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TUSCARORA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ETHNIC
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1711-1825.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill,
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TUSCARORA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION, ETHNIC IDENTITY,
AND SOCIOHISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY, 1711-1825

by

Douglas W. Boyce

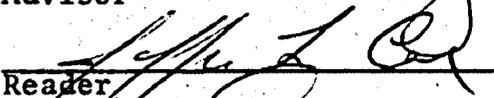
A Dissertation submitted to the faculty of
The University of North Carolina in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Anthropology.

Chapel Hill

1973

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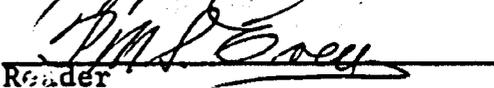

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PREFACE

This study is the product of three years of ethno-historical research. During that time, a number of individuals provided assistance and stimulated ideas that have been immeasurably helpful. If I were to attempt naming them all, I am sure some people would be inadvertently left out. Therefore a collective "thank you" is perhaps in order. There are, however, several individuals to whom I am especially indebted. The initial suggestion of the Tuscarora as a people whose rich culture history had been unfortunately ignored came from a fellow student, Mr. Robert W. Keeler. Early additional encouragement was given by Dr. Joffre L. Coe, Director of the Research Laboratories of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, whose friendly guidance, time, and wealth of knowledge concerning the indigenous population of North Carolina were freely given and greatly appreciated.

Dr. Shirley Hill Witt, while with the Department of Anthropology as a visiting assistant professor (1970-1972), was always willing to share her knowledge of the Tuscarora people and to constructively aim my sights in useful directions of inquiry. The other members of my graduate committee, Dr. Julia G. Crane, Dr. Terence M. A. Evens, and Dr. Richard A. Yarnell have selflessly given of their experience and time in reading rough drafts and in many helpful conversations. To my graduate advisor, Dr. Frederick D. McEvoy, I owe my greatest intellectual debt. His geographical, methodological, and theoretical depth in anthropology has been an inspiration and has provided stimuli for many fruitful avenues of thought. The completion of this study now, rather than somewhat later,

can be in great measure attributed to his constant support and encouragement.

The archival research upon which much of this study is based, was funded through a grant-in-aid generously provided by the Phillips Fund of the American Philosophical Society. While research was being conducted, many staff members at libraries and manuscript repositories went out of their way to provide assistance. I am grateful to each of them, but two individuals stand out in my mind. Mrs. Margaret C. Blaker, the former archivist of the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution, made me feel completely at home, did a great deal of time consuming reference and document digging, and allowed me to work late into the night and on weekends. Mr. Walter Pilkington, the Hamilton College Librarian (Clinton, N.Y.) likewise was extremely helpful, and I accidentally repaid his kindness by driving all the way to Philadelphia with his car and building keys. Fortunately, he had an extra set, but the gracious assistance he and so many other people gave me under often hurried and difficult circumstances has been greatly appreciated. In addition, I want to express my gratitude to the Congregational Library, American Congregational Association (Boston, Mass.) for their permission to reproduce a facsimile of Gideon Hawley's 1753 map of the Onoghoquaga area.

To my wife Grace, I owe the greatest debt of all. She had not only typed and helped to proofread the dissertation but has been a continuous source of emotional support and understanding.

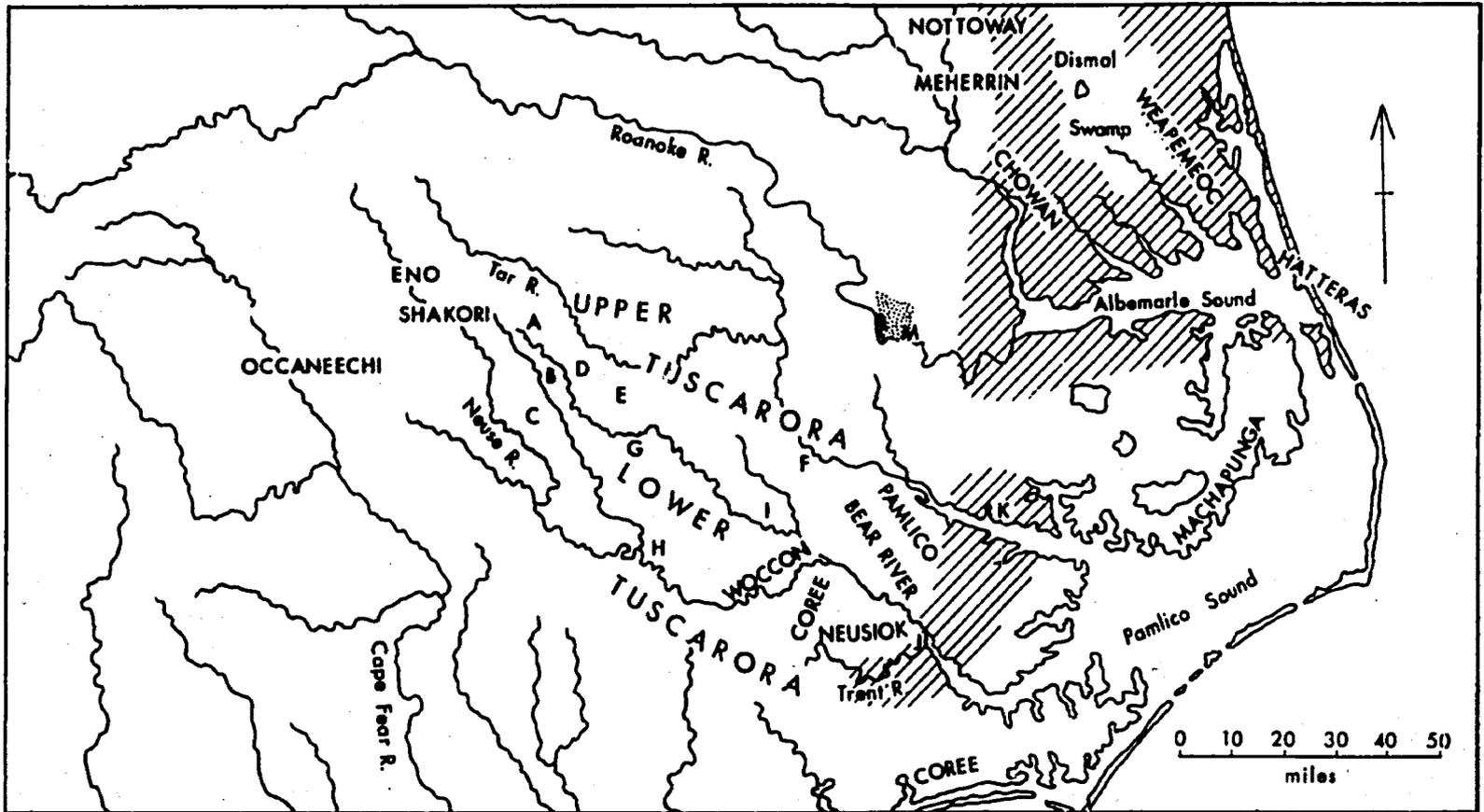
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This is an ethnohistorical study of a major native American ethnic group that at the time of initial European contact inhabited a large area of present-day eastern North Carolina (see map 1). The Tuscarora had a total population of about 5,000 in 1709. Since first contacts with explorers probably occurred over one hundred years earlier and colonialization began fifty years before, depopulation may already have taken its toll. Historical documents dealing with the Tuscarora during this early period are short on detail, but in an earlier study I have summarized what can legitimately be said about them before 1713.¹

