New York reservations.

In chapter five, "We Are Real Indians in Our Everys: The Parker Family, Lewis Henry Morgan and Making a Modern Traditionality, 1810-1860," the early nineteenth educational and anti-colonial efforts of Caroline Parker Mount Pleasant, anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan's influential primary informant, and other women like her reveals the political nature of Iroquois women's domestic work well into the reservation period.[38] These women and their families used clothing and religious rhetoric to position Iroquois communities as more civilized than western Native nations as an argument against removal, as well as reject and critique the hardening American black/white racial binary. Reconstructed Iroquois social networks from mission registers, veterans' records, school and census rolls, show that Iroquois women used gifts of clothing to maintain connections between reservations in New York and communities who moved between Canada, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Oklahoma. An overdress made by Caroline Parker Mount Pleasant during her time at Albany Normal School and later worn by her in the iconic photograph of "traditional Iroquois women's dress" in Lewis Henry Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* articulated her views of Iroquois traditional culture as modern, dignified,

37 Laurel Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, 1st ed (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 2001). 17-40.

38 For the recent scholarship of Mount Pleasant's life and her relationship with Morgan, see Elisabeth Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Anthony Wallace and Deborah Holler, "Reviving the Peace Queen: Revelations from Lewis Henry Morgan's Field Notes on the Tonawanda Seneca," *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 5 (2009): 90–109; Yael Ben-Zvi, "Where Did Red Go?: Lewis Henry Morgan's Evolutionary Inheritance and US Racial Imagination." *The New Centennial Review* 7:2 (2007): 201-229; Yael Ben-zvi, "National Appropriations and Cultural Evolution: The Spatial and Temporal US of Lewis Henry Morgan's Native America." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 33:3 (2003): 211-230.

and separate from white middle class American civility. Iroquois women like Mount Pleasant actively positioned their nations' traditions in conversation with European and American discourse on modernity by creating clothing for themselves, their families, and the tourist trade which deliberately blended Iroquois traditional aesthetics with antebellum ideals of republican motherhood and social hygiene.[39]

Iroquois writers in the Removal period also deployed this insistence on the potential for the political incorporation of Native individuals, but they did so as part of a broader critique of American assimilationism and attempts to deconstruct Iroquois sovereignty. Caroline Parker Mountpleasant's political act of creating clothing for the New York State Museum, although erased by Lewis Henry Morgan and later scholars because of its domestic nature, underlined the political nature of all women's domestic work. Only with colonialist pressures to perform Americanness as a condition of retaining land sovereignty did an articulation of traditional material culture as different than everyday clothing become a salient distinction. As a political marker in the nineteenth century, Iroquois clothing functioned as both an assertion of political legitimacy and a rejection of political assimilation. Nineteenth century Iroquois women's creation of clothing, from everyday adaptations, to special occasion silk overdresses, to Mountpleasant's cotton and wool ensemble for the State Museum, was a symbolic construction of historical memory and political legitimacy.

By looking at why Native people chose to engage in trade with Europeans, and how what they bought changed over time, we can see that political violence and land loss caused debt and trade dependence rather than vice versa. The Iroquois were able to keep control of their land and

39 On the intersection of early nineteenth century constructions of beauty, cleanliness and race, see Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities : The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle; Montreal, Quebec: University of Washington Press ; McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998); Brown, *Foul Bodies*.

territories well into the American Revolution, they were able to use trade with Europeans to their own advantage until targeted violence during the American Revolution resulted in land cessions on an unprecedented scale. By approaching the history of trade and contact with the assumption that it could only result in colonialism and loss for Native people, we write history with the assumption that Europeans were somehow inevitably stronger than Native groups and erase the conscious use of violence in American seizure of Native land.

Native women in early America engaged with European settlements, and the access to Atlantic trade those settlements offered, in ways which fit within their own communities' needs and social systems of constructed meaning. Iroquois communities very consciously used European materials to construct themselves as Iroquois, demanding clothing and reworking cloth that reinforced their cultural and political sovereignty. Seventeenth and eighteenth century women's choices in the structure of subsistence and domestic labor shaped more explicitly political choices later in the nineteenth era of removal, as traditional moved from an implicitly understood but uncontested category to an explicit and deeply contested one.

This examination of Iroquois women's labor and consumer agency begins with a purchased shirt and ends with a homemade dress. Osissijenejo's seventeenth century purchase of a white linen shirt and Caroline Parker Mountpleasant's nineteenth century red calico dress were separated by almost two hundred years and many economic, religious and social changes, and yet both were political in the meanings they conveyed about each woman's position in her own community and the wider context of early America.

Chapter One

Four Hands of Long Cloth: Labor and Engagement with the Atlantic World of Goods, 1550-1700

Osissijenejo bought her shirt in 1690, but by the time she did, Iroquois people had been in direct contact with Europeans for more than a century, and had enjoyed sustained trade relations with the Dutch at Albany for most of living memory. Nor was direct trade with Europeans the first Iroquois experience of long-distance, intercultural exchange.

European goods first entered Iroquois communities via established Native trade routes, some from the St. Lawrence Valley to the north, some from the Chesapeake to the south,[1] exotics with powerful potential like other white, bright and light things already exchanged through indigenous networks.[2] Before direct contact with European people, European goods were integrated smoothly into Iroquois cosmogony and use[3]—so smoothly, in fact, that ornaments made from reworked kettles are often visually indistinguishable from ornaments made of native copper.[4]

What sixteenth and seventeenth century Iroquois people heard, knew, or thought about the people who produced such goods is impossible to say;[5] Iroquois people valued crystals and glass, copper, iron, silver and brass for the potentialities they carried for spiritual well-being.

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1 Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 43, 58 William Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press., 2003).131-132

2 George R Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture and Contact.," *American Indian Quarterly* 16 (1992): 451–469; Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 2 (1986); Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 47

3 Dean Snow, *Mohawk Valley Archaeology*, 1st ed. (University Park Penn.: Matson Museum of Anthropology The Pennsylvania State University, 1995). 29-30 Donald Lenig, "Of Dutchmen, Beaver Hats, and Iroquois," in *Current Perspectives in Northeastern Archaeology: Essays in Honor of William A. Ritchie in Northeastern Archaeology: Essays in Honor of William A. Ritchie*, ed. Robert Funk and Charles Hayes, vol. 1, Researches and Transactions of New York State Archaeological Association 17 (Rochester, NY, 1977). 71-84 Bruce G Trigger, "The Mohawk-Mahican War (1624–1628): The Establishment of a Pattern," *Canadian Historical Review* 52 (1971): 276–286. Bruce Trigger, *Natives and Newcomers Canada's "Heroic Age" Reconsidered* (Kingston Ont: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986). 148

4 Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 67 "Only with spectrographic testing or other analytical procedures can the differences [between native and exotic copper] be observed."

5 For speculation on the supernatural power Iroquois people ascribed to Europeans, see Miller and Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade"; Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture and Contact." 451-469; Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World*. 108.

Rather than economic wealth, white shells, clear stones, and bright metals ensured social, physical and spiritual health and success.[6] Unlike European paradigms of wealth and power, the potency of these spiritually important objects lay in their circulation, not in their holding: the person who hoarded such things drew accusations of witchcraft for attempting to harm the social well-being of the community.[7]

Initially, Iroquois traders acquired and used European goods as small, reworked items that fit preexisting roles. Kettles were disassembled and the pieces used as small knives, hide scrapers, pendants, awls, and beads, ceramic pieces were bored with holes for hanging, and lead shot was remolded as small figures.[8] It is in this context Iroquois people purchased European cloth once direct contact was established.

Archaeologically, lead cloth seals (used to track payment of customs and other taxes in Europe) appeared in Iroquois villages after 1625 in Onondaga country, and cloth first appeared in Seneca graves after 1635.[9] Archivally, cloth appeared alongside furs and hides in written descriptions of Iroquois clothing. In 1628, the first Dutch description of Iroquois clothing noted that it left the body "almost naked. In the winter time they usually wear a dressed deer skin; some have a bear's skin about the body; some a coat of scales; some a covering made of turkey

6 Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture and Contact."; Miller and Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade." 451-469

7 Engelbrecht, *Iroquoia: The Development of a Native World*.108; Bruce G Trigger, "Maintaining Economic Equality in Opposition to Complexity: An Iroquoian Case Study," in *The Evolution of Political Systems: Sociopolitics in Small-Scale Sedentary Societies*, ed. Steadman Upham (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 119–145; Bruce G Trigger, "Iroquoian Matriliny," *Pennsylvania Archaeologist* 48, no. 1–2 (1978): 62; Gary A. Warrick, "Evolution of the Iroquoian Longhouse," in *People Who Lived in Big Houses: Archaeological Perspectives on Large Domestic Structures*, ed. Gary Coupland and E.B. Banning, Monographs in World Archaeology 27 (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1996), 16. For parallels with the importance early modern British thinkers placed on the circulation of money to prevent the stagnation of the body politic, see Deborah M. Valenze, *The Social Life of Money in the English Past* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

8 Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 75, 80, 146

9 Ibid. 152-153 and Maeve Kane, "Covered with Such a Cappe: The Archaeology of Seneca Clothing 1615-1820," *Ethnohistory* 61, no. 1 (Winter 2014). 1-25

feathers which they understand how to knit together very oddly, with small strings. They also use a good deal of duffel cloth, which they buy from us, [the Dutch at Fort Orange] and which serves for their blanket by night, and their dress by day."[10]

Cloth appeared interchangeable with furs in the early seventeenth century Iroquois wardrobe. Dutch minister Johannes Megapolensis chuckled at Iroquois vanity in 1644, writing that "in winter, they hang about them simply an undressed deer or bear or panther skin . . . or they buy of us Dutchmen two and a half ells of duffel, and that they hang simply about them, just as it was torn off, without sewing it, and walk away with it. They look at themselves constantly, and think they are very fine."[11] When first described in writing in 1628, Iroquois people had traded and used European metal and glass for nearly a century.[12] These white, bright and light things did enter Iroquoia valued for their exoticism, but there is no evidence that they were viewed as any more exotic or powerful than "traditional" exotics such as white shell or crystal.

Although by 1628 it was already prosaic, loom woven cloth was a relatively recent addition to Iroquois material culture. During Henry Hudson's 1609 venture up the river that now bears his name, his officer Robert Juet noted the large quantity of brass and copper possessed by the native people and their eagerness to trade for more, but made no mention of either their possession or interest in cloth.[13] The cloth trade may have only begun with the establishment of Dutch Fort Nassau in 1614, or perhaps only later, in 1623, when the "Mahikanders or River Indians, [the] Maquase: Oneydes: Onondages Cayougas and Sinnekes, Mahawawa or Ottawaes

10 Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*."Letter of Isaack de Rasieres to Samuel Blommaert, 1628" 106

11 Ibid."A Short Account of the Mohawk Indians, their Country, Language, Stature, Dress, Religion and Government, thus described and recently, August 26, 1644, sent out of New Netherland, by Johannes Megapolensis the younger, Preacher there." 173-174

12 Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 74

13 Quoted Ibid. 112

Indians came and made Covenants of friendship" with the Dutch at Orange, offering "great Presents of Bever" and requesting free trade.[14] If 1614, cloth went from new and exotic to prosaic in less than fourteen years; if 1623, only five. In Europe, imports like chocolate, tea, calico, tobacco, rice, tomatoes and potatoes took much longer to grow popular.[15]

Early settler colonies, whether French, Dutch, English or Swedish, edged the frontiers of Iroquoia, but the reach of their colonialist power extended in those early years only to the bounds of their settlements, or perhaps to eye- or gunshot range.[16] Dutch diplomat Harman van den Bogaert's 1634 envoy to the Mohawk and Oneida foundered at times because the three Dutchmen had difficulty finding guides willing to travel with them through the deep December snows of the Mohawk Valley, and those guides they did find showed a distinct disinterest in whether the Dutchmen were able to keep up with the pace of travel.[17] Champlain's 1615 excursion against the Onondaga ended in "loss and shame" with two arrow wounds.[18] Peaceful Europeans relied on Iroquois aid and sufferance, but hostile Europeans who became entangled in indigenous conflicts found their goals, and frequently those of their Native allies, thwarted. Despite the best efforts of the French, the free indigenous travel through and beyond Iroquoia represented by trade at Fort Orange remained unimpeded.[19]

14 E. B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: New York State Secretary's Office, 1849). 3:51. For discussion of early Dutch trade along the Hudson, see Simon Hart, *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company: Amsterdam Notarial Records of the First Dutch Voyages to the Hudson* (Amsterdam: City of Amsterdam Press, 1959). 17-21 Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. 47 E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, Printers, 1853). 1:14

15 Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: a History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008). 1-12

16 Kurt Jordan, "Colonies, Colonialism and Cultural Entanglement: The Archeology of Postcolumbian Intercultural Relations," in *International Handbook of Historical Archeology*, ed. Teresita Majewskiand and David Gaimster (New York: Springer, 2009). 31-49

17 Herman van den Bogaert, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country 1634 - 1635*, 1. ed. (Syracuse New York: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1988). 6

18 Pierre-Franҫois-Xavier de Charlevoix and John Gilmary Shea, *History and General Description of New France* (New York: John Gilmary Shea, 1866).2:29

19 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 32-35, 19-21, 118-119, 175-179

Absent European colonialist pressure, Iroquois people increasingly sought out woven cloth in place of hide garments as part of their own labor-minimizing subsistence cycles. In the first written description of Iroquois clothing penned in 1628, woven cloth appears as an unexceptional substitute for hide or fur coverings, interchangeable with leather garments. A generation later, in the 1650s, "they use[d] for the most part duffels cloth, which they obtain in barter from the Christians. They make their stockings and shoes of deer skins or elk's hide, and some have shoes made of corn-husks."[20] In 1655, Adrien Van Der Donck observed that leather had become a substitute for cloth, rather than fabric serving as a substitute for hide. "Before duffel cloth was common in that country, and sometimes even now when it cannot be had, they took for [breechclouts] some dressed leather or fur, cut it like such a cloth and made it fit."[21] Thirty to forty years after its introduction, cloth had achieved first equivalence, then substitution as a presumably more desirable option.

Native people initially sought out cloth for the same sort of accessible novelty offered to them by kettles and knives[22] and to Europeans by calicoes, tea, tobacco and chocolate,[23] but cloth underwent a process of syncretic domestication. Cloth and beads in the Iroquois context

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20 Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*."The Representation of New Netherland, 1650" 301

21 Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, *In Mohawk Country : Early Narratives About a Native People* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996)."Description of New Netherland. 1653. Adriaen Cornelissen van der Donck." 109

22 Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois 75-80*; Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture and Contact." 451-469; Miller and Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade." 322-323; Rothschild, Nan. "Colonialism, Material Culture, and Identity in the Rio Grande and Hudson River Valleys." International Journal of Historical Archaeology 10, no. 1 (2006): 72–107.

23 On the adoption of novelty and luxury consumer goods in Europe and European settlements, see Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*; Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*; Vries, *The Industrious Revolution : Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*; Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*; Roche, *A History of Everyday Things : the Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*; TH Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). Norton, *Sacred Gifts*.

underwent symbolic recasting, becoming significant not from their origins as imports, but because of their potential as raw materials for creating Iroquois identity. In addition to their use as materials for innovative reworking, items like kettles and knives filled already-known material niches within Iroquois daily practice, substituting and coexisting with stone and ceramic items that performed the same function.[24] European luxury imports like calico, tea, tobacco and chocolate were integrated into British material culture as markers of refinement and props in the performance of respectability. These items retained their status as markers of refinement precisely because of their remaining valence as expensive, imported luxuries that showed the consumer's sophisticated taste.[25]

The benefit Native people sought in acquiring goods like kettles, knives, and cloth has long been assumed to be technological. Kettles were lighter and more thermally efficient than ceramic cooking vessels, knives sharper and more durable than stone, cloth lighter, more colorful, more washable than hide.[26] European observers certainly shared this outlook, noting, as

24 Rogers Daniel, *Objects of Change: The Archaeology and History of Arikara Contact with Europeans* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990) 107-108, 190; Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 146

25 Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*, 81-82.

26 For examples of this argument, see EE Rich, *The Fur Trade and the Northwest to 1857* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967).:102-3; Bruce G Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic Versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *The Journal of American History* 77, no. 4 (March 1991): 1195–1215.; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1992).; Charles Bishop, *The Northern Ojibwa and the Fur Trade: An Historical and Ecological Study* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1974); Charles Bishop, "Cultural and Biological Adaptations to Deprivation," in *Extinction and Survival in Human Populations*, ed. Charles D. Laughlin and Ivan A. Brady (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978).;James Axtell, *The Invasion Within : the Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 10; James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 134; James Axtell, "The First Consumer Revolution," in *Beyond 1492* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 154. For a discussion of the problematic nature of this argument, see Enrique Rodriguez Alegria, "Narratives of Conquest, Colonialism, and Cutting-Edge Technology," *American Anthropologist* 110, no. 1 (2008): 33–43; Laura Peers, *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870* (St. Paul MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1994), 11; Eleanor Blain, "Dependency: Charles Bishop and the Northern Ojibwa," in *Aboriginal Resource Use in Canada: Historical and Legal Aspects*, ed. Kerry M Abel and Jean Friesen (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1991); Paul Thistle, *Indian-European Trade Relations in the Lower Saskatchewan River Region to 1840* (Winnipeg:

one Dutch observer did, that "they trade their beavers for duffels cloth, which we give for them, and which they find more suitable than the beavers, as they consider it better for the rain,"[27] and early observers' disgust for Native bodies and hide clothing is evident in their descriptions of "foul and dirty"[28] or "careless and indifferent"[29] Native people.[30]

Native people sought out European manufactured goods for their own reasons. Rather than see use for their original, European, "toil-alleviating"[31] purposes, kettles, axes and other early trade goods were substantially reworked before being put to use in other labor-saving ways as awls, small scrapers, knives, and decorations. In the mid-seventeenth century, Iroquois use of European metal trade goods shifted as the reworking patterns of the early part of the century begin to coexist alongside the use of items such as kettles and axes for their manufactured purposes.[32] Cloth does not appear to have followed the same pattern; Iroquois use of European cloth remained limited until the end of the seventeenth century, when cloth prices dropped significantly.

For the Iroquois, cloth was "toil-alleviating," but not necessarily in the European sense. When prices fell, cloth became more attractive than hide and fur garments not for the labor it saved in *use*, but rather the labor it saved in its *acquisition*. The shift to purchased cloth

University of Manitoba Press, 1986). The perseverance of the "quick replacement" thesis is the corollary to the argument of swift and inevitable European triumph due to superior technology (see Rodriguez Alegria, "Narratives of Conquest, Colonialism, and Cutting-Edge Technology." for this argument).

27 Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. 216

28 Ibid., 216.

29 Charles Wooley, Edward Gaylord Bourne, and E. B. O'Callaghan, *A Two Years' Journal in New York, and Part of Its Territories in America*, (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1902), 35.

30 For further analysis of European reactions to Native peoples' bodies and dress, see Gordon M. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature*, 1997. 218-248. For discussion of evolving early modern European standards of dress, hygiene, and civility, see Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*; David Kuchta, *The Three-piece Suit and Modern Masculinity : England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

31 William A Ritchie, *Dutch Hollow: An Early Historic Period Seneca Site in Livingston County, New York* (Albany: New York State Archaeological Association, 1954). 1

32 Bradley, *Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois*. 146

reoriented men's work from deer hunting to beaver trapping, and women's work from the basic production tasks of tanning and smoking hides to decorative embellishment.

Four Hands of Long Cloth

Price information is sketchy at best for the seventeenth century, but the prices for cloth and other goods at Albany dropped precipitously by the end of the century. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Native traders acquired increasing amounts of European goods for the same number of furs. As relative prices declined, this impacted both the attractiveness of European goods and the ability of large numbers of Iroquois people to acquire and use them.

The earliest price data is the most tentative. In winter 1635, Harman Van Den Bogaert headed a three-man diplomatic-economic envoy from Dutch Fort Orange (later to become Albany) to try to increase Dutch fur exports. Van Den Bogaert was able to promise little and accomplish less, but his record of negotiations suggests that the high prices Dutch traders demanded and the low supply they kept on hand discouraged Iroquois hunters from making the long trip to Orange. Several Oneida sachems "requested that they would like to have four hands[33] of [wampum] and four hands of long cloth for each large beaver because 'We have to travel so far with our pelts and when we arrive we often find no cloth, no [wampum], no axes, kettles or anything else; thus we have labored in vain.' Then we have to go back a long way carrying our goods."[34]

Van Den Bogaert could not promise the requested exchange of four hands of cloth per beaver, implying that the then-current rate of exchange was much higher. To make a complete

33 One hand equals about four inches.
34 Snow, Gehring, and Starna, *In Mohawk Country : Early Narratives About a Native People*, 15.

blanket required twenty-two hands of fabric,[35] and even the requested lower price would have cost five and a half beavers to purchase a cloth blanket. No wonder, then, that Iroquois people did not rush to exchange their beaver mantles for blankets: six beavers sufficed made a mantle without the long trip to Orange.[36]

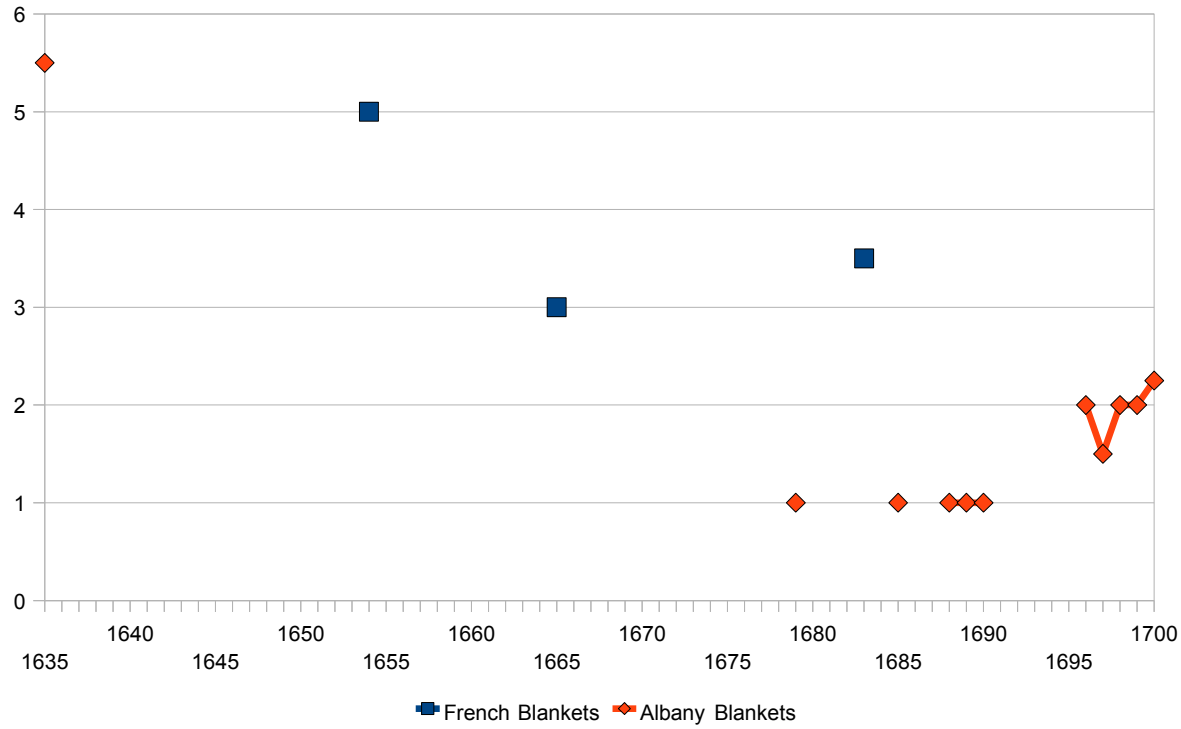

Table 1: Blanket Prices in Beaver, 1635-1700

Sources: **Albany, 1635**: Van Den Bogaert. **Albany, 1679-1688**: Unidentified Dutch Trader's Account Book, RAC. **Albany, 1689-1700**: Wendell, *To Do Justice to Him and Myself* **French 1654 and 1683**: Price at Trois Rivieres. Kent, *Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit.* **French 1665**: Price at St. Lawrence. Kent, *Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit.* French prices have been kept separate by location of trade fair. When multiple prices at Albany or French sites were available for a single location and year, they have been averaged.

Although the porous and unenforceable[37] Westindische Compangie (WIC) monopoly on the fur trade was broken for all practical purposes by the 1640s,[38] it was not until after the Third

35 Ibid., 109. "As covering for the upper part of the body both men and women use a sheet of duffel cloth of full width [165cm], it nine and a half quarter-ells and about three ells long [210cm]."
36 Timothy Kent, *Fort Pontchartrain At Detroit*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (Ossineke Mich: Silver Fox Enterprises, 2001).841
37 Oliver A Rink, *Holland on the Hudson : an economic and social history of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, N.Y.; Cooperstown, N.Y.: Cornell University Press ; New York State Historical Association, 1986). 68-90
38 Ibid. 116.

Anglo-Dutch War (1672-1674) and the final disposition of New Netherland as New York that prices at Albany dropped considerably. Settled shipping and an earlier growth in population[39] brought steadier supplies and more competition among traders. At only one beaver per blanket, the six beaver hides necessary in 1635 to warm one person could be used to clothe six by 1679. With linen shirts at only one beaver as well,[40] six people could buy most of their clothing with what previously would have only barely covered two. The hunting, trapping, tanning, smoking and sewing of hides to clothe one person in 1679 required less than twenty percent the time and effort it had required in 1635.

An adult man needed two doe hides for a pair of leggings, another deer hide for a breechclout, and six to eight beaver skins for a mantle. An adult woman required one doe for leggings, two for a skirt, and five or six beaver hides for a mantle. Both needed a buck deer hide per year for moccasins.[41]

Item	1680-1690	1690-1700	1700-1710
Breechclout	½ beaver	2 martens or ½ beaver	2 martens or ½ beaver
Leggings and Shoes	2 martens and 1 otter or 1 beaver	2 beaver or 4 martens	1 beaver and 3 martens or 7 martens
Shirt	1 beaver	1 beaver or 4 martens	1 beaver or 4 martens
Blanket	1 beaver	1 beaver	1 beavers
Total	3 ½ beaver	4 ½ beaver	4 ½ beaver

Table 2: Retail prices of clothing, 1680-1710[42]

39 Janny Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003). 109 and 183

40 "Account Book of an Unidentified Dutch Trader."

41 Richard Michael Gramly, "Deerskins and Hunting Territories: Competition for a Scarce Resource of the Northeastern Woodlands," *American Antiquity* 42, no. 4 (1977): 601–605.

42 **1680-1690:** "Account Book of an Unidentified Dutch Trader." *Breechclout:* 1690 482a Sucksenede; *Leggings and Shoes:* 1685 481b Schardine, 1689 491a Mattoch his wife, 1689 487b Kannenaron Agheydeonack, 1689 487b Anachtoge, 1688 483a Kannenearen his brother Kakaijde; *Shirt:* 1688 481b SaracEkowanne of Niennes, 1679 480 Nichaocke, 1686 480 Sewachnodaghe, 1689 484b Jonieen, 1689 482b Onnakarinnie; *Blanket:* See Table 1. **1690-1700:** Evert Wendell, Kees-Jan Waterman, and Gunther Michelson, *"To Do Justice to Him &*

Although prices rose towards the turn of the century from the lows of the 1680s, even at the end of the seventeenth century, the cost of clothing for one adult purchased through Albany traders still represented less labor than the creation of comparable clothing from hides alone. Considering the communal clothing needs of even a small twenty-person longhouse and the communal efforts of the resident women in preparing hide clothing and of men in hunting, the benefit of purchasing clothing is staggering. Before contact, a small longhouse needed at least sixty deer and ninety beaver a year for clothing alone, but by 1679, they needed only eighty beaver.

A Great Scarcity of Peltry

The relative cheapness of manufactured goods has been assumed to have driven over-hunting and depletion of Iroquois territories,[43] and the logic of the European consumer revolution would suggest the same.[44] Seventeenth century European consumers were experiencing a

Myself" : Evert Wendell's Account Book of the Fur Trade with Indians in Albany, New York, 1695-1726 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008).his is a rough estimate—Wendell did not record the sales of breechclouts, but he did record sales of small pieces of cloth. The figure here is based on those entries. 16, 23, 25, 33, 41, 75, 76, 94, 96. *Leggings:* 8, 17, 21, 23, 29, 32, 37, 39, 40, 42; *Shoes*: 7, 21, 32; *Shirts:* 4, 22, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 42; *Blankets:* 4, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 35, 37, 42. **1700-1710:** *Ibid.Shoes*: 19, 42, 45 *Leggings*: 3, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 31, 33, 34, 36, 40, 41, 42, 45, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60, 62, 63, 64, 65, 71, 76, 77, 80, 84, 86, 87, 92, 94, 95, 96, 98, 101, 102, 103, 105, 107, 109, 113, 115, 116, 117; *Blanket*: 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 29, 30, 36, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 6, 63, 67,68, 69, 70, 71, 77, 80, 83, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 105, 112, 114, 115, 117. martens have been converted to beaver using equivalencies Wendell used: 3 or 4 martens were converted to one beaver.

43 Shepard Krech, *The Ecological Indian : Myth and History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1999) 173-200; Ann M Carlos and Frank D Lewis, *Commerce by a Frozen Sea: Native Americans and the European Fur Trade* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) 106-129; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse* 96-99, 205, 270-271; William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) 82-107.

44 See Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter : Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998); Styles and Vickery, *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*; Hunt, *The Middling Sort Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*; Roche, *A History of Everyday Things : the Birth of Consumption in France, 1600-1800*; Weatherill, *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660-1760*; Brewer and Porter, *Consumption and the World of Goods*; Alan Craig Houston, *Benjamin Franklin*

paradigm shift in their view of work: they increasingly worked in order to pursue consumer goods, rather than accessing consumer goods as a product of their work.[45] In Europe, this paradigm shift resulted first in increased household production for the market and later worker willingness to engage in wage work.

Data on New Netherland/New York beaver exports for the seventeenth century are scant outside the period of the WIC monopoly of 1621-1634, and a number of problems present themselves in using these data. The exports are only those out of New York, excluding Iroquois exports through other French or English colonies; there is very little extant information concerning exports after 1663; exports between 1635 and 1663 are based on rough contemporary estimates rather than reported revenue;[46] extant documentation excludes possible illegal or unreported trade.[47] The extraordinarily high years of 1650, 1657, 1660, and 1685 may be outliers,[48] but a general increase to ten to fifteen thousand beaver per year at the end of the century is apparent. The surviving information gives a rough idea of the volume of the trade in the Northeast, and considered in conjunction with current estimates of Iroquois demographics for the period can suggest Iroquois involvement in the trade.

Based on the most recent estimates of Iroquois population during the seventeenth century,

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and the Politics of Improvement (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities : Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Kuchta, *The Three-piece Suit and Modern Masculinity : England, 1550-1850*.

45 Vries, *The Industrious Revolution : Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. 122-186.

46 Jaap Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland : a Dutch Settlement in Seventeenth-century America* (Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2009). 201. Adrien Van Der Donck's late seventeenth century estimate of eighty thousand beaver killed annually in the 1640s and 1650s has been excluded from this analysis given its incongruity with contemporary quantitative reports.

47 For a discussion of the illegal fur trade between New France and New York during the eighteenth century, see Jean Lunn, *The Illegal Fur Trade Out of New France 1713-1760*, Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1939. 61-76

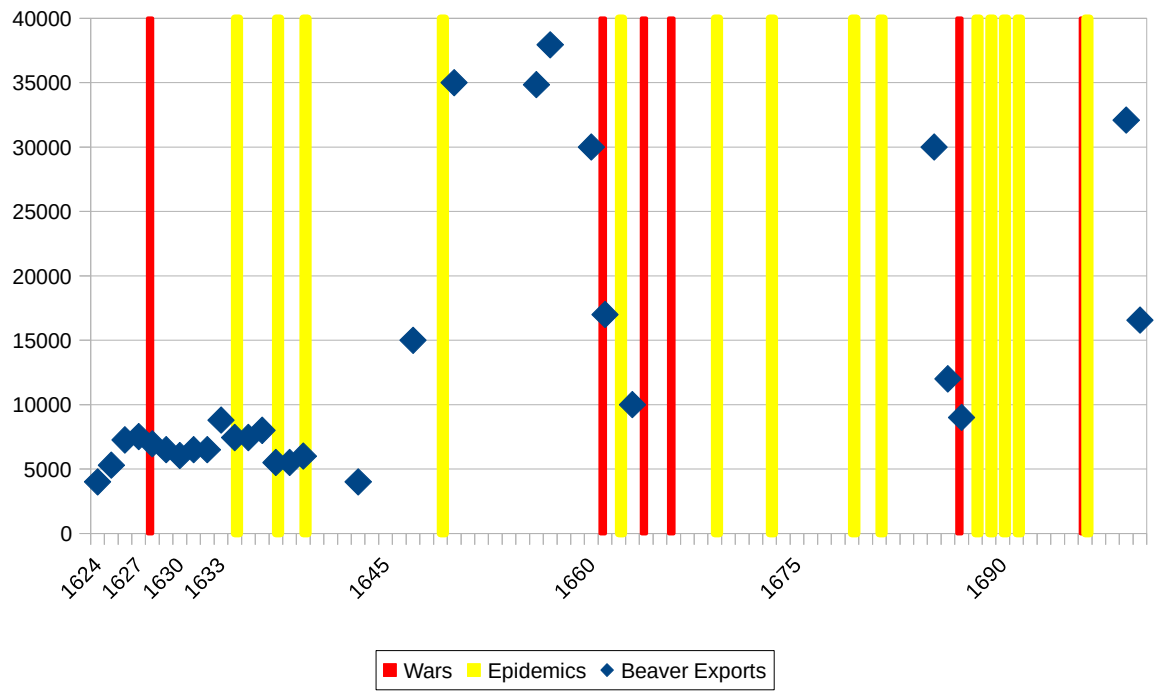
48 José António Brandão, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More : Iroquois Policy Toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). 67

Iroquois population fell early in the century, then stabilized near ten thousand for the remainder of the century.[49] The Iroquois were, of course, not the only Native people who sold furs through Albany: contemporary traders record accounts with Susquehannocks, Mahicans, Ottawas, Schaghticokes, and "Canadian" Indians (that is, Laurentian Iroquois), but the Iroquois were the primary suppliers for the 17th century Albany market, especially of beaver.[50] The relative stability of Iroquois population levels late in the century suggests that changes in the overall level of beaver exports out of New Netherland/New York were tied to Iroquois production or supply.

49 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. Appendix 2, 289.

50 "Account Book of an Unidentified Dutch Trader"; Wendell, Waterman, and Michelson, *To Do Justice*; Thomas Elliot Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York 1686-1776* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974) 27-42; Thomas E Burke, *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady New York 1661-1710* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009). 196-222

Table 3: Beaver Exports During Times of War and Disease, 1600-1700



Source: **1624-1663**: Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 201; **1685-1686** Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York*, 100; **1687** Munsell, *Collections of the History of Albany* 384. Data for exports after 1690 is quantified in pounds sterling (NY currency) rather than hides, taken from Cutcliffe, *Indians, Furs and Empires*, 89; contemporary prices have been used to convert pounds to pelts. For pricing, see Norton. Note that dates for which a value of zero is given indicates that there is no data for that year, not necessarily that there were no exports that year. For incidence of epidemics and foreign incursions into Iroquoia, see Parmenter 2010.

The scholarship of the Iroquois fur trade[51] has debated whether Iroquoia was depleted of beaver in 1640,[52] or 1660,[53] or 1670,[54] but Iroquois people managed to maintain access to fur

51 For further critique of the depletion argument, see Brandaõ, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More*. 83-89 and Lenig, "Current Perspectives." 77, 80

52 Daniel K. Richter, *Facing East from Indian Country: a Native History of Early America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001), 54; Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 57; Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 99, 105–107; George T Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1940), 33.

53 Burke, *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady New York 1661-1710*, 7.

54 Bruce G Trigger, "Ontario Native People and the Epidemics of 1634-1640," in *Indians, Animals and the Fur Trade: A Critique of "Keepers of the Game"*, ed. Shepard Krech (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1981), 27–28; Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York 1686-1776*; Peter Wraxall, *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*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915), xliii; Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York 1686-1776*, 11.

bearing animals, including beaver, up through the eve of the American Revolution.[55] Exports of beaver through New York fluctuated wildly during the seventeenth century. These fluctuations are likely due to changing Iroquois priorities rather than depletion. The Iroquois, like other Native groups in North, Central and South America, suffered from epidemic disease at various times after contact, and despite a mostly successful expansion of their territories and population, also sustained occasional Native and French attacks in their homelands that impeded travel for both trapping and trading.

After the 1623 "Covenants of friendship" between the Dutch and the Five Nations,[56] exports under the WIC rose from 4000 beaver pelts per annum to more than 7000 in 1627[57]—until the main suppliers of the trade came to blows. After 1624, the Mahican positioned themselves across the Hudson River from Fort Orange and invited their Algonquian neighbors to trade. With their control of routes to the richer beaver hunting of the St. Lawrence Valley to the north, the Mahican and their Algonquian neighbors threatened to cut off the Iroquois from trade at Orange, the closest friendly European outpost. During nascent hostilities with New France, with the English distant and irrelevant at the barely begun Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay settlements, this reorientation of the trade threatened to restrict Iroquois freedom of movement and trade. If isolated from Orange by the Mahicans, Iroquois people lost access to symbolically significant goods; the strategic ability to draw on European allies against European enemies; and the ability to secure movement through their territories against Native enemies armed with Dutch

55 Jelles Fonda, "Account Book," 1778 1768, New York Historical Society; "Fonda Family Papers," 1870 1736, New York Historical Society; Fonda, "Account Book."

56 O'Callaghan, *DHNY*. 3:51

57 Van Cleaf Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations the Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1969)., 94, 129, 131, 142 and E. B. O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; or, New York Under the Dutch* (New York: D Appelton and Co, 1855). 11, 310n, O'Callaghan, *NYCD*. 13:27n and Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical Collections: Consisting of State Papers, and Other Authentic Documents* (Philadelphia: P Dobson, 1792).1:397

guns.

The Mohawks attacked the Mahicans in 1624; the Mahican returned the favor two years later, destroying the eastern-most village of the Mohawks.[58] This may have worked out well in the short term for the Mahican and the Dutch who assisted them against the Mohawk in a 1626 attack: exports almost doubled during this period. The hostilities ended in 1628 with the Mahicans dispersed or reduced to tributary status. Dutch settlers also evacuated from Fort Orange during hostilities, and the disruption caused by the 1626-1629 English-French War and 1629 English occupation of Quebec drove down Dutch beaver exports, not to recover until 1633. The volume of pelts taken by the English during the occupation of Quebec was reportedly quite high, due to a combination of low demand in France and a desire by the French Canadian government to maintain the diplomatically beneficial fur trade despite low exports. It is unclear exactly what the volume of the early seventeenth century Canadian trade was or how it compared to that of Dutch New Netherland.

The 1630s were good years for the New Netherland beaver trade: exports under the WIC peaked at 8800 beaver pelts in 1633,[59] remaining high for the decade with a few hiccups. Iroquois people ventured far afield both to hunt and to trade, venturing west into Neutral and Erie territories to hunt and south to Maryland to trade as many as 3000 skins at a time.[60] Epidemics in 1634, 1637, and 1639[61] doubtless contributed to the dip in exports during those years, but relative to the rest of the seventeenth century, exports in these years were notably stable—and low.

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58 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*, 32.
59 Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations the Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639,*; O'Callaghan, *HNN*; O'Callaghan, *NYCD*; Hazard, *Historical Collections*.
60 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*, 35.
61 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. Appendix 2, 289.

The period after the dissolution of the WIC's monopoly[62] and before the English takeover in 1664 brought record—and never again seen—years for the beaver trade in New Netherland. The early eighteenth century came close, but never matched the peak years of the 1650s. One of the low points for the trade came in 1663, when New Netherland exported only ten thousand beaver hides. This drop coincides with the assertion from both historians and the contemporary French that by 1670, Iroquois lands were depleted of beaver. Much scholarly hay has been made of the narrative of Governor de Courcelles' expedition into Iroquois territory, in that the anonymous French chronicler asserted that in 1671 it was

> 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, that is, the South side, a long time ago, so that they experience the greatest difficulty in finding a single beaver there; but to get any they are obliged to cross to the North of the same lake, formerly inhabited by the Hurons, our allies, whom they defeated or drove off; so that it may be said the Iroquois do all their hunting, at present, on our allies' lands, which belong in some sort to the French, who ought by the Treaties be subrogated to the rights of the Hurons.[63]

By the admission of the anonymous writer, the French did not at that time trade with the Iroquois or travel frequently in their territories,[64] making it unclear as to how the writer knew from which lands the Iroquois drew their peltry. Implicit in the passage is a concern with the control of land as well as the control of the fur supply. The writer fretted that the Iroquois "carry all their peltries to New Netherland, depriving us thereby of the fruits of our land; that is to say, of the peltries which they take from us on the lands belonging to us."[65] To the French, Iroquois control of peltry was objectionable because it meant the Iroquois also controlled the lands that supported that fur supply.

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62 Venema, *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. 156-167 Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*. 26-31, 36-45, 63-73, 76-93, 108-112, 139-140

63 O'Callaghan, *NYCD*.9:80

64 Ibid. 9:80

65 Ibid. 9:80

The deeper cause to the conflict powering the "Beaver Wars" was Iroquois freedom of movement for trapping and trade, and the power to control movement through Iroquois territories.[66] Courcelles' anonymous chronicler lamented that "those Iroquois, though at peace with us, have not ceased waging war against the Outawacs [Ottawas], our allies, who have for a long time been in the habit of coming to trade with the French settlements, and by that means obstructed the freedom of [the Ottawas'] commerce, attacking them when they were coming to trade and despoiling them of their beavers."[67]

The question of beaver depletion in Iroquois territories as it has been analyzed is a semantic one. The Five Nations defined their territories as those where they hunted, traveled, and established satellite communities, whereas the French and later the British and Americans defined Iroquois territories as those core areas where the majority of the European-defined Iroquois population resided. If the analytical frame is the presumption of Iroquois dependence on European goods, Iroquois expansion into new territories in the seventeenth century is predicated on a need to acquire new hunting grounds for the trade, and therefore Iroquois homelands were depleted of beaver. Through the lens of preexisting hostilities and Iroquois goals of freedom of movement through these areas, the expansion of Iroquois beaver hunting and trade is an effect rather than a cause of this period of conflict.

At the peak of beaver exports in 1657 (Table Three), the Five Nations aggressively expanded into neighboring territories, hunted in them[68] and raided other Native trading parties in these areas while the beaver trade in New Netherland blossomed. In the context of regional geopolitical and population changes, stability in Iroquoia and across trade routes had more effect

66 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 54-55, 266-277
67 O'Callaghan, *NYCD*. 9:79
68 Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols. (Cleveland: Burrows Bros Co, 1896). 28:279

on New Netherland beaver exports than Iroquois expansion. The 1657 peak of the beaver trade through New Netherland coincided with a long period of expansion on the frontiers of Iroquoia, warfare that kept neighboring Native and French enemies busy outside of the core homelands of the Iroquois. An epidemic in 1649[69] may have put a damper on Iroquois trading efforts, but expansion of hunting territories, trading networks, or an intensification of hunting and trading efforts may have made up the difference.[70]

More significantly, French and hostile Native incursions into Iroquois core homelands after 1658 created unsafe conditions for Iroquois people wishing to travel for trapping or trade. Although the Iroquois continued their attacks on New France and neighboring northern Algonquian groups, by 1661, the Cayuga, Oneida and Mohawk sustained attacks on their villages by Algonquian groups in retaliation for earlier attacks, while the Seneca traveled to Fort Orange in caravans of hundreds for safety.[71] The Seneca commented in 1660 that war had interrupted their trade of beaver to Fort Orange; this has been interpreted to mean that the Iroquois warred because their homelands had been exhausted of beaver for the trade.[72] The return of epidemic disease to Iroquoia in 1663, the continuation of incursions by hostile Algonquian groups in 1664,[73] and a mostly-fruitless French incursion in 1666[74] temporarily rearranged Iroquois priorities away from trade and instead toward defense.