Much of the material concerning the seventeenth century will be incorporated in the analytical chapters of the present study (6, 7 and 8). But by way of a brief review, the Tuscarora lived in fifteen or more villages, most of which consisted of scattered hamlets, cleared fields for crops, and an unsheltered council-ceremonial center that was sparsely populated. Villages were largely autonomous, participating in alliances with other Tuscarora and non-Tuscarora settlements when advantageous; but apparently no hierarchical organization politically united the Tuscarora ethnic group. The Tuscarora annual cycle involved entire villages moving to hunting quarters away from settled areas during the winter. After the fur trade was established by the English in Virginia, during the latter third of the seventeenth century, the productivity of this hunting pattern was intensified, probably through the increased use of mass kill methods, to compete with the Occaneechi and

Map 1



**EASTERN NORTH CAROLINA
INDIAN AND COLONIAL
SETTLEMENT AREAS
1711-1712**

**Approximate Locations of Several
Tuscarora Villages and Forts**

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| A. Tosneoc | D. Tonarooka | G. Nayharu'ka |
| B. Kenta | E. Jounonitz | H. Haruta |
| C. Narhunta | F. Ucahnerunt | I. Catechna |

Colonial Settlement //

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| J. New Bern | K. Bath |
| L. Oneroy | M. Resootskoh |
| Tuscarora Reservation (1717-1803) | |

other Carolina Indians. Eight of the more northern and western Tuscarora villages were able to eventually dominate the eastern North Carolina fur trade. The success of these villages, together with land encroachments, and hard feelings due to intercultural misunderstandings, led the more southern and eastern Tuscarora, with the aid of other, smaller groups (e.g., Machapunga, Coree, Neusiok, Bear River, and Woccon), to attack colonial settlements in September 1711. A war raged for the next two years, with hostilities tapering off to a gradual cessation in 1715. The northern Tuscarora villages, as well as the Chowan, Yaupim, and Virginia tributary Indians for the most part remained neutral, but did aid the colonists on several occasions. Beginning in 1712, elements of the Tuscarora began to emigrate from North Carolina, a process that continued for nearly one hundred years.

In the following pages several related problems will be considered with regard to the Tuscarora, from their initial dispersal in 1712 until 1825. First, what were the demographic and sociocultural characteristics of the different Tuscarora elements that were scattered from the West Indies to South and North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, and Ontario? Second, what was the nature of the relationships these groups had with one another during their separation? Third, how was "Tuscarora" ethnic identity maintained and how did it change throughout the time under study? Fourth, what was the nature of the Five Nations' adoption of the Tuscarora and the extent of Tuscarora participation in the Confederacy? Fifth, how did Tuscarora political organization change through time?

The most recent published studies of the Tuscarora have given little attention to these problems. Indeed, to the extent they have been dealt with by such major students of the Tuscarora as Anthony F. C. Wallace and David Landy, erroneous conclusions have been drawn. Landy, for example, thinks it remarkable that in spite of all their dispersals,

the Tuscarora, unlike many New York State Iroquois, "retain their traditional tribal council."² He does not consider the possibility that the Tuscarora reservation tribal government may have been a post-1790 construct, nor does he mention the importance of the local village council in his historical analysis. Even if we were to accept the notion of a "traditional" tribal council, Landy does not allow for the possibility of cognitive changes in the ideal structure of Tuscarora political organization through time. Instead, he concludes that "from the fragmentary historical evidence, it seems probable that there must have been periods in the past when the council fell into disuse, perhaps even disrepute, only to be revived later when external acculturative pressures and internal needs of national identification motivated some Tuscarora at least to breathe life into their traditional governing body."³

Concerning the position of the Tuscarora in relation to the Five Nations, Wallace states that, "as a group they were 'adopted' by the Five Nations--i.e., given permission to stay in Five Nations country--about 1722, and henceforth the New York Iroquois were called the Six Nations. This adoption did not extend to the Tuscarora the right of an equal voice and a tribal vote in the Great Council."⁴ Landy concludes on the matter of adoption that "by 1722 they had achieved federative, but not equal status in the Iroquois Confederacy," and that they had "accepted a dependent, childlike status as a relatively powerless, denigrated member of the Iroquois League."⁵ These problems, the nature of Tuscarora political organization and adoptive status in the Iroquois Confederacy, need more thorough examination from a perspective based on a more extensive body of historical documentation.

Landy's two-page review of the historical literature on Tuscarora political organization would suggest there is little such evidence to draw upon. This quite frankly is not the case. It is a submerged and dispersed historical

literature, just as the Tuscarora have been a submerged and dispersed people; but it is rich enough to glean far more about the Tuscarora than has been published previously. The Tuscarora probably have not been the subject of greater anthropological scrutiny because they readily accepted Christianity and their White neighbors' material culture, making them less "traditional" in appearance. Since they were a recent addition to the Iroquoian Confederacy, they were perhaps considered "problematical" people, the study of whom "would not advance the knowledge of general Iroquoian traits."⁶

The problems posed above will be approached on several different theoretical levels, using a number of standard ethnohistorical methods. The initial chapters, basically descriptive, serve as a foundation for my later analysis of Tuscarora ethnicity and political organization. Historically oriented anthropologists (e.g., John R. Swanton) have characteristically quoted extensively from original sources in descriptive accounts. Their publications then serve as resource documents for other researchers, and also facilitate evaluation of the author's conclusions. Space limitations preclude reproducing documents here, but some lengthy quotations will be included where their substance cannot be restated in a shorter form or when they serve as evidence for more controversial statements.

Although their names do not appear in the body of this study, several writers have influenced my approach to ethnohistorical analysis. William C. Sturtevant and Wilcomb E. Washburn provide good insights into the distinctiveness and potential of ethnohistory. Washburn, for example, points out how important it is to ask the right kind of questions of the data, questions that neither ignore significant information nor obscure accurate understanding due to the researcher's cultural bias or ignorance. William N. Fenton, Daniel F. McCall, and David C. Pitt emphasize the importance of considering all kinds of data sources: contemporaneous

written documents from published and archival collections, maps, oral tradition, linguistics, archaeological remains, museum collections, and field research. Although this study relies primarily on published and archival historical collections, most of the other data sources were utilized to some extent.⁷

The theoretical orientations I have employed are discussed in detail in chapters 6, 7, and 8, but some introduction to my conceptual framework and its origins should be given here at the outset. The significance of ethnicity for understanding the relationships of native North American peoples with one another, as well as with colonists, was initially impressed upon me by reading A. L. Kroeber's "Nature of the Land-Holding Group." Briefly, he stated that the concept "tribe" was a political construct of the colonists, applied to small nationalities "possessing essentially uniform speech and customs and therefore an accompanying sense of likeness and likemindedness." He felt that most often the "genuinely political units were . . . 'bands' or 'villages.'"⁸ I do not agree with Kroeber's use of "nationality;" rather, I would suggest "ethnic group" as being a term less loaded with restricted kinds of political meanings. But his insightful shift in orientation away from assuming the political organization of the late colonial period to be a protohistoric survival was much-needed, although insufficiently heeded by later students of American Indians.

The concept of "ethnic group" is an old one in the social sciences, and especially in sociology it has risen and fallen with almost cyclical popularity.⁹ Fredrik Barth has recently tried to change the emphasis on the ethnic group from definition of the category to understanding the nature of ethnic boundaries and the processes behind the maintenance of ethnic groups. The relevance for this study of Barth's ideas, and also those of Edward Spicer on persistent identity systems, should become apparent as the

turbulent eighteenth century of the Tuscarora is seen in the historical accounts.¹⁰

In this study ethnic group refers to a socially and often biologically reproductive population which can be identified by socially relevant cultural factors that are considered diagnostic by the people themselves as well as others in contact with them.¹¹ It should be noticed that at least two sets of criteria for identification are entailed. The criteria employed by the members of the ethnic group and another set or sets used by outsiders. These should be distinguished because they will usually be different. While we should be aware of the different socially relevant cultural factors employed by ethnic insiders and outsiders, we cannot assume that they fall into rigid polar configurations. Not every member of an ethnic group identifies other members in response to the exact same ordered set of symbols. Some identity cues are simply more important to one individual than they are to another or they may only have significance in specific contexts. In historical analysis, we must take care not to assume too much about the ethnic identity symbols. It is unjustifiable to presuppose, without good evidence, that local segments of an ethnic group are all organized in the same way, and are culturally mirror images. It would be foolhardy to believe the ethnic identity symbols important at one point in time have developed as a unit, or worse yet, have come down through time unchanged. Yet, these errors have been made by anthropologists, especially those who dabble carelessly with history in their studies and those who accept too uncritically the previous work of other scholars.

Too often in North American Indian studies, to refer again to Kroeber's statement, common language and shared sociocultural expressions have been assumed to indicate common political affiliation. This is not necessarily the case, any more than people participating in a common government must have a common culture. The importance of local

village cultural diversity has been illustrated for the Iroquois.¹² In spite of this "the Iroquois" are still often referred to as a homogeneous group. Many cultural features were shared by the various elements of the Six Nations. Significant aspects of their political organizations, however, are hidden by looking only at the Confederacy and tribes, as if they were concrete, homogeneous units, the nature and existence of which we can simply assume.

Therefore, in order to examine Tuscarora political organization, many different factors will have to be considered. For example, which individuals and groups were most directly involved in making and implementing decisions, and what effect did the distance between villages and the different sociocultural and biophysical environments have on local development and inter-group relations? Furthermore, what was the nature of Tuscarora relations with other villages and ethnic groups affiliated with the Six Nations? Clearly, a strong multifactoral analysis is indicated, an analysis which emphasizes the consideration of numerous circumstances relevant to Tuscarora political organization.