The French believed that Iroquoia had been depleted of beaver by 1671, but in 1664, Dutch trader Jeremias Van Rensselaer and Jesuit Father Le Moyne ascribed the reduction in the

69 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. Appendix 2, 289.
70 Bruce G Trigger, *The Children of Aataentsic: a History of the Huron People to 1660* (Montreal, London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976). 350
71 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 111
72 Burke, *Mohawk Frontier: The Dutch Community of Schenectady New York 1661-1710*. 8
73 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 117
74 Ibid. 122

trade to the dangers of traveling to Orange. Jeremias Van Rensselaer wrote to his brother and business partner Jan Baptist Van Rensselaer that "for some time no beavers can be expected" because Algonquian warriors "infest the Maquas trail and keep it unsafe."[75] During a period of peace with New France, the Seneca asked the missionary Le Moyne to send their request that the French "furnish them with the munitions of war—which they hardly dare any longer to go and obtain of the Dutch, as the Mahingans [Mahicans] render the roads very dangerous."[76] Van Rensselaer, dependent for his livelihood, and Le Moyne, resident in a community engaged in hunting, may be judged more reliable in their judgments of the beaver trade in Iroquoia than the distant and besieged Courcelles in Montreal. Rather than lacking beaver in the 1660s, according to the Court of Fort Orange, the Iroquois had "great trouble in getting the beavers through the enemy's country."[77]

The period immediately following the 1664 English takeover of New York has little remaining record of beaver exports. New York exported a total of more than fifty one thousand beaver between 1685 and 1687,[78] an extraordinary number to ascribe to pelts smuggled in from French Canada. New York Governor Thomas Dongan's 1687 lament that the beaver trade had fallen off from its average of "35 or 40000 Beavers besides Peltry" (an accurate assessment of the 1657 peak, but one that was never repeated under the Dutch) to "only 9000 and some hundreds Peltry"[79] has been used to argue that the New York trade had collapsed by the end of

75 Jeremias van Rensselaer, *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1651-1674*, ed. Van Laer (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1932). 358

76 Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*. 49:141

77 N. Y.) New Netherland. Inferior Court of Justice (Beverwyck and Arnold J. F. Van Laer, *Minutes of the Court of Fort Orange and Beverwyck, 1652-1656*, 1920. 2:284

78 Quoted in Norton, *The Fur Trade in Colonial New York 1686-1776*. 100. Stephen Van Cortlandt and James Graham to William Blathwayt, 1687. Blathwayt, William. *William Blathwayt papers*, 1631- 1722. Williamsburg, Va: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. 1900.

79 Thomas Dongan to Captain Palmer Sept 8 1687 O'Callaghan, *NYCD*. 3:476

the century.[80]

Other contemporary writers ascribed low beaver returns to Iroquois troubles with wars and disease. Jasper Danckerts, visiting Manhattan in March 1680, heard "scarcely any news" from the "first boat arrived from Fort Orange" of the season, "except that a great number of Indians had died in the early part of the winter of small pox, and a large party of them had gone south to make war against the Indians of Carolina, beyond Virginia, for which reason the hunting of beaver had not been good, and there would be a great scarcity of peltries this year."[81] Danckerts' news of "the chief trade of New Netherland" was not that no hunting existed, but that it was interrupted by sickness and the pursuit of war.

Dongan's 1687 lament coincided with greatly increased hostilities between the Five Nations and New France. Like the hostilities of 1666, when many Mohawk villages were burned but few people were killed, the 1687 French incursion encountered few Iroquois in their attacks on empty Seneca villages and cornfields. Like the 1666 incursion, the 1687 attack made travel unsafe and temporarily reoriented Iroquois priorities. The account book of one anonymous Dutch small trader recorded ten to thirty Iroquois customers a year between 1684 and 1690, with the exception of 1687, when no Iroquois customers made the trip. Dongan observed that the French "reason for this Warr is that the Indyans would not submitt and joyn themselves to the French . . . [the French intend] by the Ruin of those Indians to engross both the Trade and Country wholly to themselves."[82] At stake was not merely the beaver trade, but the freedom of movement through Iroquoia that facilitated the trade.

At the close of the century, New York exported over fifteen thousand beaver pelts

80 Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*. 108-113, 116, 139, 194

81 Jasper Danckaerts et al., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680* (New York: C Scribner's Sons, 1913).181-182

82 O'Callaghan, *NYCD*. 3:476

annually. although not close to the 1657 peak of the trade of almost forty thousand pelts, this figure and the fur exports for the remainder of the eighteenth century[83] suggest that despite a number of fluctuations due to disease, war, and price changes, Iroquois people did not lack access to hunting grounds or peltry for trade. Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont and Governor of New York in 1700 bemoaned his inability to match trade "when this province was in possession of the Dutch," who had reached an unobtainable (and fictional) sixty-six thousand beaver per year, and exports in 1699 were "but 15241."[84]

83 See Lawson, *Fur, A Study in English Mercantilism*.
84 O'Callaghan, *NYCD*. 4:789

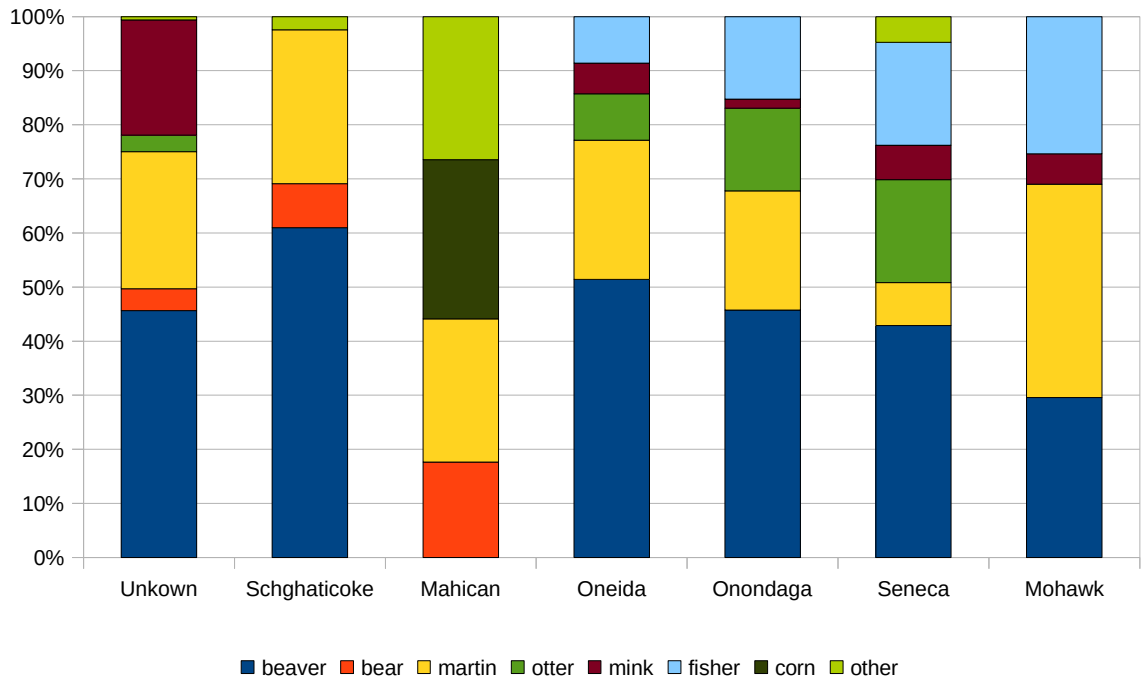

Table 4: Relative Importance of Peltry in Purchases, 1679-1690

Source: Account book of an unidentified Dutch Trader, 1679-1690 RAC, Tarrytown NY. The number of each pelt were tallied by nation, and converted to a standard of 1 beaver = 1 by rates used in the account book. When direct rates were not available, prices for equivalent goods were used.

3 marten	1 beaver
3 mink	1 beaver
1.5 bear	1 beaver
9 guilder	1 beaver
4.5 skipple corn	1 beaver
1 otter	1 beaver
1 fisher	1 beaver

The relative importance by nation was also calculated per capita: to compensate for large groups bringing in larger numbers of pelts, the total number of each type of pelt was divided by the number of individuals represented per nation, and that number was used to calculate the relative value of each type of peltry.

Another French attack in 1696, as well as epidemic disease from 1688-1691 and again in 1696 probably did not help Bellomont's outlook. Bellomont appealed to the Board of Trade to lower the customs on beaver exports and imports in order to stimulate the trade, but by 1700, there remained a significantly more robust beaver trade in New York than had existed under the

WIC at the beginning of the century. Peltry exports through New York actually stabilized in the eighteenth century. The data available in Albany traders' account books do give some support to the overhunting thesis, but in a way that suggests geographic variation and non-linear change over time.

These account books were kept as a record of purchases made on credit and payments made or owed in peltry, typically with notes regarding the customer's name, gender, and nation, and occasionally identifying marks such as age, scars or tattoos and who they lived with or who the purchase was intended for. These social details make early account books a unique window into Native social networks, as well as a way of reconstructing shifts in Native purchasing patterns and possible motivations.

According to one anonymous account book documenting the 1680s, Iroquois customers derived less than half their support from beaver hunting. The non-Iroquois Schaghticoke, who relied most heavily on beaver hunting, derived only a bare majority of their support from beaver. The Schaghticoke, comprised of Mahicans and New England Native refugees of King Phillip's War, resided northeast of Albany and enjoyed more access to beaver hunting than did the Mahican residing further south, increasingly pinched by Dutch and English settlement growth.[85] The same may have been true of the Iroquois as well. The easternmost Mohawk relied more on marten and fisher trapping than beaver for their support. One fisher purchased the same value in goods as did a beaver, but three martens were required to purchase one beaver's worth of goods. This meant that groups such as the Mohawk and the Mahican who relied more heavily on small peltry such as minks and martens had to set and check three times as many traps to maintain their

85 Amy C Schutt, *Peoples of the river valleys: the odyssey of the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). 43

purchasing power.

Location and circumstance that constrained access to hunting also restricted a Native nation's access to European manufactured goods. The Mahican, located closest to Albany and pushed out of northern hunting grounds by Iroquois groups, lagged far behind the nearby Mohawk, Schaghticoke, and other groups in their ability to bring peltry to market. Corn, which made up almost thirty percent of the value of Mahican vendables, required 185 to 220 pounds to equal the value of a single beaver. The incredible amount necessary in both weight and volume to make even the most basic purchases probably accounts for the absence of corn in payments made by other nations. Even the relatively nearby Mohawk had to travel by both water and land to reach Albany, making the transport of corn more costly than the goods available in return.

Large groups such as the Seneca or nearby groups such as the Mohawk sent many more individuals to trade at Albany than did smaller or more distant groups. The value of peltry brought in per person, rather than the absolute number, shows access and engagement with the trade varied by group due to choice as well as geography. The small number of individuals represented in the early anonymous account book (1679-1690) makes a strong assertion about its representation of the whole trade difficult. The Wendell account book from later in the century (1697-1724) includes many more individuals and bears out many of the same trends. The anonymous account book (1679-1690) includes the accounts of sixty-two Native people from known groups (and many more whose group was not recorded or whose account pages were partially damaged in the intervening three hundred years).

Table 5: Purchasing Power by Nation, 1679-1690
Source: Unidentified Account Book. Calculated by tallying the number of pelts brought, weighted by conversion rates, divided by the number of identifiable individuals per nation. The unidentified trader used beaver as a common denominator as all goods were priced in beaver, while not all goods were priced by cash, corn, or other hides; beaver did not make up the majority of hides in either value or number and is used here as a standard of comparison only.

Nation	Number of Individuals	Value in Beaver Per Person
Mahican	5	0.76
Schaghticoke	4	2.05
Mohawk	6	1.97
Oneida	6	1.94
Onondaga	16	1.23
Seneca	25	0.84

Strikingly, the Seneca, though the largest in both population and customer representation in the anonymous account book, and supposedly positioned ideally in the League for best access to northwestern hunting grounds and as intermediaries to western groups, lagged far behind the other nations of the League in the value of peltry brought to Albany. The Schaghticoke and other more eastern Iroquois groups brought furs of comparable value to market, suggesting that access was not a problem for more eastern groups. New France's attacks on Seneca country in the late seventeenth century may have discouraged Seneca hunters and traders from hunting, but in absolute numbers, many more Senecas than other Iroquois chose to make the trip to Albany despite the danger. Busy with the complex diplomacy of post-1680 hostilities with western Native groups and New France,[86] Seneca groups may have visited Albany more frequently but with less opportunity for hunting and therefore fewer furs.

By the turn of the century, Iroquois participation had shifted as western hostilities subsided. In an account book kept by Albany trader Evert Wendell from 1697-1724, Seneca participation had increased dramatically from the earlier 1679-1690 anonymous account book.

86 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*, 181-184; Jordan, *Seneca Restoration*, 50-54.

The Mohawk still led in the number of people, the overall value of furs brought to Albany, and the average value per person, but the Seneca had became much more engaged in the trade. Rather than trailing all other Iroquois groups, the Seneca brought per person many more furs than any other nation besides the Mohawk. Rather than the fur trade impacting all Iroquois or other Native groups equally and simultaneously, the differential engagement apparent in this account book indicates that Native groups actively chose their own degree of cultural entanglement. Although prices rose slightly at the end of the century, raising the price of blankets from one to two beaver, something had made the trip to Albany much more attractive to Seneca people.

The two account books give evidence that Iroquois hunters intensified their search for beaver, the most marketable peltry. As recorded in the anonymous account book, in 1680, the Mohawk and Seneca derived thirty and forty percent of their support from beaver. In Wendell's turn of the century account book, beaver made up almost seventy percent of Seneca peltry and forty percent of Mohawk peltry. This shift suggests that Iroquois territories, whether "traditional" or newly acquired, were not over-hunted, and that Iroquois hunters continued to have access to beaver and other peltry, but it also suggests that market-oriented hunting had intensified.

Table 6: Relative Purchasing Power by Nation, 1697-1724
Source: To Do Justice to Him and Myself.

Nation	Number of Individuals	Value in Beaver Per Person	Change from 1679-1690
Laurentian/ ”Canadian”	23	7.12	--
Mahican	69	5.18	4.42
Mohawk	125	8.09	6.12
Oneida	14	2.35	0.41
Onondaga	14	2.71	1.48
Cayuga	33	1.79	--
Seneca	53	4.16	3.32

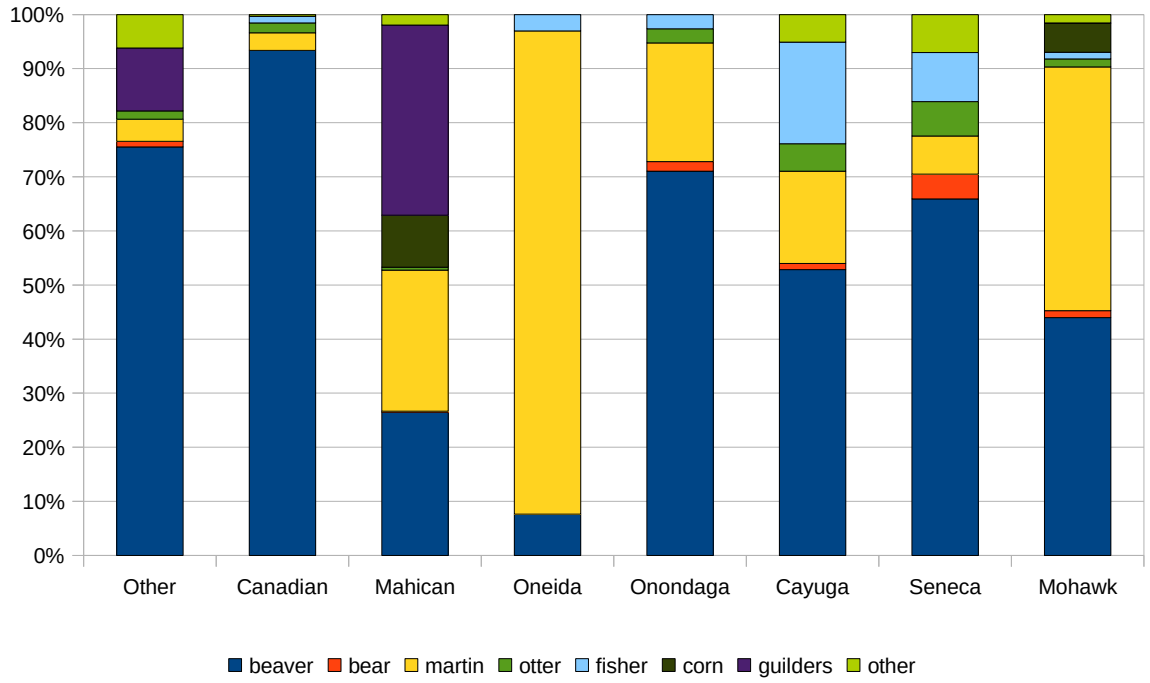

Table 7: Relative Importance of Peltry in Purchases, 1697-1724

Source: Wendell, *To do Justice to Him and Myself*.

In the 1680s, the Mahican brought no beaver to market, and although by the turn of the century beaver still made up a much smaller share of Mahican products relative to martens, corn,

and cash, the Mahican brought in a larger value per person than did the Seneca. The "Canadian" Indians, probably Laurentian Iroquois,[87] overwhelmingly brought beaver over other peltry despite their proximity to French outposts, and brought more per person than any other group besides the Mohawk.

Something drew hunters across great distances to Albany. Beaver exports continued to gradually rise towards the end of the century and Iroquois customers continued to bring peltry; it was not over-hunting and a need to replace indigenously made clothing with purchased clothing that drew disparate groups in increasing numbers. Along with the slight rise in prices from the 1680s, goods at Albany had increased in quality as well. Archaeological fabrics from Seneca sites occupied before 1687 are rough and poorly made, with large individual threads, prone to snagging easily and abrading skin:[88] not the sort of thing one might travel several hundred miles to seek out. No matter how cheap they were, such rough products were probably not as attractive as more easily available and softer deerskins. Fabrics from sites occupied after 1687 show an interesting change: the quality of fabrics increased markedly, and the variety and level of detail in decoration increased as well.[89]

Examining the changes to Iroquois material culture and trade leading up to Osissijenejo's 1690 purchase of a shirt leads to more questions because her purchase came at an important tipping point. The question of creeping colonialism versus cultural entanglement is one of Iroquois intentionality and depends upon the reason for Iroquois consumers engaged in the trade —desire or need, necessity or luxury. The question of colonialism also depends upon on what happened to manufactured goods once they reached Iroquois homes—the geography of

87 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 154-165.
88 Kane, "Covered with Such a Cappe: The Archaeology of Seneca Clothing 1615-1820." 1-25.
89 Ibid.

consumerism, like the geography of colonialism, was a negotiated and unstable one.

Chapter Two

A Lace'd Coat Unbuttoned: Gender Performance, Cultural Entanglement and European Anxieties, 1650-1750

> Imagine a shirt almost black, and powdered in red, a waistcoat laced or with tinsel glazing, a lace'd coat unbuttoned, a cap untied, sometimes a wig put on wrong side before, joined with a face to which a Venetian mask could not compare in singularity, and you will have an idea of the costume of an Indian.[1]

Pierre Pouchot, son of an indebted Grenoble merchant, veteran of two wars of imperial succession and noted engineer of fortifications, found himself faced with a strange likeness at the French outpost of Fort Niagara.[2] Pouchot's path from the emerging French middle class to imperial commandant depended in part on his ability to socially position himself through rituals of refinement and material civility. In North America diplomacy, he saw the pieces of this identity appropriated and altered by the Iroquois and other Native populations surrounding his command, and a faint tinge of revulsion edged his fascination.

Pouchot wore white shirts. Even on the frontier, even during a siege, he wore white shirts, laundered and pressed to clean brightness. The most basic element of his wardrobe, and of every other person he had ever met before coming to New France, a white shirt at once shielded the body from view and advertised the cleanliness of that body. Pouchot's white shirt formed the most basic component of his claim to adult masculinity, and therefore political, social and economic autonomy and authority as well.[3]

Osissijenejo and Nachssasija wore white shirts as well, but Nachssasija wore shirts painted with vermilion and grease at diplomatic conferences. Across the council fire, Nachssasija and Pouchot shared a common understanding of red's symbolic meaning. To both, red signaled life and war, passion and rebirth, but to European men like Pouchot, Nachssasija's

1 Pierre Pouchot, Michael Cardy, and Brian Leigh Dunnigan, *Memoirs on the Late War in North America Between France and England* (Youngstown, N.Y.: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1994). 2:102. Likely written after 1760.

2 Peter Moogk, "Pierre Pouchot," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto, 1974), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/pouchot_pierre_3E.html.

3 Kathleen M Brown, *Foul bodies : cleanliness in early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*. 27-29

shirt painted in vermilion evoked the dark and flaking blood red of Christ's Passion more than the tamed red of a Cardinal's liturgical vestments.[4]

Iroquois consumers had the full range of European material culture available for perusal and purchase through traders and the daily performances of civility put on by diplomats and settlers. With the exception of some diplomats and cultural mediators who created a consciously hybrid material culture, the majority of Iroquois consumers used European material culture as a source of raw material for adaptation into the performance of Iroquois identity.

For men like Pierre Pouchot, Thomas Barclay, and New York Governor William Burnet, Indians posed a problem, the Iroquois a particularly thorny one. Geographically and militarily, the Iroquois shielded New York and New England from the brunt of French incursions, but their frequently asserted neutrality vexed English attempts to more firmly yoke allies as vassals. Materially, Iroquois people bought cloth in encouragingly large quantities, but refused to be adequately "reduced to civility" in their manners or dress. Religiously, enough Iroquois people joined French, Dutch and English mission churches to keep evangelical hopes alive, but never joined in great numbers or converted en masse. These problems mattered to Europeans who interacted with Native people in complex and intersecting ways because at their heart lay a fundamental question of identity and the future of the North American continent. Seemingly unrelated moments such as Pouchot's distaste, Burnet's diplomatic maneuvering, and Eliot's and Barclay's stance on Indian conversion were all informed by their understanding of Indians and Europeans as inherently politically compatible.

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4 Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness : Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-century North America* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) 47, 83, 130-131, 138-139; Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians in British art, 1700-1840* (Norman: University Of Oklahoma Press, 2005) 130-131.

The failure of Indians to properly become converted, both materially and spiritually, was a problem of cosmological proportions. Although their New England Puritan cousins occupy a disproportionately large place in the scholarship of race and religion in early America, mainline Anglicans and their evangelical beliefs shaped British policy towards the Iroquois, the largest, most militarily significant friendly Native group in British North America. Puritan New England worried about English becoming Indians,[5] but Anglican New York concerned itself with persuading Iroquois to become British, in the imperial rather than ethnic sense. As a political ally and spiritual key to the religious geopolitics of Britain's struggles against Catholic France and New France, integration of the Iroquois as coequal British subjects rather than the extermination-oriented policies of New England shaped British-Iroquois relations.

But not all British subjects in New York were good Anglicans, or even English. The continuing Anglican mission to the Mohawk is one of the longest enduring evangelical projects in North America, but actual conditions in early New York complicated the good intentions of Anglican missionaries. Not least among these problems was settler ambivalence to metropolitan standards and Iroquois indifference to English style civility. An increasingly complex ideological construct, civility at its base defined fitness for inclusion in political society and the life of the polis. Its daily performance included binary gender roles of subdued, laboring masculinity and modest, chaste femininity; the restraint of the lower impulses of the body; maintenance of a fixed and preferably agricultural or mercantile abode; and rituals of respectability for elites, all of these performances mediated by the use of clothing and material culture in correct and proscribed ways.

5 Ann M. Little, "'Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!': Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620-1760," *New England Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (2001): 238–273.

Closely tied to Christian values and European self image as Christians, civility was a necessary but not sufficient prerequisite to conversion. Indian use of European goods, such as shirts, coats, hats and cloth without corresponding changes in their behavior therefore shook European conceptions of civility and Christianity to the core. In Europe and European settlements in North America, the simple use of the right clothing at the right time indicated one's civility; the signifier was the sign. Transported to Iroquoia and remixed with a strange combination of Native embellishments and other improperly deployed European imports, Iroquois consumers divorced the English signifier from the material sign. This reworking brought into question the value of material culture in marking civility and underlined the performativity (and therefore instability) of civility itself.

Although by the early eighteenth century the Iroquois and most other eastern native groups were clothed by the looms of Europe, many "incivil" and "barbaric" habits in their dress remained. Smeared with paint, attracted to gaudy colors, hung with jewelry and clothed in odd combinations of garments, Iroquois mores disdained the increasingly rigid norms of comportment and dress that defined European gender roles, civility and masculine participation in the body politic. Even the hybrid Protestantism of the Tionderoge Mohawk[6] or the hybrid Catholicism of the Kahnawake Mohawk did not suffice within the framework of European conversion.

Civility and rationality were important prerequisites for Christianity. A nation could be civilized without being Christian: the English readily acknowledged the civility of the Chinese, Mughals and other eastern nations without believing them to be Christian.[7] All known Christian

6 Daniel K. Richter, "Some of Them . . . Would Always Have a Minister with Them: Mohawk Protestantism 1683-1791," *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 4 (Autumn 1992): 471–484.

7 Nicholas Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (October 1973): 575–598; Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English cosmopolitans in an*

nations were also civil, and perceived incivility disqualified a people from the protections of Christian warfare, as was the case for the nominally Catholic but nomadic and tribal sixteenth century Irish, who became the target of English colonial violence.[8] Within the Protestant world view, restrained and educated rationality were also required for a people to be Christianized, because as a revealed rather than natural religion, true salvation required understanding of Adam's sin and Christ's redemption.

The Iroquois occupied a problematic and frustrating place within this framework. Modest in their dress and prolific purchasers of clothing, they were no naked Indians, but neither did they regulate their bodies properly.[9] Outside the black/white binary of slave societies, they were a racial Other who nonetheless controlled the bodies of European captives.[10] Accomplished orators and diplomats, the Iroquois courted European education and missionization, but resisted true conversion and civility.[11] So long as they lacked these essential markers of political

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age of expansion, 1560-1660 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008) 95-96, 99-102, 222; Richmond Barbour, *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576-1626* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003) 21-22, 91-92, 96-97, 138-201.

8 Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America." 575–598

9 Jennifer Spear, *Race, Sex and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009) 18-21, 24-27, 96-97, 137-138, 214-219; Rebecca Blevins Faery, *Cartographies of Desire Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation*, 1999. 176-178, 198; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800 60-63*; Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature* 237-238.

10 For an overview of the recent literature on captivity and race in early America, see John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive : a Family Story from Early America* (New York: Alfred Knopf : Distributed by Random House, Inc., 1994); Evan Haefeli and Kevin Sweeney, *Captors and Captives : the 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003); Faery, *Cartographies of Desire Captivity, Race, and Sex in the Shaping of an American Nation*; June Namias, *White Captives : Gender and Ethnicity on the American Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Linda Colley, *Captives : Britain, empire, and the world, 1600-1850* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2003); James Brooks, *Captives & Cousins : Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, NC: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

11 Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads : Indians and Empires on a mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763 46-50, 172-173, 256-257*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Richter, "Some of Them . . . Would Always Have a Minister with Them: Mohawk Protestantism 1683-1791" 471-484; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the margins : three seventeenth century lives* (Cambridge, Mass. [u.a.]: Harvard Univ. Press, 1995). 63-139.

legitimacy and Christianity, the Iroquois could not be included within the framework of English political compatibility, but their consumer interest in European manufactures suggested that they might be converted materially, religiously, and politically.

His Great Heart Captivated

In the spring of 1710, one Mahican and three Mohawk sachems embarked from Albany for London. Called the "Four Indian Kings," they were represented in the English press as the "King of the River Nation," the "King of the Maquas," the "King of Canajohare," and the "Emperor of the Six Nations." Rather than the visit of vassal heads of state it was portrayed as in the English press, the "Four Kings" were a delegation of three young men and one seasoned diplomat sent to secure the nascent Iroquois-English Covenant Chain alliance.[12] The Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain alliance represented a mutual commitment to non-interference and an Iroquoian forum for resolution of differences.[13] Presenting their request for a token English military outpost on the fringes of Iroquois territory and an Anglican missionary to live among the Mohawk, the Four Kings brought the middle ground to Britain.

Unlike the fictive plea of the imagined Indian on the Massachusetts Bay Colony seal to "Come over and help us," the 1710 visit was a genuine and calculated integration of English imperial ambitions into Iroquois diplomatic protocols. Religious-political hostage exchange had an established place in Iroquois diplomacy by this point. French Jesuits, when they came freely on mission and not in captivity after an Iroquois raid, functioned as tokens of French diplomatic promises. Likewise, the daughters of prominent Iroquois sachems sent away to convent schools

12 Pratt, *American Indians in British art, 1700-1840*. 35
13 Parmenter, 152.

in New France served as representations of their families' commitment to peaceful relations. In intra-tribal hostilities, adopted, non-Iroquois Native people were brought along on raids, scouting trips and diplomatic negotiations for their geographic and social knowledge, their usefulness in preventing former countrymen from attacking, and their potential as arbiters and communicators.[14] The 1710 trans-Atlantic visit went further than other Iroquois efforts to secure resident cultural liaisons, but underlined Mohawk commitment to the Covenant Chain alliance.

One of the first official diplomatic visits by Native people to the British court (rather than the earlier presentation of Pocahontas or the display of Arctic Native men taken captive by John Cabot),[15] the visit of the Four Kings sparked the English imagination with possibilities. It is unclear what the Four Kings themselves thought of London or what they actually wore. For their presentation to Queen Anne's court, the four men were dressed by the Queen's Master of Ceremonies, the member of the court who organized pageants and theater at the court. In the official portraits painted of them by Jan Verelst, likely based on the clothing they wore when presented at court, three of the four men are shown wearing only toga-like belted shirts and blankets, American Romans in savage pastiche against a dark wilderness, carrying instruments of war and their clan animals reduced to snarling caricatures.[16] The moccasins and moose-hair belt that Verelst used as models in all four portraits are preserved in the British Museum, and are typical of Iroquoian decorative work of the period, but it is unclear if the objects were brought to England by the Four Kings or separately. Although some of the details in clothing and tattoos are consistent with contemporary ethnographic descriptions, the dual mediation of Verelst's

14 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 52-55, 103-213.

15 Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters : American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 11-13

16 Pratt, *American Indians in British art, 1700-1840, 35*; Eric Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 487–526.

staging and the staging of the Master of Ceremonies makes the portrait set more valuable as a record of English construction of Indianness than a record of Iroquois material culture.

Figure 2: “Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Ton, King of the Maquas.” Jan Verelst. Courtesy Library and Archives Canada. The two omitted portraits greatly resemble this one except in details, and have been omitted.

Figure 3: “Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, Emperour of the Six Nations.” Jan Verelst. Courtesy Library and Archives Canada.

The fourth portrait is the most ambiguous: Hendrick, a recognized diplomat of the Iroquois-New York frontier, is shown wearing a half-buttoned coat, breeches and English-style shoes. His open shirt and coat expose his bare chest, a scandalous violation of restrained propriety, but otherwise he is posed as any nobleman of the period in a position of confidence, dressed in the subdued clothing of a prosperous tradesman and lacking the facial and chest tattoos prominently depicted on the other three men (that he probably also had), the background of his portrait lacking the hunting scenes included in the other three portraits. Hendrick's portrait, offering the viewer an Iroquois diplomat performing an ambivalent civility, cued by his stance, clothing and wampum belt as foreign but equivalent to European nobility. His portrait suggested the possibility that the other three "Kings" and the nations they represented could also be brought from primitive republicanism to this alternative civility. By presenting the Four Kings in the same register as European diplomats, received and celebrated at court and emphasizing their role as diplomats as well as exotic spectacles, the 1710 visit represents a moment in English consciousness when Native people could have been incorporated into British or European civility without becoming wholly British.

The popular English response to the 1710 visit was also ambiguous on the possibility of Iroquois incorporation as British subjects. Images of the four men based on the Verelst portraits circulated in England throughout the eighteenth century, sometimes remixed with details of a later Cherokee visit and appended to ballads and broadsides, becoming more fanciful further from the date of the actual visit, but lingering on as a signifier of dignified savagery.[17] In a clear parallel with the Gospel story of the poor woman healed by touching the hem of Christ's robe,[18]

17 Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire." 487–526.
18 Matthew 9:20-22, New Revised Standard Version

one (possibly apocryphal) contemporary report detailing the visit described a ragged woman who touched the blanket of one of the Indians while begging. The Iroquois man gave her his gold-trimmed, red stroud blanket, disgusted with the abject poverty of London after the spectacle of the court that had gifted him the blanket.[19] In an England ambivalent towards its second ruling Queen,[20] this portrayal of the Iroquois Noble Savage served to rebuke the frivolity and lack of maternal care of the court for its people.

The savage but tamed masculinity of the Four Kings on a visit to an England represented by a Queen critiqued for her retiring femininity and the undue influence of female courtiers gendered the encounter in a way very unlike the Pocahontas story of the Indian maiden who sacrificed herself to help birth an English America. One anonymous broadside produced near the time of the visit presented a love story between one of the Native men and an English beauty, refiguring the diplomatic visit as the supplication of a lover. It presented the English woman as a civilizing, Christianizing influence for a Native man ready and willing to be converted. Like Pocahontas, the Four Kings were figured as both foreign and capable of being integrated because of their royalty: "With a humble low submission/ Mixt with a courteous mein/ Noble they were all received/ In bold Britain's royal court."[21] As men in a cultural context that ascribed submission even to high-born and ruling women, the gender of desire and deference grew complicated.[22]

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19 Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians in British art, 1700-1840* (Norman: University Of Oklahoma Press, 2005). 35

20 Rachel Judith Weil, *Political Passions : Gender, the Family, and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed by St. marten;s Press, 1999). 162-186.

21 Anonymous Broadside, Harvard University Library Special Collections

22 Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: AA Knopf, 1996) 9-10, 140, 165, 285, 289; Weil, *Political Passions : Gender, the Family, and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714*. 9-11, 156-157.

The English author imagined "the youngest of those kings . . . His great heart captivated" by a young noblewoman walking in St. James Park, "her angel beauty bright." Struck by her beauty, presented in the same breath "With a glance of Britain's glory/ Buildings, troops and many things," the Mohawk enlisted an English friend to take a ring to the young woman, lamenting "O this total burning fever/ Gives me little hope of life/ If so that I cannot have her/ For my love and lawful wife." Consumed by love, overwhelmed with the woman's (and Britain's) grandeur and beauty, the Indian King's nobility restrained his passions. Love brought him to beg the woman's consent in marriage in parallel with the official diplomatic purpose of the visit to secure English political alliance and an Anglican missionary.

In response to the declaration of love, the British woman demanded Christian conversion as a requirement for the political-affectionate bond of marriage.

> Said the charming lady fair
> Tho I pity this disaster
> Being catch'd in Cupid's snare
> Tis against all true discretion
> To comply with what I scorn
> He's a Heathen by profession,
> I a Christian bred and born.
> Was he king of many nations
> Crowns and royal dignity,
> And I born of mean relations,
> You may tell him that from me . . .
> Nor will ever wed a Heathen,
> For the richest Indian store . . .
> Amongst Christians mild and kind,
> . . . is more than all the treasure
> Can be had with Heathens wild.

Although sympathetic to the Indian declaration of love (and political fidelity), the woman (and England) remained unable to form a permanent bond with a heathen, no matter how noble.

Fortunately, Christian conversion trumped cultural wildness, and the Indian King was ready and willing to convert. As the messenger informed the lady,

> He [the youngest king] and all the rest were telling
> How well they lik'd this place
> And declared themselves right willing
> To receive the light of grace . . .
> Spare his life, and save his soul,
> Since it lies within your power
> Either to destroy or save.

Having once been exposed to glory of England and the beautiful young woman, the Indian King would surely expire from grief without a permanent bond. Already willing to convert, his lack of Christianity proved no obstacle, the young woman's only reservation discarded when she told the messenger,

> Tell your master this from me
> Let him, let him first be turned
> From his gross Idolatry.
> If he will become a Christian,
> Live up to the truth reveal'd,
> I will make him grant the question,
> Or before will never yield. . . .
> With this answer pray commend me
> To your master yet unknown.

Although the broadside ambiguously ends there, without a clear tie of marriage, it is full of potential, the racial Other presented as a perfectly acceptable husband, head of household and possible English paternalist[23] if only he would convert to Christianity. Already republican and free, if the Iroquois could be made Protestant, they might fit comfortably within the British

23 Mary Beth Norton, *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: AA Knopf, 1996) 57-62, 76-80, 94-95, 401-403; Rachel Judith Weil, *Political Passions : Gender, the Family, and Political Argument in England, 1680-1714* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed by St. marten;s Press, 1999). 234-235.

imperial image of themselves as Protestant, maritime, republican and free[24] and be accepted as potentially more than otherized vassals.

The ballad leaves the union of Iroquois and English ambiguous and unfulfilled, but the diplomatic goals of the 1710 mission were consummated with royal gifts of silver and men. Fort Hunter was established in 1711 near the Mohawk village of Tionderoge, little more than a blockhouse and a chapel with a handful of English soldiers, the Reverend William Andrews, and a silver crucifix and candlesticks to establish the Gospel among the Mohawk. In some ways, English and Iroquois intentions for the fruition of the 1710 mission aligned perfectly. In the wake of Queen Anne's War, which capped more than a century of Iroquois-French hostilities, Fort Hunter established an English investment in the safety of Mohawk homes and provided backing for the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht that formally ended English-French hostilities that had spilled over into Five Nations territories. Queen Anne's donation of silver and clothing to the Mohawk congregation of Tionderoge reciprocated Iroquois diplomatic overtures within the context of a gift economy that recognized the equality of both participants.

The congruencies in Iroquois and English purposes in 1710 belied the tensions that would emerge from both the gift of Fort Hunter and the Anglican mission. The Mohawk would come to resent the encroachment of English and Palatinate settlers in the vicinity of Fort Hunter and the British military's indifference to Iroquois goals during later conflicts with New France. Successive waves of Anglicans would come to resent not Iroquois resistance to civility and the Gospel, but their indifference to it, having been prepared for a ready and willing field of converts to face down New France and the Catholic Anti-Christ.

24 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 173

Mutual incomprehensibility or resistance was not the problem; it was the desire of both for the incorporation of the other, leavened with enough accommodation for both sides to keep belief in an eventual settlement alive. For the Iroquois, this settlement included incorporation of European goods and centers of trade into seasonal subsistence rounds and patterns of use. For the English it meant the conversion and incorporation of a friendly, civil, and spiritually key Native nation. The Five Nations would be successful in their conversion of European goods; the English would face only ambivalent and partial success in their attempts to convert the Iroquois.

Native Appropriations

Clothing, like language, is used in different registers in different contexts. Members of a community learn its registers of speech and dress both implicitly and explicitly: implicitly through example and the censure of mocking, explicitly through training and manuals of etiquette. Iroquois and English consumers used the same signs but intended and understood different significations within their semiotic system. Although the English wished to tie the signified to the sign, signs are inherently unstable and referential, defined by their context and the shared understandings of the semiotic community. Imported clothing, removed from its English context and brought within the symbolic registers of Iroquois use, was divorced from its English signification. Untrained European observers could no more understand the remixture of imported clothing within Iroquois contexts than they might have understood Iroquois written in Roman characters: edging on familiar and its sounds guessable, but the meaning obscured. Iroquois and European semiotic systems were not mutually incomprehensible, but they did require translation and negotiation. Just as the negotiated semiotics of diplomacy and trade

created a mutually comprehensible middle ground,[25] cross cultural communicators could and did deploy negotiated material semiotics at the frontiers of contact.

Within Iroquois communities, purchased clothing filled many functions, including the strengthening of social ties and marking community belonging. Clothing featured prominently in Iroquois gift exchanges because of its portability, sentimentality, and usefulness as a cultural marker. Before Europeans and Americans began articulating an ideology of biological race in the late eighteenth century, both European settlers and Natives used clothing to mark racial and cultural difference. During the process of adoption, captives were both physically and metaphorically stripped of their European, American, or other Native identities. In the archetypal experience, captives were taken from European settlements by a party of Iroquois men and brought back to an Iroquois settlement. At the settlement, the captives were stripped of their European style clothing and given new Iroquois style clothing by women. Iroquois women controlled the process of clothing the captive whether they were male or female. Most Iroquois men and women purchased the majority of their clothing from European traders by the mid-eighteenth century, but either bought items like leggings specifically made for Native customers, or reworked items of European clothing like coats and blankets to make them distinct to their nation or individual tastes.

Pierre Radisson was taken among the Iroquois in the late seventeenth century during conflict with New France and adopted into a family. Once the teenaged Radisson arrived at his abductors' settlement, a group of men prepared to scalp him until an older woman tied her belt

25 For an introduction to the construction of middle grounds in early America, see Richard White, *The Middle Ground : Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Merritt, *At the Crossroads : Indians and Empires on a mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*; James Hart Merrell, *Into the American Woods : Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999).

around him, physically marking him *with* her possessions and as *being in* her possession. She then took his European clothes and identity, giving him Iroquois clothing so that he "could not but fall in love wth myselfe, if not yt I had better instructions to shun the sin of pride."[26] The older woman then gave him to her daughter's family, where his adoptive mother gave him "a new cover and a redd and blew cappe"[27] and his sisters cut his hair and painted his face. In this instance, women physically and metaphorically transformed the stranger into kin by covering him in familiar clothes. The ritual of reclothing effectively changed Radisson from an outsider to a member of a family and community.

The transformative powers of clothing worked the other way as well. These items of clothing acquired their transformative power not because they were simply of Iroquois or European manufacture, but through their status as gifts. Just as domestic household labor by both men and women is and was unpaid, adopted captives were expected to reciprocate not with goods of similar value, but with unpaid labor and symbolic acceptance of integration into the family. Captives performed domestic labor not to repay a debt, but as part of the family economy, and accepted integration into that family as part of their reciprocation of the gift. When Pierre Radisson ran away from and rejected his Iroquois family, he stripped their clothing from his body. After he was recaptured, he was tortured naked as a stranger by the community until his adoptive parents intervened and reclothed him.[28] Ties specifically to the family, rather than to the larger community or to the adopting nation thus were especially important. To the larger Iroquois community, Radisson had rejected his family's protection when he rejected them and their gifts

26 Pierre Esprit Radisson and G. D. Scull, *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson : Being an Account of His Travels and Experiences Among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684 ; Transcribed from Original Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum ; with Historical Illustrations and an Introduction* (Boston: Prince Society, 1885). 34

27 Ibid. 40

28 Ibid. 59

of clothing, and was treated as an unassimilated stranger until his family reclaimed him with another symbolic act of reclothing.

When captives were integrated into families, the adoptive member was given not just any items of clothing, but clothing that belonged to other family members. Gouentagrandi, the Oneida woman who adopted the Jesuit Father Peter Milet in 1691 gave him "a white shirt and a blanket of fine stuff that belonged to her daughter" to bring him into their family even though he already wore some items of Native clothing.[29] When Father Joseph Poncet was adopted among the Mohawk in 1653, he was given stockings, moccasins, a blanket, and "as soon as I had been made a relative of my house . . . I was also presented with an old and very greasy shirt,"[30] implying it had been worn before. A slightly scandalized Pierre Pouchot observed of Iroquois shirts that "they keep them on until they are either worn out or rotten. When they first acquire them, they wear them white, after which they rub them with vermillion. They are then red for some time until they become black from use."[31] Father Poncet's shirt was therefore probably not purchased new for him, but rather worn for some time before being given to him. Used clothing had the benefit of being ready to hand, but at a time when most people, Native, European and American, had only a few sets of clothing, a new person wearing old clothing in a small community marked them as integrated into a family.

The Mohawk men who took Joseph Bartlett captive in 1708 immediately reclothed him before the long trek back to Canada. Once there and in the home of his adoptive Mohawk family,

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29 Pierre Millet, *Captivity of Father Peter Milet, S.J. Among the Oneida Indians : His Own Narrative, with Supplementary Documents.* (New York: [s.n.], 1888). 8

30 Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, *In Mohawk Country : Early Narratives About a Native People* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996). 99

31 Pierre Pouchot, Michael Cardy, and Brian Leigh Dunnigan, *Memoirs on the Late War in North America Between France and England* (Youngstown, N.Y.: Old Fort Niagara Association, 1994). 3:441

his mother "made me put off my Indian stockings and my blanket, and gave me others."[32] Most captivity narratives do not include this detail unless the captive changed families of residence after a journey, many returned captives often remarking on their amazement that their families did not replace worn or soiled clothing after a long journey. Bartlett and others were first integrated into the culture with appropriate clothing, and then incorporated into families of residence with clothing from that family. Though Bartlett already wore specifically Mohawk clothing from his journey, his transformation was not complete until he was provided for by his new family.

Travel also facilitated gift exchanges between far flung Iroquois families, though the participants in the exchange may not have been able to travel themselves. Eunice Williams was taken by the Mohawk in the 1704 raid of Deerfield Massachusetts, and eight years later married Arosen, a Mohawk man. Eunice and Arosen travelled back to Massachusetts at least four times to visit her natal family and Arosen visited alone at least once. The order of the visits is unclear, but on his visit alone in 1750, Arosen brought a beaded fingerwoven belt, a quill decorated bullet pouch, a shell gorget and other clothing items to Eunice's older brother Reverend Stephen Williams.[33]As Iroquois men of the time did not make clothing, weave or do quill work, Eunice or another female family member most likely made the items and sent them with Arosen, though the maker herself was not able to travel at that time.

Although Eunice's father and Robert Livingston commoditized her when they offered a Mohawk sachem wampum, money, or an indentured Indian girl in exchange for Eunice,[34] Eunice

32 Joseph Bartlett, *A Narrative of the Captivity of Joseph Bartlett*, 1978. 7
33 Suzanne Flynt. “Early Native American Collections in Deerfield.” *American Indian Art Magazine*. 30:1. 2004. 52-59.
34 Robert Livingston and Lawrence H. Leder, *The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723* (Stanfordville, N.Y.: E.M. Coleman, 1979). 201.

used a combination of purchased goods and indigenous materials to maintain her ties to her natal family. The yarn and beads used for the belt she sent her brother were available in Iroquoia only through European traders and the quilled tobacco pouch used leather decorated with a pre-contact indigenous technique. Although this example illustrates ties maintained between an Iroquois and a white family, the effort of travel undertaken by Arosen, and the hints of gift exchanges in Evert Wendell's account book suggests that Iroquois families may have taken mementos of distant family with them when they traveled. With Mohawk settlements dispersed into Canada, the Ohio country, and the Susquehanna valley as well as what is today New York as the eighteenth century progressed, these gifts of clothing may have served to maintain national ties across distance as they cemented kin ties.

Even more frustrating than European inability to regulate Iroquois perceptions was the remixture of European markers of civility to create a strange likeness.[35] Native people used European material culture in ever increasing ways and instances through the early eighteenth century, but not in ways that conformed to performances of civility. In fact, their use of European material culture at times called attention to the performative—and thus transitory and impermanent—nature of civility itself. As items that the Iroquois could add and recombine in their performance of savagery, clothing and wigs, hats and shirts became liminal themselves, the constituent parts of European identity reworked and repurposed to build a wholly unfamiliar indigenous self.

The account book of Albany trader Evert Wendell records the variety and quantity of goods purchased by Iroquois consumers between 1694 and 1724, as well as the divergence of

35 Nancy Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness : Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-century North America* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). 53-54, 77-78, 125

Iroquois purchasing patterns from standards of European civility. Though they purchased some individual items that, in a European context, could be used to signify different registers of authority, political legitimacy and civility, the Wendell account book suggests that early eighteenth century Iroquois consumers purchased items to fit within their own social registers.

Although general Iroquois interest and investment in European trade goods declined from east to west, national interest in specific objects was not so geographically determined. The Mohawk and "Canadian" Indians (likely Mohawk or other Iroquois who had relocated to multi-national villages in New France, hereafter referred to as Laurentian Iroquois) commanded the greatest purchasing power and consequently made a greater number of purchases per person. The Mohawk especially purchased shirts with much greater frequency than other groups, but their purchases of tailored coats lagged behind Laurentian Iroquois. Known within the Iroquois Confederacy as the Keepers of the Eastern Door, the Mohawk are typically considered in the scholarship to have been the League's primary diplomats and the most "British-leaning" of all the nations.[36] The Mohawk preference for cloth yardage and blankets over tailored coats suggests the continuance of traditional unshaped clothing like matchcoats,[37] wrapped skirts and breechclouts. This remixture of markers of civility and savagery confounded European attempts to tie the signifier of European clothing to the signified value of civilized restraint.

36 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 165, 171-172, 178, 200; Daniel K. Richter and James Hart Merrell, *Beyond the Covenant Chain : the Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1987). 43-44, 64-70.

37 Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (1996): 13–42; M. J. Becker, "Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism and Change in One Aspect of Native American Clothing," *Ethnohistory* 52, no. 4 (October 2005): 727–787.

Table 8: Individuals in the Wendell Account Book, 1697-1724

	Laurentian	Mohawk	Seneca	Oneida	Onondaga	Cayuga	Mahican	Other
Men	15	73	21	10	11	25	43	11
Women	8	52	32	4	3	8	26	3

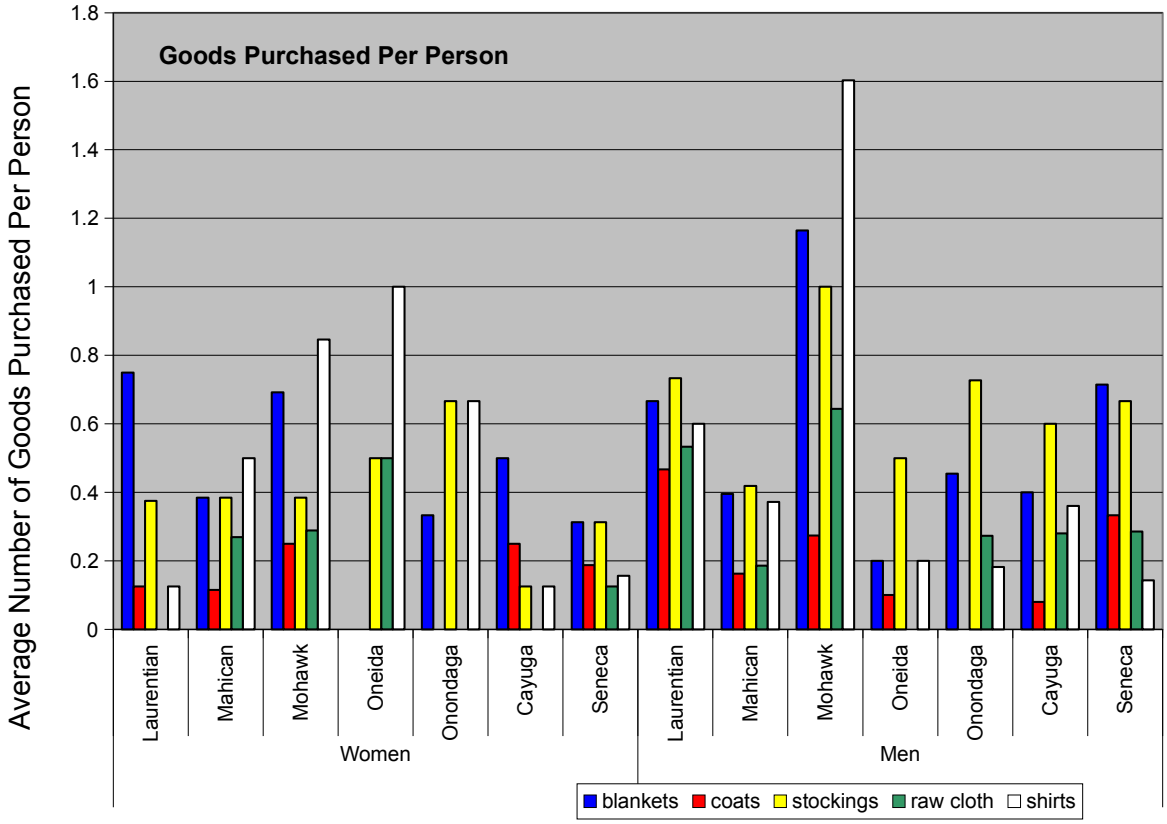

Table 9: Average Quantity of Goods Purchased Per Person, by Gender and Nation, 1697-1724

Source: To do Justice to Him and Myself. The total number of goods purchased by each gender and national group were divided by the number of individuals of that gender and national group in the account book. The resulting sum represents the average frequency different groups purchased individual items. Raw cloth was calculated by price per ells sold.

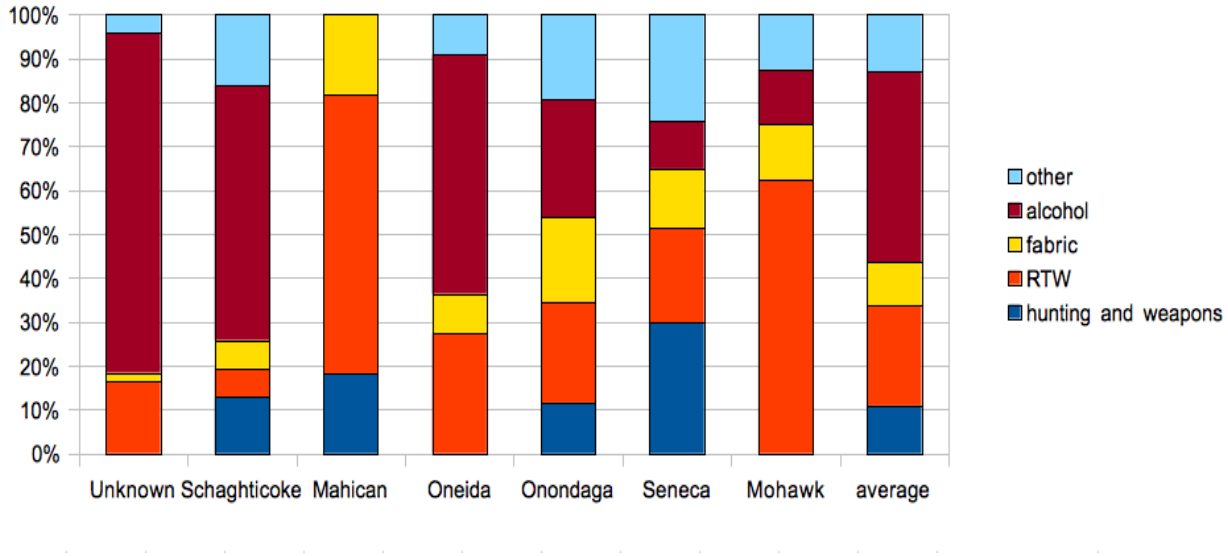

Table 10: Categories of Goods as Percent of Total Purchases, 1679-1690

Source: Unidentified Dutch Account Book, RAC. The value of goods in beaver of each type was compiled by nation, and calculated as a percent of the total purchases made by each nation. "Hunting and Weapons" includes knives, guns, lead, and gunpowder. "RTW" or "Ready to Wear" includes stockings, coats, blankets sold as blankets rather than raw cloth, shoes, hats, and shirts. There were too few items of each type in this category to further subdivide RTW. "Other" includes kettles, looking glasses, food, and animal hides sold to Native people.

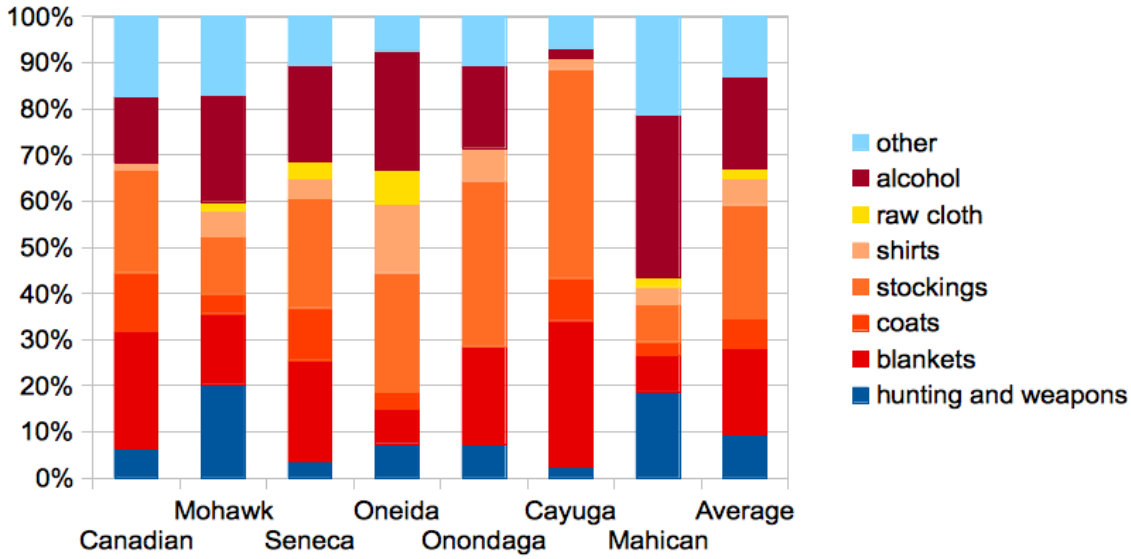

Table 11: Categories of Goods as Percent of Total Purchases, 1697-1724

Source: To do Justice to Him and Myself. The value of goods in beaver of each type was compiled by nation, and calculated as a percent of the total purchases made by each nation. "Hunting and Weapons" includes knives, guns,

lead, and gunpowder. The categories "shirts," "blankets," "coats," and "stockings" comprise what is shown as "RTW" in Table Ten. "Other" includes kettles, looking glasses, food, and animal hides sold to Native people.

Tables Ten and Eleven together show the shift in Iroquois purchases to ready-to-wear clothing such as shirts, coats, stockings and blankets. In the late seventeenth century, Iroquois consumers spent half or more of their available resources on alcohol, gunpowder, lead, and knives, or "other" purchases such as beads, kettles, foodstuffs, and looking glasses (Table Ten). And although every Native group spent more on ready-to-wear clothing than on raw cloth, a still significant fifteen to twenty percent of available peltry went to purchase fabric for traditional unshaped garments. By the turn of the eighteenth century (see Table Eleven), both alcohol and cloth yardage became much less significant portions of total Iroquois purchases. Ready-to-wear items took on greater significance to Iroquois consumers after the turn of the century, a rather encouraging development from the standpoint of missionaries interested in cultivating civility.

However, some markers of the restrained European body never caught on with Iroquois consumers: the total number of hats and shoes Wendell sold in thirty years numbered in the single digits. The most foundational sign of the civilized body, the white linen shirt, saw disturbing and barbaric changes to its signification. Shirts were purchased more often than any other item, surpassing blankets, stockings, and raw cloth, making up a much larger share (232 shirts) than coats (70).[38] For the Seneca, linen shirts made up a relatively small share of all goods purchased. Distance from European settlement is often taken as a given explanation for most differences in Iroquois use of European goods.[39] It is generally assumed that the Mohawk,

38 Evert Wendell, Kees-Jan Waterman, and Gunther Michelson, *"To Do Justice to Him & Myself" : Evert Wendell's Account Book of the Fur Trade with Indians in Albany, New York, 1695-1726* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008).

39 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse, 140*; Axtell, "The First Consumer Revolution." 125-151; Laird, Matthew Robert. The Price of Empire: Anglo-French Rivalry for the Great Lakes Fur Trades, 1700-1760. Dissertation, College of William and Mary, 1997. Anderson, Dean L. Documentary and Archaeological Perspectives on

located the furthest east and closest to European settlement, used European goods earlier and more frequently than the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca, who were increasingly distant from centers of British American settlement.[40]

However, Senecas were just as likely as the more eastern Mohawks to buy some items, such as tailored coats. Senecas and Laurentian Iroquois had much greater access to French traders than did more eastern groups, able to seek out the best quality goods from both French and English centers of trade. That the Seneca and Laurentian Indians purchased so few shirts from Wendell suggests that Native and European consumers shared a similar assessment of French and English linen manufacture: for personal wear, English consumers overwhelmingly purchased imported French linen up to the eve of the Seven Years' War, when British government tariffs and the rising quality of Irish linen encouraged domestic purchases.[41] Although Iroquois consumers shared their assessment of quality with European consumers, they did not value the use of those goods for the same reasons.

Witham Marshe, a commissioner for Maryland at the 1744 Treaty of Lancaster, was chided by noted diplomat Conrad Weiser "not to talk much of the Indians, nor laugh at their dress, or make any remarks on their behaviour; if we did it would be very much resented by them, and might cause some differences to arise betwixt the white people and them. Besides,

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European Trade Goods in the Western Great Lakes Region. Dissertation, Michigan State University. Dept. of Anthropology, 1992.

40 Richter, *Ordeal of the Longhouse, 75-87, 262-269*; Axtell, "The First Consumer Revolution" 125-151; William Carter, "Chains of Consumption : the Iroquois and Consumer Goods, 1550-1800" (Princeton University, 2008). 318-332.

41 Richard Brown, *Society and Economy in Modern Britain, 1700-1850* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1991). 52; Vries, *The Industrious Revolution : Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. 163; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*. 46-62;Herbert H. Kaplan, *Russian Overseas Commerce with Great Britain During the Reign of Catherine II*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society v. 218 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1995). 165

most of them understood English, though they will not speak it when they are in treaty."[42] The admonishment likely helped prevent Marshe from giving offense to the Iroquois diplomats, since he took their shirts, "as black as the Scotchman made the Jamaicans when he wrote in his letter they were as black as that blot," as a sign of desperate and laughable poverty.[43] By the early eighteenth century, clean white linen had become a sign of gentility, civility and respectability in both England and France, symbolically linked to both the whiteness of spiritual purity and to the emerging hierarchies of skin color,[44] leading many European writers to associate shirts made black with dirtiness, poverty, and barbarity.[45] In the Iroquois context, however, blackened shirts did not signify dirty living, as many Iroquois consumers colored their shirts before wearing them the first time. "The better sort have shirts of the finest Linen they can get, and to those some wear Ruffles; but these they never put on till they have painted them of various colors, which they get from the Pecone Root, and Bark of Trees, and never pull them off to wash, but wear them, till they fall in Pieces."[46]

42 Witham Marshe. *Lancaster in 1744: Journal of the Treaty at Lancaster in 1744 with the Six Nation*s. Lancaster PA: New Era Steam Book and Job Print. 1884. 12

43 Marshe, 12.

44 Vaughan and Vaughan, "Before Othello: Elizabethan Representations of Sub-Saharan Africans"; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800.* 19-44; Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature,* 156-158; Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought." 143-166.

45 Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800*. 46-62

46 Williamson, *The Travels of Peter Williamson, Among the Different Nations and Tribes of Savage Indians in America.* 24

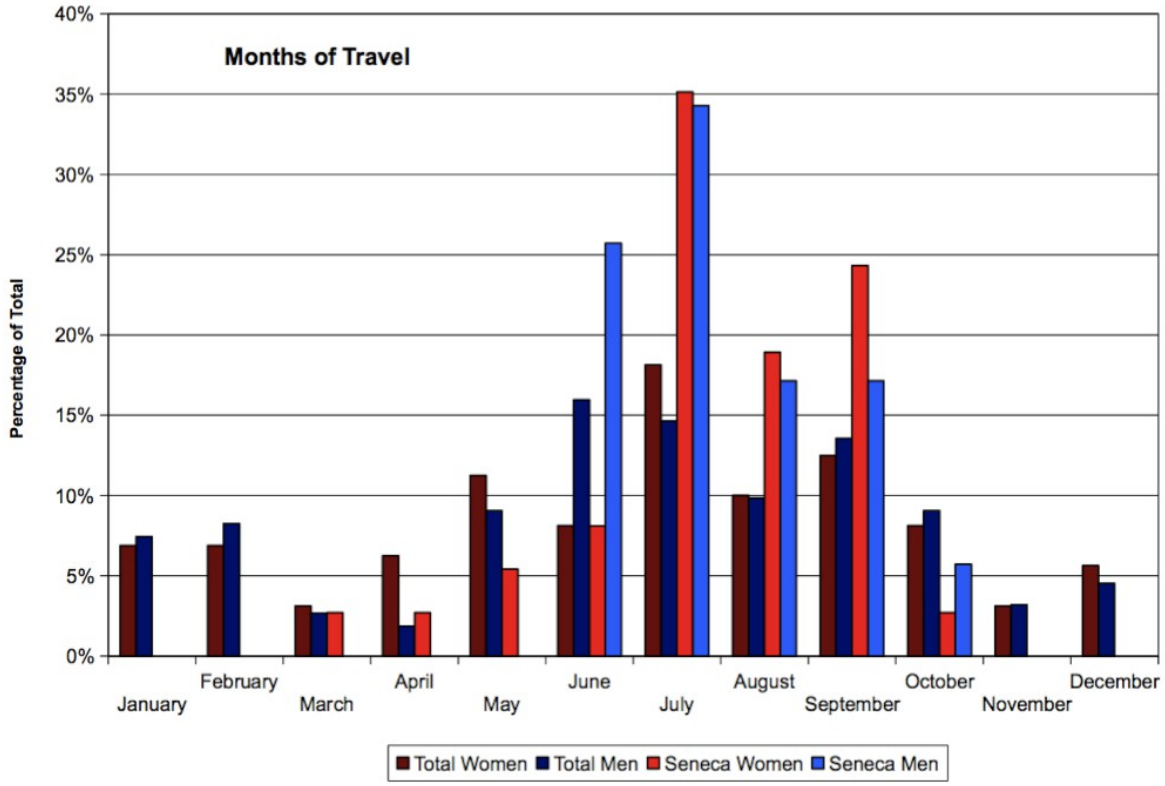

Table 12: Iroquois Travel to Albany, 1697-1731

Source: To Do Justice to Him and Myself. The number of visits was calculated by the number of individuals by gender and nation. Individuals who were recorded by Wendell on multiple dates within the same month were only counted once. The number of visits per month was divided by the total of all visits made throughout the year to determine the frequency of travel by group.

Rather than European goods inculcating civility and restraint in Iroquois people, Iroquois people domesticated European goods and used them to become more Iroquois. The distance to travel to European centers of trade facilitated this process. As illustrated in Table Twelve, Iroquois travel to Albany followed the seasonal subsistence round, especially for distant groups such as the Seneca. Native women have in the past been considered within the restrictive and outmoded "separate spheres"[47] framework of the "village clearing and the forest."[48] Women traveled to Albany with almost as much frequency as their male countrymen, even during agricultural seasons. Women's travel peaked during the middle of the agricultural season, in the months between planting and harvest that were traditionally used for gathering. Men's travel also followed a seasonal round, with fewer trips during the spring trapping and fall hunting seasons. Rather than reshaping Iroquois cycles of work and travel, European trade was incorporated into the seasonal round of gathering, agriculture and hunting.

The stockings sold by Evert Wendell and other New York traders were likely not knitted stockings, referred to as worsted stockings or stockings of yarn in contemporary descriptions, but rather "a pair of leggins, or Indian stockings . . . sewed so as to fit the leg, leaving a border of two inches, projecting from the outside and extending to the instep."[49] Most ready made items underwent considerable modification before being worn. Women put their needles to use on stockings that they "tastily bound with ribands, edged with beads of various colours; and

47 Norton, Mary Beth. Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011 1-9; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). 70, 173, 197, 200, 205.

48 Elisabeth Tooker, "Women in Iroquois Society," in *Extending the Rafters*, 1984. 109-124; Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 23.Dean Snow. "Evolution of the Mohawk Iroquois," in *Societies in Eclipse: Eastern North America at the Dawn of Colonization.* Ed David S Brose, C. Wesley Cowan and Robert Mainfort. Washington: Smithsonian Press. 2001. 19-25.

49 Oliver M. Spencer, *Indian Captivity* (New York: Garland Pub., 1975). 83

frequently on their moccasons and their leggins, small tufts of deer's hair, dyed red and confined in small pieces of tin, rattling as they walked."[50] Notes made by twentieth century avocational and professional archaeologists of Seneca sites indicate that large quantities of white seed beads, like those used to decorate leggings, appear over the legs and ankles of men, women and children for the first time at the Huntoon site,[51] occupied between 1710 and 1745.[52] These beads and ribbons may have paralleled earlier decorative norms, such as the application of porcupine quills Father Lafitau noted in 1724.

There are indications that some Native Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries cut the feet from knitted stockings and wore them as leggings, or used stockings and caps as pouches for tobacco and other small items. Nine fragments of knitting have been recovered from pre-1687 Seneca archaeological sites,[53] and all but one of the fragments were probably from caps or stockings.[54] Although too small to preserve any evidence of shaping, the stitch size and structure is consistent with known early modern European stockings, and one fragment was found inside a brass kettle wrapped around several peach and cherry pits, suggesting its use as a bag.[55] One large fragment[56] was knit entirely in a textured decorative stitch. European stockings typically incorporated textured decorative stitches in small patches at the ankles, but not in sections large enough to account for the size of this piece.

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50 Oliver M. Spencer, *Indian Captivity* (New York: Garland Pub., 1975). 84.

51 Charles Wray "Huntoon Site (South Side Rte 5 and 20)" Papers of the Rock Foundation, Rochester Museum and Science Center. Rochester NY.

52 Kurt Jordan, *The Seneca Restoration 1715-1754: An Iroquis Local Political Economy.* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008). 42, 94. Kurt Jordan, "Seneca Iroquois Settlement Pattern, Community Structure, and Housing, 1677–1779." Northeast Anthropology 67: 23–60.

53 Maeve Kane, "Covered with Such a Cappe: The Archaeology of Seneca Clothing 1615-1820," *Ethnohistory* 61, no. 1 (Winter 2014). 1-25

54 All nine are in one ply S or Z spun yarn knitted at four stitches to the centimeter, and eight of the nine are knitted in stockinette with no shaping.

55 RMSC Dann site object 2075/28 B

56 RMSC (14cmx8cm) Dann site object 4037/28 A

There is the possibility that this or other knitted items may have been made in Iroquoia rather than purchased. At least one fragment of knitting, from an Oneida site dated 1720-1750,[57] was almost certainly made in Iroquoia. This fragment is stitched in horizontal ribs[58], otherwise unremarkable except that it has a large number of white seed beads strung onto the yarn and knitted into the fabric in a diamond pattern. European and American knitting did not include beading until the late nineteenth century. This item's similarity in design and technique to beaded fingerweaving makes it likely that an Iroquois woman, adopted Euro-American woman, or person catering specifically to an Iroquois consumer made this item. Mary Rowlandson knit four pairs of stockings and unraveled and reknit a pair of stockings during her captivity among the Algonquian Wampanoag.[59] During their Revolutionary-era captivity among the Mohawks, Polly Meadows and her husband Henry Ball "labour[ed] to pay their masters the price of their ransom; he by boating to the rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing."[60] It is possible captive European women, or Iroquois women who spent time at Euro-American schools for Native children, knitted items specifically for Iroquois people. The increased availability of European blankets and increased competition between suppliers after the establishment of Niagara and Oswego may account for the labor evident in the production of fingerweaving, with increasing variation in decoration and amount of beadwork.[61]

Fingerweaving is a technique indigenous to the Americas that creates bands of various widths by creating a broad, multi-stranded braid. Although Seneca women sought out European

57 Oneida Lanz site, RMSC
58 Garter stitch with no increases or decreases at five stitches to the centimeter
59 Mary White Rowlandson and Neal Salisbury, *The sovereignty and goodness of God, together with the Faithfulness of His promises displayed being a narrative of the captivity and restoration of Mrs. Rowlandson and related documents* (Boston: Bedford [u.a.], 1997). 44, 66, 84
60 Oliver M. Spencer, *Indian Captivity* (New York: Garland Pub., 1975). 89
61 Kane, "Covered With Such a Cappe." 1-25

materials and chose to replace indigenously available materials with yarns for fingerweaving, they used the new materials to elaborate on previously existing decorative traditions. Fingerweaving is evident at pre-contact sites and the multi-colored yarn used after contact had to be sought out or unravelled from blankets. Together with imported beads, the combination of technique and material created a visual vocabulary that did not previously exist and that continues to flourish. Dutch and French merchants sold narrow woven bands out of Albany and Montreal beginning in the seventeenth century; these manufactured substitutions have remained available to the Iroquois through the twentieth century, but fingerweaving has persisted. Although European materials replaced plant materials, this merely shifted the labor burden of the production of raw materials to European workers, allowing the Seneca producer to spend more time on decorative work. With the availability of beads and multi-colored yarns, new design possibilities opened rather than closed with Seneca and European cultural entanglement.[62]

The evidence for gift ties between Iroquois people, rather than ties between newly adopted Europeans and Iroquois families, is necessarily more scarce but it is likely that gifts of clothing cemented ties between Iroquois families as well. European travelers and captives in Iroquoia rarely noted exchanges between Iroquois people, but an early anonymous description suggests that gifts of clothing tied people together across time and distance. "When it happens that someone of considerable importance in a village has died . . . an assembly is constituted from the other villages who, all by common agreement, furnish some wampum or even some clothing or furs, in the place, to those who are appointed to go and mourn for the deceased."[63] This clothing both served to transmit the presence of those who could not travel to distant

62 Kane, “Covered With Such a Cappe.” 1-25

63 *Nation Iroquoise: A Seventeenth-Century Ethnography of the Iroquois*. Edited, Jose Antonio Brandao. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2003. 83

funerals and traveled with the dead. Clothing a representative of the community visibly and metaphorically took the community to distant funerals, and the deceased were sometimes buried with others' clothing. The clothing given to the community representative thus might also have traveled with the deceased as well.

Small black glass buttons, formed by a rod of hot glass wound around a wire shank, were typically used by European and colonial French and Dutch tailors to close long openings, such as those on the front of Jesuit cassocks, or the long, open sleeves of men's coats.[64] Archaeologically, these buttons have been found at several Seneca and Oneida sites occupied during periods of Jesuit mission activity. Seventeen children at several sites had one or two buttons placed around their neck, along with large quantities of glass beads, suggesting that the buttons had been strung with glass beads as necklaces.[65]

That the majority of people interred with black glass buttons were children--though it is necessary to note that not all children wore glass buttons--suggests that the buttons may have been used as a reward for catechism. In 1639, Father Le Jeune rewarded catechists with "a knife, or a piece of bread, at other times a chaplet--sometimes a cap, or an axe, for the tallest and most intelligent; it is an excellent opportunity for relieving the misery of these poor peoples. The parents were charmed with the fervor of their children, who went through the cabins to show their prizes."[66] Father Le Mercier also rewarded adult women for catechism with small items in 1670: "It costs me something, but that is not ill spent. The one who can repeat, on Sunday, all

64 Paul R. Huey, "Aspects of Continuity and Change in Colonial Dutch Material Culture at Fort Orange, 1624-1664" (Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennyslvania, 1988). 569.
65 Kane, "Covered With Such a Cappe." 1-25
66 *Jesuit Relations.* 23:311

that has been taught during the week, has for reward a string of colored glass beads, or two little glass tubes, or two brass rings."[67]

Some Seneca parents may have sought out the black buttons for dying children. All the Seneca sites where black glass beads were found experienced at least one outbreak of epidemic disease,[68] and the Iroquois recategorized European trade goods based on their color associations, specifically seeking black or dark colored trade goods in mourning contexts.[69] Although the presence of Jesuit missionaries may have been necessary to supply the black buttons, Seneca parents may have sought them out for their traditional cultural associations. Whether those who sought and wore black buttons saw them as tokens of conversion, traditional symbols of mourning, or expensive gifts acquired from visitors is unclear; the categories may not have been mutually exclusive.[70] Iroquois and European semiotic systems utilized many of the same signs, but intended entirely different significations, resulting in divergent uses and interpretations of common material culture. Unlike the hybrid material culture of the middle ground, frontier and diplomatic realm which has been the previous focus of study, Iroquois communities utilized European goods as raw materials to create and reinforce a distinctly Native identity.

What Will the Latter Be?

The first Anglican missionary to the Mohawk, Thomas Barclay, arrived in Albany in 1708 just as the Anglican church turned towards evangelism and the theological position that man's

67 *Jesuit Relations.* 53:251
68 Parmenter, *The Edge of the Woods*. Appendix 2. 289-291
69 George R Hamell, "The Iroquois and the World's Rim: Speculations on Color, Culture and Contact.," *American Indian Quarterly* 16 (1992): 451–469.; Christopher L. Miller and George R. Hamell, "A New Perspective on Indian-White Contact: Cultural Symbols and Colonial Trade," *The Journal of American History* 73, no. 2 (1986). 322-333
70 Kane, "Covered With Such a Cappe." 1-25

action in converting the world was required to bring about the Second Coming.[71] Although historians since Francis Parkman have argued that the English "scorned and neglected" the Indian, especially in mission efforts,[72] the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) enjoyed wide support in England and the English colonies among high ranking church, business and government officials, and missionized among the Mohawk for the entirety of the eighteenth century.[73] The Mohawk mission has even been memorialized in the official history of the SPG as one of the Society's most successful,[74] a supposed third of the Mohawk population at Tionderoge professing Anglican membership in the early decades of the eighteenth century.[75]

The Iroquois, especially the Mohawk, showed just enough interest to keep Anglican missionaries hopeful. Although Anglican minister Thomas Barclay's attention quickly shifted from the Mohawk to the establishment of the first parish at Albany, Queen Anne and the SPG replaced him with William Andrews, employed solely to missionize the Mohawk from Fort Hunter after the 1710 visit of the Four Kings. Reports from Andrews' first years of mission were promising: in two years, he baptized over one hundred people,[76] or twenty percent of the Mohawk population.[77] However, as Andrews himself noted in 1712, the number of baptisms performed had little impact on the state of Indian souls. "Most of the adult indians are already baptized, some by priests from canada others by dutch ministers, but those baptised by the

71 Rowan Strong, "A Vision of an Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.," *Journal of Religious History* 30, no. 2 (2006):177-179

72 Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith : Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990). 127; Troy O Bickham, *Savages Within the Empire : Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005). 216

73 Strong, "A Vision of an Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." 175-198; Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility*. 12; 82

74 Daniel O'Connor and United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, *Three Centuries of Mission : United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1701-2000* (London: Continuum, 2000). 31-34.

75 Richter, "Some of Them . . . Would Always Have a Minister with Them." 471-484.

76 Series A. USPG Papers. Andrews Report to the SPG. 1712

77 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. Appendix 2, 289-291

former, I am afraid are but little the better for it . . . they would baptize any that offered themselves, whether qualified or no and took no manner of care to instruct them before or after."[78]

Politically, such ambiguous conversion would not suffice. In the religious geopolitics of early North America, New York increasingly served to shield the more densely settled British colonies of New England from French Catholic incursions out of Canada. As an English royal colony after 1683, New York assumed a more prominent role in the administration and protection of British political and military interests in North America.[79] In 1699, New York Governor Bellomont wrote to the Board of Trade that

> without doubt, the French King sets a great value on Canada and takes such measures as will quickly extend his dominions in this part of the world, further than is consistent with the interest of England . . . [New York] by its situation (being much in the center of the other Colonies) challenges a preference to all the rest and ought to be looked upon as the capital Province or the Citadel to all the others; for secure but this, and you secure all the English Colonies, not only against the French, but also against any insurrections.[80]

The English concern with Indian civility and conversion was not only religious, but political at the highest levels. On the heels of the 1710 Four Kings visit, Governor Robert Hunter had appealed to the SPG for a missionary to the Iroquois, stressing the intersection of Christianity, civility, and communication with the English. "It is high time to think of missionaries for that purpose," Hunter demanded in 1711.

> If they be not enjoynd to teach our language to ye younger sort, I have for my owne part but slender hopes of success answerable to so good a design, for upon

78 Series A. USPG Papers. Andrews to the Secretary, Queens Fort near the Mohawks Castle March 9 1712/3

79 Michael G Kammen, *Colonial New York : a History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996). 199; Peter Wraxall, *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*, ed. Charles Howard McIlwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915). lxii; Arthur Howland Buffington, "New York's Place in Intercolonial Politics." Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association Vol 16. 1915. 51-62

80 NYCD 4:505

> my own certain knowledge—our scotch highlanders who keep to their antient language, habit and customs, have little more of Xtianity besides the name than they had in St Columb's days.[81]

By pointing to the ongoing problems with the tribal Scots and the Old Pretender who rallied their support to menace the English Crown (not incidentally also supported by the Catholic French who menaced New York's frontiers and threatened to woo away Iroquois allies) Hunter emphasized the singular path to Christian conversion and its geopolitical significance.[82]

Thirteen years later, another New York governor explicitly argued for the presence of the End Days. William Burnet, who succeeded Peter Schuyler as governor in 1720 and retained several of Robert Hunter's advisors, published a pamphlet on the ages of the world in 1724, *An essay on Scripture prophecy, wherein it is endeavoured to explain the three periods contain'd in the xii chapter of the prophet Daniel*. Focused on the explication of divine ages in human terms, Burnet's interpretation of Daniel argued that the 1355-year millenium had already commenced and was coming to a close, the Pope's fall as Anti-Christ and Christ's return scheduled for 1790.[83] A screed against the Catholic Anti-Christ, Burnet located Britain and its overseas holdings squarely at the center of the effort to convert the Jews, defeat Satan's French church, and usher in the Second Coming.

Iroquois indifference to civility and conversion, their political neutrality, and their traffic with the French therefore took on a sinister cast.[84] In 1720, Burnet asked the New York Assembly if they would "suffer the Province to lye open to the first attempt the French shall think fit to make against it" while they looked on "patiently and see them advancing every day

81 Series A. USPG Papers. Robert Hunter to the Secretary. New York Feb 24 1711
82 Canny, "The Ideology of English Colonization: From Ireland to America." 285-286
83 William Burnet, *An Essay on Scripture Prophecy, Wherein It Is Endeavoured to Explain the Three Periods Contain'd in the Xii Chapter of the Prophet Daniel* (Oxford University, 1724). 158
84 Parmenter, *Edge of the Woods*. 53-55, 211-215

further into our country, building trading houses in the main passes belonging to it, seducing numbers of our indians to live among them . . . and spreading false and scandalous reports among the Five Nations in order to draw them from their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain."[85] Burnet pushed for greater government involvement in the otherwise Albany-centric fur trade, making the Albany-Montreal trade illegal and establishing first a log blockhouse and palisade and later a stone fort at Oswego. In 1724, he argued that "all proper methods should be provided for that may encourage the Five Nations to remain firm to us and to prevent the unwearied endeavors the French use to seduce them," including the expansion of Oswego and a firm stand against French expansion of Niagara.[86] These efforts, which attacked the traditional basis of Albany's economic and political power, attempted to centralize control over the fur trade and curtail the free movement of indigenous people between New France and New York, creating a point of contention that lasted up until the eve of the British conquest of Canada in 1763.[87]

This attempt to control French trade and curtail Native movement between New York and New France was part of a broader British concern with controlling the environment of Iroquoia. Not in a climatological sense: environmental theory of race would not be articulated until the mid-eighteenth century.[88] Climatological race theory articulated difference as a product of heat,

85 William Burnet and William Nelson, *Original Documents Relating to the Life and Administration of William Burnet* (Paterson NJ: Press Printers, 1897).118

86 Ibid. 137

87 Jean Lunn, *The Illegal Fur Trade Out of New France 1713-1760*, Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1939. 61-76

88 Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race : Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000). 21-28

soil, exposure to sun, labor,[89] and cultural factors such as grease-rubbing[90] and clothing.[91] Even before the full articulation of climatological race, cultural and social environment was understood to affect religious and cultural conversion. Mind, heart and soul followed the body—a disordered body produced a disordered mind, and a body in godly comportment produced a godly mind and a soul ready for conversion. This impulse to shape the mind by changing the body's habitat motivated John Eliot's establishment of Praying Towns in New England as well as the French Jesuit mission towns of Kahnawake and Trois Rivieres. Within the ordered spaces of a town, Native converts could be nurtured and supervised. The habitus of the body, the daily practice[92] of civility controlled and restrained the savage impulses of the mind.[93] Without the Catholic influence of the French, the Iroquois (theoretically) would only be influenced by the English and their civility, religion, and political goals.

The reality, like Iroquois interest in European goods but indifference to English civility, was much more complicated. As a former Dutch colony, New York continued to harbor British subjects of Dutch heritage whose own theological and commercial interests disinclined them towards mission activity, and even New York's unruly, supposedly English population did not serve as very good examples of Anglican civility. Anglican minister William Andrews despaired of the influence coarse soldiers' language had on the Mohawk surrounding Fort Hunter; others

89 Ibid. 21-28

90 Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains Representations of Native Americans in French and English Colonial Literature*. 156-158.

91 Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter : Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998) 195-224; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800 46-62.*; Morgan, *Laboring Women 33-35*; Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*. 21-28.

92 Kent G. Lightfoot, Antoinette Martenez, and Ann M. Schiff, "Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California," *American Antiquity* 63, no. 2 (1998): 199–222; Stephen W. Silliman, *Lost Laborers in Colonial California : Native Americans and the Archaeology of Rancho Petaluma* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004). 8-10, 32-35, 199-205.

93 Kuchta, *The Three-piece Suit and Modern Masculinity. 25-31*; Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race*. 20-21, 102-117, 289-290

derided the crass commercial interests and vulgarity of Albany itself as corrosive to the mission effort.

As Dutch Pietist Jasper Danckerts had noted derisively in 1680, "if these be the persons who are to make Christians of the heathen, what will the latter be?"[94] Frustratingly, European settlers at the edges of Iroquoia often fell short of civilized restraint themselves, and Native people were keen ethnographers of their new neighbors. As the Earl of Bellomont, Governor Richard Coote, wrote to the Lords of Trade in 1700, the garrison at Albany were

> in that shamefull and miserable condition for the want of cloaths that the like was never seen, in so much that those parts of 'em which modesty forbids me to name, are expos'd to view, the women forced to lay their hands on their eyes as often as they pass by 'em. This sad condition of the Soldiers, does us great hurt with the Indians, whose chiefest resort being to that town, and they being a very observing people, measure the greatness of our King, and the conduct of affairs, by the shamefull ill plight of the Soldiers . . . Some of the old crafty Sachems of the Five Nations, have ask'd 'em, whether they thought 'em such fooles as to believe our King could protect 'em from the French, when he was not able to keep his Soldiers in a condition, as those in Canada are kept.[95]

Despite the necessity of both civilizing and Christianizing Indians, Anglican mission education efforts among the Iroquois were sporadic and fitful in the first part of the century, due to cost and both English and Iroquois ambivalence. Easy enough to trumpet from a desk in London, the en masse conversion of a sovereign multi-national confederacy lost some of its allure when faced with the cost and necessity of mitigating the influence of other European settlers such an effort would require.

The Reverend Thomas Barclay took in an Indian boy in summer 1708 at the urging of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, training him in Christianity and civility, presumably to serve as

94 Jasper Danckaerts et al., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680* (New York: C Scribner's Sons, 1913). 216
95 Earl of Bellomont to the Lords of Trade. New York July 20 1700. NYCD 4:687

an interpreter.[96] Barclay kept the boy on for at least two and a half years and continued his education after William Andrews' arrival and attempts to set up a school among the Mohawk. (Barclay complained repeatedly during this time of the cost of housing and educating the boy, appealing for an extra five pounds salary a year for his support.) Although the SPG, who sponsored Barclay and paid his salary, positioned Indian evangelization at the center of their mission during the increasingly popular annual sermons given in London,[97] the five pounds was never paid.