Before proceeding any further, it is necessary to indicate more clearly what I mean by political organization. As a general frame of reference, I have found the ideas of M. G. Smith to be particularly useful. In a recent article, Smith wrote that:

Political organization is the set of arrangements by which a public [corporate group] regulates its common affairs. Such regulation always integrates two modes of public action, the administrative, which consists in the authoritative conduct of public affairs, and the political, which consists in the exercise and competitions of power to influence or control the course of these affairs. Political organization thus combines authority and power; it is not independently coterminous with either. Without power, authority is ineffective; without authority, power may dominate but remains uninstitutionalized.¹³

On the one hand, there is a concern for process that is expressed in terms of public action. More specifically, I believe, the proper focus is on those aspects of process in which, as Raymond Firth has suggested, "choice is exercised in a field of available alternatives, resources are mobilized and decisions are taken in the light of probable social costs and benefits."¹⁴ On the other hand, public action takes place in the context of a structural pattern, or set of arrangements, that can in turn be used for comparative purposes. Some anthropologists have voiced strong objections to the use of the concept of social structure, which is usually thought of as a network of social relations that exists within and between groups. These individuals feel that it implies a stasis or rigidity that does not correspond with social reality. While the complaint has often been a legitimate one, it is only because of the way the concept of social structure has been misused.

During the early stages of data analysis, typologies and structures should be left behind. Initially we must concern ourselves with the behavior of individuals, how they interact, and the social assumption they carry with them. Eventually social categories can be perceived of individuals who behave in similar ways on similar kinds of occasions. These individuals and their roles can then be described as examples of one type of social position, or "person." For example, we can think of village chiefs and council members as two different persons for which there were many flesh and blood examples among the Tuscarora.

Fred Gearing has suggested that these persons arrange themselves in different ways for different purposes. Every social group then, has a variety of what Gearing calls structural poses that appear and disappear depending on the tasks at hand. Individuals do not simultaneously operate in terms of all their persons. Therefore, "the" social structure of a society is not an ever-present, unchanging social network, but the sum of the structural poses that

are regularly assumed by the people.¹⁵ For example, prior to the 1711 to 1715 War, most Tuscarora lived in scattered hamlets. Many of these were occupied predominately by the members of a matrilineage and daily activities focused on the hamlet and its occupants. When someone in a neighboring hamlet suffered an extensive loss, when a larger workforce was needed than the hamlet could provide, or when a group of hamlets constituting a village, moved into a compact winter hunting settlement, a mutual aid pose came into effect. The concerns of the hamlet were largely set aside and a new set of social expectations were assumed by those involved.

A unit of study, of course, has to be delimited. For political organization, according to the definition given above, a public or corporate group is indicated as the appropriate unit for analysis. A corporate group must have "a distinct identity, a determinate membership, closure, the presumption of indefinite continuity, common exclusive affairs, and the autonomy, procedures, and organization necessary to regulate them."¹⁶ There is tremendous variety in corporate groups due to many factors, such as size or complexity and especially because of differences in recruitment, e.g. locality, descent and ethnicity. A band composed of several extended families, a political party, a city, may all be considered corporate groups. When one or more corporate groups form a maximal inclusive aggregate sharing a corporate organization and some degree of functional cohesion, following M. G. Smith, we can call it a polity.¹⁷ This is often the way in which many anthropologists use sovereignty. In the case of the Tuscarora, during most of the time covered by the present study, the village seems to be the corporate group deserving the greatest attention. The Six Nations Confederacy was the polity in which at least some Tuscarora participated with many of the Mohawk, Oneida, and the other members. Some Tuscarora villages in New York seem to have been sovereign and most villages prior to 1713

in North Carolina were distinct polities.

The boundaries of these various groups are determined by the limits of the institutional framework within which power and authority relationships exist. Ideally, such boundaries should be determined through the observation of individual behavior, i.e., who makes public decisions and who follows them. In reality, this is very difficult and often impossible, and in ethnohistory it is only a dream. The individuals of this study are all dead. Direct observation is impossible. While concern must be given to the delimitation of the village as a corporate group, for example, we can do so only very imperfectly. In North Carolina, as mentioned above, Tuscarora villages were made up of dispersed hamlets of two to four houses each. The members of each hamlet seem to have viewed themselves as being associated with a village center, where they went for planting and harvest ceremonies, occasionally for trade, and for village councils. Even if we could pin down the location of all the hamlets and village centers, we could not necessarily assume a rule of proximity to determine village boundaries, since the hamlets of various villages may have overlapped or interlocked with one another. It is also very possible that the village identity of hamlets changed. The problem seems less severe in New York, where more compact village settlement patterns were often present, but even there, similar kinds of problems exist. At times, families or individuals decided to live away from the village but occasionally still acted as members.

"Ethnohistory" differs at some points from "history" often in very minor ways. The methods are basically the same. The people studied are increasingly the same, as historians have become interested in non-western and minority group populations. The problems dealt with and the theoretical orientation of the ethnohistorian, however, are often very different. In view of this difference, the present study is not a comprehensive history of Tuscarora-

White relations in trade, warfare, slavery, land-fraud, or other very legitimate topics; although these topics are considered in so far as they bear significantly on the major concerns of this study. Here, focal consideration is given to the internal factors of what it meant at various successive times in their history to be "Tuscarora," especially with regard to ethnic identity and political organization. With this kind of concern, the Tuscarora's indigenous neighbors must be viewed with Whites as often equally important agents of culture change. These kinds of information are not frequently available in the written records that have been left. Frustrating gaps in materials exist, especially for the years from about 1720 to 1750, when many of the Tuscarora made major adjustments as the sixth member of the Iroquois Confederacy. In spite of this difficulty, sufficient data do exist to provide us with significant insights concerning these people who have been misunderstood or, more often, neglected by historians and anthropologists alike.

Chapter I

Footnotes

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2. David Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity," Ethnohistory 5(1958):255.
3. Ibid., p. 263.
4. Anthony F. C. Wallace, The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 150 (Washington, D.C., 1952), p. 15.
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9. See for example E. K. Francis, "The Nature of the Ethnic Group," American Journal of Sociology 52(1947):393-400.
10. Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969); Edward H. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," Science 174(1971):795-800.
11. Barth, Ethnic Groups, pp. 10-15; M. G. Smith, "Pluralism in Precolonial African Societies," in Pluralism in Africa, eds. Leo Kuper and M. G. Smith (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), pp. 103-104.