Barclay's successor Andrews was even more ambivalent about the method of Indian education, frustrated by "ye very smell of ym . . . so yt their can be but little pleasure to be taken in living among ye indians," but unwilling or unable to press for many changes in his hosts' behavior.[98] A few months into his mission, Andrews wrote that although he had begun to teach Mohawk children to read and write in their own language, "the best way will be to keep them to their own language for it has been observed that those that speak english are the worst because it gives them opportunity of conversing the more with the english . . . and so to learn their vices . . . There are not above 3 or 4 of them in this nation can speak english, and that very brokenly and I wish they were out for they are some of the worst among them."[99] Ascribing English-speaking Indians' bad behavior to the poor influence of the English and Dutch soldiers stationed at Fort Hunter, Andrews advocated a separatist civility for the Mohawk. Andrews argued that Iroquois materiality ought to be brought in line with English mores as prelude to conversion but not

96 Series A. USPG Papers. Thomas Barclay to the Secretary 5 July 1709; Thomas Barclay to the Secretary 7 Dec 1710

97 Strong, "A Vision of an Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

98 Series A. USPG Papers. Mr Andrews to ye Secretary. At Ye Kings Fort by ye Mohawk Castle April 20 1716

99 Series A. USPG Papers. Mr Andrews to ye Secretary. Queens Fort near the Mohawks Castle March 9 1712/3

integrated into the English population. The Iroquois were politically equivalent to other British subjects, but not necessarily identical.

Four years later, Andrews apologetically noted his lack of success in teaching English among the Mohawk. In 1715, "I began to teach an indian lad english with his owne language but I was forcd to desist other ways he would not learned at all, lately again I offered to teach two or three girls, who can read pretty well in their owne tongue, but they would not learn." Andrews' disappointment may have been a bit disingenuous, given his earlier position, part of his deflection of the SPG's insistence on sending English catechisms and prayer books for the use of the Mohawk. Andrews urged the printing of a Mohawk translation, insistent that the Iroquois had little interest in learning English. "They are utterly averse to ye learning any other language but their owne, I believe here is not one indian yt understands five words of english for all we have lived by ym so long."

Andrews' demurral toed the official line of the Church of England, that Indian language and habitations were unsuitable to true Christian conversion.[100]

> I have often told ye indians of the great advantage of learning and yt they had now a fair opportunity put into their hands by the good society, of having it amongst them, and yt I hoped they would not be so unwise to loose it by slighting and neglecting it, which if they did might never have the like again afforded them, and so be without one of the best means of promoting and settling ye true religion among themselves and posterity whereby alone they could be saved.[101]

Although attractive for spiritual and political reasons, the en masse civil and religious conversion of the Iroquois ran afoul of Native indifference and English expectations. As Andrews' ambivalence and backtracking in the face of official Church pressure shows, the needs of a

100 Strong, "A Vision of an Anglican Imperialism: The Annual Sermons of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."

101 Series A. USPG Papers. Mr Andrews to ye Secretary. At Ye Kings Fort by ye Mohawk Castle April 20 1716

mission on the edge of a messy, intercultural frontier did not always mesh with the demands and theoretical drives of the sponsoring mission society or government.

Conclusion

In measuring the English as potential allies, much less an imperial, colonialist power, the Iroquois found the English settlements wanting. Unable to clothe their own people, the English struggled to project a compelling image of themselves into Iroquoia. Although Iroquois families integrated European goods into daily performances of self and community creation, they did so in ways inconsistent with European performances of civility, and more importantly, consistent with continuities of Iroquois mores, labor arrangements, and community relations. This remixture of European and Iroquois clothing decoupled the signifier from the signified, destabilizing the usefulness of clothing to signal the wearer's civility and underlining the uncomfortable performativity of civilization and Christianity.

White shirts, manufactured cloth, and tailored clothing signaled restraint and incorporation into civilized hierarchies within the context of European material symbolism, but within the context of Iroquois refashioning, they were used to reject European political domination and the performance of what appeared, from a European perspective, to be barbarity. Even more problematically (for those interested in converting indigenous people) the regional economic power of the Iroquois pulled the Albany and Atlantic economy to cater to Iroquois sensibilities in the creation and sale of ready-to-wear stockings and strouds designed specifically to the specifications of Native consumers. That the increasing availability, quality and price of fabric also allowed Iroquois women to articulate a new range of decorative visual expression in

the creation of beaded and colored fingerweaving underscored the insufficiency of material change to cause cultural change, and British conversion efforts shifted to focus on other methods.

Chapter Three

So Prittily Ingaged in Their Studies: Gendered and Racialized Labor in the Education of Civility, 1750-1770

In 1763, near the end of the Seven Years' War and at the peak of British imperial power on the North American continent, three boys about age fifteen, went away for school. The boys left Mohawk country headed southeast, two of them on foot. Joseph, Negyes, and Center followed the Hudson part of the way south, but Negyes and Center walked rather than paddled south on account of Joseph's horse, a gift from his sister and her husband. Negyes and Center arrived more than a little bedraggled, having walked more than three hundred miles through the valleys of the Berkshires.

The land flattened as they passed Hartford, Connecticut, but gave way to gently rolling hills more reminiscent of Mohawk country as they approached the hamlet of Lebanon Crank from the north. The rolling terrain may have felt familiar, but the corn fields of Mohawk country harbored none of Lebanon's sheep and cattle herds that supported the white settlements of the surrounding area, the eastern coastal cities, and the plantations of the British Caribbean.

Approaching Lebanon Crank, Joseph, Negyes, and Center found their destination on a low hill, the highest point on the town green. Maybe they had encountered some of the sheep grazed over night on the green, but otherwise they passed little except homes and livestock. Later during their stay in Lebanon Crank, they would get acquainted (too well, their teacher thought) with the village taverns, and (not well enough) with the Congregationalist church that dominated the green.

Joseph spoke only a little English, Center and Negyes none, and Lebanon Crank's good Connecticut Congregationalists certainly did not speak Mohawk. Town residents probably guessed their destination from their scandalously minimal clothing, if nothing else—Negyes and Center arrived bare-legged wearing little more than shirts and breechcloths, and Joseph was only

a little better clothed with leggings over his bare legs (which even so left his upper thighs still shockingly exposed).[1] Although a little more exotic than most, Wheelock's first Iroquois students were not so surprising after a few years of seeing other Indian students come and go.

Other than its relative prominence of place on the green, Joseph, Negyes, and Center probably found nothing remarkable about their destination: a clapboard house, two stories, two chimneys, like many they'd passed, and not so terribly different than the ones they'd seen in Albany or the stone house Joseph's sister and her husband lived in. A black man worked the fields stretching away from the house, and a black woman milked a cow and hung laundry between the house and its barn. The house itself was thronged with white, black and red children and young adults, an artificial and slightly distorted semblance of the extended family longhouses Joseph, Negyes, and Center had been raised in.

Another building sat slightly apart from house and outbuildings. Wide as a longhouse but low and short, it sat downhill of the house, outside the domestic scope but within clear observation of the house and church. The school the boys had been sent to enroll in, Moor's Indian Charity School was intended to be the center of a sweeping effort to transform Iroquoia into a bulwark of British, Christian evangelism and reform of the continent. Although similar in many ways to the Indian boarding schools that would take root in the United States and Canada more than a century later, Moor's Charity School was unique in its aims if not its methods. The founding and transformation of Moor's from Indian boarding school to Dartmouth College represented the progression of British American imaginings of Indians, and especially the Iroquois, from potential partners in empire to inherently incompatible others.

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1 James Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois," in *Extending the Rafters: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Iroquoian Studies*, ed. Michael Foster, Jack Campisi, and Marianne Mithun (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984). 54

Figure 4: Detail of "Les Lacs du Canada et Nouvelle Angleterre," Robert de Vaugondy, Atlas Portratif. 1749. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Diplomatic Anxieties

When Joseph, Negyes, and Center arrived to school in 1763, they arrived at a moment of imperial anxiety. Although they, their fathers, brothers, and uncles had all fought alongside British imperial troops and colonial militias in defeating New France, the school the three boys had been sent to attend had been founded out of a profound British sense of both distrust and hope. Hope, because many British settlers in North America and British imperial officials in England still believed that the full integration of the Six Nations on British terms was possible. Distrust, because the Iroquois remained uninterested in British attempts at cultural hegemony. Before the French and Indian War, Iroquois neutrality represented a possible military threat to British interests, especially when coupled with ethnic unrest among nominal British subjects in New York. After the incorporation of New France into British North America, the Iroquois represented the largest military force in the northeast not under Great Britain's control.

Neither the British imperial project, nor British imperial hopes and anxieties revolving around the Iroquois, were monolithic. British imperial ambitions were a nebulous set of desires, ambitions and fears informed by long-standing religious and political tensions with Catholic France;[2] newer racial tensions born of England's plantation holdings[3] and Indian wars;[4] and

2 For the role of religion in early modern English-French overseas conflict, see B.S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Jennifer Pitts, *A Turn to Empire : the Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

3 For an overview of the literature on racial tensions and England's overseas holdings, see Edmund Sears Morgan, *American slavery, American freedom : the ordeal of colonial Virginia* (New York, NY [u.a.]: Norton, 2003); Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race : Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs : Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*, Institute of Early American History and Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Jennifer L. Morgan, *Laboring Women : Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society, 1640-1700* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

4 For an overview of the role of colonial wars and violence in creating racial categories, see John Grenier, *The first way of war : American war making on the frontier, 1607-1814* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Richard Drinnon, *Facing West : the metaphysics of Indian-hating and empire-building*

republican political idealism.[5] This shared font of racial, religious, economic and military ambivalences created a patchwork of overlapping and sometimes competing British projects intended to convert, control, or profit from Iroquois lands and bodies. British imperial officials —those directly employed by the Crown or colonial governments—mostly sought to secure Iroquois economic, military and political allegiance through diplomatic persuasion, but just as often were influenced by their own religious ambitions and fears or personal economic interest. British colonial subjects were more often influenced by their own economic interest or religious goals, but couched their aims in political language in order to gain support through official channels. This resulted in a tumult of projects that sought to influence changes in Iroquois culture and actions. Alhough not unified in method or ultimate goal, all these projects shared common anxieties about the reproduction and continuance of British culture and political dominance in North America.

Before the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), Anglican missionary success, Iroquois interest in British manufactures, and religious optimism fueled hopes that the Iroquois might smoothly be integrated as British subjects. The texture of contact in colonial New York before the Seven Years' War, with increasing overlap in British, Dutch and Iroquois economic, religious and social lives, gave yet more reason to hope.[6] Cross-cultural social ties both smoothed and complicated political relations, and Albany-area social networks overlapped between Native and non-Native communities. Especially among the Mohawk, the group with which British officials had the most diplomatic contact, the years leading to the French and Indian War saw an increase in

(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980); Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness : Becoming Red and White in Eighteenth-century North America*.

5 David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). 178

6 David Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). 124-125, 198-200.

economic and religious ties between Native and non-Native people. The ties between European, Native and African people surrounding Albany illustrate both the imperial tension and the optimism generated by prosaic interactions.

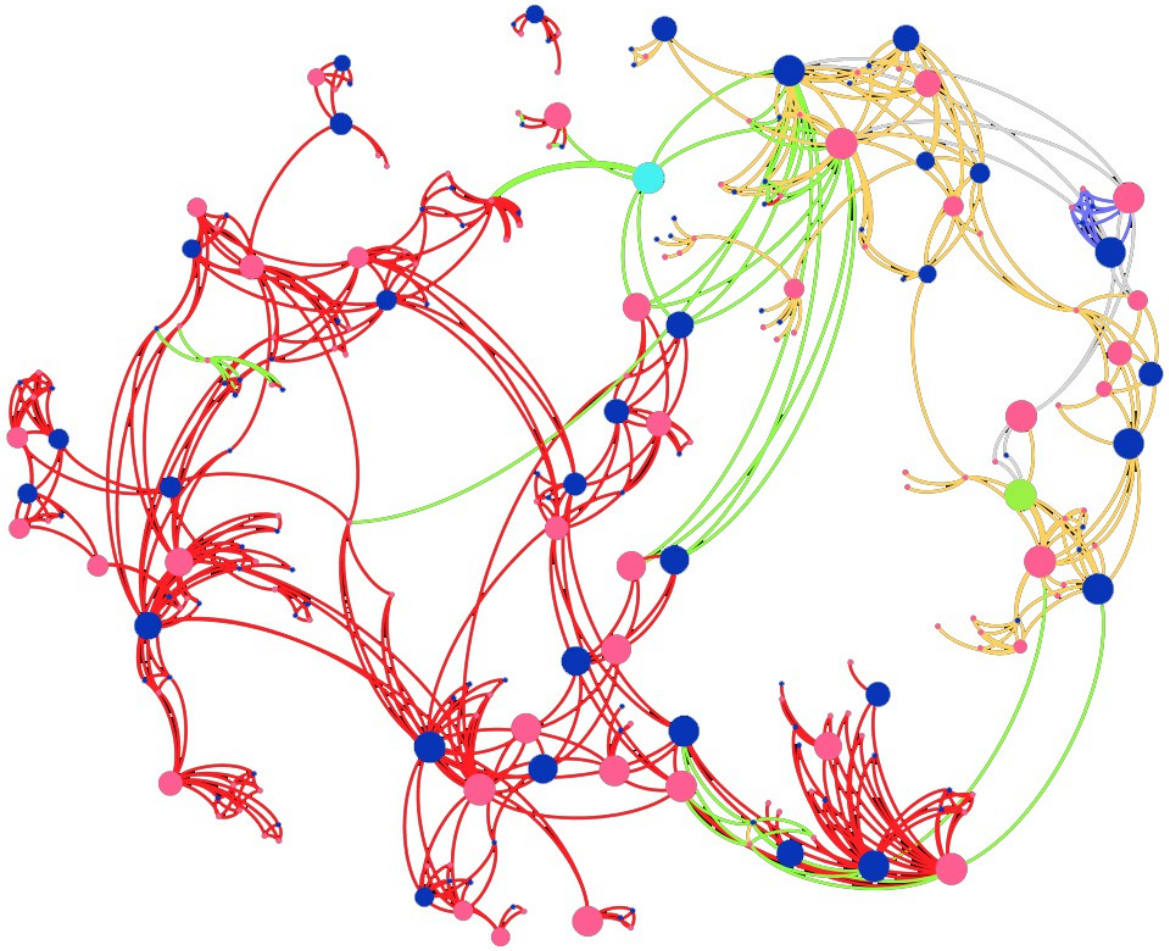


Figure 5: Fonda-Barclay social network. Blue and pink dots correspond to male and female people respectively. Michael Montour is highlighted in cyan and Sir William Johnson is marked in green. Red indicates connections between two Iroquois people; green connections indicate a connection between an Iroquois and European person; yellow connections indicate a tie between two European people; grey indicates connections between white and enslaved African people and blue connections are between two enslaved people.

In a mid-eighteenth century social network reconstructed[7] from two account books and an Anglican baptism register, [8] the fictive kin ties created by god-parentage and trade visibly tied the Mohawk, British and Dutch populations surrounding Albany together. Mapping economic interactions, familial relations and religious ties noted by Indian trader Jelles Fonda and Anglican minister Henry Barclay, this network reconstruction visualizes daily cross-cultural interactions. This reconstructed network shows several dense ties between Native and non-Native individuals that are otherwise poorly documented, as well as relationships with more prominent individuals such as interpreter Michael Montour (cyan) and British Superintendent for Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson (green). Although both Montour and Johnson are known from other records to have had dense diplomatic, economic, familial ties with both the Iroquois and English populations in the Albany area, their connections in the network would suggest that they were relatively unimportant within the Albany area economic/religious network. This should be taken both as an indication of this network's limitations in revealing the totality of interpersonal ties, and as a suggestion that less archivally prominent individuals exerted more influence in different kinds of networks.

In this network, women formed the hubs of clusters, connected densely to a single group, but not often moving between social groups. Additionally, although this method may be useful

7 I mapped these networks using the open source humanities-focused network analysis software Gephi; the network was mapped using a Force Atlas layout and Betweenness Centrality for node size. The layout is just for visualization purposes and does not have to do with geography or individual relations, and the node size correlates to a person's importance in the network as measured by their connections to others. The line colors represent cultural interaction. All of the Native individuals in this network are Iroquois, the vast majority Mohawk with a few Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas, due in part to the focus of the baptism register on the Mohawk congregation at Fort Hunter. Two of the nodes are colored differently in this network to highlight significant individuals: the green dot is Michael Montour, a prominent Mohawk translator and member of a large family of intercultural brokers, and the light blue dot is Sir William Johnson.

8 Fonda, "Account Book"; Henry Barclay, "Register of Baptisms, Marriages, Communicants and Funerals at Fort Hunter," January 26, 1734, BV Barclay, New York Historical Society; Jelles Fonda, "Indian Book for Jelles Fonda at Cachsewago," April 1763, MS651-647, Old Fort Johnson.

for showing more prosaic interactions between whites and Natives, there are no direct connections in this network between African and Native people despite evidence of those interactions from other documentary sources,[9] suggesting that the sources used to reconstruct this social network did not capture the totality of Native social interactions.

The handful of whites who appeared in this network were intensely connected with several Native families, but Native families in general tended to have more dense connections with one another. Surprisingly, the Mohawk people connected to white families in the network lack the density of connections with other Native people that typifies other Native connections in this network. They may therefore represent a subset of the Mohawk community who were integrated as laborers in white households; Native people with fictive kin ties to white households may have been less likely to have the same sort of connections to other Native families.

Some cross-cultural ties were both economic and religious. Anna and Joseph Clement, Dutch residents of Albany and Fort Hunter, witnessed the Anglican baptisms of four Indian children between 1735 and 1740, including two children of Mohawk interpreter Michael Montour.[10] In the early decades of the eighteenth century, Joseph Clement was accused of selling rum to Indians "so plentifully as if it were water out of a fountain," and in 1751 kept a tavern "within twenty yards" of Sir William Johnson's house, offering Indians rum in exchange for the gifts of clothing, wampum, powder and money they received from Johnson.[11] It is unclear if the

9 William Bryan Hart, "Black 'Go-betweens' and the Mutability of 'Race,' Status, and Identity on New York's Pre-revolutionary Frontier," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, ed. Fredrika J. Teute and Andrew R. L. Cayton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). 88-113.

10 Barclay, "Register of Baptisms, Marriages, Communicants and Funerals at Fort Hunter."

11 Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783.*, 89

Native families for whom the Clements stood as godparents were also customers at their tavern, but it is likely that the Clements' tavern brought them into contact with most of Albany's often-contentious ethnic groups. Although the Clements, their children and grandchildren were baptized and married in the Dutch Reformed Church at Albany,[12] the Clements also stood as godparents for the Anglican baptisms of five English children and two enslaved African children between 1738 and 1740. Their eldest son Jacobus, born around the time the Clements began selling rum and seventeen when they stood as godparents for a Native child for the first time, went on to become a trader and interpreter himself,[13] suggesting that his family's connections with the Native population were sustained enough to allow him to learn Mohawk.

Although they helped tie several Mohawk families to the British Anglican congregation at Fort Hunter, during the Seven Years' War, Dutch residents of New York came under suspicion from the anxious British military hierarchy. Colonel Thomas Butler commented darkly in 1757 "if any troubles should arise between the Six Nations and us, it will in great manner or entirely be owing to bad, ignorant people of a different extraction from the English, that makes themselves too buisy telling idle stories. I fear we have too many of those, who speak the indian tongue more or less, and don't consider the consequence of saying, we are Dutch and they are English."[14] Problematic from an imperial point of view, many of these daily cross-cultural interactions escaped the notice of those in a position to record them until they created diplomatic tensions.

During the French and Indian War, rumors flew of Dutch and German Palatinate

12 Records of the Reformed Dutch Church of Albany, New York. Albany NY: Holland Society of New York. 1904-1905. 3:12, 114, 123; 4:6, 21, 44, 45, 53, 67, 98.

13 O'Callaghan, *NYCD*. 7:96 William Johnson et al., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, vol. 1, 14 vols. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921). 1:625-36; 9:466, 489-90, 518, 926-40, 952-57

14 Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Loudon, "Information of an Onondaga Indian Called by the English Corn-Milk," Fort Johnson, March 4, 1757, Huntington Library. LO 2971

disloyalty to the English Crown, fueled by English fear of the French and suspicion of the Iroquois. The Palatines, a group of Protestant German refugees displaced by wars of imperial succession in Europe, were granted British permission to settle in New York after 1710, in the hopes that the settlement of greater numbers of Protestant Europeans would help secure the area and influence the Iroquois in favor of Protestant rather than Catholic interests. By the 1750s British officials were increasingly suspicious of the loyalties of the Palatinates, small tenant farmers who frequently sided with the Iroquois in land disputes against wealthier Dutch and British landholders.[15]

In early 1757, the Earl of Loudon, Commander in Chief of British forces in North America, reported that the Palatinates had sent a message to the governor of New France via an Oneida messenger, highlighting what he saw as the dangers of free Native movement over European demarcated borders. Supposedly a group of prominent German settlers had written to the French governor of New France, "that as they looked upon themselves to be in danger as well as the Six Nations they were determined to live or die by them, and therefore begged the protection of the French."[16] Although both the Oneidas and Palatinates claimed to know nothing of the letter, an English Captain wrote to Sir William Johnson that he had heard rumors of the Germans writing "to desire the french not to do them any hurt, as they were no more white people, but oneidas and that their blood was mixed with the indians."[17]

Native people, and especially Iroquois individuals in frequent contact with European settlers, were not unaware of these intra-colonial tensions. Informal interactions smoothed the

15 Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783*. 77-85, 102-103, 180-190, 204-211, 275-276.

16 Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Loudon, "Information of an Onondaga Indian Called by the English Corn-Milk." LO 2971

17 Ibid.

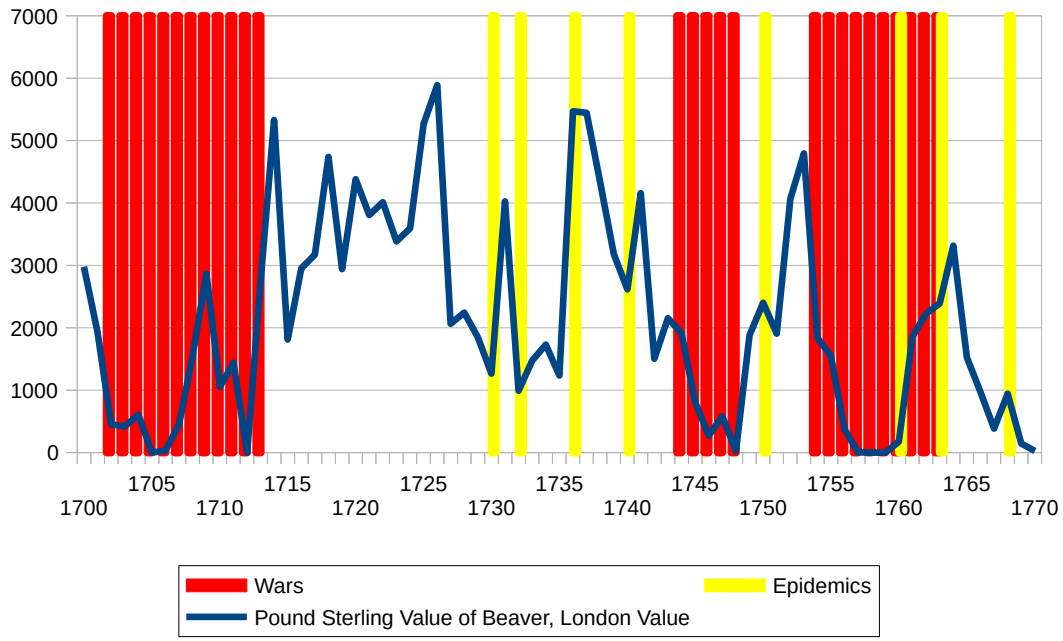
texture of contact,[18] but also occasionally alerted English government officials to Native awareness and interest in exploiting European ethnic factionalism. In late 1756, a Dutch-heritage officer of the New York colonial militia went hunting with an Onondaga acquaintance, a common enough occurrence to be unremarkable in his report of the event. The Onondaga man's knowledge of ethnic tensions within colonial New York proved unsettling. "The Indian knowing him to be of Dutch extract, began to speak words reflecting on the English, and told Schuyler, it would be good that the Albany people or Dutch with the Indians should join and drive the english out of they country. Schuyler says he was surprised to hear the fellow talk in that manner, and turning to him said, we are all one people and under one King."[19] The implication that such talk and Iroquois interest in exploiting European ethnic tensions was widespread is impossible to verify, but the underlying British fear of such betrayal colored the diplomacy of the period and was shaped by English religious and political anxieties.

Given such tensions, the Albany-Montreal fur trade was not only illicit but treasonous. Before the outbreak of hostilities with New France in 1754, the movement of Iroquois traders between Native communities in the St Lawrence and Hudson valleys merely aggravated British officials. After the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, Iroquois trade with New France represented a possible avenue for the nominally neutral Six Nations to be seduced away, and a route by which the German and Dutch residents of Albany could enrich themselves by arming Britain's French enemies.

18 Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783*. 5, 62, 161, 198-200.

19 Sir William Johnson to the Earl of Loudon, "Information of an Onondaga Indian Called by the English Corn-Milk." LO 2971

Table 13: Value of Beaver Exported From New York in British Pounds Sterling on the London Market, 1700-1770[20]



20 Stephen Hosmer Cutcliffe, "Indians, Furs, and Empires : the Changing Policies of New York and Pennsylvania, 1674-1768" (Dissertation, Leigh University, 1976). 89-240. Dates for Iroquois epidemics taken from Jon Parmenter, "At the Wood's Edge: Iroquois Foreign Relations 1727-1768" (University of Michigan, 1999), Proquest Dissertations.viii; only epidemics for Confederacy and Mission Iroquois were included, epidemics among the Ohio Iroquois were not included.

The importance of New York and the Iroquois-facilitated fur trade to British imperial finances did nothing to sweeten British official attitudes towards the problem. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, New York relied on fur exports for a third of its total export revenues, and fur remained a significant portion of the colony's exports for the duration of British rule, with beaver making up the majority of fur returns.[21] As in the seventeenth century, beaver exports out of New York were largely determined by Iroquois trade, meaning that Iroquois interest and ability to travel to Albany remained a primary determining factor in the colony's economic health.

Due to fluctuations in the price of beaver on the London market and the illicit Albany-Montreal trade that brought Canadian furs down to be exported out of New York,[22] the eighteenth century New York beaver exports cannot be as strongly tied to changes in Iroquois behavior as the seventeenth century exports. Eighteenth century exports out of New York were trapped from a larger geographic area, involved more Native groups, and were not valued the same per pelt year after year, meaning the rough volume of beaver exports out of New York did not correlate as strongly with Iroquois purchasing power. Iroquois individuals facilitated the Albany-Montreal trade, trapped far outside the bounds of New York, Upper and Lower Canada, and received diplomatic gifts and pelts in trade from western Native groups moving through their territories to trade at British centers including settlements in New York and Pennsylvania. Although the total New York exports cannot be ascribed to Iroquois actions, the overall volume of the trade can give a rough idea of Iroquois involvement in the fur trade during this period.

Rather than decreasing sharply from seventeenth century returns, eighteenth century

21 Lawson, *Fur, A Study in English Mercantilism*. Appendices A and C.
22 Lunn, *The Illegal Fur Trade Out of New France 1713-1760*. 61-76

exports maintained the moderate levels of the late seventeenth century, decreasing gradually, punctuated by periods of conflict. Like seventeenth century exports, beaver exports in the eighteenth century saw a great deal of volatility due to geopolitical conflicts. The periods of lowest or zero exports from New York correlate with Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and The Seven Years' War (1754-1763). During these wars of imperial succession, Great Britain and France vied for control of the American continent and other over seas holdings. Exports out of New York plummeted in part due to the dangers of shipping for British Americans and in part due to the dangers of travel for Iroquois hunters and consumers.

As in the seventeenth century, European conflicts spilled over into Iroquoia and prevented safe travel, and Native conflicts diverted hunters to war. Iroquois conflicts with the Catawbas, Cherokees, and other southern native and settler groups in the Chesapeake throughout the late 1720s and early 1730s greatly impacted the New York trade by drawing Iroquois men to war rather than sending them to hunt and trap.[23] Outbreaks of epidemic disease in Iroquois territories during peaceful years further affected the Atlantic market. Although New York remained dependent on Iroquois trappers and traders for its export revenue, conditions within Iroquoia continued to determine Iroquois participation in the trade, and British officials very much resented it.

British officials also resented Iroquois trade with the French. Whether true or not, British officials believed the French to be unable to conduct Indian diplomacy without British manufactures,[24] a belief perpetuated by Native insistence on free movement across fictive,

23 James Hart Merrell, *The Indians' New World : Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact Through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1989). 118-121

24 White, *The Middle Ground : Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. 318, 476-

European-defined borders. In 1757, William Johnson complained bitterly of Canadian Iroquois and other Native groups who moved through Iroquoia with

> furs, in order to sell to our people for wampum and silverworks, two articles, which the French formerly supplied themselves with from Albany, the one essential for carrying on all Indian negotiations, and the other an article much required amongst the Indians. As the old road to Albany is now obstructed by our forts, I suppose the French are endeavoring to open a supply for their necessities by the way of this river.[25]

Although distasteful at the best of times, during times of war, the interest of Dutch, German and Native individuals to profit from the British inability to regulate Native movement took on a more sinister cast. In the same letter, Johnson warned "there is one Ury Weaver a German who lives at Burnets Field, and who I have abundant Reason to believe a very bad man. An Indian has reported, this fellow sent a quantity of wampum last fall to Canada by an Indian in the French interest and I am under no doubt, but if in his power, he will eagerly catch at this French trade."[26] Small-time illegal trade tolerated during peacetime quickly took on a treasonous cast to British officials convinced of the connection between their economic, political and military interests in Indian affairs.

The presence of French-allied Iroquois groups at Kahnawake and Akwasasne near Montreal, and their continued contact with the New York Iroquois and Dutch and German traders at Albany, did nothing to allay British fears that illicit inter-Iroquois trade might seduce away what little support there could be had from the Six Nations. As the largest military power on the eastern seaboard other than the British Army itself, and considerably more capable on North

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25 John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, "Loudoun Papers: Americana, 1682-1780," 1780 1682, Huntington Library.LO 3498 Sir William Johnson to Loudon, Johnson Hall, April 28 1757. The river is not explicitly named in the letter, but as Johnson wrote from Johnson Hall on the bank of the Mohawk River, it may have been the Mohawk.

26 Ibid. LO 3498 Johnson to Loudon, Johnson Hall, April 28 1757

American terrain, the thought of the main body of the Six Nations being seduced into the French sphere of influence as had the Canadian Iroquois sent shivers through British official correspondence. Writing of the Kahnawake Iroquois, New York Indian agent Peter Wraxall lamented in 1755,

> they are fugitives from the 6 nations whom the French policy and priesthood have debauched from us, aided by our former negligence and ill management in Indian affairs. They are freely admitted to trade at Oswego and Albany in behalf of the French, who by their means supply themselves with Indian goods from us and so fight us with our own weapons. It is a profitable trade to the people of Albany and though very prejudicial to the general interest, yet those people have but one maxim of conduct—that private profit is the highest and only motive of action.[27]

Unable to control their own nominal subjects or the movement of goods and people across imperial borders unrecognized by Native people, British government officials contemplated the very real possibility of Iroquois self interest determining global political and religious control.

These economic tensions fed British fear and suspicion of the Six Nations once hostilities broke open with New France in 1754. Despite Iroquois neutrality for most of the war and occasional fighting alongside British regular and colonial militia forces, British military officials remained suspicious of the Six Nations. In 1757, John Campbell, Earl of Loudon and Commander-in-Chief, wrote to Sir William Johnson that

> it appears to me that at the best, the Onandages, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, & even the Mohawks are only wavering in their good intentions towards us . . . they must either be friends or foes. Their neighbourhood to us, puts them in our power; and whatever apprehensions they may pretend to have of the power of the enemy, this furnishes them with a sufficient excuse not to join them except their own inclinations go strongly that way; and if they will join the enemy we must treat them accordingly.[28]

Loudon doubted even more the good will of the Seneca and British ability to do anything about

27 Wraxall, *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*. Peter Wraxall to Henry Fox Camp at Lake George Sept 27 1755, 141

28 Loudon to Johnson, June 1757, *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. 2:721

them should they turn hostile; the Seneca were "indeed at present too far removed from us to be come at" should they decide to side with the French.[29] Iroquois mobility in the Albany-Montreal trade and what British officials perceived as an improper friendliness between Native people and unruly Dutch and German subjects also fueled these fears. Loudon warned Sir William Johnson to "keep a watchful eye on the Germans and Dutch that you suspect from the informations you have received of carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the Enemy, by means of the Indians."[30] The texture of contact created a great deal of anxiety for British imperial officials tasked with bringing order out of the unruly mess of prosaic daily interactions.

Imperial Anxiety and Indian Education

In the context of these imperial anxieties, Eleazar Wheelock's efforts took on much larger geopolitical significance than they might otherwise have, and were possible because of, the moment of British re-evaluation of the American continent in the years surrounding the Seven Years' War. Founded in 1754, Moor's Indian Charity School was conceived under the shadow of New France, saw its highest Indian enrollments during the course of the Seven Years' War (1754-1763), and ultimately turned away from Indian education only on the eve of the American Revolution. Although the scholarship has typically viewed 1763 as the dramatic downturn of Native military and diplomatic power in northeastern North America after the defeat of the French took away any possibility of Native groups playing off European groups against one another,[31] British anxiety over the military power of the Iroquois and their ability to rally coalitions of other Native groups peaked with the Senecas' involvement in first provoking

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid. Loudon to Johnson June 1757 Johnson Papers 2:723
31 White, *The Middle Ground*. 223-268

Pontiac's War and the later Confederacy diplomatic efforts in ending hostilities.[32]

Between the 1763 Treaty of Paris and the American Revolution, British claims to the North American colonies were more geopolitically secure than they had ever been. British American anxieties over the loyalty of their Iroquois allies only intensified during this period. Wheelock's plan for a school represented one of several schemes to finally domesticate (what looked from the British perspective) their fickle and inconstant Iroquois allies. As the nearest and most present military power (Spanish Louisiana a vague, distant threat), Iroquois military and diplomatic neutrality represented the last lingering challenge to British authority on the continent. Whether or not the Iroquois could or would have mounted an offensive against the British colonies did not matter to these anxieties. British American concerns lingered on the *possibility* rather than the *probability* that the Iroquois would remain unconverted, uncivil, and ultimately hostile to British settlement of the continent.[33] What British Americans viewed as Iroquois partial material conversion only served as evidence of their recalcitrance and tenacious hold on their sovereign lands.

Wheelock's was just one of several contemporary efforts that sought to culturally tie the Iroquois to British interests. Massachusetts particularly invested in efforts to civilize the Iroquois. The Massachusetts General Assembly provided tuition, room and board for as many Iroquois students as Wheelock could recruit, but *only* for Iroquois students. The General

32 Gregory Evans Dowd, *War Under Heaven : Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002) 105-107, 149-153; Richard Middleton, *Pontiac's War : Its Causes, Course, and Consequences* (New York: Routledge, 2007). 96-97, 139-141, 205-206; Parmenter, Jon William. "Pontiac's war: Forging new links in the Anglo-Iroquois Covenant Chain, 1758-1766." Ethnohistory (1997): 639.

33 For examples of English anxiety over Iroquois neutrality, see Archibald Kennedy, *The Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interest Considered* (London: James Parker in Beaver Street., 1751); Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada*, vol. 1 (New York: New Amsterdam Book Company, 1902).

Assembly explicitly refused to fund Native students drawn from coastal New England Native communities and did not provide funding for Wheelock's efforts at all until the first Mohawk students arrived in 1761.[34] As the subject of frequent incursions from New France and still fearful after the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, Massachusetts had an interest in creating and maintaining a friendly and politically malleable Native buffer, and like many British, viewed material conversion the key to religious and political conversion.

When Wheelock appealed to Lord Dartmouth for funding in 1766, he made the diplomatic benefits of Iroquois education explicit. "The nations will not make war with us while their children, and especially the children of their chiefs are with us. They can't resist the evidence we hereby give them of the sincerity of our intentions towards them. They know their sons are made better by being with us."[35] Wheelock intended Iroquois education to be both a carrot and a stick: the students were to tie the British and Iroquois together culturally, but also serve as hostages against Iroquois involvement in Indian conflicts like the recently concluded Pontiac's War.

Wheelock attempted to make citizens, missionaries, ministers and teachers of children he called "little black Savage Christians."[36] Wheelock and his supporters sought to secure North America by sending converted Native American missionaries among the western tribes, particularly the Iroquois. Wheelock proposed to convert the Iroquois into full English subjects with equivalent rights and responsibilities to the British Crown, as a buffer against the more

34 Eleazar Wheelock, *A Plain and Faithful Narrative of the Original Design, Rise, Progress and Present State of the Indian Charity-school at Lebanon, in Connecticut* (Boston: R and S Draper, 1763); Eleazar Wheelock, *Microfilm Edition of the Papers of Eleazar Wheelock Together with the Early Archives of Dartmouth College & Moor's Indian Charity School, and Records of the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire Through the Year 1779*, 16 vols. (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Library, 1971). 761623; Wheelock to Massachusetts Governor John Wentworth Sept 21 1762, 762521.1.

35 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*.766504.4 Wheelock to Lord Dartmouth Lebanon 4 Sept 1766

36 Ibid. Wheelock to de Berdt Nov 16 1761, 761616.

aggressive tribes further west. He argued that Native missionaries were better suited to converting other Native people, mistakenly believing all Indian languages to be very similar,[37]and believed that Native missionaries would be cheaper to support in the field than their white counterparts.[38]

To this end he solicited donations from individuals and governments to pay the tuition of first New England Native boys as well as tuition-paying white male students who expressed interest in Indian mission work. The curriculum originally revolved around Greek, Hebrew and Latin, arithmetic and prayer.

> The method of conducting this school . . . they are obliged to be clean and decently dressed and be ready to attend prayers before sunrise in the fall and winter and at 6 o clock in the summer. A portion of Scripture is read by several of the seniors of them [catechism] after prayers and a short time for their diversion, the school begins with prayer about 9 and ends at 12 and again at 2 and ends at 5 o clock with prayer. . . . Afterwards they apply to their studies etc They attend the public worship and have a pew devoted to their use in the house of god.[39]

When the school began with fewer than ten students, they were boarded in the Wheelock household, their cooking and washing done by Wheelock's wife and daughters.

As Wheelock's male alumni often complained once they started their missions, knowledge of Greek and an abiding faith in Christ did not help a single man to wash dishes, prepare food, or maintain his person in the manner to which the labor of women in the Wheelock household had accustomed him. Without a wife to perform gendered reproductive labor correctly,[40] it was dangerously easy for Native and white men to abandon their missions

37 Ibid. 762521.1 Wheelock to Mass Gov Wentworth Sept 21 1762 and 766101Wheelock to John Phillips Jan 1766; Wheelock to Wm Hyslop 29 Jan 1761, 761129.1.

38 Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*. 4

39 Ibid. 14

40 For the necessity of women's reproductive, household and domestic labor in constructing racial categories in early America, see Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work : Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Linda K Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture (Chapel

altogether. To that end, Wheelock began enrolling Native girls—though never white girls—to be trained as wives and helpmeets for his male students, so that they not be forced into rustication and backsliding when on mission. Wheelock set out to educate Native girls "in order to accompany these Boys, when they shall have Occasion for such Assistance in the Business of their Mission."[41] Native girls were given a half-day of instruction in reading and writing per week; the majority of their education happened by apprenticeship in the homes and dairies of Connecticut and was intended to prepare them as wives of Native missionaries.[42]

Like later nineteenth century Indian boarding schools, Wheelock located the school in Connecticut in order to remove students from "the pernicious influence of Indian examples,"[43] where young Native men could be introduced to the habits and modes of civilized life. Students were immersed in English modes of life and taught to associate English styles of clothing, food, cleanliness and punctuality with their religious conversion experience. Wheelock's main critique of the long-standing Catholic missions among the western tribe was that the French fathers had never attempted to change Indian modes of subsistence or gendered labor. Within the framework of Wheelock's Christianity, the space the body inhabited determined the soul's readiness for conversion; it was therefore vital to convert students materially as well as spiritually.

Wheelock's efforts were supported largely through charity, mainly from the anxious Massachusetts General Assembly and church collections from congregations in British North America and Europe. Fundraising efforts were at times rocky, though. Some correspondents argued that

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Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Brown, *Foul bodies*. 27-29

41 Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*. 34

42 Margaret Szasz, "'Poor Richard Meets the Native American: Schooling for Young Indian Women in Eighteenth Century Connecticut.'," *Pacific Historical Review* 49, no. 2 (May 1980). 215-235.

43 Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*., 25

> bringing a great number of Indian children to have an English education in our towns is not so likely to answer the design we have in view, as to send missionaries and school masters into their settlements, were a vastly greater number may be educated at a smaller charge. If the Design is to Educate only a few that shall be qualified to be missionaries, schoolmasters etc--we apprehend Indians will not be so proper for these purposes as persons selected from among the English.[44]

Others, including the Massachusetts General Assembly, later complained of the cost, and according to one (possibly apocryphal) account, a collection plate passed for the support of the school in 1763, at the height of the Seven Years' War, came back with only a bullet and gun flint.[45]

Wheelock's ambitions also ran afoul of the primary British liaison with the Six Nations, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson. Wheelock and Johnson's plans for the incorporation of the Iroquois into British America represented competing visions of Indian political compatibility, complicated not least of all by Iroquois disinterest. Johnson objected to Wheelock's religious affiliation more than his goals or methods. In his capacity as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, married to a Mohawk woman and resident among the Iroquois, Johnson represented to Wheelock the key to converting the Six Nations, as well as a possible source of royal funding. Johnson, for his part, was first tolerant, later mildly cooperative, and finally obstructive of Wheelock's goals.

Johnson sent both his own son William and his young brother-in-law Joseph Brant to Wheelock's school—rather than Wheelock's methods, Johnson objected to Wheelock's radicalist New Light Congregationalism, and the subversive politics it represented. In 1761, Johnson wrote,

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44 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 762412.1 Pemberton to Fitch July 12 1762

45 Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois." 60 The supposed gun flint was donated in a Massachusetts church, making it unlikely that the disagreement was sectarian rather than racial.

> Mr Wheelocks plan seems a laudable one but give me leave to remark that many of these schemes which had their birth in N England have soon appeared calculated with a view to forming settlements so obnoxious to the Indians who have repeatedly declared their aversion to those who acted on such interested principles. . . . Another objection is, that those brought up under the care of dissenting ministers become a gloomy race, and lose all their abilities for hunting etc spending their time in idleness and hanging upon the inhabitants for a wretched subsistence having lost those qualities which rendered them useful to us, without acquiring any others in their place, worthy the name of Christians, to which indeed they have little or no pretensions, all which discountenances religion with the other indians.[46]

Johnson pointed to the Christian Native communities of New England as evidence that Wheelock's brand of Christian conversion was incompatible with the continued existence of economically and politically sovereign Native nations. The economic and military power of the Six Nations was the basis of *Johnson's* power; Johnson had a personal stake in finding methods to convert the Iroquois politically but not materially, as the tribes of New England had been converted.[47]

Johnson financed the construction of Anglican churches and supported Anglican preachers near Mohawk communities (although they primarily preached to mixed English and German congregations). Christian conversion of Native people was not itself a problem in Johnson's view, but the particular type with its attendant changes in material culture ran counter to Johnson's—and the British government's—larger geopolitical goals with their Iroquois allies. In 1770, as Johnson's support for Wheelock reached a low ebb, Anglican churchman Charles Inglis wrote of Johnson that

> he is a zealous Churchman. Sensible how closely the honor of the church and welfare of the state are connected with the execution of such a scheme [the conversion of the Indians], he promises his hearty concurrence and to do

46 Johnson et al., *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Wm Johnson to Dr Burton Johnson Hall Oct 8 1761 5:389

47 Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees : Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Cambridge; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1997). 27-29, 43-44, 151, 203.

> everything in his power to further it. He thinks . . . that such a plan [to convert the Iroquois] would bid fair to succeed at this juncture, when so many circumstances concur to favor it here: such as the dependence of the Indians on the English, the general peace that now prevails, and the inclination which appears in many strives to embrace Christianity.[48]

Inglis, Johnson and others drew parallels between religious dissent and the growing unrest of the colonies in the years leading to the American Revolution. The lingering specter of French Catholic influence and cosmological crisis gave Inglis' warning a slightly panicked tone, decrying Wheelock's mission as a danger to Crown and Church.

> It is of the utmost consequence to the colonies to secure their [the Six Nations'] friendship and attach them to our interest. Reason and experience demonstrate this cannot be so effectually done as by proselyting them to Christianity, as professed by the Church of England. The Mohawks are uncontestible proof of this. The popish missionaries are numerous and active—zealous as ever to draw them into the bosom of their church. Their labors meet with success and they have the greatest influence over the Proselytes. Dr Wheelock has his missionaries, such as they are, at work among them. . . . He has enough of those missionaries at command; for indeed they make no sacrifice by settling among savages. And altho the Indians discover a greater inclination to be instructed by the Society's missionaries or clergy of the church than by these; yet if the latter continue among the and none of the former visit them, Wheelock's missionaries will succeed and I can averr on the best and most authentic evidence, that the principles inculcated by them, are by no means favorable to government. . . . Many just objections be against Dr Wheelock's scheme. It is too contracted, injudiciously formed and inadequate to the design of Christianizing the Indians, to say no worse. Yet it serves the ends of the dissenters well enough, to make a bustle and will gain credit if no better scheme is set on foot.[49]

As the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) intensified its counter efforts, Johnson switched his support from the radically dissenting Congregationalist Wheelock and his pupils to the state-supported (and state-supporting) SPG.

Despite Johnson, Wheelock's school received increasing financial support throughout the

48 Archives of the USPG, *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 4 vols. (London). Charles Inglis to the SPG New York. June 15 1770. USPG Papers, Series B. vol 2 no 65, 124.

49 Ibid.

1760s, nearly, although not quite, keeping pace with the school's expenses. Through the support of donors from both sides of the British Atlantic, Wheelock was able to educate a growing number of Indian scholars and support some alumni in their mission work. The exact number of students in schools established by Wheelock's alumni in Iroquois communities is unclear (and indeed, was often unclear to both schoolmasters and Wheelock himself, as attendance fluctuated with the seasons and the communities' political inclinations). By the eve of the American Revolution, Wheelock's alumni ran at least five separate schools in Iroquois communities, with reported enrollments typically between ten and thirty students.[50] Alumni of Wheelock's school were expected to missionize and teach among largely unconverted tribes, where they were to not only maintain their own bodies and homes in the modes of civility they had learned at school, but teach them to the Native communities they worked among as well.

Problematically for Wheelock's purposes, the modes of civility that boys were taught at school relied on the labor of women in gendered patterns that the boys' education had taught them to abhor as emasculating and unfit for civil men. In the field, they found it difficult or expensive to have that labor performed by unconverted Native women. The problem, once boys were sent on mission to Native communities, was not the absence of female labor, but that Native women performed the wrong kind of labor, prepared the wrong kinds of food, made and repaired the wrong kinds of clothing. As David Fowler, a Mohegan sent to missionize among the Seneca, complained in May 1765, "I live like a dog here, my Folks are poor and nasty, I eat with

50 Exact numbers are difficult to establish, as schools sometimes lasted no more than a season or two, the schoolmaster sometimes moving to a more promising community or returning to Lebanon during winters. Attendance fluctuated wildly, with the same school sometimes reporting single digit or no enrollment, and at other times reported enrollments of seventy or more students, an enormous number even with assistants, which must have over-optimistically included every child in a settlement. It is therefore difficult to trust these enrollment numbers.

Dogs, for they eat and drink out of the same as I do . . . I have no table to write upon."[51] Despite being lodged in the home of a Seneca family with many resident women, Fowler complained of the animalistic housekeeping and lack of material comforts that he had come to expect for his work.

Native girls were therefore needed on mission "for the purpose that these Boy[s] may not be under absolute necessity to turn Savage in this manner of living for want of those who can do the female part for them when they shall be aboard [sic] on the business of their Missions and out of reach of the English."[52] Native girls were necessary not only for the basic functioning and maintenance of mission work in the field, but also necessary to teach and spread civilized virtues to other Native women in the communities in that their missions were to be rooted. Converted alumnae were to teach other Native women "a more rational and decent manner of living than that which they are in and thereby in time remedy and remove that great and hitherto insuperable difficulty so constantly complained of by all our missionaries among them, as the great impediment in the way to the success of their mission viz their continual rambling about."[53] Male Native missionaries were to be responsible for the religious and agricultural education of Indian communities; their properly educated Native wives were to change the material space of Native homes.

Throughout the late 1750s, the total number of students enrolled remained in the single digits, but enrollments began to climb in the early 1760s as Wheelock more aggressively courted donors, and added Native female students and tuition-paying white male students. White girls were never enrolled at Moor's Charity School, and the one documented relationship between a

51 David Fowler to Wheelock, May 29 1765. *Wheelock Papers*. 765329.2.
52 Ibid. Wheelock to Andrew Oliver [Treasurer of the Boston Board of the New England Company], Oct. 15, 1760 760565, DCA. Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*. 15
53 Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*. 3

Native student and an English girl resulted in the boy's dismissal in disgrace, in a turn of events very unlike the 1710 imagined romance between an English beauty and an Iroquois king.

When Delaware student Jacob Wooley left Moor's to attend Princeton in preparation for ordination, he took up with an English girl. The interracial affair resulted in his Princeton friends shunning him and his instructors dismissing him. After being informed "how pernicious such Intrigues were to College Exercises, (to justify his Friends in trying to break ym up),"[54] Jacob left university, fell into a depression, and died of pneumonia a few months later. Wheelock's few letters on the subject do not make it entirely clear whether the problem was the girl's class status, implied to be low, or the interracial nature of the relationship. Either way, Jacob's fall from grace made it clear that such relationships would not be tolerated, and male English students at Moor's were never encouraged to marry the Native girls at the school the way Native boys were.

Although discouraged from forming interracial romantic attachments, Native students were expected to receive training from both white and black adults. As the school grew, the Wheelock family purchased additional enslaved people to help with the expanding labor burden of more bodies in the household, and Native students received their training in the gendered labor of English civility from enslaved men and women. When the first Native student arrived in 1761, the Wheelock household included Wheelock's wife Mary, their six children, and the four enslaved men Ishmael, Fortune, Sippy, and Brister. In 1762, as the school grew and the Wheelock family prepared for the arrival of more students, the Wheelocks purchased Exeter, Cloe and their three year old son Hercules,[55] who was later taught to read in the school alongside white and Native students at least to age five.[56]

54 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 764120.2 Jos Fish to Wheelock, 20 Jan 1764.
55 Ibid. 762313, 13 May 1762.
56 Ibid. 765605.2, Nov 5 1765.

Although Cloe herself rarely appeared by name, Wheelock noted that his wife and the women of his household were frequently overwhelmed with the task of cooking and laundering, often requesting additional funding from his main financial backer, the Massachusetts Assembly, for the expense of boarding, laundering, and providing medical care for so many boys. The first two female Native students, Amie Johnson[57] and Sarah Yog of Mohegan, seem to have initially resided with the Wheelock family alongside the boys, and probably worked alongside Cloe in dairying, sewing, laundering and cooking with Mrs. Wheelock supervising.

As the school's enrollment grew after 1761 and Sarah and another Mohegan student Hannah Nonesuch proved difficult to control, Wheelock settled on the solution of having them not only taught by local women, but also having them reside with local families whose mistresses were skilled housewives. After several incidents where Sarah and Hannah were caught at the tavern and made to confess for dancing,[58] the girls were isolated from the boys in much the same way Wheelock had first attempted to isolate Native students from the "pernicious influences" of their families and communities. Whether Wheelock was more concerned about the girls corrupting the boys or vice versa is unclear. Whatever the cause, the effect was the isolation of the girls in white households as far away as Hartford while the boys remained resident in the Wheelock family.

There is little evidence for how the girls were treated in these homes, except for the letter of one boy who complained that his sister was given only rough, mean fabric for clothing,[59] but at the time both the boy and his sister resided with the Wheelock family. Additionally, "coarse" was the most common descriptor of fabric and clothing purchased for students, generally

57 Ibid. 761390 June 1761 "A memorandum of what the Revernt Mr Wheelock has Don for amay Jonson"
58 James McCallum, *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians* (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932). 232-233.
59 Ibid.

materials such as osnabrigs, dowlass and cheap cotton calicoes, while the Wheelock family wore more expensive silks, linens and worsteds.[60] In theory, at least, Wheelock sought to educate the girls by reproducing white women's knowledge and skills through the generational, familial transmission of those skills, educated as New England girls always had been through short-term domestic service with neighbors, laboring alongside the family.[61] Wheelock made the proposition economically attractive to his donors and backers by erasing women's labor. Already facing complaints from his donors that educating boys cost more than university tuition, Wheelock argued that girls' education would cost next to nothing because it would be done within the domestic sphere. As Jeanne Boydston has argued in *Home and Work*, women's reproductive labor, the domestic work of feeding, caring for, and maintaining the bodies of the household, became invisible as remunerable because it occurred within the home, defined in opposition to the masculine world of work.[62] Wheelock intended for the Native girls' labor to be both foundational and invisible in the mission effort.

Amie, Sarah and another Mohegan girl, Miriam, were sent to families resident in Lebanon and Hartford, Connecticut, Amie and Miriam "about 20 rod from" one another in separate families "so yt ye Ladys were together." Wheelock reported that Amie had "made surprising proficiency in learning since she came last Spring. She then scarsley know her letters (and indeed is more backward in reading than in other parts of her learning) will now write considingly well, she kept house for her Miss when she was gone on abroad near a fortnight did

60 See, for example, the account of Amie Johnson: 761390 June 1761 "A memorandum of what the Revernt Mr Wheelock has Don for amay Jonson" or the Wheelock family's many accounts 766900.5 Debtor Wheelock to Asahel Clark Jr Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*.

61 Laurel Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750*, 1st ed (New York, N.Y: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 1982). 57.

62 Boydston, *Home and Work*. 142-163.

it well, understands tending a dary and has lately flowerd her a pocket."[63]

Wheelock viewed women's labor as basic to the very success of any mission and to the maintenance of basic civility, the domestic nucleus of the civilizing project. And indeed it was at the heart of the school's operation, daily routines descending into chaos when Mrs. Wheelock took sick and the majority of the household work fell to the already overburdened Cloe.[64] The initial transformation from "Savage" to scholar was one of women's work—when students arrived to school, they were introduced to "Decency and Cleanliness" in the form of a bath and a clean suit of clothes, all the products of women's labor in the household.[65] Not only was regression and "rustication"[66] a fearful possibility on the frontiers of mission work without the correctly performed gendered labor of women, but the very running of the school and the initial conversion of scholars relied on it. The racialized and gendered labor necessary to operate of the school underlined the delicacy of civil masculinity, unable to recreate itself on the frontier without the reproductive labor of women.

Native students' education as republican farmers and housewives took place alongside enslaved men and women, the boys of Moor's Charity School laboring alongside enslaved men Ishmael, Fortune, Sippy, Brister and Exeter on Wheelock's property[67] and learning some skilled work such as horseshoeing from the enslaved men.[68] Native students were trained to English civility by enslaved Africans, taught to correctly perform gendered labor by people who

63 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 761606.1 Wheelock to Brainerd, Nov 6 1761.
64 Ibid.762113 Wheelock to the Boston SPG Commissioners, Jan 13 1762.
65 Ibid.761404 Wheelock to Whitefield July 4 1761; 762113 Wheelock to the Boston SPG Commissioners, Jan 13 1762 Brown, *Foul bodies*. 27-29
66 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 765690 A list of Charity Scholars Time of their Admission etc
67 Ibid.774657; 759573 Wheelock to Ebenezar Pemberton 23 Oct 1759; Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois.", 57; Eleazar Wheelock, *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-school Begun in Lebanon, in Connecticut* (Hartford: E Watson, 1775). 5
68 Wheelock, *Plain and Faithful Narrative*. 13; Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 766504.4 Lebanon 4 Sept 1766 Wheelock to Lord Dartmouth; 764172.2 Wheelock to Gage Feb 22 1764; 765690 "A list of Charity Scholars Time of their Admission etc"

Wheelock and other New Englanders had deemed uncivilizable because of their race. Although Wheelock taught religion himself and employed a white schoolmaster as enrollments grew, Native boys continued to learn manual skills along enslaved black men. Labor arrangements at Moor's symbolically aligning education and religion with whiteness and manual labor with blackness despite Wheelock's insistence that both were vital for complete Indian conversion.

Native students and their families did not miss the discrepancy between Wheelock's rhetoric and action. At least one student accused Wheelock of treating his students as "slaves,"[69] and in 1765, at the peak of the school's enrollments, a Seneca leader accused one of Wheelock's white alumni, Samuel Kirkland, of attempting to make slaves of the Iroquois through religion and the establishment of a mission school. Seneca speaker Onghwandekha warned that Iroquois men would be reduced to feminine forms of labor if they converted to Kirkland and Wheelock's form of Christianity, pointing to enslaved people and Native New England as evidence of British colonialism. Onghwandekha asked, "how many remnants of tribes to the East are so reduced, that they pound sticks to make brooms, to buy a loaf of Bread or it may be a shirt. . . . This will be the condition of our children in a short time if we change or renounce our religion for that of the white people. . . . We shall be sunk so low as to hoe corn and squashes in the field, chop wood, stoop down and milk cows like negroes among the Dutch people."[70] Speaking to an audience of Iroquois men, the Seneca speaker clearly outlined the low status of gendered and racialized manual labor among the English, and the connections between the adoption of Kirkland's form of religious conversion and the reorientation of Iroquois systems of labor it entailed. Loss of land and either day work or forced labor on land owned by whites,

69 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 768371.2 Edward Deake to Wheelock, June 21, 1768; 768268.5 Deake to Wheelock, Aug. 18, 1768.

70 Kirkland, *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland*. April 7 1765. 24

Onghwandekha argued, would entrap Iroquois communities in a cycle of debt and dependence.

The Iroquois were very aware that conversion to the system of individual male land ownership, material civility and day labor that British and later American officials advocated would mean loss of control and connection to the lands that had formed the basis of their military and political power since contact. Although Iroquois cultural entanglement with their European neighbors and purchases of manufactured cloth and clothing gave Euroamericans hope for the political and cultural incorporation of Iroquois individuals, it also gave Iroquois communities a very intimate view of the process of colonialism and economic dependence in other Native communities, as well as European hierarchies of race and slavery. By pointing to enslaved Africans and disenfranchised New England Native groups, Onghwandekha articulated a very explicit understanding of the intersection between land ownership, material civility, and the black/white binary in early America.

Competing Intentions

Always intended for the conversion of the Iroquois, Wheelock's Algonquian alumni more readily took to the call of teacher, preacher and missionary and have been more extensively studied as the models of success in early Indian education.[71] Although Wheelock lamented his Iroquois students' failures to become ministers and teachers, they arrived with distinct expectations and little interest or inclination for cultural or religious conversion. Older than their

71 For the recent literature on Wheelock's Algonquian alumni, see Dick Hoefnagel, *Eleazar Wheelock and the Adventurous Founding of Dartmouth College* (Hanover, N.H.: Durand Press, 2002); Laura J. Murray, "Pray Sir, Consider a Little: Rituals of Subordination and Strategies of Resistance in the Letters of Hezekiah Calvin and David Fowler to Eleazar Wheelock," in *Early Native American Writing : New Critical Essays*, ed. Helen Jaskoski (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Joseph Johnson and Laura J. Murray, *To Do Good to My Indian Brethren : the Writings of Joseph Johnson, 1751-1776* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

Algonquian counterparts and more mobile, Iroquois students approached their schooling as more of cultural reconnaissance than an opportunity for conversion. Their experiences at Wheelock's Indian Charity School show the importance of strong community ties in maintaining Native sovereignty and identity in Anglo-American educational settings.[72]

The scholarship on pre-Revolution Indian education generally and on Wheelock's school specifically has focused on his Algonquian alumni, but Iroquois students were always intended to be the main focus of Wheelock's efforts. During the school's founding and its first five years, Wheelock and his supporters often wrote of the need to civilize Britain's heathen allies to the north and create a friendly, civilized barrier between New England and French-allied Native people. As a New Light, millennialist, Congregationalist, Wheelock viewed conversion of "the western nations" essential to both the safety of British interests on the continent and the security of Christ's kingdom on earth. Although he rarely referred to any of the Six Nations by name either in reference to students or in pamphlets or letters detailing his progress and mission, Wheelock spoke incessantly of "the western nations," a term that he used exclusively to denote the Iroquois until 1770, when he began to use the term for nations to the west of the Seneca as well as the Iroquois.[73] After 1761, when the first Iroquois students arrived, Six Nations students always comprised at least a quarter of the twelve to thirty students in attendance, the largest single group. Iroquois enrollments reached a high point of twelve students out of thirty-one in 1765, or about forty percent of students in attendance.[74]

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72 For recent scholarship on Native identity in colonial boarding schools, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction : American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1995); Brenda J. Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); John Demos, *The Heathen School* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

73 Samson Occom to Wheelock. Mohegan, March 14 1774. Vault box Ayer MS 656. Newberry Library.

74 Wheelock, *Wheelock* Papers.767306.6 "List of members of the school 1765-1767."

Despite Wheelock's best efforts, though, Iroquois students were never in the majority, and Iroquois attendance ended with the Six Nations' involvement in the American Revolution. When looking for a home for the Charity School newly chartered as Dartmouth College, Wheelock attempted and failed to relocate the school to Albany or the Hudson Valley, but lacking support from William Johnson and increasingly disappointed with his Iroquois students, he moved the school to New Hampshire and redirected his efforts to training white missionaries.[75]

Although Wheelock found success (as he defined it) with several of his Algonquian students, who arrived familiar with English schooling and had few options besides menial labor to return to in their home communities, Iroquois students arrived with a clear set of goals formed by the military and diplomatic aims of their own communities. Their short terms at the school and the lack of preachers and teachers among them has lead to their erasure in the scholarship of early Indian education, but their ages, greater mobility, and maintenance of ties to their home communities during their time at school suggests that Iroquois students and their families never intended their schooling to be a conversion experience. Rather, Iroquois students arrived with their own expectations that they used English education to facilitate rather than displace.

Wheelock began with Algonquian students for the express purpose of sending them among the Iroquois, with Algonquian education instrumental to his larger goal of missionizing the Iroquois. The coastal New England Native communities that provided Wheelock his Algonquian students faced a cycle of land loss, poverty, debt and indenture that did not characterize Iroquois relations to European markets until after the American Revolution. The Iroquois students are generally assessed as failures within the context of the school's goals or

75 Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois" 51-64

erased due to their lack of a significant corpus of their own writings.[76]

The previous scholarship has also flattened tribal differences among students although Wheelock and his contemporaries intended different goals for Algonquian and Iroquois students, and those students' experiences at school were shaped by their national origins.[77] Algonquian students from communities in New England had more ready potential as missionaries, as they arrived literate and familiar with English schooling. Iroquois students often arrived knowing only "4 or 5 letters in the Alphabet . . . nor could they Speak a word of English."[78] Wheelock intended to educate his scholars in Greek translation and Latin rhetoric; teaching students who did not understand English and foolishly thought "that a wineglass [was] as strong as a handrake [a farm implement]" greatly impeded progress.[79]

The Algonquian students arrived in Lebanon typically around age ten, having attended mission schools in their home communities, worked as day laborers or begun apprenticeships. Iroquois students arrived much older and with little to no experience of formal English schooling.[80] Sir William Johnson's son Great William arrived at age fourteen with a group that included one student who "appeared to be near thirty years old, and three more to have arrived near the age of manhood—after I had cloathed them decently, they soon began to discover the indian temper, grew impatient of order and government in the school . . . not well satisfied with what was done for them, a disposition to make unfriendly remarks upon any omissions in any respect, which could be construed as evidential of, in any measure, a want of kindness and care

76 For surveys of the written corpus left by other Wheelock alumni, see Murray, "Early Native American Writing"; Johnson and Murray, *To Do Good to My Indian Brethren : the Writings of Joseph Johnson, 1751-1776*.
77 Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois" 51-64; Szasz, "Poor Richard Meets the Native American." 215-235.
78 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 762113 Wheelock to the Boston SPG Commissioners, Jan 13 1762
79 Ibid. 761404 Wheelock to Whitefield July 4 1761
80 Ibid. 767306.6 "List of members of the school 1765-1767"

for them."[81]

Although most of the Algonquian students arrived as children and attended through their early teens, Iroquois students arrived as adults or nearly so within their own communities. Locating the school in Lebanon (besides being conveniently close to where Wheelock already owned a house and farm and received a salary as the town's minister) was intended to facilitate students' cultural and religious conversion: close enough to Iroquois territories to draw students, but far enough that their relations would not be able to easily visit or take them from school. Although the school's location discouraged Algonquian families from retrieving their younger children, Iroquois students were old enough to assert their own mobility and independence, as evidenced by Joseph, Negyes, and Center's unescorted travel to and from school.

Due in part to their ages, Algonquian students were typically escorted to the school by a white or Indian adult missionary. Iroquois students arrived in small groups on their own and just as frequently left on their own. Joseph Brant, Center and Negyes were already in their late teens, having already fought in the French and Indian War, and when one of them fell sick two of them simply left.[82] Brant stayed at school for a few more months, but when he began receiving letters from his sister Molly about increasing tensions in 1762, he left without asking permission from Wheelock, much to the minister's dismay.[83] Brant's sudden departure from school did not go unnoticed outside of Lebanon, and fueled rumors that he had left suddenly because the Mohawk were planning to assist the French in over-running New England, a public relations disaster that damaged Wheelock's funding efforts for years.[84]

This movement of letters between Iroquoia and Connecticut paralleled the greater

81 Wheelock, *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-school Begun in Lebanon, in Connecticut*. 8
82 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 761616 Wheelock to de Berdt, Nov 16 1761.
83 Ibid. 763313. Wheelock to Johnson, May 16 1763.
84 Ibid. 764214 Wheelock to Johnson March 14 1764

physical mobility of Iroquois students. Previous scholarship of Wheelock's efforts has focused on student tavern-going as a mode of resistance or rejection of the conversion process,[85] problematically reproducing the stereotype of the drunken Indian. Additionally, Iroquois students either did not go to the tavern or were not caught, instead expressing their disinterest in Wheelock's curriculum through their movement outside Wheelock's supervision. Iroquois students, especially older male students, "shew'd a great inclination to be hunting and rambling in the woods,"[86] necessitating a new round of donations to install a bell that would be audible for more than a mile from the school.[87] This failed to solve the problem, the noon recess being shortened first to a half hour and students later required to take their midday meal with the family to prevent rambling during the school day.[88]

Wheelock's desire for a school bell attempted to project colonial control beyond the classroom and town green with the sound of time. In 19th and 20th century colonial Africa, Asia, and North America, the sound of time regulated education, work and worship, subordinating traditional daily practice to the tone of a bell.[89] Projecting sound and regulating the expression of noise extends authoritarian control much farther than visible symbols of power; sound follows the listener and extends into spaces that cannot be physically controlled.[90] In 18th century Connecticut, Wheelock attempted to regulate the movement of Native bodies across the colonized landscape with the sound of time as well. His failure to cease Iroquois movement

85 Szasz, "Poor Richard Meets the Native American" 215-235; Axtell, "Dr. Wheelock and the Iroquois." 51-64.
86 Wheelock, *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-school Begun in Lebanon, in Connecticut*., 8
87 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*.761616 Wheelock to de Berdt Nov 16 1761
88 Ibid.761630.3 Wheelock to Sylvester Gardiner Nov 30 1761; 761616 Wheelock to de Berdt Nov 16 1761
89 Jeffrey Feldman, "Contact Points: Museums and the Lost Body Problem," in *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums, and Material Culture*, ed. Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden, and Ruth B. Phillips, English ed, Wenner-Gren International Symposium Series (Oxford ; New York: Berg, 2006). 246; Tim Ingold, *The Perception of the Environment: Essays on Livelihood, Dwelling & Skill* (London ; New York: Routledge, 2000). 246
90 Dell Upton, "Sound as Landscape," *Landscape Journal* 26, no. 1 (2007): 24–35.

even "behind the frontier"[91] while successfully controlling Algonquian students' movements reveal the limits of colonialist power even on colonized landscapes. After the arrival of Iroquois boys at the school, Wheelock was confronted with the limitations of his power to control Native students, a limitation he had not previously encountered because Algonquian students lacked the options of their Iroquois peers.

Much like Wheelock's intentions in removing Native students from their homes to an established British community, sending the girls away to separate homes for their domestic educations further regulated their immersion in British culture. The spaces Wheelock sought to create for his students were intended to shape the sort of skills they were to acquire and regulate their behaviors. The position of the school itself, midway between the church where Wheelock preached and the domestic sphere of the house and barnyard, put it under the supervision of spaces controlled by Wheelock, visible to the town green, and just outside the more feminine domestic space of the house and racialized work areas of the barnyard, separating education of the mind from the education of the body.[92] The spaces students occupied in Lebanon were intended to form nested layers of control, with girls occupying the most-controlled domestic area of the home. Boys moved between the domestic space of the Wheelock home, the tightly regulated schoolroom, the supervised but less strictly controlled farm areas, and the environs of the town that were governed by unspoken British cultural expectations. Older Iroquois boys moved freely between all of these areas and the totally unsupervised woods and fields surrounding Lebanon, while girls and younger Algonquian students were confined to more supervised areas. Although located in the same long-established British settlement, Native

91 Daniel R. Mandell, *Behind the Frontier : Indians in Eighteenth-century Eastern Massachusetts* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996). 24-28.

92 Dell Upton, "Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1982): 102 and 119

students experienced different colonial landscapes depending on their gender, age, and tribal origin.

Wheelock wrote that Great William was “too proud and litigious to consist with the Health and well being" of the school, and another Mohawk student was “so lifted up with his having been in the Wars, and sent to Hell one or two of the poor Savages with his own hand, that [Wheelock's] House was scarecely good enough for him to live in, or any of the School honorable enough to speak to him.”[93] As acknowledged adults within their own communities, many of the Iroquois students may have viewed the experience as more of a cultural exchange program to acquire diplomatic skills than as the immersive and transformative experience Wheelock intended. An immersive language learning program more directly served Iroquois diplomatic and political goals; European language acquisition coupled with an insistence on Native language use and the employment of translators was one of the many ways Native groups shaped diplomatic encounters during this period.[94]

Immersion in British habits of dress, eating and living also served Iroquois goals by providing both male and female students with both a fluency in British norms and an understanding of the types of changes British missionaries, land speculators and government officials wished to push on Iroquois communities. Alumnus Joseph Brant would later in his life be noted for the skill with which he passed between British, Iroquois and hybrid registers of dress and social performance, displaying a detailed knowledge of British American colonialist intentions during and after the Revolutionary War period.[95] This reverse ethnography, in which

93 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*.767163

94 For the role of language and translation in diplomacy of the middle ground, see White, *The Middle Ground : Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*; Merritt, *At the Crossroads : Indians and Empires on a mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*; Merrell, *Into the American Woods : Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*.

95 Isabel Thompson Kelsay, *Joseph Brant, 1743-1807, Man of Two Worlds*, 1st ed (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse

Iroquois people made a detailed study of European colonialism in order to limit its reach, would prove invaluable in preserving Iroquois lands and cultures a generation later.

Algonquian students remained at school from an early age to adulthood, but no Iroquois student stayed more than two years and most left after less than a year,[96] suggesting their communities and families saw some value in sending them for an immersive cultural experience but not the full course of study and conversion Wheelock envisioned. Despite this, Wheelock maintained his goal of Iroquois conversion, in 1764 somewhat disingenuously writing to Sir William Johnson that he thought more Iroquois students would improve the school, since "the Boys I have from your parts behave very well, better than any I have had from any other Quarter, and it seems to me they are really a much better Breed."[97]

Although Wheelock hoped for Algonquian and Iroquois students to form preacher-translator pairs, tribal lines remained distinct, perhaps due to students' different goals and expectations for their educations. Inter-tribal tensions at the school sometimes ran high, aggravated by tensions with white students as well. On September 25 1765, while Wheelock was away on church business, Great William, fifteen, and Mohegan student Joseph Johnson, fourteen, came to blows with Wheelock's eleven-year-old son John encouraging them. Before coming to blows, Joseph called William an "Indian Devil" and a "spekkle face white eye," referring to William's father Sir William Johnson and his Mohawk mother.[98]

Joseph also repeated taunts John Wheelock threw at William, suggesting that Joseph saw himself more kin with the minister's son than with William, in whose Mohawk community

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University Press, 1984). 83, 134, 387, 495-496, 523; Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground : Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006).

96 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 765690 "A list of Charity Scholars Time of their Admission etc."

97 Ibid. 764574. Wheelock to Johnson, Oct 24 1764.

98 Ibid. 765525.2 "Animus Quietus" to Wheelock Sept 25 1765.

Joseph would later serve as missionary and school teacher after leaving Lebanon. Joseph had been at the school longer than almost any other student; he arrived in 1758, when he was seven, John Wheelock was four, and at a time when all the students lived and ate with the Wheelock family.[99] It's unsurprising, then, that he positioned himself with the Wheelocks seven years later in a fight with an Iroquois student who had arrived less than a year before, despite the fact that both older and younger Wheelocks sometimes grouped all the Native students together. The names Joseph threw at William suggest that he saw "Indian" not only as an insult, but also as an identity he had already distanced himself from.

As a result of the fight, "one nation seem'd to be at variance with each other." Another Mohegan student "was inraiged among the rest, put on his new coat and . . . threatned to go home." Even after Great William and Joseph were physically pulled apart, they continued the fight into Mrs. Wheelock's house, tearing each other's shirts and waistcoats and inciting other fights. "Little William [a Mohawk] said that David [a Montauk] would fight with him in the house, and they began to go at it in Cyder Mill, and would have gone on had" they not been separated. Although the school was intended to promote mutual understanding and prepare Algonquian students for a life of mission work among the Iroquois, the sudden explosion of these tensions between so many students (at least six were involved in fights—only thirty students were in attendance at the time) suggests that many had long harbored inter-tribal resentments.[100]

Nascent racial tensions with Lebanon's white community may have been at play as well, Wheelock's goal of "civilizing" his students creating the unspoken expectation that they ought to

99 Ibid.765690 "A list of Charity Scholars Time of their Admission etc."
100 Ibid.765525.2 "Animus Quietus" to Wheelock Sept 25 1765.

have identified themselves more with the English community than with newly arrived or "failed" Native students. Later in the winter of 1765, Mohegan student David Fowler, who would later teach school and preach among the Oneida, was injured during a fight while sledding with some of Lebanon's English boys.[101] Wheelock also hinted obliquely at fights between Native students and English residents at the town's tavern, part of his proscription against Native students visiting taverns even though they were allowed to drink both beer and rum within the household.

Wheelock never explicitly ranked his Native students against one another, but he made clear both to them and to the readers of his pamphlets and other writings that both Iroquois and Algonquian students lacked the aptitude of students who were English by birth and Native by education. Although Wheelock was never able to secure English students who had been captured and adopted by Native families, he insisted that "though they were [carried] among the Indians and have been exposed to partake of their national Vices . . . yet they appear to be as sprightly, active, enterprising, benevolent towards all, and sensible of Kindness done them, as English Children commonly are."[102] Although no students were ever recorded in his notes as returned captives, Wheelock daydreamed that that "[they are] by far the most promising set of Youths I have ever yet had from the Indian country."[103]

Very few of Wheelock's students lived up to his expectations, but he was especially disappointed by his Iroquois students. Although six of Wheelock's thirty English and Algonquian students were licensed to preach or keep school, only one of his Iroquois students went on to teach, and disappointed Wheelock even in that.[104] Mohawk alumnus Abraham Minor was roundly criticized by Wheelock and one of his more favorite alumni Theophilus Chamberlin

101 Ibid.7765164.1
102 Wheelock, *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity-school Begun in Lebanon, in Connecticut*.:11.
103 Ibid.: 14.
104 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*.765690 "A list of Charity Scholars Time of their Admission etc."

in 1765 for failure to punish his Oneida students adequately or demand routine attendance.[105] Although he was Wheelock's only Iroquois student to keep school, Wheelock counted Abraham Minor among his many failures.

The lives of Wheelock's Algonquian alumni after leaving the school were marked by debt, poverty, insecure wage labor and illness. Although the girls were intended to take charge of their own Christian households as wives and mothers, only one Mohegan girl married a male student and went on mission. Most of the Iroquois and most Algonquian girls "went away," probably to be wives and mothers within their own cultural paradigms, with one other Mohegan girl dying as a domestic servant to a white family in New York.[106] What little we know of the Iroquois alumni suggests that they returned to their communities with English literacy and useful diplomatic skills without the tensions between British work expectations and the expectations of their communities that characterized the experience of Algonquian students and later boarding school alumni. The knowledge of British anxieties and ambitions that they gained during their tenure at Wheelock's school would prove invaluable in guiding their communities through the Revolutionary War period.

So Prittily Ingaged In Their Studies

British anxieties about Iroquois economic and military loyalty fueled projects like Wheelock's, projects that sought to incorporate Iroquois people as British subjects without incorporating Iroquois sovereign nations. Culminating with the defeat of New France in 1763, the Iroquois represented the last potential threat to British dominance of northeastern North

105 Ibid. 765429.1 Theophilus Chamberlain to Wheelock. Kanajohare, 29 July 1765.
106 Szasz, "Poor Richard Meets the Native American." 215-235.

America, especially as they continued to dictate the terms of Anglo-Native trade and refused to incorporate European material culture in properly "civilized" ways.[107] Although British officials had been largely unsuccessful in yoking the unruly Dutch and German populations resident in British-controlled New York,[108] British hopes remained alive for using conversion and education to secure the Six Nations to British interests. When Wheelock courted donors with descriptions of his Iroquois students "so prittily ingaged in their studies," he tapped into British optimism that Iroquois individuals could be converted and made full and equal British political subjects if only they were taught to perform civility correctly, as well as fears that the Iroquois could represent a serious threat to British imperial dominance if not properly tied to British interests. Wheelock assured his donors that under his guidance, Native students would quickly "put off the Savage Indian."[109]

Wheelock's immersive program of conversion and education sought to create British subjects of Iroquois students, British in their habits of body, modes of speech, and patterns of worship and work. The project revealed deep anxieties about the reproduction of whiteness and the delicacy of civil English masculinity. In the process of being made fit to become British political subjects alongside white men, Native students received their education in manual labor alongside enslaved men and women. Although whiteness in many early American contexts was constructed in opposition to blackness,[110] in trying to recreate political and material whiteness on Native bodies, Wheelock's efforts revealed the difficulty of separating black labor from white

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107 Grenier, *The first way of war, 14*; Dowd, *War Under Heaven*; Middleton, *Pontiac's War* ; White, *The Middle Ground : Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. 226

108 Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783*. 73-78, 225, 201-202, 223-224,

109 Wheelock, *Wheelock Papers*. 761474 Wheelock to Hannah Winslow and Sarah Bethan in Boston, Aug 24 1761.

110 Brown, *Good Wives 1-7, 38-41, 354-356*; Kirsten Fischer, *Suspect Relations : Sex, Race, and Resistance in Colonial North Carolina* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002) 133-134, 154-155; Morgan, *Laboring Women,* 13.

civility. And despite Wheelock's best efforts to erase women's labor, the experience of his alumni both at school and on their mission work in the field revealed that civil masculinity could not last long without the domestic reproductive labor of properly trained women. If, for British imperial officials and concerned citizens such as Wheelock, the Iroquois represented the key to British control of eastern North America, black and female labor was the unspoken foundation of the attempt to recreate British civility in new territory.

As with their engagement of Atlantic markets, Iroquois communities and individuals remained largely uninterested in British ambitions and instead used British imperial projects for their own goals. Iroquois students used the education Wheelock offered to further their own communities' political goals, by acquiring language skills and cultural fluency, as well as an understanding of British fears and anxieties. The importance of this Iroquois ethnography of colonialist methods would come to the fore in the years surrounding the American Revolution, as the Six Nations confronted Americans determined to remake the cultural landscape of Iroquoia, and willing to use force to do so.

Chapter Four

For Want of a Sufficiency: War, Conversion Efforts and Gendered Work in the Early Reservation Period, 1770-1810

On November 11, 1794, the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy and the newly independent United States signed the Treaty of Canandaigua. The treaty officially brought an end to hostilities between the Confederacy and the new nation, and codified diplomatic relations between the Iroquois and the United States. As a confrontation between Iroquois and American material performances of gendered political legitimacy, the Treaty of Canandaigua made explicit conflicts over Iroquois consumer choices that had built and hardened during the American Revolution.

The negotiations were witnessed by more than two thousand Iroquois men, women and children; the United States Indian Commissioner Timothy Pickering; the Seneca sachem Handsome Lake, who would be visited by angelic messengers five years later; and Jemima Wilkinson, a female reincarnation of Jesus Christ. Contentious even at the moment of its signing, the negotiation of the Treaty of Canandaigua brought together Iroquois and American tensions over religion, material civility, and the gender of political sovereignty. Longstanding British interest in materially and politically converting the Iroquois gave way in 1779 to American desire for Iroquois land rather than conversion.

Although later successfully signed and ratified, initial negotiations were tense with conflict over who could be considered legitimate diplomatic actors. Wilkinson and the three Oneida women who stood to reprimand her spoke against Pickering's wishes, a feminine intrusion into diplomatic procedure. At a moment when the United States was attempting to extend diplomatic and political authority over formerly hostile Native nations, Pickering peevishly attempted to reassert control over unruly white and Native women. Both Wilkinson and the Oneida women who rebuked her disputed among themselves the civility of Iroquois and

Americans, and scandalized American observers like Pickering with their presence and outrageous clothing.

The Iroquois were not unfamiliar with the intrusion of religion into diplomacy, but in the post-Revolution period felt it necessary to educate ignorant American diplomats. Drawing on the rhetoric of natural law and material civility, Iroquois leaders in the Revolutionary and immediate post-Revolutionary period threw American accusations of barbarism and political illegitimacy back at them. Culminating in conflicts like the scene at Canandaigua, American attempts to bolster their own nascent sovereignty rested on a denial of Native political and cultural sovereignty. Wilkinson, Pickering, and other Americans' attempts to dictate patterns of gendered labor and material culture in Iroquois communities sought to deny Iroquois cultural distinctiveness as a way of denying their political distinctiveness from the new nation. This denial of both Iroquois political and cultural sovereignty stemmed from American fear of Iroquois military power.

In 1779, George Washington dispatched a force to Seneca country that was, to that point, the single largest Continental Army offensive of the Revolutionary War with orders that their

> immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of [Seneca] settlements . . . parties should be detached to lay waste all the settlements around, with injunctions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed. . . . You will not by any means listen to overtures of Peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected . . . . Our future security will be in their inability to injure us—the distance to which they are driven, and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive will insure them—peace without this would be fallacious and temporary.[1]

Although the resulting campaign led by General John Sullivan killed very few actual Iroquois people, it burned homes, cornfields, and orchards with the aim of crippling Iroquois economic

1 George Washington to John Sullivan, Middle Brook, May 31, 1779, Huntington Library. HM 1590

and agricultural support, and it accomplished that aim very well. In the wake of the devastating attacks against Iroquois communities, waves of poorly fed Native refugees crowded British Fort Niagara for the duration of the war, later returning to their homes to find orchards and fields crippled and burned.

Devastated economically by the 1779 Sullivan campaign and wracked by outbreaks of disease and crop failures during the harsh winters of displacement, after the 1783 Treaty of Paris the Six Nations accepted a series of land concessions aimed at consolidating and securing title to what land base they could in the face of American hostility (in addition to treaties signed by individuals with no authority to do so, some still in litigation).[2] In a series of treaties culminating with Canandaigua in 1794, Iroquois groups ceded increasingly large swathes of land in an attempt to secure their title to the remainder.

The upheavals of the Revolution offered Euroamericans opportunities to enforce material changes in Iroquois communities where previous efforts had failed. Frustrated by long years spent trying to missionize among Iroquois communities who still insisted on taking children on seasonal rounds of hunting, sugaring and fishing, Samuel Kirkland took his mentor Eleazar Wheelock's dream of persuading the Six Nations to convert to English agrarianism one step further. Under the belief that the Iroquois "would never become farmers unless forced to by the loss of land for hunting," Kirkland used his influence to make it so, in the process gaining political favor and donations to support his nascent Hamilton-Oneida Academy from Oliver Phelps and Phillip Schuyler.

For Kirkland, Wilkinson, and many other Americans, an assertion of Native sovereignty

2 J. David Lehman, "The End of the Iroquois Mystique: The Oneida Land Cession Treaties of the 1780s," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (1990): 523–547; For an overview of continuing Oneida land claims, see George C. Shattuck, *The Oneida Land Claims: a Legal History*, 1st ed, The Iroquois and Their Neighbors (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1991).

such as the Six Nations' push at Canandaigua to secure their homelands directly threatened the opportunities that Native land presented. Although British government officials had held out hope for conversion of Native nations for inclusion in the expanding British imperial sphere, Americans learned over the course of the Revolutionary War that Native nations were a barrier to the conversion of Native individuals. And failing the conversion of Native people, Americans increasingly viewed replacement of Native people and conversion of their land to American territory as an attractive alternative.[3] Post-independence American hostility to Native sovereignty grew out of the violent intimacies of war and fear of Native power.

Upon the Same Ground

Like British diplomats, American negotiators early in the war attempted to find common ground with potential Iroquois allies. Although British negotiators placed emphasis on the potential for Iroquois incorporation as British subjects under a common crown, American negotiators emphasized a shared connection to the American continent while underlining racial differences, an emphasis that they would amplify over time. At Albany in 1775, the New York Indian Commissioners appealed to their common connection to the land. "Brothers, we live upon the same ground with you—the same Island is our common birth place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you; let us water its roots and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun and reach the skies." The New York Indian Commissioners, men who had lived near Iroquois communities, attempted to appeal to the common necessity of geographic proximity to persuade the Six Nations to

3 For the American shift to exermination-oriented policies, see Drinnon, *Facing West*; Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Grenier, *The first way of war*.

neutrality, using Iroquois imagery and paradigms to do so.[4] Early in the war, with Iroquois support undeclared and uncertain, American negotiators utilized the rhetorical language of Iroquois diplomacy to make their case for American alliance or at least Iroquois neutrality in the conflict.

Even as the American negotiators emphasized their commonality with the Six Nations, they hung a not-so-subtle threat over the negotiations, underlining a racial divide that would harden over the course of the war.

> If application should be made to you by any of the king's unwise and wicked ministers to join on their side, we only advise you to deliberate with great caution and in your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance. For if the king's troops take away our property and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you who are indians expect from them afterwards?[5]

Implicated in this warning was also the question of what the Iroquois could expect from the Americans, who sought to emphasize that they shared no blood with the Six Nations and did not wish to in the future. Earlier British efforts including the 1710 Four Kings envoy and Eleazar Wheelock's school had been aimed at the metaphorical marriage of Iroquois and British interests; American negotiators shifted to a stance of pointed separatism.