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13. M. G. Smith, "Political Anthropology: Political Organization," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. David L. Sills (New York: Crowell Collier & Macmillan, 1968), 12:194.
14. Raymond Firth, Essays on Social Organization and Values, London School of Economics Monographs in Social Anthropology, no. 28 (London: Athlone Press, 1964), p. 17.
15. Fred Gearing, "The Structural Poses of 18th Century Cherokee Villages," American Anthropologist 60(1958):1148-1157; idem, Priests and Warriors: Social Structures for Cherokee Politics in the 18th Century, American Anthropological Association Memoir no. 93 (Washington, D.C., 1962). A more recent formulation which employs a "task" oriented approach similar to Gearing's is that of Fredrik Barth, "Analytical Dimensions in the Comparison of Social Organizations," 74(1972):207-220.
16. Smith, "Political Organization," p. 195.
17. Ibid., p. 197.

Chapter II

A DECADE OF DISPERSION

Initial White settlement of North Carolina began in the Albermarle area in 1659. Growth was slow, and there was no expansion from this area until 1691, when a group of Huguenots settled on the Pamlico River. In 1704, the town of Bath was laid out, and in 1708 a small French colony located itself on the Trent River. Two years later, Baron Christoph von Graffenried and a party of Swiss Palatines bought land from the Neusiok Indians for what was to become New Bern.

On September 22, 1711 the silence of dawn was broken for many North Carolina colonists by the noises of terror and death. The settlements near the mouths of the Neuse and Trent Rivers and on the south side of the Pamlico River were subject to the coordinated attacks of the Coree, Bear River, Machapunga, Neusiok, Pamlico, Woccon, and Lower Tuscarora Indians. In about two hours, an estimated 130 Whites were killed. Hostilities ebbed and flowed for the next three and one-half years, resulting in the death of about 200 Whites and nearly 1,000 Indians. In addition, from 600 to 1,000 Indians were sold into slavery and another 3,500 were forced from their homes, with about 2,000 of these emigrating north to Pennsylvania and New York.

Causes of the War

Contemporary observers of the war mentioned land-grabbing as the major factor motivating the Indians' action. Colonial land policy for dealing with the Indians was nearly

non-existent. The Lords Proprietors authorized Governor John Archdale in August 1695 to sell land between Albemarle and Cape Fear for settlements without mentioning the Indians' land rights.¹ On another occasion they told individuals in Barbados that the "Governor and Counsell shal be amply and fully impowered from us to graunte such proportions of land to all that shall come to plant . . . [and the settlers] may contract and compound with the Indians; if they see fitt."² When John Lawson, the Surveyor-General for the colony, and Baron von Graffenried were discovered going up the Neuse River in September 1711, resentment over careless land acquisition had been growing for years. The fact that after their captivity Graffenried was spared while Lawson was killed can probably be attributed in part to the former's showing of consideration to Indian rights before settling his people.³

Colonial land policy was not the only point of contention for the Indians. Colonists from North and South Carolina and Virginia had long shown their disregard for Indians as human beings by dealing in Indian slaves. Data relative to this practice are scarce, but it seems clear that as Charles Town grew to be the center of the fur trade in the Virginia-Carolina area, it also grew to be the center for Indian slave trade. Many Indian slaves were shipped to the West Indies, but others were used in the North American colonies. The number of Indians involved and their final destination on the market cannot be ascertained, primarily because much of the trade was carried on clandestinely, without the proper permits being acquired for foreign export.⁴

Indian inter-group political relations were affected by the activities of the colonists. Traditional enemies vied with one another to win favor with the White invaders, and all Indians lost ground as a result. The Yamasee brought captured Indian slaves to the South Carolina traders. With the hope of getting trade goods provided them

more cheaply, they readily agreed to assist the Whites against the hostile groups in North Carolina in 1711. This did not materialize, and in 1715 the Yamasee attacked the South Carolina colonists.⁵ In turn, they were subject to White-instigated Creek raids, which led to hundreds of Yamasee being sold into slavery.

This process even occurred within ethnic groups. During the War of 1711 to 1715 in North Carolina the Upper Tuscarora villages maintained a relative neutrality. These villages even aided the colonists to some extent, as I have tried to show elsewhere, because the Upper villages had procured an advantageous trade position with the Virginia colony and did not want to lose their standing.⁶ In conclusion, a dissatisfactory, shock-filled colonial situation based on misunderstanding, social disruptions, land grabbing, slavery, and internal ethnic group dissension led to the frustrated attack on colonial North Carolina settlements in September 1711.

The War Years, 1711-1715

The Upper and Lower Tuscarora villages were located in the area shown on map 1. The names and approximate locations of some villages are indicated where known. (These and others are discussed in Appendix A.) After the initial outbreak on September 22, 1711, the Upper Tuscarora made their position known to Virginia Governor Spotswood through traders from his colony. Peter Poythress was sent on October 8 by the Virginia government to negotiate with the Upper villages and to assist in getting Graffenried released from captivity. Graffenried was held for several more weeks; but Poythress did arrange for a meeting between several Upper Tuscarora representatives and Governor Spotswood, which took place at the Nottoway village on October 24, 1711. It was proposed that the Upper Tuscarora

villages should provide hostages to show their support of, and trust in, the colonial governments. Furthermore, it was suggested that they aid the colonists in subduing Indians of the hostile alliance. For this service, they were to receive a reward of six blankets for the head of each man killed, and the "usual price of slaves for each woman and child delivered" as captives. The representatives were given until November 25, 1711 to procure the agreement of the eight towns and return with an answer.⁷

On December 8, 1711, a meeting was again held at the Nottoway village. The delay resulted from bad weather as well as the illness on the way of one of the Tuscarora deputies, who was finally left behind. The three remaining representatives entered into the agreement, as stated above, on behalf of all eight towns. Although their village affiliation is not mentioned, fourteen Tuscarora, apparently from one or more of the Upper villages, went to Williamsburg in March 1712 to express their dissatisfaction with the December treaty and flatly stated they would not comply with the agreements that were made. It perhaps is not a coincidence that this discontent followed the arrival of John Barnwell's "army" of South Carolina Indians and Whites, who began burning and plundering both Lower and Upper Tuscarora villages from the end of January until mid-February.⁸

At the end of February, Peter Poythress had been sent with trade goods to the Upper Tuscarora villages. His primary mission was to determine how well they were observing the treaty; he returned a month later to report that the Indians had done nothing to help the English.⁹

It is strange that the colonial governments expected any active compliance from the eight Tuscarora villages, who were, after all, ethnically one with the Tuscarora of the Lower villages. The Upper and Lower Tuscarora alliances had a mutual trade relationship. The Upper villages had the most advantageous position since they were closer to

Virginia trade centers. This had not created any deep schisms, however, that could have been played upon to induce the Upper Tuscarora to actively engage against their kinsmen. The Upper Tuscarora simply did not want to jeopardize either their land or trade relationships. In spite of the fact that several of their villages had been burned, they played a waiting game that they eventually lost.