In agreeing to neutrality, Iroquois representatives underlined their own sovereignty and diplomatic ties and made a subtle threat of their own. Although they agreed to abstain from involvement in a civil conflict between superficially similar white Euroamerican groups, the Six Nations emphasized the primacy of their own Native diplomatic obligations. "There are many round us at Cachnawaga [Kahnawake, an Iroquois settlement in British Canada] who are friends to the king, our path of peace reaches quite there. We beg all that distance my not be defiled with

4 New York Public Library, *Philip Schuyler Papers*, 21 vols. Indian Affairs Papers. Box 13 23 Albany Monday August 28 1775, Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed to treat with the Six Nations of Indians in 1775

5 Ibid. Indian Affairs Papers. Box 13 23 Albany Monday August 28 1775, Proceedings of the Commnrs appointed to treat with the Six Nations of Indians in 1775

blood."[6] Although they agreed to neutrality for the time being, the Iroquois representatives cautioned the Americans to pay heed to Native politics and alliances, clearly laying out their own priorities in maintaining their good relations with their non-Confederacy Iroquois kin.

The Iroquois-American recognition of common ground extended to trade as well as diplomacy, and shared consumer concerns exacerbated political tensions. War-time interruption in imports pinched both Native and Euro-American consumers reliant on Atlantic trade. Non-importation disrupted the normal course of civil life for both consumers who willingly embraced it as a marker of the rebel cause and those who simply wished to get on with life.[7] In early 1776, representatives of the Six Nations outlined for the Americans the important connection between Atlantic trade and diplomatic relations, as well as their shared ties as Atlantic consumers.

> We must however live as well as you, we would be glad to buy those things and pay for it as heretofore. We hope the 13 colonies will not suffer us to go naked, and hope you will perform your promise you made last year and we desire you brothers that you will take notice of it, as we can't live without cloth and ammunition. It is harder for us than for you.[8]

Some American consumers had access to at least rudimentary means of cloth production;[9] for Iroquois consumers reliant on trade for access to manufactured goods, non-importation meant a total reorientation of labor arrangements previously predicated on access to global markets.

The Americans lived in uneasy awareness of their inability to provide adequately for their own or Iroquois consumers, conscious of the delicate balance between economic and political

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6 Ibid. Indian Affairs Papers. NYPL Box 13 Albany Monday August 28 1775, Proceedings of the Commnrs appointed to treat with the Six Nations of Indians in 1775 29

7 Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). 63, 72, 74, 80-85, 91-92

8 New York Public Library, *Philip Schuyler Papers*. Box 13 "At a meeting of some of the sachems and warriors of the six nations at the house of Samuel Thomson at the city of Albany on Thursday the 2d day of May 1776."

9 Adrienne D. Hood, *The Weaver's Craft : Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). 1-8, 87, 120, 151.

interests.[10] Speaking of the sway British interests still held for the Six Nations, the New York Indian Commissioners wrote to the Continental Congress that

> the Enemy have a very capital advantage over us in their intercourse with the Indians as they have it in their power to afford them such ample supplies, and those in their interest are continually drawing comparisons, we know how impossible it is to procure all that is wanted, but blankets are so indispensably necessary that we beg five or six hundred may be sent us from the Southward or Eastward if they can be procured.[11]

Although the Congress had begun to encounter difficulties in clothing and supporting their own militia and civilian needs,[12] the New York Commissioners reminded the Congress that their military and political interests depended heavily on ensuring that Iroquois consumer needs were met. Iroquois ties to the Atlantic market created very real pressure on diplomatic relations.

As in earlier times, war disrupted the normal course of trade, and although Iroquois consumers had become less dependent on hunting for their subsistence, the ability to safely hunt and travel still determined the ability to trade. The Americans attempted to fill the gap left by British traders who left for Canada, but it proved difficult for the nascent nation to supply the needs of even one of the Six Nations. Congressional Indian Commissioner James Duane complained in late 1778 that

> at the arrival of the goods at this Post [Fort Schuyler] the Indians expressed great surprise and dissatisfaction at the high prices at which they were stated . . . I fear Sir we shall suffer much in our interest and influence with the indians unless something can be speedily done with regard to the goods here as many of our friends are not only very naked but very indigent and in general altogether unable to purchase at the fixt rates. Our friends are under such constant apprehensions of

10 For recent scholarship on the intersection of politics and consumerism in early America, see Yokota, *Unbecoming British*; Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence*; Kate Haulman, *The Politics of Fashion in Eighteenth-century America*, Gender and American Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

11 United States. *Papers of the Continental Congress*, 1774-1789. Washington: National Archives, National Archives and Records Service, General Services Administration, 1958. E:M247 Roll 183:377-80 Albany January 12 1778 Commissioners of Indian Affairs to Laurens.

12 Haulman, *Politics of Fashion, 153-180*; Yokota, *Unbecoming British*. 62-66, 72-77.

> danger that they have not been able to hunt this season I suspect will not unless affairs in the six nations should soon assume a better aspect then they at present were.[13]

The Oneidas, the only nation of the Iroquois League to ally formally with the United States during the Revolutionary War, were very aware of the connection between trade and diplomacy, and sensitive to the impression American trade made on their Iroquois kin. Speaking at a conference in late 1778, Peter the Oneida told the New York Commissioners, "We imagine that if the war continues it will be extremely difficult for us to procure clothing. We are already greatly distressed and we have no prospect of a speedy supply. . . . The other nations of the confederacy scoff at us and frequently ask us whether we have as yet received a sufficient supply of clothing to cover our nakedness. They are wallowing in plenty, while we are pining in poverty and all this is occasioned by our attachment to you."[14]

Implied in this Oneida reproach was the suggestion that Iroquois self-interest might take precedence over diplomatic alliance if the war continued to go poorly or their needs continued to go unfulfilled. Both British and American forces understood the consequences of alienating Iroquois allies through an inability to supply basic necessities through trade. British and American concerns stemmed from much more than a tit-for-tat relationship or attempt to bribe compliance: it stemmed from an acknowledgement of white and Native consumers' shared reliance on Atlantic markets, and the very real difficulties presented to both settler and Native communities when economic ties developed over the course of centuries were disrupted for the sake of political conviction.

Concerns over supplying Iroquois allies affected American politics at the highest levels.

13 *Papers of the Continental Congress*. 157 D:M247 Roll 173:368 James Duane to Volkert Douw Fort Schuyler October 15 1778.

14 *Papers of the Continental Congress*. 158-159 D:M247 Roll 173: 372-373 Volkert P Douw. Albany October 21 1778 "At a meeting with six indians: viz three oneidas, two cayugas and one tuscarora."

Former commander of the Northern Department of the Continental Army Phillip Schuyler wrote to Samuel Huntington, president of the Continental Congress, that he feared losing their Oneida allies to the British if the Americans remained unable to supply basic Oneida needs. In 1780, Schuyler was "overwhelmed with their lamentations, their complaints and their reproaches, nor have I a resource left against either, as excuse, apology and palliation have been so repeatedly applied and the hopes raised by them so invariably disappointed, that they now do not gain even the shadow of a credit with the most credulous among them." Due in part to their religious, economic and social ties to white settlers, the Oneida had chosen to enter the war against the British. However, war and deprivation began to strain Oneida patience after repeated broken promises.

Schuyler warned against dismissing the Oneidas, pointing to their importance in holding the Northern Department during the campaigns of 1777-1780 and their strength as American allies. Schuyler cautioned,

> I fear their virtue will at last yield to a continuation of distress, which no human beings can endure, and that they will renounce an alliance which has exposed them to such variety of calamity, to form one, with those who can amply supply every of their wants. Indeed after having made the capital sacrifice of abandoning their country to follow our fortunes, after the repeated testimony they have given of their fidelity, and attachment to us, after the reiterated promises on our part to afford them ample protection and support, it seems they have a just right to claim and that we are bound, by every principle of honor as well as by consideration of interest to give them relief.[15]

Schuyler offered no critique of either Oneida reproaches or their request to be supplied with clothing, blankets and other consumer necessities at reasonable prices, because he recognized the shared distress caused by disruptions in normal trade.

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15 *Papers of the Continental Congress.* 265 D:M247 Roll 173:551-54 Phillip Schuyler to Samuel Huntington. Saratoga Dec 2 1780.

We Shall Soon Forget The War

Although expenses continued to mount on both sides of the conflict, British military officials in North America continued emphasize the importance of Iroquois allies. Molly Brant, the Mohawk widow of the late Superintendent for Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson and influential diplomat in her own right, warned her late husband's protégé Daniel Claus to remind newly arrived British officers of the long view of Indian politics. Earlier British Indian agents had been New York or Canadian residents of long standing, men familiar with Iroquois customs and the importance of diplomatic niceties, but the new war brought metropolitan officers to staff British forts who were as unfamiliar with protocol as Americans. "The whole matter is, that the officers at Niagara are so haughty and proud, not knowing or considering that the Kings interest is so nearly connected with that of the Indians," Brant wrote.[16] Veteran of several decades of Anglo-Indian diplomacy, Brant protested her peoples' mistreatment by newly arrived and poorly informed British officers.

Higher officials in the British military were much more aware of the need to preserve Iroquois friendship (or at least neutrality) for fear that their influence would swing the course of the war. In late 1782, British Governor of Quebec Frederick Haldimand wrote to Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the security of Britain's remaining possessions in North America depended upon the friendship of the Iroquois.

> An unremitting attention to a very nice management of that people is inseparable from the safety of this province, which has been preserved in a great measure by their attachment. . . . They dread the idea of being forsaken by us, and becoming a sacrifice to a vengeance which has, in many instances already, been raked upon

16 Molly Brant to Daniel Claus. Carleton Island 12 April 1781. *Sir Frederick Haldimand: Unpublished Papers and Correspondence*. London: Microfilm Publications. 1977. Reel H-1450, Series B-114. 21774:180-181.

> them. Foreseeing the possibility of the Americans becoming an independent powerful people and retaliating severely upon them, they reproach us with their ruin. If the Americans are disposed to take the advantage of them and are in a situation to supply their wants liberally, the consequences may be very fatal. As long as the Six Nations are determined to act with us, Oswego, that great key to this province, is in security, but from the moment they become even neuter (and they will not remain long so) we have everything to apprehend. Tho the indian expences are enormous, the present is not the time to retrench. They must be liberally supplied while we have occasion for their services. Interest, humanity and gratitude are concerned in granting them a yearly gratuity for their services.[17]

Despite the expense, some British officials viewed the necessity of supplying Indian allies as an advantage. Guy Johnson, Sir William Johnson's nephew appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs after the elder Sir William Johnson's death in 1774, argued that Iroquois reliance on Atlantic trade ought be used to bring sometimes-recalcitrant allies to heel. In 1782, Guy Johnson argued that "the indians have been so long accustomed to the use of blankets, leggings, and other comforts, that they are now become absolutely necessary to them; while we remain in possession of their country it is impossible they can have supplies of those articles adequate to their wants from the rebels and it is as evident that if they were made more dependent upon government they would be more obedient to its will."[18] Guy Johnson's goals would remain fantasy so long as Iroquois communities retained access to self-interested private traders, but the disruptions of the American Revolution brought the very real problem of trade dependency to the fore.

Johnson's high-handed attitude caused problems in both the long and short term—years later he would resign his position in disgrace after being caught padding his accounts for Indian expenses to line his own pockets at the Crown's expense. During the course of the war he aggravated otherwise steadfast Native allies. One of Guy Johnson's subordinates, Lieutenant

17 Precis of Haldimand's letters. Haldimand to Townshend 23 Oct 1782. Great Britain. Colonial Office, Public Records Office. CO 43/15/115.

18 A Review of Col Johnson's Transactions Montreal 24 March 1782. Notes on Memorandums concerning Indian trade. *Haldimand Papers.* Reel H-1450, Series B-116. 21766: 122.

Colonel John Butler, wrote to Johnson in late 1781 that

> Sayengaraghta or Old Smoke [a Seneca sachem] some days ago asked me for a gold laced hat and good coat which he said you promised him. On my telling him it was not in my power to give him either, but that I would give him anything that was in the store in lieu, his answer was that if the king was grown too poor and not able to purchase a hat for him he would do it himself, which he accordingly did, and made his brag of it. I imagine I shall have many such haughty speeches this winter.[19]

Johnson's orders aimed at yoking Iroquois allies more firmly to the British Crown via economic dependence only served to provide Iroquois individuals with opportunity to underline their non-dependence on the British.

The issue was not one of affordability, but availability. Iroquois communities were perfectly capable of providing for themselves, but war and the demands of allies necessitated reciprocity. Molly Brant's brother Joseph put it bluntly when he reprimanded Sir John Johnson, Sir William Johnson's son and a British general, for suggesting that Iroquois warriors in the Crown's service supply their own needs. "I beg of you don't tell us to go hunt deer and find you selves shoes, because we shall soon forget the war."[20] Intimately aware of the workings of the British Indian Department, the personalities of the Johnson family (and perhaps already aware of Guy Johnson's illicit accounting), and the realities that faced Iroquois communities, Brant cautioned that British interests would be better served by trimming bureaucratic expenses rather than supplies to the Native warriors fighting their war. "I have changed my mind since my arrival here, you know I was very sparing the indians officers to be struck off. I am wishing now to be done so, for if you do leave few in the department you will save so much money

19 Extract from Lt Col Butler's letter recd by Col Johnson 20 Dec 1781. *Haldimand Papers*. Reel H-1448, Series B-106. 21767: 273.

20 Joseph Brant to Sir John Johnson Niagara Dec 25 1782. *Haldimand Papers*. Reel H-1450, Series B-115. 21775:49-50.

government may be able to give the warriors proper clothing as they formerly had."[21] If British and American forces expected Iroquois allies to assist in their conflicts, they had to provide compensation for time lost for the pursuit of self-interest. Rather than dependence that Euroamericans sought, Iroquois communities maintained the mutual reliance that had characterized Native-settler economic relations in the period before the Revolution.

As British and American diplomats became increasingly aware of the necessity of trade to good diplomatic relations, they came to resent the very similarity of Native and Euroamerican consumers that many had worked so long to cultivate. Early in the war, this similarity was used as justification both for the expense of supporting Indian allies and justification for the seizure of Indian enemies' property. British Indian officer Daniel Claus wrote of the Mohawk that, "the indians who lived near and have been used to the customs and conveniences of white people and as they say sacrificed their ease and property to the fidelity for their sovereign will expect more favor and indulgence than others."[22] Social and economic exchange between Iroquois and settler people had fostered similar levels (in degree, if not kind) of property accumulation in some Iroquois communities like Fort Hunter, a fact that had to be explained to distant British administrators who imagined naked savages who ought to have been cheaper to maintain. The reality of economically well-developed Iroquois communities with orchards, stone houses, livestock and personal property destroyed by war[23] strained the purses and patience of officials who had flattened diverse Native allies into an uncivil, indistinct Other.

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21 Ibid.

22 Daniel Claus to Captain Mathews. Montreal, 5 August 1782. *Haldimand Papers*. Reel H-1442, Series B-84. 21774:285–86.

23 Preston, *The Texture of Contact : European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783*. 287; Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution*, 1st ed (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006). 239-262; Anthony Wonderly, "An Oneida Community in 1780: Study of an Inventory of Iroquois Property Losses During the Revolutionary War." *Man in the Northeast*. 56 (Fall 1998) 19-42.

The very consumer similarity that linked Native and settler communities to the Atlantic market also made Native property a target during war time. Even before the 1779 Sullivan campaign attacked Seneca communities, the Mohawk settlement of Fort Hunter was plundered by patriots from surrounding white communities in early 1778. Led by Peter Dygert, head of the local Committee of Safety, one of these raids targeted the property of Molly Brant. Although the Brants were exceptional in many ways, the appropriation of Molly Brant's property by white settlers differed only in degree from her Iroquois kin. Jelles Fonda wrote to the British Commissioners of Indian Affairs that although Molly Brant's losses were most noteworthy, "I believe our Mohawk Indians at Fort Hunter have suffered in the same manner." Dygert took from Brant's home specie, silver shoe buckles, jewelry and clothing, "which has been seen by George Herkimer on the aforesaid Peter S Dygarts [sic] Daughter."[24] The attacks were both political and personal, removing the physical markers of consumer civility as well as severing Native ties to the land. The appropriation of Brant's clothing and jewelry, frequently remarked by visitors to the Brant-Johnson household as being of the finest metropolitan fashion, for Dygert's daughter, made the personal political. It at once removed the clothing and jewelry from Brant's use in claiming Anglo feminine respectability, and asserted a white man's daughter as a more appropriate owner and consumer of those symbols.

Iroquois combatants, especially those who had lived near and been educated among Euroamericans before the war, were intensely aware of the importance of markers of consumer civility, and deployed them as signs of control. When Frederick Schermerhorn was taken prisoner by a Mohawk raiding party in 1780, "they cruelly took away the boy's shoes, which as it

24 New York Public Library, *Philip Schuyler* Papers. Box 14, 134. Jelles Fonda to the Commissioners of Indian Affairs Palatine 21 April 1778.

happens were a new pair, and his hat, which was a good one, giving him instead of his shoes an old pair of moccasins, but left his head without a covering during the whole of the dismal journey."[25] American men's complaints indicate that not only were key pieces of clothing stripped and replaced, but also the hat, an essential part of European masculine identity, was removed without an Iroquois substitute. Although Iroquois men wore hats in diplomatic contexts, they stripped European men of their hats during captivity. Freegift Patchin, also taken captive during the Revolution, explained that his and other men's hats were taken because "they looked rather too marshal for prisoners."[26] Just as American raids plundered Iroquois personal effects to strip their connection to the land, Iroquois groups stripped American prisoners of their markers of civility to deny the legitimacy of their participation in the conflict. By stripping American soldiers of their hats and shoes, symbolic markers of adult masculinity, Iroquois combatants denied American soldiers access to the gendered authority that underlay their claims to independence from the British government.

Iroquois speakers also deployed the language of civility during and after the war in order to reproach American behavior. Joseph Brant, although a divisive figure in the late years of the war and its aftermath, was uncompromising in his critique of American incivility, deploying the rhetoric of natural law and barbarity to indict the nascent nation.[27] Writing in Mohawk in 1780 (although he spoke and wrote English very well, in part due to his education at Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School alongside Samuel Kirkland), Brant responded to accusations that he had slaughtered American prisoners:

That you Bostonians (alias Americans) may be certified of my conduct towards all

25 Josiah Priest, *The Low Dutch Boy Prisoner (Frederick Schermerhorn)* (New York: Garland Pub., 1977). 8.
26 Josiah Priest, *The Captivity and Sufferings of Gen. Freegift Patchin* (New York, 1977), 10
27 Renée Jacobs. "Iroquois Great Law of Peace and the United States Constitution: How the Founding Fathers Ignored the Clan Mothers." *American Indian Law Review.* Vol. 16, No. 2 (1991), pp. 497-531.

> those whom I have captivated in these parts, know, that I have taken off with me but a small number, many have I released—neither were the weak and helpless subjected to death; for it is a shame to destroy those who are defenseless. This has been uniformly my conduct during the war. I have always been for saving and releasing. These being my sentiments you have exceedingly angered me by threatening and distressing those who may be considered a prisoner. Ye are /or once were/ brave men. I shall certainly destroy without distinction does the like conduct take place in future.[28]

By writing in Mohawk, forcing the Continental Congress to find a fluent translator, Brant asserted the equivalency and even superiority of Native modes of diplomacy and couched his reproach with the threat to respond in kind to the Americans' barbarous conduct.

Brant and other, ostensibly American-allied, Iroquois remained skeptical of American good intentions in the post-war period, with good reason. In early 1784, before the ink had fully dried on the Treaty of Paris, the American-allied Oneida told the British-allied St. Regis Mohawk "that they believe the rebels intents to be intirely be masters themselves all the land within their lines and they intent to make us to agree everything in their own way other ways they will cutt us off from the face of the earth."[29]

To Discover Some Signs of Repentance

The 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended British-American hostilities signaled two changes in the Iroquois experience of cross-cultural diplomacy. One was blatant and the other far more subtle, but connected and equally important. The newly independent Americans were anxious to reinforce their own sovereignty by denying Native sovereignty and they did so explicitly during treaty negotiations and implicitly through treaty gifts. Both methods were intended to dismantle

28 *Papers of the Continental Congress*. 250 b M247 Roll 81:258 Joseph Brant Statement On the Delaware. April 10 1780.

29 Joseph Brant to John Johnson. Carleton Island, May 4 1784. *Haldimand Papers*. Reel H-1450, Series B-115. 21775:252.

the cultural differences that the Iroquois had carefully constructed through centuries of trade and diplomacy.

The peace negotiated between the new United States and the nations of the Iroquois League initially hinged on constructing a shared narrative of the war on which to base a mutual understanding of culpability and reparation. Finding such a shared understanding did not go well. In October 1784, Mohawk Aaron Hill told the New York Indian Commissioners that the Iroquois were "free and independent, and at present under no influence. We have hitherto been bound by the great King, but he having broken the chain, has left us to ourselves, so that we are again free."[30] Hill and the other Iroquois speakers outlined for the American diplomatic neophytes how negotiation had proceeded with the British, describing the Covenant Chain relationship in which each were mutually obliged, but neither were subservient to the other.

The New York Commissioners disputed the Iroquois narrative, telling a version of history that would come to serve as the basis for all American land claims forty years later in the Supreme Court's 1823 ruling in Johnson v. M'Intosh, which granted the federal government sovereignty over all Native lands on the basis of British right of discovery and American right of conquest over the British. Iroquois speakers pointed out that they had not been included in the Treaty of Paris either as negotiators or named parties, since neither they nor the British considered the Iroquois to be British dependents. The Iroquois diplomats argued that therefore they could not be bound by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, which gave the new American nation dominion over former British lands.

The Commissioners countered that

30 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 31:115 Extracts from the proceedings of the commissioners for making peace with the indians in 1784 and 1785, Fort Stanwix. Oct 12 1784, Aaron Hill.

> you are mistaken in supposing that having been excluded from the treaty between the US and the King of England, you are become a free and independent nation, and may make what terms you please. It is not so: you are a subdued people: you have been overcome in a war which you entered into with us—not only without provocation, but in violation of the most sacred obligations. . . . we shall therefore now declare to you the conditions on which alone you can be received into the peace and protection of the U States.[31]

The terms of the treaty were, as the Oneida leader Good Peter observed, intended to make the Iroquois "discover some signs of repentance."[32]

Iroquois and American debates over the applicability of the Treaty of Paris illustrate Iroquois understanding of diplomacy between European nation-states (including the United States) and early American understanding of how Native people might have been incorporated into both the British Empire and the new American nation. The explanations that Iroquois speakers offered American negotiators combined the rhetoric of natural law and uniquely Iroquois diplomatic mores. By ignoring Iroquois protocol, Native diplomats explained, the Americans violated tenets of natural law that they themselves had appealed to in breaking from Great Britain.

In 1790, the Seneca leader Cornplanter detailed American breaches of natural law even further in a letter sent to President George Washington. The Seneca, Cornplanter wrote, had acted in good faith in their dealings with the British, and the punitive course the Americans pursued after the war was unjust.

> When the colonies were founded, we were told you were all the children of one father who regarded the indians as his children also. . . . We accepted the invitation and promised to obey him. What the Seneka nation promise they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober: in obeying him we did no more than yourselves had told us to promise. The men who claimed this promise told

31 Ibid.
32 Ibid.

> us, that you were children and had no guns; that when they had shaken you, you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived until your army approached our towns. We were deceived, but your people in teaching us to confide in that king had helped to deceive us, and we now appeal to your heart: Is the blame all ours?[33]

Whether knowingly or not, Cornplanter's arguments paralleled formulations of natural law and just war theory then current in Europe,[34] which held that combatants who fought honorably in a just war, led by their lawful rulers or allies, ought not have their basic rights extinguished by the victor. The Americans violated this basic tenet, pushing the Iroquois into an impossible situation in punishment for having honored their contractual agreement with the British:

> You then told us, that we were in your hand, and that by closing it you could crush us to nothing: and you demanded from us a great country as the price of that peace, which you had offered us, as if our want of strength had destroyed our rights. . . . The game which the great spirit sent into our country for us to eat is going from among us: we thought he intended, that we should till the ground with the plough, as the white people do, . . . [But] we must know from you, whether you mean to leave us and our children any land to till. . . . All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the six nations: no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you. The land we live on our fathers received from god, and they transmitted it to us for our children.[35]

Further, the Americans could not be trusted to uphold even the most basic agreements of civil society, to uphold the rule of law and honor the contracts that prevented descent into a violent state of nature. In an effort to live peaceably with the Americans after the war, the Seneca had turned over two of their men who had murdered an American.

> But instead of trying them according to your law, the lowest of your people took them from your magistrate and put them immediately to death. It is just to punish murder with death, but the Senecas will not deliver up their people to men who disregard the treaties of their own nation. Father, innocent men of our nation are

33 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 60:8 Cornplanter to the President. Dec 1 1790.

34 Anthony Pagden, *Lords of all the worlds : ideologies of empire in Spain, Britain and France c. 1500-c. 1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). 126-155. Sankar Muthu, *Enlightenment against Empire* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003). 268. Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*. 104.

35 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 60:8 Cornplanter to the President. Dec 1 1790.

> killed one after another, and of our best families; but none of your people who have committed the murders have been punished. We recollect, that you promise to punish those who killed our people, and we now ask: was it intended that your people should kill the Senecas, and not only remain unpunished by you: but be protected by you against the revenge of the next of kin?[36]

Not only did the Americans break contracts, fail to honor the validity of others' sovereignty and contracts and violate norms of just war, but they also failed to order their own society according to civil norms. Although Cornplanter shifted to more explicitly European enlightenment-influenced rhetoric than had Brant and other Iroquois leaders' previous exhortations to the Americans, the core of Cornplanter's accusation echoed the message of the Iroquois Great Law of Peace, in terms more understandable to willfully ignorant Americans. The Great Law, which brought together the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, required rule by consensus and honoring of agreements, principles paralleled in enlightenment natural law and social contract theory. Cornplanter's scathing indictment of the young nation made his opinion of American civility very clear.

The Iroquois and the Americans each viewed the other as compatible, but in fundamentally different ways that would ensure their incompatibility.[37] Although the Iroquois viewed the Americans as they had the British, as politically compatible within a diplomatic framework that accommodated the sovereignty of the other, the Americans viewed the Iroquois as some British citizens like Wheelock had. Native people were culturally and religiously compatible as individuals, but not politically compatible as nations. As the British Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada John Graves Simcoe remarked in 1792, even the American Quakers who most ardently proclaimed their love of the Indian fundamentally disregarded the sovereignty

36 Ibid.
37 Shoemaker, *A Strange Likeness* . 3-4, 12, 22, 30-39, 69, 85, 97-105, 122-127, 141.

of Native nations or Native claims to land.

> Parrish, Elliott, and Savory were Rebels during the late war; and they are bare hypocrites now; for should it be asked of them, with all your pretensions to love of peace and humanity; should it be clearly proved that the Indians have been cheated, and persecuted and that the Treaties which are produced, are evidently fraudulent, should it be asked of them, if these things are so, what will be your conduct? I am confident the answer would be "sell your lands, or you must be extirpated" Their humanity has but one aspect, and that is to advise the Indians to submission for the sake of God, and not the states to remove the cause of the war.[38]

Although Simcoe had his own aims in wishing American Quakers be prevented from consulting with the Iroquois, his concerns pointed to the attitude underlying American interactions with the Iroquois and other groups. Quakers and other American groups during the early republic period might have had no qualms about converting and integrating Native individuals, but their methods left no room for sovereign Native nations.

The Americans appointed to negotiate with the Iroquois were sensitive to these critiques. Timothy Pickering, the first US Commissioner to the Indians who would go on to negotiate the Treaty of Canandaigua, wrote to George Washington and others of his concerns with Iroquois perceptions of Americans in general and Pickering himself specifically. For a semi-disastrous Iroquois diplomatic visit to the American capitol at Philadelphia in 1792, Red Jacket, Good Peter, Joseph Brant and others were invited to discuss civilizing efforts and the possibility of the Six Nations acting as intermediaries in calming what would become Tecumseh's War.[39] Afterward, Pickering lamented the poor state of relations. Although Brant refused to attend, Red Jacket ably communicated the disgust of the Buffalo Creek Seneca delegation. Red Jacket told Pickering that "Brant (who knows as much as white people) said the business for which they

38 John Graves Simcoe to Alexander McKee, Navy Hall, June 23, 1792, Huntington Library.HM 558

39 Gerard H. Clarfield, *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980). 135-137.

were invited to Philadelphia was not on the face of the paper, but behind it, out of sight."[40] Alluding to Brant's education at Wheelock's school, Red Jacket and the other Iroquois sachems in attendance at Philadelphia expressed their scorn for Pickering's expressed desire to discuss American civilizing efforts among the Iroquois. Both parties knew full well that the Americans were angling for the Six Nations to intervene diplomatically with the western nations. Brant, Red Jacket, and the rest of the Six Nations were very well acquainted with American civility, having been educated among Euroamericans, and they found other insinuations insulting.

Pickering recognized damage that Iroquois distrust did to his diplomatic leverage, writing to Washington that he feared for both his own and the President's reputation.

> Indians have been so often deceived by white people, that white man is, among many of them, but another name for liar. Really, sir, I am unwilling to be subjected to this infamy. I confess I am not indifferent to a good name, even among Indians. Besides, they viewed, and extremely considered me, as "your representative;" and my promises as the promises of the Town Destroyer. Sir, for your honor and the honor and interests of the United states, I wish them to know that there are some white men who are incapable of deceiving them.[41]

Pickering's stress that he was not "indifferent to a good name, *even among Indians*," reveal the tensions facing American negotiators at the time. Pickering and other Americans wished to dismiss Indian concerns, and yet they could not help but wince at the criticism leveled by Native leaders.

In response, Pickering urged the Iroquois to become producers rather than consumers, projecting American anxieties about the dangers of luxury for republics onto Indian diplomacy.[42] At a 1791 treaty conference where he suggested that the Six Nations adopt plow agriculture,

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40 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 60:10. Pickering to George Washington. Philadelphia March 21 1792.

41 Ibid.

42 Haulman, *Politics of Fashion, 82-84, 93-94, 110-112*; Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600-1800 77-81*; Laurel Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, 1st ed (New York: Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 2001). 17-40

more widespread animal husbandry, and individual landholding, Pickering was rebuffed with the assertion that Europeans and Indians were fundamentally different, having been made for different pursuits by divine order. This Iroquois rhetorical move, intended to stall American efforts to push more European-style agriculturalism, was couched in the language of divine intercession and racial difference that were increasingly the hallmarks of American racial rhetoric. Indians and whites, Iroquois speakers demurred, had been made by God for different purposes, and for the Six Nations to take up plow agriculture would countermand His obvious plan.

Pickering countered with his own parable of race.

> Brothers, on the other side of the great water, far beyond the nations of white people, there are many nations of indians who have dark skins, black hair and black eyes like you. But these indians are farmers, carpenters, smiths, spinners and weavers like the white people. They also know a great many other things such as white people know, they read and write, they build towns and large cities, as the white people do. The vessels of the United States sail to those indian countries, and bring back silks, calicoes and other cotton clothes of the best kind, abundance of salt petre to make gun powder and many other things. But above all tea is brought from those countries, and from those countries alone. The tea which you may see the people of the United States drinking every day and which is used by the English, French and other white nations, all comes from people of your color on the other side of the great water.[43]

In direct counterpoint to long-standing Western constructions of India and east Asia as decadent and indolent, Pickering chose to underline the physiological racial similarities of American Indians and South Asian Indians in order to make a push for the increased cultural and economic similarity of whites and Native Americans. American desires for Native cultural and economic integration marked race as a barrier to the political compatibility of Indian nations while simultaneously ignoring race as a barrier to the cultural integration of Indian individuals. In the

43 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 60:86 Timothy Pickering. Newtown 4 July 1791.

conflation of production with virtuous republicanism, American diplomats ignored more than three centuries of Iroquois sovereignty bolstered by Atlantic consumerism.

Then She Did Not Open Her Mouth Further

Post-war shifts in American diplomatic overtures coupled blatant disregard for Iroquois political traditions with more subtle disregard for the material and social culture of diplomacy, expressed as disinterest in Iroquois preferences and hostility to the presence of women in political and diplomatic settings. In 1791, Mohican Stockbridge orator Hendrick Aupaumut stopped at British-controlled Niagara on his way west to negotiate with the Chippewa and other western nations on behalf of the United States, encountering a hostile and suspicious Molly Brant while there. In a tense meeting in which the British commander at Niagara, Colonel John Butler, accused Aupaumut of spying for the Americans, Molly Brant offered the absence of women in Aupaumut's traveling party as evidence for their bad intentions.

In response, Aupaumut made a jab at Brant's own political relevance. "Then I speak too says I tis true some nations have such custom for certain occasions but I my nation do not follow such custom especially when I travel thro indian country I do not wish that my women should take such tedious journey, especially since there are so many women in every village. Then she did not open her mouth further."[44] In Aupaumut's demeaning implication, he articulated a very American understanding of women's roles, and by extension, diminished Brant's possible participation at British Niagara to domestic and sexual roles dictated by her gender.[45]

Brant sought to undermine Aupaumut's legitimacy as a Native diplomat by pointing out

44 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 59:8. Capt Hendrik Aupaumut's narrative of his journey in July August, Sept and Oct 1791.

45 Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011). 175-182, 111-115, 125-128, 136-138.

the lack of women in his party. Traditionally, Brant argued, Native groups traveling for peaceful purposes included women to prepare food, make camp and maintain kinship ties with other groups; the lack of women in Aupaumut's group indicated that they either traveled for war or were too ignorant to be counted as legitimate diplomats. In so doing, Brant claimed the high ground as a custodian of Native diplomatic mores. Aupaumut pointed out that he needed no women to travel with him, since, traveling through Indian territory, women were available interchangeably anywhere he might stop. In Aupaumut's formulation, women's only possible roles in these places were to provide the reproductive labor of food and shelter, a service that he could have through exchange with any woman, denying the importance of Native women like Brant as knowledge keepers. The implied sexual availability only furthered Aupaumut's insult in reducing Molly Brant to the private sphere.

Early Iroquois-American diplomacy engendered conflict over the extent of Iroquois sovereignty the Americans were willing to recognize. In an effort to control the cost and terms of treaty negotiations, American Indian commissioners repeatedly requested that the Six Nations limit the number of people attending each treaty, taking specific affront to the presence of women at the negotiations. By definition in the new republic, women's very presence invalidated political debate.[46] Americans simultaneously signaled their belief that the Six Nations had the potential to be made civil through observance of proper diplomatic protocol as well as their disregard for Native diplomatic mores when they attempted to regulate Iroquois women's diplomatic participation. Observing a treaty in 1789, traveller Anne Powell remarked on the novelty of women's presence in a political arena, in the process articulating her understanding of fundamental Iroquois-Anglo differences and women's unsuitability for weighty matters.

46 Ibid.

> Some old squaws [sic] who sat in Council, were present, and also a few young ones to dress the provisions, for their great men, as well as those of our world, like a good dinner after spending their lungs for the good of their country. The old women walked one by one with great solemnity and seated themselves behind the men. . . . These ladies observe a modest silence in the debates. (I fear they are not like the women of other countries), but nothing is determined without their advice and approbation.[47]

Such hostility to women's political participation followed from a broader American disinterest in engaging Iroquois diplomatic protocols in the post-war period.

Willful American ignorance of Iroquois diplomatic mores and consumer preferences, combined with American constructions of civility and virtuous republicanism, resulted in treaty gifts that likely went unused. Tone deaf to actual Iroquois purchasing patterns and strapped for cash, American diplomats relied on alcohol purchased on credit and complete suits of clothing[48] gifted to individuals to secure influence. Earlier British and French diplomats had recognized the communal nature of Indian consensus building and pointedly made gifts that reached as many people as possible. Americans in the early post-war period sought to maximize the impact of their scant treaty budgets by cultivating influential individuals.[49]

The prominence of shoes in early republic period treaty gifts betrays American beliefs that Indians could become civil if only they were properly clothed as well as a fundamental American misunderstanding of Iroquois engagement with the Atlantic market. Like hats, Iroquois raiding parties frequently removed prisoners' shoes. During the British period, shoes never appeared in lists of treaty gifts, and only once in thirteen years did Sir William Johnson gift

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47 New York Historical Society. MissI Misc MSS Powell, Ann. *Copy of a Biographical Sketch of Ann Powell prefaced to extracts from her Journal, in 1789, given to the NY Historical Society 1863 by E.S. Quincy.* Extract from a letter from Miss Powell describing a tour from Montreal to Detroit in 1789.

48 New York (State). Dept. of Audit and Control, "Entry Documentation Submitted by the Indian Commissioners and Indian Agents for Annuities Paid to Indians and for Other Expenditures," 1925 1796, New York State Archives.

49 White, *The Middle Ground*. 179-183, 380.

English-style shoes.[50] European-style shoes rarely appeared in Iroquois burials[51] and Iroquois consumers do not appear to have actively sought out anything other than "Indian shoes" or moccasins. Despite their conspicuous prominence in lists of American diplomatic gifts, the purchasing patterns of Iroquois consumers both before and after the American Revolution display a pointed disinterest in shoes, breeches and trousers.

Jelles Fonda's account books (1758-1763 and 1768-1775)[52] demonstrate that Iroquois consumers bought a much wider range of consumer goods than had their ancestors who purchased from Evert Wendell in the 1690s. Iroquois customers made most of their payments with British pounds rather than furs, but their purchases displayed cultural consistency in clothing choices. The majority of Fonda's one hundred and six recorded customers were Mohawk, but also included Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas and Senecas, even during the years of the American Revolution when Fonda served as a British militia officer. Iroquois consumers' accounts with suggest simultaneous economic integration and cultural distancing.

In economic terms, Fonda's accounts show that Iroquois communities, especially those near Fort Hunter, had become much more closely tied to their Euroamerican neighbors in the years between the Seven Years War and the American Revolution. The overwhelming majority of Fonda's Native customers paid their accounts in cash. Those who paid in kind mostly exchanged corn, peas and ash (used to make soap), or performed day labor (including delivering wagonloads of goods, sewing moccasins and "going in search of" self-emancipated enslaved people) in exchange for credit to their accounts. Although the majority of payments in kind were made with commodities other than fur, peltry still made up most of the *value* of payments in

50 Thomas Gage Papers. Clements Library, University of Michigan. Box 9 Vol 89, May 29 1764.
51 Maeve Kane. "Covered With Such a Cappe." 1-25
52 Jelles Fonda, "Account Book," 1778 1768, New York Historical Society; "Account Book," n.d., AIHA.

kind.[53] Iroquois consumers in the vicinity of Albany and Fort Hunter had overwhelmingly moved towards a cash economy, and women's labor may have taken on additional significance. Fur and hunting remained the basis of Iroquois purchasing power, but women's agricultural products had become a much more important component of Iroquois exchanges.

Table 14: Jelles Fonda credit payments 1758-1763 and 1768-1775, in NY pounds

Total payments made in credit	308.6.8
Credit payments made with furs	104.12.4
Credit payments made with agricultural products	41.8.0
Other payments including cash and pawned goods	162.6.4

As in earlier generations, Fonda's accounts with Native consumers show purchasing patterns aimed at maintaining a sartorial identity separate from their white neighbors. As in Wendell's accounts, the vast majority of purchases made from Fonda were of raw cloth and blanketing,[54] items bought for the express purpose of being reworked. The pre-made clothing items that Iroquois consumers did buy from Fonda were items specifically made for Iroquois consumers: breech clouts, leggings, colored calico shirts and moccasins. Iroquois consumers, like other consumers in New York and elsewhere in the Atlantic world, had access to and purchased an increasing variety of fabrics and consumer goods including tea, sugar, delft plates, matched sets of knives and forks, gilded buttons, silk embroidery thread, porcelain tea services and decorated saddles. In their choice of clothing, Iroquois consumers remained resolutely disinterested in Euro-centric markers of fashion and civility such as shoes, thread stockings, gowns and breeches.

53 Other payments include cash, silver, wampum, day labor, and pawned goods such as blankets, traps and guns. Most payments were made in cash, and the table only lists cases where credit was extended. Numerically, more credit accounts were paid down with agricultural products, but their combined value was less than the value of the smaller number of payments made with furs or cash.

54 Fonda, "Account Book."

They That Made the Men

In this context of increasing American diplomatic disinterest and hostility, American and Iroquois tensions over civility, religion, women's political participation, and American and Iroquois political legitimacy came to a head in 1794 at Canandaigua. Jemima Wilkinson was politically and religiously bothersome on her own, but her performance prompted a previously unthinkable Iroquois speech in response. Standing to rebuke Wilkinson, Pickering, and the federal government, three elderly Oneida women took the Americans' disrespectful behavior as an occasion to explain Iroquois civility and the place of women in legitimate diplomatic proceedings.

Over the course of the eighteenth century, it had become customary for Quaker, Anglican and Congregational ministers to offer prayers and act as translators and mediators at treaty conferences between British and Iroquois diplomats; it was perhaps in this tradition that Wilkinson and her party of "young women always neatly dressed"[55] talked their way into the conference in November 1794. Relating interviews with white observers present in 1794, Wilkinson's hostile biographer explained some years later that "the abrupt entrance of Jemima and the temporary suspension of business, gave great umbrage to the Indians who testified their impatience and dissatisfaction by sneers, frowns and grimaces. The sachems and head men of the tribes were not accustomed to interruption in their deliberations particularly from women."[56] Iroquois communities traditionally deliberated in gender-segregated forums, with one hereditary chief appointed "Speaker for the Women" to present the concerns of the women's council;

55 Henry O'Reilly. "Mementos of Western Settlement." *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History, and Biography of America*. Volume V, Second Series. (Morrisania, NY: Henry B Dawson, 1869). 377.

56 David Hudson, *History of Jemima Wilkinson* (Geneva, NY: SP Hull, 1821). 84.

American witnesses to the Treaty of Canandaigua underlined their own discomfort with women speaking in diplomatic forums through misinterpretations of Native displeasure.

Wearing a "Compleat Clergyman's Surplice of black silk"[57] and professing herself to be the second incarnation of Christ, Wilkinson preached communal living, complete sexual abstinence, and equality of the sexes.[58] At Canandaigua, Quaker preacher William Savery wrote back to friends in Philadelphia that Wilkinson "and all her company kneeled down, and she uttered something in the form of prayer, after which she desired to speak, and liberty not being refused, she used many texts of scripture, without much similarity or connexion,"[59] and "told the Indians to repent & turn from their evil Deeds."[60]

Wilkinson's intrusion at Canandaigua was uniquely bothersome to American officials, coming as it did during a moment of Revolutionary-era tumult over the propriety of female preachers, the idealism of the period having briefly opened the possibility for women to lead religious movements.[61] Having a female preacher interrupt the first federal treaty negotiations (earlier American-Iroquois treaties had been signed at the state and local level), both exposed the American Commissioners' inability to control their own women and forced them to acknowledge the influence of Iroquois women over the proceedings. Timothy Pickering, the ostensible head of the proceedings, informed the Iroquois that Wilkinson had "intruded herself not only without his knowledge, but contrary to his inclination & request" and that "he apprehended her conduct

57 Edwin Bronner. "Quakers Labor with Jemima Wilkinson." *Quaker History*, 58:1 (Spring 1969) pp. 41-47

58 Herbert Wisbey, *Pioneer Prophetess* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1964).135-137; William Stone, *Life and Times of Red Jacket* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841). 117-119; Charles Lowell Marlin "Jemima Wilkinson: Errant Quaker Divine" *Quaker History.* 52:2 (Autumn 1963). 90-94.

59 Savery, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Religious Labors of William Savery*. 68

60 William Fenton "The Journal of James Emlen Kept on a Trip to Canandaigua, New York." Ethnohistory, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Autumn, 1965) 306.

61 For scholarship of disorderly religious women in early America, see Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Catherine A Brekus, *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740-1845* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

altogether impertinent . . . his having submitted to let her speak had arisen from that deference or attention which people of our color were used to pay to the fair sex."[62]

When Pickering finished apologizing, three elderly Oneida women stood to chastise both Wilkinson and Pickering. The three women said that, although Wilkinson had called them to penitence, "they now had to say the same to the White people to repent." Throwing the language of conversion and civility back at the American Commissioners, the Oneida women "expatiated on the Importance of their sex saying that it was they that made the men" and demanded that the Americans adhere to earlier diplomatic protocols set by the British. These women insisted "that the United States should grant the request made yesterday by the men"[63] to honor the Covenant Chain and rebuke the "Commissioners at Fort Stanwix [who] had alleged that the country was now all theirs and used such haughty and threatening language."[64]

The 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix had been negotiated by state officials at a time of Iroquois near-starvation and epidemic disease. In the years following, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix was interpreted to be even more punitive, the Americans desiring that the formerly-hostile Iroquois "should discover some signs of repentance for [their] conduct during the late war."[65] In urging the American Commissioners to repudiate the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the three elderly Oneida women urged a return to earlier British-Iroquois mores of diplomacy, underlining their own authority as mothers and the center of familial government to remind Pickering and the other Commissioners of the weight of their words. Although Pickering attempted to quiet female speech, and worked to exclude female presence at all future treaty conferences, at the negotiation

62 Fenton, "Journal of James Emlen." 323.
63 Fenton, "Journal of James Emlen." 306.
64 John Parrish. Book Relative to Indian Affairs, Journals to Treaties, 1791-1794. Newberry Library.
65 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 31:115 "Extracts from the proceedings of the commissioners for making peace with the indians in 1784 and 1785, Fort Stanwix Oct 12 1784, Good Peter."

of what would become the foundational treaty between the United States and the Six Nations, Iroquois women used the language of repentance and civility to rebuke American colonialist aims and secure their own nations' sovereignty.

Rather than ignore their presence, as had the British (women were seldom even noted in pre-Revolution Iroquois-British treaty records), the Americans focused on women's presence as a primary marker of political illegitimacy. This was, to Iroquois diplomats, simply unacceptable. Iroquois sovereignty stemmed directly from women's participation, not despite it. As Seneca Billy told Pickering in 1790, in his role as speaker for the women (an official designation for the speaker who conveyed the decisions of the women's council to the men's council), women's political participation was essential to Iroquois diplomacy. The Americans showed their own inexperience by demanding it cease.

> For this reason that the Pres GW may also hear from us: that he may know the women have been at the Council fire to hear what was done: and for this reason also that we are the persons who supported the country and for this reason also that these sachems chiefs and warriors who councilling with you are keeping bright the chain of friendship are our children. . . . We do this that he may know the women are yet alive, for we suppose he does not know that women attend treaties.[66]

Through their designated speakers and their repeated appearance at treaties of the period, Iroquois women assumed the role of political educators, schooling American representatives on the place of women in Iroquois diplomacy.

A Dirty, Tattered Garment

As with Iroquois political critiques invoking the rhetoric of race and natural law, in the post-war reservation period Iroquois speakers used the language of race and religion to stymie

66 *Timothy Pickering Papers*. Family Correspondence. Reel 31:97 Seneca Billy. Nov 23 1790.

American efforts at colonialism. At a later treaty that Wilkinson interrupted with another rambling call to conversion, the Oneida audience "listened to the speaker apparently with great attention."[67] Afterwards, an Iroquois speaker delivered a response in the Oneida language, and

> Jemima having seated herself beside the interpreter, who accompanied the Indians, desired him to explain to her the language of the speaker. . . . On being informed that she had requested an interpretation of his words, [the Oneida speaker] fixed his eye sternly upon her and pointing his finger said in broken English 'Me think you are no Jesus Christ if you don't know what poor Indian say —he know what Indian say as well as any thing,' and immediately turned contemptuously away from her, and neither he nor any of his party took any further notice of her.[68]

Although both American officials and missionaries approached the Iroquois and other Native groups as savages with neither language nor religion, Iroquois diplomats demonstrated proficiency with both English language and knowledge of Christian theology to critique American colonialism.

Like many subaltern groups, the Iroquois displayed an increasingly sophisticated knowledge of the methods of the colonizers as pressures on their lands and cultural sovereignty increased.[69] In 1805, "Peter the Pagan," told a white congregation that included yet another self-proclaimed female incarnation of Christ, Dorothy Ripley, that

> the white skin race as a body are become proud and some of you too proud: you glory in your riches, your great and commodious houses, your large fields and your plenty; you wear a white shirt and sometimes ruffled; and you despise us Indians for our poverty, our low huts, our scanty allowance, and our dirty shirts: but brother white skin, do your people think that God our Maker who is in the Heavens will make such a discrimination in the end? Will the White Man, with his riches, his fine house and his white clean shirt fare so much better than the poor Indian in his mean cottage, with his dirty shirt, and tattered jacket? He looks not only on the outside, but carefully examines what is within. A foul spirit may be concealed in a body gorgeously clothed; and a pure heart may reside unseen in a

67 Hudson, *History of Jemima Wilkinson*. 84
68 Ibid. 85
69 Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Xvi-xvii, 45-47.

> body covered only with a dirty, tattered garment. God our Maker will judge right, in respect to the worth of souls whatever complexion the bodies wear.[70]

Though a "pagan," Peter invoked a variant of Jesus' admonition in the Gospels that a rich man could no more pass into the kingdom of heaven than a camel through the eye of a needle, cautioning white settlers who used Native poverty as a justification for land seizures. Before the American Revolution, Euro-American settlers had mainly viewed Native people, and especially the Iroquois, as assimilable and compatible with their own envisioned future. As American racial rhetoric hardened and rejected the possibility of Indian integration in the post- Revolutionary period, Iroquois speakers increasingly emphasized the civility and morality of their own traditions in contrast to the violent and un-Christian tactics of American colonialists.

Facing pressure to convert, sell the remainder of their New York lands, and remove west even in the years before the Supreme Court Cherokee decisions, Iroquois leaders shifted tactics in pursuit of their continued goal of securing Iroquois lands. By courting American educators, Iroquois communities utilized American-style material culture and religious rhetoric in pursuit of securing their landbase and sovereignty, turning the language of modernity against American colonialism in the nineteenth century in much the same way Cornplanter, Good Peter, Molly and Joseph Brant turned the language of civility against American revolutionaries to bolster traditional Iroquois diplomatic mores. The American Revolution is typically figured as a decisive breaking point in Iroquois history because it precipitated a series of land cessions and an unequal negotiating ground. Although initial land losses were precipitous, Iroquois leaders in the Revolutionary and immediate post-Revolution period utilized knowledge of Christian and

70 Dorothy Ripley, *The Extraordinary Conversion and Religious Experience of Dorothy Ripley* (New York: G and R Waite, 1810). Speech of Peter the Pagan alias Sategealithea. 121.

civilizing rhetoric gained from their experience of European education and cultural entanglement to push back against American encroachment.

Chapter Five

We are Real Indians in Our Everys: The Parker Family, Lewis Henry Morgan and Making a Modern Traditionality, 1810-1850

> You will please to explain to her before she comes that we are real indians in our everys and so she will be some what prepared and not be frightened when she gets here . . . If you think I will like her I suppose I will. But I part wonder what she will think of us etc.[1]

In 1880, Caroline Parker Mountpleasant acceded to friend Lewis Henry Morgan's suggestion to host visiting fellow anthropologist Erminnie Smith with joking ambivalence. Mountpleasant's facetious caution may have stemmed in part from her hesitations regarding perceptions of the Iroquois in the wider American consciousness. At age fifty, Mountpleasant was college educated, an advocate against removal and Christanization but in favor of mission education. During her teens she had created the majority of the items enshrined in the New York State Museum's collection of "traditional . . . primitive [and] . . . ancient"[2] objects of Iroquois dress.

Mountpleasant and younger brother Newton Parker posed for *League of the Haudenosaunee's* iconic images of "Iroquois traditional dress" mere weeks before enrolling in the Albany Normal School's two year course of teacher training, which required knowledge of algebra, American history and government, physics, anatomy, chemistry and bookkeeping for admission.[3] At school, Mountpleasant wrote essays on the virtues of Seneca prophet Handsome Lake's revelations and the vices of private land speculators.[4] She performed respectability, modesty, authenticity and haughtiness as the occasion required, translating poetry and legal correspondence alongside her beadwork. Her 1880 assertion that "we are real Indians in our

1 "Lewis Henry Morgan Papers," n.d., University of Rochester Special Collections.May 13 1880 Caroline Parker to Lewis Henry Morgan.

2 Elisabeth Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 213–214.

3 State University of New York at Albany, *An Historical Sketch of the State Normal College at Albany, New York and a History of Its Graduates for Fifty Years, 1844-1894* (Albany NY: Brandow Printing Company, 1894). 10-16.

4 Arthur C. Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society, 1919). Appendix B. Caroline Parker, Letters, Ely S. Parker Collection, American Philosophical Society.

everys" spoke to her confidence that her family's Native identity endured despite nearly a century of American efforts to subsume Iroquois and other groups as citizens.

Still occasionally figured in modern scholarship using nineteenth-century language of "progressive . . . acculturat[ion],"[5] Mountpleasant's life and divisive legacy exemplify the seeming contradictions that Iroquois individuals and communities had to negotiate in the reservation period. In navigating the American preoccupations with Native authenticity and civility that ethnographic work like Morgan and Smith's reflected and solidified, the Parker family were more able to shape the terms of their engagement than most nineteenth century Native people. Mountpleasant's assertion to Morgan that "we are real indians in our everys" was a domestic declaration of endurance and cultural sovereignty despite her correspondent's repeated assurances to the New York State Legislature and the reading public that the Iroquois were, like other Native groups, a vanishing race.[6]

Mountpleasant's assertion was nonetheless colored by pragmatic concern with "what [Smith] will think of us" —pragmatic because so much of nineteenth century Iroquois life was shaped by white American judgement and projected anxieties. Mountpleasant was well aware of the ways grasping land speculators deployed racial rhetoric to justify corrupt and illegal land seizures, sometimes based on the reports of missionaries and government agents who purported to be working in the best interest of Native communities.

As white Americans struggled to define themselves and the new American nation, they projected a shifting set of anxieties regarding commercial culture, women's labor, and civility as

5 Anthony Wallace and Deborah Holler, "Reviving the Peace Queen: Revelations from Lewis Henry Morgan's Field Notes on the Tonawanda Seneca," *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 5 (2009): 90–109.

6 Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co, 1904), 55–56; Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England*, Indigenous Americas (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). 134-143.

the bar for Native political legitimacy. By attempting to recreate an imagined and imaginary "Age of Homespun"[7] on Native reservations even as the broader American economy moved ever further from the fantasy of republican simplicity, white American missionaries and government officials were able to justify exclusion of Native nations from political legitimacy and assuage their own industrial anxieties.

In a reversal of Phillip Deloria's *Playing Indian*,[8] American enforcement of Native performance of an imagined Americanness attempted to inscribe that fantasy as reality. Playing American, like playing Indian, was a romanticized and false simplicity of republican virtue and pre-modern purity predicated on the gendered performance of labor regimes that contemporary Americans had moved away from in their daily lives. Few Americans had ever lived the idealized simplicity of self-sufficient republican farmers,[9] but the mythology of non-commercial household production reassured Americans anxious over urban growth and commercialization of their own virtue.[10] Though fictitious, this idealized self-sufficiency and the feminized domestic labor it required provided the justification for dismantling the Iroquois consumer culture that had developed over the previous two centuries.

Early nineteenth century Americans struggling with technological and social change turned to Native America and played Indian to enact an imagined authenticity defined against their own perceived inauthenticity.[11] Lewis Henry Morgan made a legacy and an academic study

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7 Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun*. 17-40.
8 Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 98.
9 Adrienne D. Hood, *The Weaver's Craft : Cloth, Commerce, and Industry in Early Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). 1-8
10 For an overview of the intersection between anxiety over industrial growth and early American mythologization of domestic labor, see Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun*; Boydston, *Home and Work : Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic*; Yokota, *Unbecoming British*; Hartigan-O'Connor, *The Ties That Buy : Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America*.
11 Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 101.

of his search for authenticity in Indian hobbyism, and in the process defined the Iroquois people from whom he gained his information as simultaneously inauthentic and in the ethnographic past.[12] Nineteenth century anthropological fixation on Native authenticity sought to preserve uncontaminated traditions and unreflectively erased both anthropologists' own historical perspective and that of their informants.[13]

In encouraging and enforcing performances of Iroquois people *playing American*, though, Americans sought to make real a simpler and more authentic American past without acknowledging either its fiction or the violence and appropriation on which the American present had been built. If the Iroquois and other Native groups could be remade as self-reliant, "practical Christian farmers,"[14] without corrupting commercial interests, it could make the imagined American age of homespun real, in an era increasingly anxious about industrialism, wage work, and the loss or dilution of republican virtues.

The nineteenth century intensification of mission efforts aimed at changing Iroquois women's labor and family structures illustrates the gendered anxiety surrounding playing American, growing commercialism, and Iroquois definitions of authenticity. In the hands of white Americans, authenticity functioned as a colonialist tool to enforce ethnic divisions of modernity used to dispossess and exclude Native people from political legitimacy.[15] In the hands of Iroquois women like Caroline Parker Mountpleasant, defining their own authenticity and

12 Paige Sylvia Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late-nineteenth-century Northwest Coast* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 5.

13 Ibid.; Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American : White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982), Ch 14.

14 Harriet S Clark Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians* (Boston: Congressional Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1892), 111.

15 Marvin Cohodas and Southwest Museum (Los Angeles, Calif.), *Basket Weavers for the California Curio Trade: Elizabeth and Louise Hickox* (Tucson] : [Los Angeles, Calif.: University of Arizona Press ; Southwest Museum, 1997), 40; quoted in Raibmon 205

traditional material culture functioned as a tool to resist American attempts to incorporate or extinguish their communities.

Such Small Bodies

From the Revolutionary period onward, sovereign Native nations were constructed as incompatible with the American nation, but during the early years of the nineteenth century it remained possible to envision a United States that included Native *individuals* and even communities. Earlier British policy had focused on the material and religious conversion of Native individuals who would still exist as part of Native nations within the British Empire; American policy initially sought to dissolve Native nations and incorporate Native people.

In an 1818 War Department report on a reform in the system of licensing Indian traders, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun wrote that the continued sovereignty of Native nations, even when protected by the agreement of previous treaties like the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua, was incompatible with the construction of the American national project. "Such small bodies with savage customs and character, cannot, and ought not, to be permitted to exist in an independent condition in the midst of civilized society."[16] Rather, Calhoun wrote, Native people would be incorporated into the United States on the same footing as white citizens.

> Beginning with those most advanced in civilization, and surrounded by our people, they ought to be made to contract their settlements within reasonable bounds, with a distinct understanding, that the United States intended to make no further acquisition of land from them, and that the settlements reserved are intended for their permanent home. The land ought to be divided among families,[17]

16 United States War Department, "Report of the Secretary of War," December 5, 1818, HM 34684, Huntington Library.
17 Ibid.

with the annuity payments from the sale of their lands used to pay for education in farming, religion and other civilizing subjects. Removal west would still be an option for "those who might not choose to submit," but eventual conversion, citizenship and incorporation would still be the ultimate goal. "When sufficiently advanced in civilization, they would be permitted to participate in such civil and political rights, as the respective states within whose limits they are situated, might safely extend to them."[18] The report remained vague whether citizenship was to be a carrot or a stick; regardless, it presented the incorporation of Native people as American citizens as inevitable.

Iroquois leaders were not so sanguine, and used their status as non-citizens to protest removal, federal surveillance, and the possibility of American incorporation. When Henry Schoolcraft attempted to take a census of the Tuscarora in 1841, he encountered resistance from Iroquois leaders suspicious that he was there to assess their lands for sale and western removal.[19] William (Kaweaka) Mountpleasant asserted that Schoolcraft could not take the census at Tuscarora, because censuses were conducted for the purpose of determining taxation. "'We know our own rights. Should the legislature attempt to tax us, our protection is in the Constitution of the United States, which forbids it,'" Mountpleasant argued.

Schoolcraft, momentarily taken aback even in the later recounting of the incident, wrote that "this is the first appeal, it is thought, ever made by an Iroquois to this instrument. The clause referred to, relates however, wholly to representation in Congress, from the privileges of which it excludes 'Indians not taxed,' clearly implying that such persons might be represented in that

18 Ibid.

19 Robert E. Bieder and Christopher Plant "Annuity Censuses as a Source for Historical Research: the 1858 and 1869 Tonawanda Seneca Annuity Censuses." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal.* 5:3 (1981), 33-46.

body if taxed. Civilization and taxation appear to be inseparable."[20] Schoolcraft's interpretation of the Constitution would not be supported by later Supreme Court decisions, but the incident nonetheless illustrates both American government officials' understanding that Native people with fixed homes and farms would be incorporated as citizens, and Iroquois leaders' determination to use knowledge of the US government to prevent incorporation in it.

Whilst They are Left in Ignorance

Though the War Department's 1818 report remained vague on the extent of citizenship rights to be extended to Native people, leaving the decision with the states, the religious missions among the Iroquois tasked with their conversion operated under the assumption that Native people would become citizens. Quaker missionaries to the Iroquois assured their yearly meetings the missions would "at no distant day, elevate them to a state of civilization that will place them in a condition to be admitted as citizens into the great American family."[21] Accordingly, they argued, they required funding for model farms where boys would learn husbandry and blacksmithing and girls would learn spinning, weaving, sewing and keeping house. "Women, in every well regulated society, should be committed the management of their families, and the business connecting with their household concerns, and they should be qualified to exercise a salutary influence within their appropriate sphere."[22]

Reform of Iroquois women's labor, Quaker missionaries argued, was of utmost importance because it was they who trained up the next generation, making women's household work centrally important to the preparation of Native people as potential citizens. "Will it not be

20 Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois* (New York: Bartlett and Welford, 1846), 9.
21 Griffith M Cooper, *Report to the General Committee on Indian Concerns.* (Philadelphia, 1845), 48.
22 Samuel Bettle and Thomas Wistar, *At a Yearly Meeting Held in Philadelphia . . . The Committee Appointed for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives.* (Philadelphia, 1818), 37–38.

vain to expect the Indian women can be qualified for that station, or that they will be in a condition to give proper education to their children, or train them up in habits and principles that will render them intelligent and good citizens, whilst they themselves are left in ignorance."[23] Reforming Iroquois women's labor, in the emerging paradigm of gendered separate spheres where mothers prepared their children for the duties of adulthood while remaining nominally removed from political and economic activity themselves, was central to the conversion and citizenship process[24]

Building on the limited success of Revolutionary-era conversion efforts, American religious groups in the early republic argued that successful methods could be scaled up. One anonymous piece in the Presbyterian magazine Assembly's Missionary Magazine argued in 1805 that the most successful early education efforts had been those where Native students were surrounded by whites and isolated from their peers by boarding with Quaker families in Philadelphia. Quoting a letter written by one of the Tuscarora young women educated in such a manner, the magazine piece connected the young woman's performance of domestic labor with the inculcation of virtues in the wider community. "I have spun some flaxe and woole since I came home and made some cheese, to show our Indians how to make cheese, they been very much pleas'd to know how to make cheese, some said they never thought Indians could make cheese so well . . . I hope we will do better eer year, good many has left of drinking and some of them drink very hard yet."[25] Building on the good example of the Quakers, the Presbyterian magazine argued, future missions would do well to establish farms on Iroquois reservations, where Native students could be educated separately from their families and later sent into the

23 Ibid., 40.

24 Norton, *Separated by Their Sex 180-182*; Boydston, *Home and Work, 142-163*; Kerber, *Women of the Republic, 199-200, 228-229*; Miller, *The Needle's Eye, 189-191*; Brown, *Foul bodies*. 27-29

25 *Assembly's Missionary Magazine.* Philadelphia, October 1805. Library Company of Philadelphia. 501.

community to cultivate individual farms and the virtues of their families.

The Quaker mission on the Seneca Allegany reservation at Tunessassah a few years later did use such methods, installing a young missionary and his wife on a farm to teach school, with another white married couple hired to run a sawmill as well. Unlike the schools that Eleazar Wheelock and Samuel Kirkland attempted to establish in the Revolutionary period, these mission schools were intended to be staffed exclusively by whites (although one Seneca man taught school at the Cattaraugus mission school alongside a white woman).[26] Like the Iroquois girls isolated in Philadelphia, Iroquois children on the reservations in this period were to receive their educations from white adults rather than converted Native adults, and missionary accounts of this period placed a much greater emphasis on the salutary effects of surveillance than previously. During an 1806 visit to Allegany, Quaker Halliday Jackson remarked that

> the indians in general appeared more steady in their conduct and more clean and decent in their dress than I had ever saw them before. Their houses are also kept much cleaner than formerly, and one thing I several times observed which I thought something of a novelty among indians and a pleasing indication that they were beginning to be asham'd of their dirty way of living that when the women saw us approaching their doors they immediately began to sweep their houses.[27]

The easy and increasing access of white missionaries and officials on the reservation, coupled with the restricted economic and political agency afforded by the reservation system, may have sufficed to instill shame or at least action at the approach of a missionary visitor.

Presbyterians Asher and Laura Wright at Cattaraugus, along with the near-dozen temporary missionaries their church sent to assist them, adopted the methods of other nineteenth century reformers and circulated often to homes and deathbeds of those they wished to convert,[28]

26 Griffith Cooper, "Declaration of the Seneca Nation," 1845, HM 34272, Huntington Library.

27 Jackson Halliday, "Some Account of a Visit Paid to the Friends at Junesassa the Indians Living on the Allegany and Cattauraugus Rivers Agreeably to an Appointment of the Committee on Indian Affairs in the 8th Month 1806," 1806, 15, Ayer MS 444, Newberry Library.

28 For recent scholarship of middle class white women's visiting social work methods, see Molly Ladd-Taylor.

sometimes knowingly resorting to coercion to gain an audience. Laura Wright offered food and sewing supplies to women she characterized as "poor and improvident," and "with the aid of a good dinner . . . while busily at work with their needles she gave them first the Word of God; then needful lessons in the matter of housekeeping, bringing up children, etc."[29] The sewing circles continued weekly, the number of attendees growing in number even as the gathering drew criticism from reservation leaders, although Wright's biography does not make clear the thoughts of the Iroquois women who attended silently in exchange for their sewing supplies.

Wright's biographer and fellow missionary Harriet Caswell likewise pressed the bounds of female courtesy to evangelize, withholding the request of a dying Seneca girl until her mother submitted to Caswell's demand to "prepare her to meet her God." The girl had previously attended the mission school "but seemed thus far unaffected by Christian influences" and her family "had utterly resisted all efforts to win them to the Jesus Way."[30] As the girl lay dying, she requested a set of fashionable embroidered sleeves to wear when buried. The girl's mother, not knowing how to embroider and knowing no one else on the reservation to turn to, asked Caswell if she would make a set before the girl died, as "it was a great comfort to the Indians in their last hours to be permitted to see the clothes in which they were to be buried."[31] Caswell agreed—on the condition that she be allowed to make them at the girl's bedside, and that she "may be allowed to say to her just what I please."[32] The Seneca mother initially refused, but Caswell held out until the mother returned, desperate, and allowed Caswell to sit with her daughter and

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Mother-Work: Women, Child Welfare, and the State, 1890-1930. Urbana, Ill: University of Illinois Press, 1994; Jill Bergman, and Debra Bernardi. *Our Sisters' Keepers Nineteenth-Century Benevolence Literature by American Women*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005; Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present*. Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988.

29 Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, 204–205.

30 Ibid., 97.

31 Ibid., 97–98.

32 Ibid., 98.

embroider for one hour each day.

From then on, "the room was filled with pagan women, also watching with fascinated eyes the progress of the embroidery, and I need not add that not one moment of the hour was lost in giving to this dying girl the message of the gospel, while her pagan friends were obliged to listen to the same truths."[33] This mixture of social pressure on Native deathbed customs, the grief of a mother to comfort a dying child, and the entrée that civilized feminine sewing afforded Caswell to a previously "pagan cabin," she reported, successfully brought the girl to "a triumphant death through faith in Christ," and the conversion of the attending women. Conversions justified the intrusion into Native domestic spaces, and the restrictions of the reservation afforded early nineteenth century missionaries the opportunity to isolate children from families and surveil communities in ways their predecessors had hoped for but never attained.

Our Common Country

In the mid-nineteenth century, Iroquois and especially Seneca communities deployed the historical memory of early nineteenth century women's labor and clothing formed in the context of missionary surveillance to protest removal and incorporation. Part of Iroquois invocation of their communities' War of 1812 military service to protest removal, mid-nineteenth century memory of the early nineteenth century articulated Iroquois communities as distinct from the surrounding white population.

All six Iroquois nations contributed volunteers to the American cause when war broke out

33 Ibid.

with Great Britain in 1812, including fourteen women and over twelve hundred men.[34] Participation was not uncontested within Iroquois communities[35] and some suspected the US government of economic manipulation to coerce volunteerism. Though not subject to the abortive state and federal attempts to draft militias,[36] some Iroquois people feared that the reservation and annuity system would be used to indirectly effect a draft and curb their nations' sovereignty. When annuity payments were three months late in 1814, the War Department Indian Agent for the Iroquois, Jasper Parrish, wrote that "they are getting very uneasy to think that their annuity should be kept back, by their agents or government, while the government are calling on them to volunteer in the service of the United States . . . they have been told by some bad white men that Mr Granger and myself have made use of their money."[37] Though not directly subject to a draft, Iroquois people remained wary of the way that military service might be used to circumvent their sovereignty.

Immediately after the war, a group of sachems requested compensation for the lives lost, citing similarity to and difference from white Americans as their entitlement. Referring to the pensions awarded to widows and orphans of American military veterans, a group of Seneca sachems wrote to the Secretary of War that "we know it is your custom to make compensation for similar bereavements among your citizens, by allowing to their widows and children half pay during a certain space of time—or by other means." However, they insisted, they did not wish to apply for the pensions that American citizens received, "as our institutions are totally dissimilar," articulating their desire that Iroquois people be treated as equivalent to, but not incorporated as,

34 Carl Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1998). 53-57, 61, 63-65, 88, 92, 128-131, 159, 195-200

35 Ibid.

36 Carl Edward Skeen, *Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999), 31–34.

37 Jasper Parrish to Secretary of War, July 27, 1814, Miscel MSS I Box 1 Folder 1, New York Historical Society.

American citizens. Rather, they wished for the amounts "to be at once paid to the immediate representative of each of our warriors who have so fallen in fighting the battles of the United States."[38]

Later in the nineteenth century, this demand for equivalence without incorporation took on additional significance as the Seneca at Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda fought removal and the ratification of a fraudulent 1838 treaty that sold the majority of their remaining lands.[39] In 1840, a Seneca council at Buffalo Creek pointed to their preponderance in numbers during the War of 1812 (about two thirds of the Iroquois volunteers were Seneca)[40] and reminded the US Senate of their status as allies.[41] "Why should it be said, we can have no peace here? . . . In all your wide country, your steamboats, carriages and rail cars can carry your people withersoever they wish to go. . . . We have fought by the side of one of your greatest generals . . The blood of our chiefs was shed in the battlefield, for what you then told us was our common country."[42] Their service, they argued, ought to have secured their title to the land they had fought to protect.

When the federal government finally approved funds for 1812 veterans' pension and compensation claims, Iroquois veterans and their executors filed claims that articulated this desire for equivalence. Most veterans, white or Native, did not live to see the payment of their service bounties, because although the federal government passed legislation to compensate veterans in 1818, the states did not accept claims or make payments until 1857-1859. To receive

38 "Ely Parker Papers," American Philosophical Society. Box 1, "Iroquois Chiefs to Sec of War Listing Losses War of 1812." February 20 1815, [photostat copy, original mss in University of Rochester Special Collections].

39 Laurence M. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests: The Dispossession of the Iroquois and the Rise of New York State* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999) 185-188, 191-199, 203-204, 210-212; Laurence M Hauptman, *The Tonawanda Senecas' heroic battle against removal conservative activist Indians* (Albany, N.Y.: Excelsior Editions/State University of New York Press, 2011). 37.

40 Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 36.

41 Benn, *The Iroquois in the War of 1812*. 23, 58, 65, 132, 178.

42 Buffalo Creek Seneca Council, "Buffalo Creek Reservation Seneca Council to the Senate" (Buffalo Creek Reservation, March 25, 1840), PA 23, Huntington Library.

payment, veterans or their heirs filled out a form attesting to their time served, personal equipment and possessions including clothing that were used in pursuit of the war effort, and that included an affidavit swearing to their identity.

The payments made included three types of remuneration: land bounties promised as enlistment incentives, back wages, and compensation for personal property used during service. White veterans of the War of 1812 were intended to form the leading edge of settlement in then far western Wisconsin, Michigan and Iowa, but by the time the grants were made in 1857-1859, many of the veterans had died or grown too old to take possession of their grants themselves, and federal land in these areas had been reduced to all but the most marginal lands.[43] Native veterans received no land, but they received on average one hundred dollars in cash, about double the average fifty-five dollars paid to white veterans in New York state. When white veterans or their heirs sold their grants to land companies for a rather low one dollar per acre, the 160 acre grants made white veterans' claims worth more than double the average Native claim[44]

The second category of remuneration covered the use, loss, and damage of personal possessions used during service and in these claims Iroquois veterans' articulation of cultural sovereignty is most evident. The 1809 New York state law that organized militias stipulated that each man was to provide his own clothing and bedding, as well as his own arms when possible. Native volunteers, like whites, provided their own clothing and claimed compensation for its use or loss forty years later. The claims for both whites and Iroquois are modest and varied: the state government provided forms with boxes to check for clothing claimed, but Iroquois veterans and their executors substantially rewrote claim forms, specifying articles of clothing like leggings,

43 James Oberly, "Gray-Haired Lobbyists: War of 1812 Veterans and the Politics of Bounty Land Grants," *Journal of the Early Republic* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 35–58.
44 Ibid.

breech clouts and moccasins that most men no longer wore by 1857, but that Iroquois communities had begun to define as traditional.

By the time the claims were filed in 1857-1859, many if not most Iroquois people had begun to dress similarly to their white neighbors,[45] but the 1812 claims presented an image of early nineteenth century clothing totally unlike early nineteenth century white clothing. Less than twenty percent of Iroquois men claimed turned shoes; fewer than ten percent wore neckstocks (precursor to the necktie), which at the time served as an essential marker of refined and restrained masculinity, and only ten percent wore pantaloons, the identifying feature of white male adulthood. American clothing at that time separated current and potential citizens from non-citizens: boys wore skirts until their "breeching" around age six or seven, when they transitioned from the feminine domestic sphere to begin their education in work and political life.[46] Girls and women were thus marked by their clothing as occupying a permanent infancy, and Native men with their breech clouts and leggings occupied a dangerous and uncertain place outside of those categories.[47] After several decades of mission education and adoption of pantaloons and trousers themselves, Iroquois communities were likely aware of the social significance of American clothing,[48] but in filing their claims for military service that they argued protected their land title, Iroquois veterans presented their clothing and performance of

45 Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*. "Preface.".

46 For scholarship of the intersection between masculinity and political legitimacy, see Catherine Robson, *Men in Wonderland: The Lost Girlhood of the Victorian Gentleman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); David Kuchta, *The Three-piece Suit and Modern Masculinity : England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Michael Zakim, *Ready-made Democracy : a History of Men's Dress in the American Republic, 1760-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

47 Gordon M. Sayre, *Les sauvages américains representations of Native Americans in French and English colonial literature*, 1997. 145-159. Ann M. Little, "'Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!': Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620-1760," *New England Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (2001): 238-273.

48 Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. 113-117, 134-136, 146-147.

masculinity as wholly distinct from white American standards.

They Fought Like Men

The claims of ten Iroquois women[49] who served as cooks during the War of 1812 provide a rare glimpse of women's clothing in the early 19th century; most written descriptions of Iroquois women's clothing for the period are vague. Women were “slovenly,” “neat,” or “richly dressed,” or, in line with missionaries' interest in proving the efficacy of their methods, as simply “modest,” though twentieth century Seneca-heritage anthropologist Arthur C Parker asserted that female Iroquois veterans “wore sometimes the rough garments of men, they fought like men, they bled and died like heroes.”[50] Female veterans brought with them clothing with a median value of thirty-seven dollars a person, about ten dollars less on average than their male counterparts. Cooks wore wrapped cloth skirts and what, for American whites, would have been considered men's shirts, as well as leggings and cloth shawls. All but one wore moccasins rather than shoes, and four wore “cloth overdresses.” In 1850, Caroline Parker Mountpleasant enshrined a beaded cloth overdress as exemplary of the “ancient fashion”[51] in the collection of Iroquois material culture that Lewis Henry Morgan donated to the New York State Museum.

Additionally, Iroquois women's behavior in filing the loss claims suggests the persistence of Iroquois patterns of household and family organization into the mid nineteenth century and Iroquois demands that the United States government recognize this.[52] Although only fourteen

49 Arthur C Parker reports fourteen Iroquois women in a book of Iroquois veterans kept by William Parker (Ely and Caroline Parker’s father). Either only ten female veterans made claims or only ten of the fourteen claims survive. The female veterans Parker lists are: Annie Metoxen, Usena Reed, Polly Antonine, Margaret Adams, Susan Hendrick, Dolly and Mary Schenandoah, Salmo Adzquette, Margaret Stevens, Polly Cooper, Mary Williams, Margaret John, Mary Antonine and Susan Jacobs Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 33.

50 Parker, *The Life of General Ely S. Parker*, 33.

51 Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, 255.

52 Nancy Shoemaker. "From Longhouse to Loghouse: Household Structure among the Senecas in 1900."

female veterans participated directly in the War of 1812, nearly forty percent of all Iroquois estate executors were female. New York state had passed the Married Women's Property Act in 1848, ridding the state of coverture laws that subsumed married women's property as their husband's, but women made up less than ten percent of the executors for the general population of New York. Further, almost all white women executors were additionally identified as widows of the deceased, suggesting that daughters and other female relatives did not serve as executors for white veterans.

For Iroquois claimants, it is difficult to identify in most cases the relation of the executor to the deceased; only a few women identified themselves as widows of the deceased. Whatever their relation to the veteran, though, Iroquois female claimants appear to have been chosen according to community practice rather than state or federal inheritance law. White widows swore before a justice of the peace their identity and their relation to the deceased; Iroquois women did the same, but their forms were appended to indicate that they were the "administrator duly appointed and chosen according to the rules and customs of the [blank] tribe of Indians, of all and singular the goods, chattels and credits of [blank], deceased."[53] The legality of white widows' claims fit neatly within the bureaucratic framework of the claims process, but Iroquois women's status stood outside of white American understandings of kin structure and property transfer. That so many Iroquois women remained active in the administration of their relative's affairs despite, in 1857, nearly a century of missionary and government efforts to push them into conformity with white female behavior, suggests that Iroquois communities worked to retain their separation from encroaching white laws and behavior.

American Indian Quarterly (1991): 329-338.

53 "War of 1812 Loss Claims," 1857. A3352. New York State Archives.

Iroquois women did not participate in executorship evenly, however. On the Seneca reservations of Cattaraugus, Allegany and Tonawanda, forty to forty-two percent of claims were filed by women. At Onondaga and Oneida, only fourteen percent of claims were filed by women. This may reflect Seneca "conservatism" even beyond Tonawanda, the seat of a revivalist traditional government that had split from the other Seneca reservations in 1848 when they adopted a constitutional government.[54]

The rate of Seneca female executors in 1857 is also more consistent with the number of female-headed households earlier in the century, even after the Revolution. In a report of Tuscarora losses during the War of 1812 submitted to US Indian agent Jasper Parrish, Tuscaroras Nicholas Cusisk, Saurua, and Captain William reported the economic damages to seventy Tuscarora households. Nineteen of these were headed by women in 1817, with three additional households' losses specified as the property of the wife, distinct from damages to the husband's property.[55] Although the losses of female-headed households was reportedly lower, a median of one hundred dollars compared to the median of one hundred sixty-four lost by a male-headed household, nearly thirty percent of Tuscarora households were headed by a woman in 1817.

Annuity rolls and other nineteenth century censuses occasionally only enumerated population by a count of "chiefs and warriors,"[56] but these government-administered censuses did not reflect Iroquois understandings of their own communities. Iroquois women appear to have persisted in more traditional household forms well into the nineteenth century, although women's conservatism is much less clear on other censuses than in the 1812 war loss claims. In an 1839 report conducted by Quakers John Hudson and John Kennedy Jr on the number of

54 Hauptman, *The Tonawanda Senecas' heroic battle. 2, 26, 45-59.*

55 "An estimate made by the Tuscarora of the damages they sustained by the British in the late war." Buffalo January 10 1817. Jasper Parrish Papers. New York State Historical Association.

56 Tonawanda Seneca to Legislature of New York, April 1846, PA 29, Huntington Library.

families at Buffalo Creek, Allegany and Cattaraugus in favor of or opposed to removal, female-headed households made up seventeen percent of opposed and five percent of those in favor at Buffalo, female-headed households made up only two to five percent of all households listed either pro- or anti-removal at Allegany and Cattaraugus.[57]

In 1869, twenty-six percent of Seneca households at Allegany[58] and thirty-six percent of households at Tonawanda were headed by women.[59] The inclusion of some adult men in these households,[60] and the likelihood that they were conducted by Caroline and Ely Parker's younger brother Newton, suggests that much like the War of 1812 loss claims, the 1869 censuses a sense of how Senecas in the mid-nineteenth century viewed their communities. The 1839, 1844, 1846, 1855 and 1865 census conducted by missionaries, state, or federal government officials that did not include women as heads of households likely did not reflect the place of women envisioned by Iroquois people.

At That Stage of The Journey

This oblique gendered articulation of Iroquois separatism was likely necessary as part of the fine line Iroquois communities walked between protesting removal in the strongest possible terms and alienating white allies whose goals were Native incorporation.[61] Although Iroquois protests focused on the injustice of the removal or the corruption of the land companies that administered the land sales, Quaker protests focused on the beneficial effects of surrounding

57 *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York* (Philadelphia: Merrihew and Thompson, Printers, 1840), 148–159.
58 "Allegany Reservation Census," 1869, PA 12, Huntington Library.
59 Parker Isaac Newton, "Census of the Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians May 8 1869 Enclosed in Edward Poodry to Nicholson H Parker," 1869, PA 96, Huntington Library.
60 Twelve of 66 female-headed households at Allegany and 13 of 55 at Tonawanda.
61 Dennis, *Seneca Possessed*. 118-119, 126-127, 146-147, 183.

rather than removing Iroquois communities. The Iroquois, the Quakers argued, were either by nature or by education too far removed from any similarity with western Native groups; all progress that missionaries and the United States government had made in converting them since the Revolution would be lost if they removed west. "Accustomed to the habits and many of the conveniences of civilized life, and to the pursuits of agriculture, they are disqualified for returning to the precarious and exposing life of the hunter. Their proximity to the fierce and uncultivated Indians of the west, must be a fruitful source of difficulties which they are ill prepared to encounter."[62]

The Quakers' argument hinged, in part, on unflattering characterizations of frontier white populations as themselves lacking in civility. It was true, Quaker writers allowed, that Native groups along the Atlantic coast had been "exterminated or driven back," and "at the touch of the 'white borders' they have been consumed." This was due to the nature of the white population rather than the inherent suitability of Indians. "In an uncivilized state the red man receives the vices and diseases of the white, but is not prepared to practice his virtues or to use his remedies." More innocent than whites, the Quakers argued that Native groups were readily corrupted, but faced with an uneducated white population, they had no way of learning that "civilization is a system of restraints."[63]

The character of the country had changed, though, the Quakers were quick to point out. Unlike the lawless days of the frontier before the Revolution,

> the country surrounding the Seneca Indians is now civilized and densely populated. Instead of perpetually meeting the rude squatter, who, with his rifle and his rum bottle, neither fears God or regards man, the New York Indian has

62 *Report of the Committee for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives*. Philadelphia April 1838. Philadelphia: Joseph and William Kite: 1838. A letter from the Friends at Tunessassah, dated 8th mo 21st, 1837. 22

63 *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York*, 26.

> only to step over the geographical line which marks the boundary of his reservation and he finds himself in the midst of an intelligent and virtuous population. . . . Instead of examples whose only tendency is to corrupt and debase him, he sees on ever side models of industry, sobriety and order.[64]

The white population had become more Christian and a better example to their Native neighbors, educating the Iroquois in agriculture, husbandry, and restraint. Rather than corrupting and debasing the Native communities of New York, the growing white population of New York was presented as essential to the survival of Native communities that were

> at that stage of the journey between barbarism and civilization, in which the Indian loses those habits and means of living, which sustain him in his aboriginal condition, and has not acquired the arts and the energy of the civilized man . . . To drive such a body of Indians into a wilderness country would be more destructive than it would be suddenly to empty one of our large Atlantic cities into the lap of Oregon. . . . The habits of dependence of the red man would leave him a certain prey to want or disease or to the more savage tribes by which he would be surrounded.[65]

Not only was preserving Iroquois lands in New York just in an abstract sense; more importantly, mission work would go uninterrupted and unimpeded, aided by the beneficial presence of the surrounding white population.

Others, including the Iroquois, were less sanguine about the benefits of surrounding small Native communities with much larger white populations, though for different reasons. Although Iroquois protests centered on the injustice of the land sales and the breaking of treaty promises, non-mission-affiliated whites suggested that Native guilelessness made them unsuitable for civility at all. JD Steele, traveling through upstate New York in 1823, noted that although the Oneida had "a neat church, school, etc and from the want of game, are obliged to pay some

64 Ibid.

65 *Proceedings of the Joint Committee Appointed by the Society of Friends Constituting the Yearly Meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore for Promoting the Civilization and Improving the Condition of the Seneca Nation of Indians.* (Baltimore: William Wooddy, 1847), 85.

attention to agriculture," they were nonetheless corrupted by their proximity to the white settlement of Utica. "Those who crowded around the stage at the post office, appeared, like most of those who live in the vicinity of the whites, to be poor, depraved, intemperate creatures. Indeed it has often been observed that whenever the white man encroaches upon the soil of the savage, instead of humanizing him, the red man but adds to his own the vices that belong to his more civilized neighbor." Steele was not himself a pinnacle of humanist charity, throwing a handful of change behind his carriage as it left town to watch Oneida children dive after it in "a fine gymnastic exercise."[66]

The United States government had also begun to shift from its earlier position on the inevitable absorption of Native groups. In 1824, the US Indian agent to the Iroquois, Jasper Parrish, wrote that "all these reservations are more or less surrounded by white settlements, in consequence of which there are frequent depredation, petty thefts, and trespasses committed between the whites and the Indians (more frequently on the part of the former)."[67] Taking a dim view of the white population of New York who caused him "considerable time and trouble," Parrish remained optimistic for the advance of American civility among the New York Iroquois so long as they could be insulated from their white neighbors. White Americans themselves failed at the virtuous simplicity necessary to play American; Native people would be better served by removal from proximity to corrupting and inauthentically American influences.

Torn From Us by Usurpation and Tyranny

The Iroquois, for their part, protested removal for its injustice, dishonesty, and the

66 JD Steele, "Journal Kept During Various Trips in The Eastern United States," 1829. HM 30503, Huntington Library.

67 Jasper Parrish to Thomas McKinney, October 11, 1824, MSS I, New York Historical Society.

instability it produced. Although removal to proposed reservations in Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma and Wisconsin deeply divided many Iroquois communities,[68] a consensus emerged on the importance of maintaining a separate Iroquois political and cultural identity, although Iroquois writers and leaders differed on the method to secure it. Seneca writer Maris Pierce argued against removal by asserting that remaining near areas of white settlement in New York would benefit "the progress of [Iroquois] improvement."[69] This argument worked within the framework of the unmitigated good of assimilation and civilization on missionaries' terms, but Iroquois writers and leaders opposed to removal utilized it as part of a broader goal for secure land titles and self-determination on their remaining ancestral lands.