The inactivity of the Upper villages proved costly. Governor Spotswood began to lose faith in their agreement in March and early in May was on the verge of sending troops against them. But word came that Barnwell had signed a peace treaty with the Lower Tuscarora and others of the hostile alliance. However, several days later, Barnwell broke the treaty and attacked the Coree, Bear River, Neusiok, and Machapunga, killing forty or fifty and taking 200 women and children into slavery. Being short on provisions, he promptly retreated to South Carolina, leaving the North Carolina colony in turmoil.¹⁰

Hostilities continued throughout the summer of 1712. Small parties of Indians raided plantations, but North Carolina forces were too small to limit their activity and served only in a defensive capacity. During this time some of the Upper Tuscarora helped to return stolen or scattered horses to the North Carolina colonists. The situation caused North Carolina Governor Edward Hyde to again request additional military support from South Carolina.¹¹ The anticipation of these forces arriving and the dissatisfaction of both the North Carolina and Virginia colonial governments motivated the Upper villages to send representatives to Williamsburg to reaffirm their peace agreement on September 18, 1712. Either through political expedience or perhaps through internal dissention in the Upper villages, the four representatives claimed that the "persons who came hither last December was without any authority" and that for this reason the agreements were

never carried out. The Upper Tuscarora were ready to sue for peace, bring in the leader of the Lower Tuscarora, and leave hostages to confirm their intent. The Virginia Council decided to accept their offer but refused to conclude a peace agreement until "Sufficient Satisfaction be obtained for the Massacre in North Carolina" and all White captives held by the Lower villages were released. This was agreed to by the representatives, two of whom were held as hostages while the other two went to determine, with the councils of the eight Upper villages, whether or not they would act against the Lower Tuscarora.¹²

The fall of 1712 was a period of crisis for all the Tuscarora. Having had the upper hand over the preceding summer allowed them to plant their crops from cached seed and to rebuild houses and forts. But now they had to harvest and hide their crops before a second Indian and White army arrived from the south.¹³

During this period one Upper village chief, Tom Blount from Ucouhnerunt, tried on behalf of the Upper Tuscarora to maintain good relations with North Carolina Governor Thomas Pollock.¹⁴ Blount reported that four of the villages were firmly attached to the English, and that he was confident the other Upper villages would also support them. In spite of his efforts, however, relations between the Upper Tuscarora and the colonists deteriorated. On November 1, Spotswood reported to the Virginia House of Burgesses that one of the hostages left by the Tuscarora in August had escaped and that the Upper villages had failed to uphold their promises. Finally, on November 25, 1712, two Tuscarora reached Williamsburg with the message that Hancock, the leader of the hostile Lower village alliance had been captured and others were on their way with him. The same day, Tom Blount and other representatives of the Upper villages signed a preliminary peace treaty with North Carolina. But this did not diminish the mistrust the colonists and Upper Tuscarora had for one another.¹⁵

By December 20, 1712, Colonel James Moore reached Tuscarora territory with an army made up of a small number of Whites and nearly 900 Indians from South Carolina. At some time during the next twelve months, four or five of the Upper villages fled north to the piedmont and mountains of Virginia in fear of being attacked by Moore's army. Their fear was probably well founded. In January 1713, Pollock expressed to Spotswood his belief that the Upper villages should attack the Lower Tuscarora or henceforth be regarded as enemies and subject to attack themselves. Throughout 1713, Spotswood repeatedly tried to get Pollock to realize that because of the military weakness of both colonies it would not be wise to push the Upper towns too far.¹⁶

Colonel Moore used January and February primarily to gather supplies and reconnoiter the villages and forts of the hostile Indians. On March 23, his army attacked Fort Nayharu'ka (see map 1), taking 392 prisoners and killing a total of about 550 people. Most of these were Tuscarora. After over two years of warfare, this was the most serious blow the Lower Tuscarora suffered. During Barnwell's campaign about thirty Tuscarora had been killed; most of the fatalities and captives had been from the smaller groups within the hostile alliance. Moore continued his attacks on smaller bands of Tuscarora, until Spotswood could report in June that Moore and his men killed and made prisoners over 1,000 Tuscarora. No peace accord was ever signed with the Lower Tuscarora, and subsequent to the Fort Nayharu'ka battle further attempts were made to crush the Lower Tuscarora. To the extent this was not possible the English hoped to keep them from planting crops. They also tried to find the hiding places of the Tuscarora women and children and thereby force the Lower Tuscarora to leave the colony. A year and one-half earlier Barnwell had been told that upon his arrival most of the old people, women, and children had split into small bands and fled toward Virginia, probably

between the Tar and Roanoke Rivers, where they subsisted through hunting and gathering. Such a move was anticipated by Pollock before Moore's arrival in October 1712; and it is very likely that remnants of both Upper and Lower Tuscarora villages were scattered over the North Carolina and Virginia piedmont and mountain frontiers.¹⁷

In May 1713, another peace agreement was made by Pollock with a few of the Upper Tuscarora who remained in North Carolina. But the consequences of this treaty were more important than those of the others for all of the Tuscarora people. Under the terms of this agreement, Spotswood and Pollock recognized Tom Blount as the only representative of the Tuscarora; only those Tuscarora who submitted to Blount's authority would be considered friendly. Furthermore, Blount was required to assist in rounding up hostile Indians, deliver all of the Tuscarora passing as peaceful who had any part in the war against the colonies, and use his own men as frontier guards against the incursion of other Indians hostile toward the North Carolina colony.¹⁸ This meant that Tuscarora wishing to return to their North Carolina villages and hamlets had to discard their own village councils and chiefs and become subject to one man, the White colonial government's man.

Throughout the summer of 1713, Tom Blount and his men brought in prisoners and to the satisfaction of the colonists pacified much of the frontier west of the Chowan River. Most of the Upper Tuscarora remained in Virginia, in fear of Indians from South Carolina who continued to attack indiscriminately and take as slaves any Tuscarora they found. The Lower Tuscarora had by this time started north from the frontiers of North Carolina and Virginia to accept the invitation of the Five Nations. A year later, on September 25, 1714, a chief of the Five Nations announced in Albany that these Tuscarora had arrived and were living among them.¹⁹

In spite of Blount's insistence that the Upper

Tuscarora in Virginia would soon return to North Carolina to help him, it was nearly a year before they did.²⁰ In November 1713 Spotswood sent out a band of tributary Indians led by two traders to find and determine the intentions of these Tuscarora groups. They had abandoned their villages, perhaps as much as a year earlier, and had not been able to plant crops during the past spring, so with winter approaching they were ready to accept almost any proposal. Spotswood's party found 1,500 men, women, and children of five villages

dispers'd in small partys upon the head of Roanoake [River], and about the Mountains in very miserable condition, without any habitation or provision of Corne for their Subsistence, but living like wild beasts on what ye Woods afforded, in despair whether to return to their old Settlements in No. Carolina and run the risque of being knock'd in the head by the English and So. Carolina Indians or to submit themselves to ye Senecas, who had made them large offers of Assistance to revenge themselves on the English, upon condition of incorporating with them.²¹

Initial discussions began immediately, and then on December 19, 1713 and again on February 26, 1714, meetings were held with representatives of the Tuscarora. The five villages were Raroucaithee, Kenta, Jounonitz, Taughoaghkee, and Narhunta. The last, however, did not take part in later discussions and did not sign the treaty on February 27; its people may have returned to North Carolina or emigrated north to the Five Nations. The treaty made the people of the four other villages tributary Indians of Virginia, provided for them to settle on the north side of the James River, and to serve as frontier guards for the Virginia colony. They were also to agree to have a Christian minister and school teacher settled with them to provide religious instruction and teach them English.²² Conditions

were destined to be dissatisfactory for the Tuscarora in Virginia as well as in North Carolina. Spotswood wrote to the Lords Commissioners of trade on March 9, 1714 that:

The several partys of men that are to be settled among the Tuscaruros . . . will be as so many Spyes upon all their actions. The trade carryed to their Towns [will] . . . secure a necessary dependence on this Colony for supply of all their wants . . . considering the aversion they have to return into Carolina and the impossibility of their subsisting long without Trade.²³

The same month, some Tuscarora declared their intention to return to North Carolina, and others asked for permission to join the Nottoway at their village. On May 1, the Tuscarora and Nottoway again expressed their desire to live together in a new settlement on the James River.²⁴ The fact that only one town would be needed for their combined numbers suggests that a large proportion of the Tuscarora had already left. By the end of July 1714, Spotswood reported that the "Tuscaros, induced thereto, (as they say) by the people of Carolina, have departed from their agreements with this Governm't, and gon[e] to settle once more upon that Province."²⁵

The Upper Tuscarora who remained in the south faced a dilemma. They had refused to help their kinsmen during the war, and had in addition refused the offer of incorporation with the Five Nations. Now they faced the bleak option of settling as second-class, dispossessed people, serving the needs and whims of either the colony of North Carolina or of Virginia. As might be expected, some of them did not like either of these choices. In April 1715, Tom Blount was told by Virginia officials that a group of Tuscarora had illegally settled on the headwaters of the Nottoway River.²⁶ Life would never be quite the same for the Tuscarora staying in the south. Gone were their trade advantage and their villages. Soon their land would be gone also, and the reservation era would begin.

Relations with the Five Nations

Because the Iroquois Confederacy so readily accepted the Tuscarora, one might think relations between them had been good for some time. This was not the case. John Lawson wrote in 1709 that the "Iroquois or Sinnagars . . . [refuse] to live peaceably with the Tuskeruros."²⁷ The Susquehanna or Conestoga Indians were in submission to the Five Nations at this time, and were at war with the Tuscarora. It may have been the Conestoga's slave-raiding of Tuscarora settlements in North Carolina that motivated the provincial council of Pennsylvania to make it illegal to bring Indians captured in Carolina into their province to be sold as slaves. These attacks finally motivated the Tuscarora to meet on June 10, 1710, at the Conestoga village in Pennsylvania with representatives from the colony, the Conestoga, and the Shawnee. The Tuscarora made a moving plea for peace, so their people could carry on their daily activities without fear of being killed or taken into slavery. The conferees agreed that the Tuscarora requests should be sent to the Five Nations Council at Onondaga for consideration.²⁸ On July 31, 1710, another meeting was held at Conestoga but this time the Tuscarora were not present. An Onondaga speaking for the Five Nations, used small sticks as mnemonic devices for thirty-one statements and requests. The twenty-first of these was "that, A peace between the Tuscaroroës and them being now in agitation, None of the Young people here [of the Susquehanna] Should Warr agst that Nation."²⁹

In the accounts of contemporary observers there is a recurrent theme concerning the relations of the Lower Tuscarora with the Five Nations during the war that began in 1711.³⁰ The idea was that the Five Nations, or at least some elements of them, assisted the Lower Tuscarora in their attack against the English. Beyond this it was suggested that the Five Nations encouraged the Lower