Even before an 1838 treaty selling the majority of Seneca lands to a private speculating company, the Seneca government at Buffalo Creek protested expeditionary trips coordinated by the American government to locate possible relocation lands. The Buffalo Creek council argued that even in cases like the partial removal of several Oneida communities to Wisconsin a few years prior,

> in most cases before they had time to be fairly settled they were called upon to emigrate again. This has happened at Green Bay [Wisconsin] and we have no doubt should we consent to remove to the country west of the Mississippi we shall soon be called upon the remove further. Besides we have begun to improve the land where we now live and in adapting ourselves to the manners and habits of the whites, we are losing our taste and capacity for the occupation of the wild lands of the west.[70]

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68 Karim M. Tiro, *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nation from the Revolution Through the Era of Removal*, Native Americans of the Northeast (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011) 134-137, 141-143, 151-156; Hauptman, *The Tonawanda Senecas' heroic battle 45-59;* Reginald Horsman, "The Origins of Oneida Removal to Wisconsin, 1815-1822." in Hauptman and McLester, *The Oneida Indian Journey: From New York to Wisconsin, 1784-1860*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1999. 53-69.

69 Maris Bryant Pierce, *Address on the Present Condition and Prospects of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America* (Buffalo, NY: Steele's Press, 1838), 41.

70 Buffalo Creek Seneca Council, "Remonstrance Against the Party of JF Schermerhorn Exploring the Lands to the West of the Mississippi, Incidental to the Proposed Indian Emigration" (Buffalo Creek Reservation, August 5, 1836), PA 15, Huntington Library.

As earlier leaders had done in the immediate aftermath of the Revolutionary War, in protesting removal west, the Buffalo Creek council positioned Iroquois communities as equally if not more civilized than their white neighbors. In pursuit of securing title to lands they had been promised in previous treaties, proving Iroquois civility was both a means to an end and a rebuke to the fundamental American incivility of treaty breaking. "We are fully determined that we go west only as prisoners of war. It will be done by sheer force. It shall be not by the force of law but by the hand of violence . . . If need be we will gather around our fathers graves and then surrender a life no longer desirable because all its blessings have been torn from us by usurpation and tyranny."[71]

To help protest the 1838 treaty, the Buffalo Creek council recalled Maris Pierce, then a sophomore at the successor institution to Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School, Dartmouth College. In a piece addressed to the wider white American reading public, Pierce made many of the same points the Quakers had regarding the beneficial effects of surrounding small Native communities with a larger, civilized white population. This concession to the sensibilities of his reading audience underlay a larger critique of the fundamental dishonesty of the New York State and American federal governments. "The point of chief importance is, shall we be better off? . . . I deny that we could possess *such a territory* this side of the shores of the Pacific, with *safety, free of molestation*, and in *perpetuity*. 'Westward the Star of Empire takes its way,' and whenever that Empire is held by the white man, nothing is safe or unmolested or enduring against his avidity for gain."[72] Utilizing the rhetoric of missionaries more concerned with conversions and the incorporation of Native individuals as citizens, Pierce advocated for the

71 Seneca Council to President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States of America, "Repudiation of the Amended Treaty of 1838," January 14, 1840, PA 21, Huntington Library.

72 Pierce, *Address on the Present Condition and Prospects of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America*, 15.

security of Native land title as had been promised in previous treaties, sidestepping the question of assimilation. White Americans were, in Pierce's formulation, blinded by greed and avarice to such an extent that they could not be trusted to follow the rule of law.

Several decades later, after his term as the first Native Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Caroline Parker Mountpleasant's disillusioned brother Ely Parker reflected that this white incivility had never afforded an opportunity for Native communities to pull themselves out of the poverty of the immediate post-Revolution period. "How long have these poor Indians been permitted to learn the ways of a civilized life upon these reservations? Only until the avarice and cupidity of the white man required these reservations for his own use, then the strong arm of the Government was invoked to move the poor Indians farther towards the setting sun."[73] White economic advancement in New York and elsewhere, Parker argued, was attained at the cost of Native economic instability, produced by deliberate action of the American government rather than inherent suitability (or lack thereof) of Native people. Presbyterian missionary Asher Wright agreed, writing that "the treaty has, indeed, operated as a great check to improvement. The people have feared to build houses and clear up farms, lest, in a little while, strangers should enter into their labors."[74]

Seneca Nathaniel Strong, ardent proponent of removal and instrumental organizer of the Ogden Land Company sale in 1838, argued that removal was necessary and his bribery of key Seneca chiefs moral in light of the threat the white population posed to Iroquois interests in New York. The dangers of corruption by whites were both literal and metaphorical to Strong. Young

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73 Ely Parker, *Writings of General Parker. Extracts from His Letters, and an Autobiographical Memoir of Historical Interest.* (Buffalo, NY: Buffalo Historical Society, 1905), 529.

74 *The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New* York. "Asher Wright's Letter To the Committee of delegates from the three Yearly Meetings of Friends of New York, Genesee, and Philadelphia." Buffalo, October 7 1839. 169.

women, he argued, were particularly in danger from the "inter-mixture of the two populations . . . [due to] the general prevalence of that foul disease incident to the indiscriminate intercourse which they maintain with the youths of the neighboring towns and cities, a scourge which [was] . . . unknown to the natives until the white man was known . . . sowing the seeds of a slow and miserable and lingering death around the germs of life."[75] Quite literally, intercourse with the white population of New York endangered future generations of Iroquois children. The only way to preserve the Seneca specifically, and the Iroquois generally, Strong argued, was "removal from the corrupting influences of associations with the white population."[76]

Quite forthright about his involvement in the 1838 treaty, including the bribery of Seneca chiefs that he characterized as an evolution of the eighteenth century custom of treaty presents, Strong's advocacy of removal initially appears to despair of Iroquois advancement.

> The New-York Indians, with the 'example of a civilized state with all its advantages' continually before them—possessed of better lands, enjoying the benefits of missionaries and teachers and all the aids of active benevolence, have in the great work of civilization, achieved nothing to justify a hope that, whilst deprived of the incentives and rewards which animate the freeman, they can ever be more successful.[77]

Alternately conceding Iroquois powerlessness in the face of American power[78] and Native decline since contact,[79] Strong's polemic in favor of removal nonetheless shared a desire for self-determination and secure land title with other Seneca writers opposed to removal like Pierce and Parker.[80]

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75 Nathaniel Strong, *Appeal to the Christian Community on the Condition and Prospects of the New-York Indians* (New York: EB Clayton, 1841), 28.

76 Ibid., 24.

77 Ibid., 31–32.

78 Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 253.

79 Daniel Littlefield, "'They Ought to Enjoy the Home of Their Fathers': The Treaty of 1838, Seneca Intellectuals, and Literary Genesis," in *Early Native American Writing : New Critical Essays*, ed. Helen Jaskoski (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 95.

80 David J. Carlson, *Sovereign Selves: American Indian Autobiography and the Law* (Urbana: University of

"Whence all these strange inconsistencies?"[81] Strong asked.[82] Due in part to their opposition to the 1838 treaty, Strong attacked Quaker missionaries who petitioned against the treaty as ignorant meddlers, but his polemic carried an underlying critique of outsider involvement in reservation affairs. "The Society of Friends may succeed in wresting from us the charter of our freedom and leave us in hopeless dependence on the worthless charities of short-sighted enthusiasts, but what, let me ask, will be to us, the consequences of their triumph?"[83] Grouping the Quakers with Buffalo-area whites who profited from selling liquor and buying cheap lumbering rights from under-educated and desperately impoverished Native people,[84] Strong argued that removal from contact with whites remained the only option for a persisting Iroquois identity.

By Their Little Hands Led

As Iroquois leaders fought to secure the continuance of Iroquois cultural and political identity, missionary education redoubled efforts to erase Iroquois distinction from the surrounding white population, though as with former efforts, mixed results. When Caroline Parker Mountpleasant left the Albany Normal School with a teaching diploma in the spring of 1852, she was the first Native student of the normal school, but not its first Native graduate—in 1894, the *Historical Sketch of the State Normal School* published for the school's fiftieth anniversary recorded Harriet Two Guns of Cattaraugus, class of 1865, as the school's "only Indian graduate" to attain a bachelor's degree. Two Guns "taught Negroes in the South" for

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Illinois Press, 2006), 54.

81 Strong, *Appeal to the Christian Community on the Condition and Prospects of the New-York Indians*, 62.

82 Said of the Quakers, rather than himself.

83 Strong, *Appeal to the Christian Community on the Condition and Prospects of the New-York Indians*, 63.

84 Littlefield, "Early Native American Writing," 94.

twenty-two years after graduation, before returning to teach at the Thomas Indian School at Cattaraugus.[85] Mountpleasant and brothers Nicholson and Newton were relegated to an unfortunate footnote in the otherwise exemplary record of school president George Roberts Perkins. "He made a mistake when he tried to teach Indian young men and women how to teach. He had twenty-six Indians in the school, but only one girl was graduated. The failure was not his, nor that of his assistants. By a law of the State, he was compelled to try."[86]

Like an earlier generation of Iroquois students at Moor's Indian Charity School, the Albany Normal School students were likely counted as failures because they pursued goals that fit with their communities' needs rather than their teachers'. At twenty-seven and thirty, Onondaga Thomas Webster and Seneca Nicholson Parker were among the school's oldest ever enrolled students and left after a year of coursework, Webster to return to farming and Parker to translating for the Seneca government at Buffalo Creek. (Later in life, Thomas Webster sold four wampum belts to a US Census agent that would not be returned to the Onondaga Nation until 1989).[87] Together with twenty-year-old Caroline and eighteen-year-old Newton Parker, Nicholson and Webster boarded with six other traditionally-aged Iroquois students in the home of Presbyterian minister William Moore, all of whom were enumerated as white in the 1850 federal census.[88]

At least according to family friend Lewis Henry Morgan,[89] Caroline, Nicholson and Newton all progressed well in their studies, and it is unclear from school records why the other

85 State University of New York at Albany, *An Historical Sketch of the State Normal College at Albany, New York and a History of Its Graduates for Fifty Years, 1844-1894*, 204.
86 Ibid., 32.
87 Richard Hill, "Regenerating Identity," in *Cross-Cultural Collaboration: Native Peoples and Archeology in the Northeastern United States*, ed. Jordan Kerber (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), 420.
88 United States Federal Census, 1850; Census Place: Albany Ward 9, Albany, New York; Roll:M432_472; Page:85A; Image: 393.
89 "Lewis Henry Morgan Papers."

twenty-three Iroquois students would later be considered "mistakes." Nicholson later served on the founding board of the Thomas Asylum for Orphan and Destitute Indian Children at Cattaraugus,[90] and Caroline briefly taught there before her marriage to Tuscarora John Mountpleasant.[91] Though Newton, like older brother Nicholson, did not finish his diploma at the Normal School, he did serve as a non-commissioned officer in the Union Army during the Civil War despite repeated rebuffs from New York army recruiters.[92]

The Thomas Asylum, both despite and because of the intentions of its founders, has a central place in the legacy of dispossession on Iroquois reservations. Founded in 1855 during years of crisis and epidemic disease at Cattaraugus, with the security of Seneca lands still in question, the Thomas Asylum grew out of missionary Asher and Laura Wright's informal fostering of Seneca children, and predated the first federal Indian boarding school at Carlisle by twenty years.[93] In later years, the Thomas Asylum would conform more closely with Progressive-era ideals of "colonial alchemy" through education,[94] implementing regimented, military-style education until its closure in 1956.[95]

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90 Henry Huff Jr., "Thomas Indian School: An Account of the Death of an Institution" (master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1977), 8–10.

91 Wallace and Holler, "Reviving the Peace Queen: Revelations from Lewis Henry Morgan's Field Notes on the Tonawanda Seneca." 90-109. Thomas Indian School Records, New York State Archives, Albany, New York.

92 Laurence M. Hauptman, *Between Two Fires: American Indians in the Civil War* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 162.

93 Keith R Burich, "No Place to Go: The Thomas Indian School and the "Forgotten" Indian Children of New York." *Wicazo Sa Review* 22.2 (2007) 95, 93-110; Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, 110. Wright, L. M. "Brief account of the origin of the Thomas Asylum for Orphan and Destitute Indian Children." In *Forty-sixth annual report of the Board of Managers of the Thomas Asylum for Orphan and Destitute Children*. (New York, NY: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford, 1901). 9-12.

94 G. McMaster. "Colonial alchemy: Reading the boarding school experience." In L. R. Lippard, *Partial recall: Photographs of native North Americans* (New York, NY: New Press, 1992) 76-87; Jeffrey Montez de Oca and José Prado. "Visualizing Humanitarian Colonialism: Photographs From the Thomas Indian School." *American Behavioral Scientist* (January 2014) 58:1. 145-170.

95 De Oca and Prado, "Vizualizing," 159; D. Herbeck. "Lessons of pain: The terrible legacy of the Thomas Indian School remains all too fresh in the Seneca Nation consciousness." Buffalo News, October 1 2006. M15; K. Jensen. "Oneida boarding schools: An oral history." *Voyageur: Northeast Wisconsin's Historical Review*. (1994) 12, 34-40.

At its founding in 1855, the Wrights intended for the Thomas Asylum to be familial, permanent, and religious rather than vocational. Already caretakers of four other abandoned or orphaned Iroquois children, with the death of Cattaraugus Seneca Joseph L Peters in 1854, the Wrights took charge of Peters' four biological and five adopted children.[96] Nine more Seneca children were added in less than six months[97] and the account of Harriet Caswell, fellow missionary and Laura Wright's biographer, reflects the insidious disjuncture between intention and effect.

Like earlier schools, at the Thomas Asylum girls were to be taught "all housewifely arts" by a "motherly matron . . . While the boys were trained upon the farm by a practical Christian farmer."[98] Unlike earlier schools, the students were not intended to return to their families or home communities—the very construction of the school as a refuge for "Orphan and Destitute Indian Children" assumed that enrolled children had no families or homes to return to, which would adversely affect the lives of even those alumni who remembered the school fondly.[99] "At the age of fifteen they were placed in the families of Christian people in neighboring towns, who promised to care for them as for their own."[100] Early school records do not make clear whether nineteenth century alumni ever returned to their communities, but early twentieth century alumni reported profound alienation when they attempted to return to their communities.[101]

The early records of the school do suggest that at least some Seneca parents willingly enrolled their children in the belief that they would be better provided for and educated than they might have been at home, but Caswell's recounting of early enrollments suggests that she, and

96 *Forty-sixth Annual Report*, 9.
97 *Forty-sixth Annual Report*, 11.
98 Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, 111.
99 De Oca and Prado, "Vizualizing." 159.
100 Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, 112.
101 De Oca and Prado, "Vizualizing." 159.

likely also the Wrights, found Iroquois culture toxic (or at least corrupted by poverty). Caswell's account of how the first handful of Seneca children came to the asylum is a litany of dead, wanton and murderous mothers and grandmothers worthy of Grimm's fairytales. Laura Wright supposedly rescued one child from a near-drowning by his grandmother who snarled that "His father and mother are dead, and I am tired of him!" while another Seneca woman, "to whom life had brought nothing but suffering and hardship, resolved that her baby daughter should never travel the same hard road. Wrapping the babe in a small blanket, she walked to the nearest railroad, laid it upon the track, and went away."[102] Other dissolute parents whose children "had been taken from [them] and placed in the asylum, stole [them] away" in the night.[103]

Although wicked or alcoholic fathers who surrendered their children to the asylum were "by their little hands led into the Jesus Way,"[104] in Caswell's telling, Indian mothers were either saintly and dead or dangerous and alive. Although heavily influenced by its 1892 publication date, in a period that even more harshly censured poor and minority mothers who did not live up to white middle class ideals,[105] Caswell's denigration of Seneca mothers in her hagiography of the Wrights betrays a lingering American unease with the central place of Iroquois women in influencing the direction of their communities. Her fascination with murderous Indian mothers and grandmothers reveals her unspoken suspicion that, if left unchecked, Iroquois women's influence would lead to both the spiritual and literal ruination of their communities. Breaking from earlier efforts that sought to create republican mothers of Iroquois women, the Thomas Asylum was damaging in ways that previous schools had not been because it sought to entirely

102 Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, 113–114.
103 Ibid., 114.
104 Ibid., 117.
105 For nineteenth century white middle class domestic ideals, see Ladd-Taylor, *Mother-Work*; Bergman and Bernardi, *Our Sisters' Keepers*; Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women.*

remove familial connections from the process of recreating civility.

The Parker family's engagement with the Thomas Asylum beyond the first few years is unclear, but does not appear to have been substantial. Although Nicholson was on the founding board of trustees, he disappears from the school's records after a few years, and Caroline taught there only briefly.[106] Nicholson, married to Laura Wright's niece, may have retained a more indirect role in the school's operation, but it seems unlikely that Caroline remained very involved with the school given its hostility to adult Native women and her own growing role in reservation politics. Married to John Mountpleasant in 1864, on the 1869 census of the Tonawanda reservation they were enumerated together as the household of "Mrs C G Mountpleasant"[107] by Caroline's brother Newton, suggesting that despite her change of name following American conventions and her family's friendliness with the Wrights and other missionaries, Caroline and women like her remained central to how Iroquois families defined themselves.

That Little They Could Make for Themselves

The enduring centrality of Iroquois women in the lives of their communities complicated the colonial pursuit of authenticity when anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan sought traditional Iroquois material clothing from the Parker family in the 1840s and 1850s. Although Caroline Parker Mountpleasant's older brother Ely Parker has been largely credited in the scholarly literature as Morgan's collaborator/primary informant, Mountpleasant coordinated the creation of the of Iroquois traditional objects Morgan published, and that he later donated to the State Museum. Morgan's interest in playing Indian offered the Parkers an opportunity to present a

106 Thomas Indian School Records, New York State Archives, Albany, New York; "Ely Parker Papers." Box 4 Freeman 27 December 1853, William Parker to Henry S Randal.

107 Isaac Newton, "Census of the Tonawanda Band of Seneca Indians May 8 1869 Enclosed in Edward Poodry to Nicholson H Parker." Ely Parker Papers, American Philosophical Society.

Seneca-manufactured authenticity that could help maintain their ethnic boundaries in the face of American pressure to give up land and sovereignty.

Mountpleasant determined prices for the work and materials she, her mother, and brothers Newton, Levi, Spencer put towards the objects Morgan requested, informed him of their use and history, and requested he send additional materials needed but not available on the reservation.[108] She also appears to have made the choices regarding exactly what sorts of objects Morgan would receive—in 1846, during his first visit to the reservation, Morgan bought a laundry list of ready-made garments from an unnamed person, but his occasionally flirty correspondence with Mountpleasant after 1846 left the details of the clothing she made for him in her hands.[109]

The Parker family's education and missionary ties likely made them an attractive choice as Morgan's contacts and entrée to reservation life (beyond Morgan and Ely Parker's shared professional interests as lawyers). On first meeting the sixteen-year-old Caroline Parker in 1846, the twenty-eight year old Morgan wrote,

> She talks our language, but was quite diffident, and but for the presence of Miss Namen the daughter of the [late] missionary she could really have fled. Her modesty and diffidence was really quite [engaging] and the circumstance that she has been converted and is now attending school at Brockport did not a little concern the interest her beauty was calculated to awake. This family are quite talented, and are rapidly becoming assimilated to our mode of life. Although Miss Parker has assumed our dress, yet on this occasion she very purposely put on the hat and blanket lest she might appear singular which fact is certainly evidence of judgement.[110]

Besides Morgan's obvious interest in his friend's sister (the only other women mentioned in

108 "Lewis Henry Morgan Papers." May 28 1846, Lewis Henry Morgan to Caroline Parker; July 30 1847, Lewis Henry Morgan to Caroline Parker; November 13 1849, Lewis Henry Morgan to Caroline Parker; March 5 1878, Caroline Parker to Lewis Henry Morgan; November 20 1850, Lewis Henry Morgan to Caroline Parker; December 22 1858, Caroline Parker to Lewis Henry Morgan.

109 Ibid. November 20 1850, Lewis Henry Morgan to Caroline Parker.

110 Ibid. "Journal of a visit to the Buffalo Creek and Tonawonda Reservation etc etc." January 1846, 115-116.

Morgan's journal of the visit are elderly), Mountpleasant's own assessment of the material performance required to move between differently racialized spaces is also clear. Mountpleasant was at once at home in reservation politics (on this occasion, attending a council and dressed appropriately), as well as nominally Christian, literate and "assimilated." Their correspondence began immediately after Morgan's visit, on the pretense of improving Mountpleasant's English and helping her prepare for further schooling, but soon shifted to Iroquois inheritance, marriage and lineage traditions, place-names and Mountpleasant's own translations of Iroquois legends.

Figure 6: Caroline Parker Mountpleasant, 1850. Courtesy of Sotheby's Fine Art Auctions. Daugerrotype upon which the engraving for League of the Iroquois was based.

Although in their correspondence Morgan initially approached Mountpleasant as an object of tutelage and study, she quickly became the subject of her own creations. Mountpleasant's work was largely, though not completely, erased in Morgan's ethnographic descriptions in *League of the Iroquois*. Morgan noted that "the finest specimen of Indian beadwork ever exhibited . . . was made by Miss Caroline G Parker (Ga-ha-no), a Seneca Indian girl . . . whose finished taste and patient industry the State is indebted for most of the many beautiful specimens of beadwork embroidery now in the Indian collection."[111] This single remark, in describing an intricately beaded skirt worn by Mountpleasant in the frontispiece of *League of the Iroquois* and still held by the New York State Museum, served as Morgan's sole published acknowledgement that any of the objects he donated to the state had a specific, personal history, and the modern scholarly literature has largely followed suit in ignoring the objects' provenance in a specific social and political context.[112]

In foregrounding Morgan's role in collecting and paying for the items, rather than Mountpleasant's role in making them, the scholarship reifies a nineteenth-century "separate spheres" gendered division between the political work of Iroquois men like Ely Parker and uncle Jemmy Johnson and Iroquois women like Mountpleasant and her mother. Although Parker and Johnson are acknowledged by the scholarship as consciously using engagement with Morgan and other American academics to further Seneca political goals,[113] women's work in creating clothing is erased as domestic and apolitical.[114]

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111 Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, 254–255; Morgan, *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, 47.

112 Hauptman, *The Tonawanda Senecas' heroic battle*, 74; Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, xiv; Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986). 199-209.

113 Laurence Hauptman, "On Our Terms: The Tonawanda Seneca Indians, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, 1844-1851". *New York History* (2010) 91:4; Hauptman, *The Tonawanda Senecas' heroic battle,* 74

114 Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, 73; Boydston, *Home and Work 142-163*; Konkle,

Whether explicitly or not, the pieces that Caroline and her female relatives (her mother and two sisters-in-law) created were political in both material and construction. Several of the pieces created by the Parker women were destroyed in the 1911 State Museum fire,[115] but the surviving pieces of the Morgan collection differ slightly from contemporary pieces in ways that suggest that Caroline and the other Parker women deliberately constructed the image of Iroquois life that they wished to present. The Parker family's connection to the revivalist Longhouse religion and its prophet Handsome Lake suggests both an overt awareness of their role in constructing the meaning of "traditional" and a more subversive continuity of pre-Handsome Lake women's social power than has previously recognized. Mountpleasant's maternal great-uncle Jimmy Johnson, himself a grandson of Handsome Lake, preached the Longhouse religion as Faithkeeper at Tonawanda to his death in 1856, and Mountpleasant was invested with the title Peace Queen in 1853.[116]

Although historically and historiographically positioned as a revival of traditional Iroquois culture,[117] Handsome Lake's teachings proscribed many pre-Longhouse women's prerogatives such as abortion, divorce, gossip and criticism of husbands very similar to the Christian gender roles preached by Baptist and Quaker missionaries.[118] Mountpleasant considered herself both a Christian and a member of the Longhouse religion,[119] but the pieces she and her female relatives created for the State Museum in the late 1840s suggest that they, and

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Writing Indian Nations, 32–33.

115 Tooker, *Lewis Henry Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*. "Preface."

116 Wallace, Anthony, and Deborah Holler. "Reviving the Peace Queen: Revelations from Lewis Henry Morgan's Field Notes on the Tonawanda Seneca." *Histories of Anthropology Annual* 5, no. 1 (2009): 90-109;

117 Ibid; Wallace, Anthony. The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. New York: Knopf, 1970.

118 Tooker, Elisabeth. "On the Development of the Handsome Lake Religion." Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (1989): 35-50; Mann, Barbara A. "The Lynx in Time: Haudenosaunee Women's Traditions and History." American Indian Quarterly (1997): 423-449; Dennis, Matthew. Seneca Possessed: Indians, Witchcraft, and Power in the Early American Republic. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

119 Wallace and Holler, "Reviving the Peace Queen." 90-109.

possibly other Longhouse-following Seneca women, took a more expansive view of Iroquois women's social and political roles in continuity with earlier, pre-Longhouse norms.

The surviving pieces of the Morgan collection include the blue beaded skirt and red overdress that Caroline Parker Mountpleasant is shown wearing in the frontispiece of *League of the Iroquois*. In style, silhouette and material, these items are a statement of Iroquois modernity. The red overdress was constructed of red cotton calico, a fabric that had begun to take on political significance as a symbol of the United States' obligations in the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua.[120] The treaty, which had guaranteed the security of Iroquois reservations after the American Revolution, ought to have protected against the pressures for removal and the fraudulent 1838 Buffalo Creek Treaty that had brought the Parker family to Morgan's attention in the first place. (Ely Parker and Lewis Henry Morgan met while Parker was in Albany to protest the 1838 treaty to the state legislature).

120 John C Mohawk, "The Canandaigua treaty in historical perspective." ed, Irving Powless, G. Peter Jemison, and Anna M. Schein, eds., *Treaty of Canandaigua 1794: 200 Years of Treaty Relations Between the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States*, 1st ed (Santa Fe, N.M: Clear Light Publishers, 2000).

Figure 7: Mohawk overdress. Courtesy of the McCord Museum. M1087, circa 1840-1860.

Figure 8: Mohawk overdress. Courtesy of the McCord Museum. M10568, circa 1845-1855.

Other contemporary overdresses collected after being worn by Iroquois women, although constructed similarly, tend to be of richer fabrics like silk, as might be expected for special occasion clothing. By the mid-nineteenth century, Iroquois women largely wore the same type of closely tailored dresses as working-class white women, a result of government and missionary pressure for more "decent" reservation clothing. Sober in color and serviceable in material, this everyday clothing contrasted sharply with the brightly silk chosen for women's special occasion overdresses when available.

Two dresses in the McCord Museum created between 1840 and 1860[121] are of fuchsia silk, embellished with formerly bright red, purple and teal ribbons.[122] Although constructed along the same basic lines as the Parker overdress—that is, the garments are of the same shape and form—the McCord dresses show evidence of being pieced from a not-quite-sufficient amount of fabric, or perhaps recut from a larger garment. One of the fuchsia dresses is also constructed of two different fabrics of nearly, but not quite, the same color and weave, and unlike Seminole dress of the same period,[123] the patchwork effect was downplayed rather than accentuated. Although many nineteenth century garments, including those made for middle and upperclass whites, were often pieced due to the narrow manufacturing widths of silk fabric,[124] the McCord dresses are pieced with the grain of fabric running contrary directions[125] and multiple

121 McCord Museum, Montreal, Canada. M1087 and M10568, probably St Regis Mohawk.

122 Silk retains color relatively well if kept away from sunlight, as the two McCord overdresses appear to have been. There is some fading evident on M1087, suggesting that its current bright, saturated color may be a bit more subdued than formerly.

123 Brent R. Weisman. "Nativism, Resistance, and Ethnogenesis of the Florida Seminole Indian Identity." Historical Archaeology, 41:4 (2007), 198-212.

124 Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650-1870 : a Dictionary Based on Original Documents, Prints and Paintings, Commercial Records, American Merchant's Papers, Shopkeepers' Advertisements, and Pattern Books with Original Swatches of Cloth* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2007). 348-349. Waugh, Norah. The Cut of Women's Clothes, 1600-1930. London: Faber, 1964.

125 Loom-woven fabric has a grain much like wood, with the grain running in the direction of the weft. Garments are typically cut with the grain running parallel to the longest axis—parallel to the torso, legs, and arms in different parts of a garment. Cutting a garment with the grain lends structural integrity and a more

small pieces comprising sleeves and cuffs.

The body of both dresses are constructed with the grain of fabric running correctly parallel to the body and the cuffs and collars constructed of continuous pieces of cotton cloth. This, along with the careful stitching and the likelihood that most adult Iroquois women would have attended a mission school that included sewing in girls' educations, suggests that rather than lack of familiarity with garment construction, the Iroquois women who made these overdresses preferred silk to such an extent that they were willing to piece together not-quite-adequate amounts of fabric to achieve the desired goal of a silk overdress.

Although their mothers had worn cotton overdresses during the War of 1812, the women who constructed the McCord dresses and Caroline Parker Mountpleasant all made deliberate choices regarding the material of their clothing. Mountpleasant's choice of cotton rather than the silk preferred for clothing intended to be worn, despite Morgan's insistence that she use the best materials whatever the cost, may have been a direct statement about the Treaty of Canandaigua, an implicit choice to position Iroquois traditional clothing within the framework of middle class white acceptability, or possibly both.

accommodating drape to the fabric, which can be distorted if cut and hung with the grain at odds to the lines of the garment.

Figure 9: Informal woman's day dress circa 1810, Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum. VA T356-1965.

In their forms, these three dresses would have appeared decidedly old-fashioned to mid-nineteenth century American eyes. Superficially, they resemble the high-waisted empire-cut dresses fashionable in Britain, Canada and the United States from about 1790 to 1830, but the specifics of their construction indicates that they are innovative rather than imitation pieces. Likely due to the influence of Quaker and Presbyterian missionaries who were able to first establish schools in Iroquois reservation communities in the early nineteenth century, Iroquois women's clothing in the early reservation period shifted away from the white and colored calico shirts worn over skirts to cotton overdresses with high waists, high collars and long sleeves like the dresses worn by missionary women.[126]

Fashionable white women's clothing of the early nineteenth century, such as the informal day dress pictured above, was intended to accentuate a small bust and narrow back, the armscye (connecting seam) of the sleeve often being set very far back on the bodice in order to push the bust forward and visually narrow the shoulders. Although imagined to be more natural than eighteenth century mantuas worn over stays, neoclassical fashion in the nineteenth century nonetheless restricted the range of movement of the upper body due to the placement of the armscye (and in extreme cases, walking was restricted by very narrow skirts as well).

Early nineteenth century Iroquois women's cotton overdresses were more hybrid blends of the T-shaped shirts that their grandmothers had bought in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the high-waisted and high-collared dresses that missionaries encouraged. The Parker and McCord overdresses are constructed with rectangular sleeves attached at right angles to the body with an underarm gusset to allow for a full range of movement, similar to what would have been experienced with purchased eighteenth century shirts. Visually, their high,

126 Victoria and Albert Museum, London. VA T356-1965, circa 1810.

ruffled collars, narrow sleeve cuffs and high waistlines conform to the type of dressmaking taught in mission schools, but the actual construction of the bodice preserved the garment's functionality for women often still engaged in agricultural work.

Speaking to a white audience in 1878, Ely Parker described the results of earlier mission education on Iroquois reservations:

> The trade of dressmaking was alike unprofitable, for the women like the men required but little covering and that little they could make for themselves without the aid of skilled artisans, and hence all the time money and patience expended upon these people has generally been a dead loss.[127]

Part of a larger argument that Parker made against removal, the primacy of religion in reservation education, and the economic instability created by a reservation system that did not allow Native self-determination, Parker's critique of girls' education also suggests that Iroquois women may have made accommodation in altering the silhouette of their daily wear even as they preserved its functionality for traditional labor arrangements.

Although there are no surviving workaday early nineteenth century cotton overdresses,[128] the conservation of the form in mid-nineteenth century special occasion overdresses suggests that a sense of "traditional" and specifically Iroquois clothing had begun to crystalize in the early nineteenth century. Together with the ankle-length skirt and leggings that Mountpleasant also created for the Morgan collection, Iroquois women's traditional dress was constructed as suited for agricultural work in its basic forms, stately and refined in color, diplomatic and commercial in its materials, and beautiful in its own right. As a statement of Iroquois identity when removal, land loss and assimilation were very real possibilities, the objects that Mountpleasant created spoke to Iroquois cultural sovereignty even as their political sovereignty was under attack.

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127 Ely Parker, "Ely Parker Papers," 1885 1850, Ayer MS 674, folder 2, Newberry Library.
128 So far as I am aware.

Conclusion

> To the end of her days she opposed the division, in severalty, of the Indian lands to the state of New York believing that communal ownership, having been the custom of the great Iroquois nation from the earliest times, was an instinct which should not be combatted unless or better reasons than any that has yet been offered, and that the Indians had quite as good right to hold their treaty secured lands in common as had the Shakers or any other law abiding community.[129]

After Caroline Parker Mountpleasant's death in 1892, family friend Harriet Maxwell Converse's obituary memorialized Mountpleasant's political efforts to preserve the integrity of Seneca and Tuscarora land title. Although the political significance of women's domestic and labor choices are often erased in the historical record, Iroquois women's role as executors, heads of household and ethnographic informants suggests a deliberate continuance of Iroquois matrilocality in female-headed households despite American attempts at conversion. Caroline Parker Mountpleasant's construction of Iroquois traditional identity, at a time when the very concept was under attack as either too savage or irrelevant in the face of inevitable assimilation, was a statement of both Iroquois separatism and equality with the surrounding white population.

In suggesting that the Iroquois might be both too civilized to survive removal west and too lacking in civility to remain in their homelands, the debates surrounding Iroquois removal raised the possibility that Native people, even if converted and assimilated, might never be compatible with the American nation. American efforts to convert Native people in the early nineteenth century focused on a profound uneasiness with the growth of commercial culture and the continued political and cultural influence of Iroquois women despite the perceived necessity of women's invisible domestic labor in maintaining the fantasy of non-commercial American self

129 "Ely Parker Papers." Harriet Maxwell Converse, "Mrs. Caroline Mt. Pleasant." Unidentified newspaper. March 20 1892 Box 6.

sufficiency. By maintaining that Native people could become citizens through self-sufficiency and rejection of commercialism, early nineteenth century Americans sought to reassure themselves that non-commercialism was at the foundation of their own society.

American commercialization, industrialization, and the appropriation of Native land went hand in glove, and the dismantling of Iroquois commercial culture required to maintain the fiction of America as a land of "practical Christian farmers"[130] destabilized Iroquois economic recovery in the early years of the nineteenth century. Drawing on previous treaties, their military service during the War of 1812, and their knowledge of the United States government, Iroquois leaders and writers protested removal and federal interference on the grounds that their nations were and always had been separate from other American communities. Faced with these threats to their continued political and cultural existence and constrained from acting more directly to reject American reforms, the construction of traditional material culture was one way Iroquois communities articulated their continued cultural sovereignty and political legitimacy.

130 Caswell, *Our Life Among the Iroquois Indians*, 111.

Conclusion

My grandmother passed away in March of 2012, just after I'd finished writing the first draft of chapter two. She'd been ill for several years and had always been a meticulous, careful planner, giving her plenty of time to organize her house before she passed away. The carefully folded tablecloths and lists of quilts she left were exhaustive, exhausting, and saddening because none of it was really about her. Her papers were about things things she'd bought and made and for whom, but none of it really spoke to why, or how she felt about it, or even really who she was. As a historian, it was everything I could have wanted to document her life, but as her granddaughter it felt like a very thin reflection of who she'd been.

I'd just returned from the McCord Museum in Montreal, where I'd been examining the two fuchsia dresses in chapter five in their coffin-sized boxes, pleased with how much detail they seemed to reveal, and I was scheduled to return to the Huntington Library in a few weeks to finish going through the Earl of Loudon's papers to glean whatever oblique references I could about eighteenth century Iroquois women's lives. In approaching this project, I wanted to examine how communities of people who created few of their own written records used material culture to position themselves as individuals and communities, and how the personal both reflects and shapes the political. Colonialism and imperialism had shaped the documentary record, erasing and reshaping the role of women and indigenous people, and material culture seemed a way to examine the process of colonialism with the choices of Native women at the fore.

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Clothing marks an individuals' social position as they, their community, and their observers perceive it. Although an indirect record, clothing is a product of both conscious and

unconscious choices to engage with local and global conditions. As a site of contestation over civility and therefore political legitimacy from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (and in the present), Iroquois clothing and consumer choices are evidence of indigenous agency in global context more typically recorded from European and American perspective. Clothing in all its forms is inherently political. The choice to buy or wear clothing which fits perfectly within socially constructed expectations for one's gender, race, age or social position implicitly upholds and helps reconstruct those roles, while the conscious or unconscious choice to clothe oneself outside those norms implicitly or explicitly pushes on the boundaries of social categories and their political reality. As a daily practice, this push and pull against constructed boundaries is often unspoken in lived experience, but comes to the fore as an explicit position in situations of cross-cultural contact. Communities construct social roles and their costumes gradually over time, piece by piece.

Confrontation with alternatives or pressure to change brings these implicit concretions into view as explicit choices. Whether across generational, racial, or religious lines within a community (for example, early twentieth century furor over women's trousers, early twenty-first century disdain for leggings and pajamas as public-sphere clothing, the racialization of low-slung men's jeans, and the 2014 French ban on face veiling), or in a frontier context, culture contact makes explicit the politics of previously implicit choices. Clothing is a signifier of many things, but like all signs, its tie to the signified is unstable and socially constructed.[1] Its social signification in one cultural context does not carry over to another, and for European observers confronted with Iroquois adoption and remixture of European clothing, Native use of clothing as signifiers in Native contexts underlined the performativity and instability of European constructs.

1 Malcolm Barnard. *Fashion As Communication*. London: Routledge, 2002. 81-82

While seventeenth and eighteenth century Iroquois consumers incorporated manufactured cloth and tailored clothing into their own systems of signification, European misbelief in the stability of clothing as a signifier of civility fueled hopes for Native education, conversion and incorporation. Eighteenth century British imaginings of civil Indians and their own expansive empire left room for Iroquois incorporation within the British empire, and education of Native people in the proper deployment of clothing as a signifier of civility featured prominently in the ambitions of British American reformers like Eleazar Wheelock and his white alumni.

As a token of civility, clothing also functioned as a marker of political legitimacy, an increasingly contested concept as Iroquois political sovereignty threatened nascent American sovereignty. American Revolutionary-era theft of Iroquois property sought to deny Iroquois people access to both Iroquois and European consumer signifiers of civility and therefore political legitimacy, while post-Revolution American efforts to enforce an imagined version of 'playing American' on Iroquois reservations attempted to impose clothing as a signifier of a singular, and specifically American, mold of political legitimacy.

The era of removal on Iroquois reservations prompted the articulation by both proponents and opponents of removal of an understanding of Native material identity that continues to color conflicts regarding land claims and New York State's attempts to tax and regulate the sale of gasoline and cigarettes on Iroquois reservations. Although Americans in the Revolutionary and immediate post-Revolutionary period had viewed neither Native individuals nor nations as politically compatible with the American nation, by the Removal period white advocates both for and against Iroquois removal argued that Native individuals might be politically incorporated, though only if Iroquois nations no longer existed as distinct political entities. This distinction

between Native individuals and Native nations fuels wider white American resentment of modern Native claims to protected status in a variety of contexts;[2] in the American formulation, Native individuals might be included in modernity and claims to political equity, but at the price of the existence of Native nations as politically distinct entities.

This historical British and American mistake of the signifier for the signified has bled over into the historiography in ways which erase indigenous agency in colonial contexts. By focusing on frontiers of contact,[3] cultural mediators,[4] and hybrid forms of dress,[5] the scholarly analysis of Native adoption of European cloth and clothing has overly emphasized contexts in which European significations were preserved in Native use of European clothing, rather than the much more widespread homeland use of clothing within Native systems of signification.

Although the Iroquois were unique in some ways that allowed them to keep control of their lands for longer than some other eastern Native groups, the Iroquois experience can actually

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2 Upstate Citizens for Equality http://www.upstate-citizens.org/; "'NotYourMascot' Trends on Twitter Over Super Bowl Weekend." Indian Country Today. April 3 2014. http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/gallery/photo/notyourmascot-trends-twitter-over-super-bowl-weekend-37-images-153387; Danielle Miller, "Natives Censored on Twitter." Last Real Indians Blog. http://lastrealindians.com/natives-censored-on-twitter-by-danielle-miller/

3 See James Hart Merrell, *Into the American Woods : Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999); Jane T. Merritt, *At the Crossroads : Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763*, Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); William Pencak and Daniel K. Richter, *Friends and Enemies in Penn's Woods : Indians, Colonists, and the Racial Construction of Pennsylvania* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

4 See Timothy J. Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (1996): 13–42; M. J. Becker, "Matchcoats: Cultural Conservatism and Change in One Aspect of Native American Clothing," *Ethnohistory* 52, no. 4 (October 2005): 727–87, doi:10.1215/00141801-52-4-727; William Bryan Hart, "Black 'Go-Betweens' and the Mutability of 'Race,' Status, and Identity on New York's Pre-Revolutionary Frontier," in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, ed. Fredrika J. Teute and Andrew R. L. Cayton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

5 See Ann M. Little, "'Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!': Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620-1760," *New England Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (2001): 238–73; Margaret Kimball Brown, "An Eighteenth Century Trade Coat," *Plains Anthropologist* 16, no. 52 (1971); Laura Johnson, "Goods to Clothe Themselves," *Winterthur Portfolio* 43, no. 1 (2009).

be used to examine the history of trade and Native political economy more broadly in early America because their longer experience of trade without violence shows that Native groups could and did engage with the Atlantic market in ways that reinforced rather than undermined their sovereignty. The nations of the Iroquois confederacy used European goods to construct a visually distinct political identity, at the same time reducing women's daily labor by outsourcing the creation of basic clothing items to white workers in Albany, French Canada, England and elsewhere.

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The introduction to this project featured a mid-eighteenth century watercolor of an anonymous Iroquois woman and baby, clothed in European manufactures and posed without historical or social context by a European observer. As a colonial product, the image of that woman encapsulates many of the historical and historiographical difficulties of this project: the raw materials of her garments are recognizably European in origin, and yet her garments themselves are forcefully not European, having been reworked by her hand or another woman's. Her reasons for dressing as she did are knowable only indirectly, through the often scant records of European observers with their own anxieties and understandings of clothing's signification.

And yet neither the woman portrayed, the painter who captured her likeness, nor contemporary European observers would have recognized what she's wearing as anything other than distinctively Iroquois clothing. Although this image, contemporary descriptions, records of her purchases, and her clothing offer imperfect reflections of the interiority of her decisions, they do offer a record of her choice to engage with a system that has been portrayed as inherently and inevitably colonialist. Iroquois communities very consciously used European materials to

construct themselves as Iroquois, demanding clothing and reworking cloth that reinforced their cultural and political sovereignty. Nineteenth century Iroquois constructions of traditional material culture invoked intentionally modern and commercial sensibilities, building upon seventeenth and eighteenth century material traditions but situating Iroquois traditionality within a broader conversation on modernity and political legitimacy. By examining Native American consumer choices in their own social and cultural context, we can see that colonialism and economic dependency in early America was a complex and contingent process preceded by violence and land loss, not an inevitable product of contact and trade.

This project began with a shirt and ended with a dress—the shirt purchased in the seventeenth century by a woman who minimized her labor by purchasing clothing rather than making it, and the dress made two hundred years later by a woman who attended university and argued that the best way for Iroquois people to preserve the remainder of their lands was to show Americans and Canadians how modern Iroquois traditions were. Examining the choices of these women and others like them shows the evolution of Iroquois-European trade from earliest contact and Iroquois motivations for pursuing particular economic, diplomatic and military strategies.

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