Tuscarora to make their first move. John Barnwell, during his rampage through Tuscarora territory in January 1712, captured several Lower Tuscarora who gave him an account of Five Nations involvement. They told him that "12 Senecas came & made peace with them, and told them that the Whites had imposed upon them and that when the Whites had used them so, they knocked them on the head, they advised them that they were fools to slave & hunt to furnish themselves with the White peoples food, it was but killing of them & become possessed of their subsistence, that they did not fear the want of ammunition for that, they would come twice a year & furnish them with it."³¹ Several reasons are given by English contemporaries for the Five Nations participation in the war. Spotswood claimed the Five Nations involved themselves partially because one of their men had been killed while hunting in Virginia. In June 1712, New York Governor Hunter declared that the French had incited the Five Nations to help the Tuscarora.³²

A seemingly opposite role that the Five Nations also played was that of peace negotiator. The Five Nations agreed to help restore peace in North Carolina in July 1712. Late in December a peace envoy from the Five Nations captured with seven Tuscarora, and later freed when Pollock discovered his identity and mission. This was either the only official participation determined by the Great Council of the Confederacy--the help and support given the Lower Tuscarora then being without official sanction--or the previous aid was agreed upon, but after Lower Tuscarora defeat seemed certain the Five Nations decided to send peace emissaries in order to clear their name with the colonial governments. The data do not provide conclusive evidence of Five Nations' involvements or motives, and many factors were undoubtedly significant.³³ The Five Nations seem to have realized, in the final analysis, the political importance of attracting to their own cause additional friendly peoples to help maintain their own

position in the northeast. As Ramezay wrote in September 1715, "they [Five Nations] have never appeared so haughty as they are at present' for they have been strengthened by the accession of a nation . . . who were settled near Carolina and took refuge among them."³⁴

The Lower Tuscarora: Slaves and Emigrants

The Lower Tuscarora had their villages burned by Barnwell's army in 1712, but it was reported that few were killed or captured for slaves. This was not the case a year later when Moore's troops overcame several forts and sent numerous sorties into Tuscarora territory. At Fort Naykaru'ka alone, nearly 400 prisoners were taken, many of whom eventually were disposed of through the Charles Town slave trade. At least seventy-five Tuscarora were known to have been shipped as slaves to the West Indies in 1713. Their ultimate destinations have not been determined. Because ordinances had been passed as early as 1676 in the West Indies against importing Indian slaves from the North American colonies, it is likely that much of what transpired was conducted in a clandestine manner.³⁵ Not surprisingly, then, records dealing with the Charles Town Indian slave trade are poor.

Not all slaves were sent out of South Carolina. Many were used on local plantations. During the Yamasee War in 1715 a band of Tuscarora came from North Carolina to help the English defend Charles Town. An act was passed which stated that for every Yamasee captured by the Tuscarora, and for every Tuscarora killed helping in the war against the Yamasee, a Tuscarora slave should be released. The extent to which this agreement was honored, however, is unknown. Indian slaves, who are not ethnically identified, are mentioned in the historical literature of the Carolinas throughout the eighteenth century. Genetically they pro-

bably have contributed to many of the triracial populations of the area.³⁶

About 2,000 of the Tuscarora who participated in the war against the English from 1711 to 1713 managed to avoid death or captivity, and subsequently fled north to accept the invitation of the Five Nations.³⁷ Because of the apparently complete lack of communication between the Lower Tuscarora and the colonists during that time, the historical record sheds little light on the activities or conditions of the fugitive Tuscarora.

Early in the war these people's own territory had provided good hiding places for children, women, and old people. While being held as prisoner, Graffenried was taken with Tuscarora noncombatants of the village Catechna to one such location, where they gathered together in family groups with their belongings and food. "This place was surrounded by a deep little river which made a small island, nature having made of it a small, but almost impregnable fort by the morass and the thick bushes which surrounded it."³⁸ When Barnwell's raiders arrived in January 1712, some Tuscarora hid themselves again in this fashion. Others apparently fled to winter hunting territories, to which they had customarily moved as village groups.³⁹

After the spring of 1712 most of the pressure was off the Lower Tuscarora because all but 180 of the South Carolina forces had left. The Tuscarora must have had some opportunity to plant crops and regroup, but the tremendous destruction and continued threats of reprisals made it impossible to return to normalcy. Late in September, Tom Blount informed Governor Pollock that the Lower Tuscarora were "very scarce of provisions, and ammunition, so that they can not . . . stay in their forts."⁴⁰ Pollock's hope was that the South Carolina forces under Colonel Moore would arrive soon to drive them into their forts before they could re-provision themselves. The Tuscarora had the

entire fall and early winter, however, to gather supplies, since Moore's army did not arrive until December and did not attack Fort Nayharu'ka until May 1713. With this fort taken and nearly 1,000 captured or killed, other forts were abandoned, their occupants fleeing north to Virginia. During the summer of 1713 the refugee groups attacked frontier settlements, perhaps as a departing revenge for the death of so many of their people and in an attempt to provision themselves for the journey north to the Five Nations' territory.⁴¹

As early as June 1713, the New York Commissioners of Indian Affairs either perceived the plan of the Five Nations or received intelligence that the Tuscarora had been invited north. The Five Nations were told that they should "not upon any pretence whatsoever receive any of the Tuscaroras amongst them nor permitt them to settle with them. . . ." ⁴² On September 10, 1713, Governor Hunter wrote that the Five Nations could not be dissuaded from receiving the Tuscarora.⁴³ Ten days later the Five Nations began to break colonial resistance against the acceptance of the Tuscarora through an emotion-filled plea on their behalf.

These Indians [Tuscarora] went out heretofore from us, and have settled themselves there; now they have got into war, and are dispersed and have abandoned their Castles. But have compassion on them. The English have got the upper hand of them; they have abandoned their Castles and are scattered hither and thither; . . . we request our Brother Corlear to act as mediator between the English of Carrelyna and the tuskaroras, that they may be no longer hunted down, and we assume that we will oblige them not to do the English anymore harm; for they are no longer a Nation with a name, being once dispersed.⁴⁴

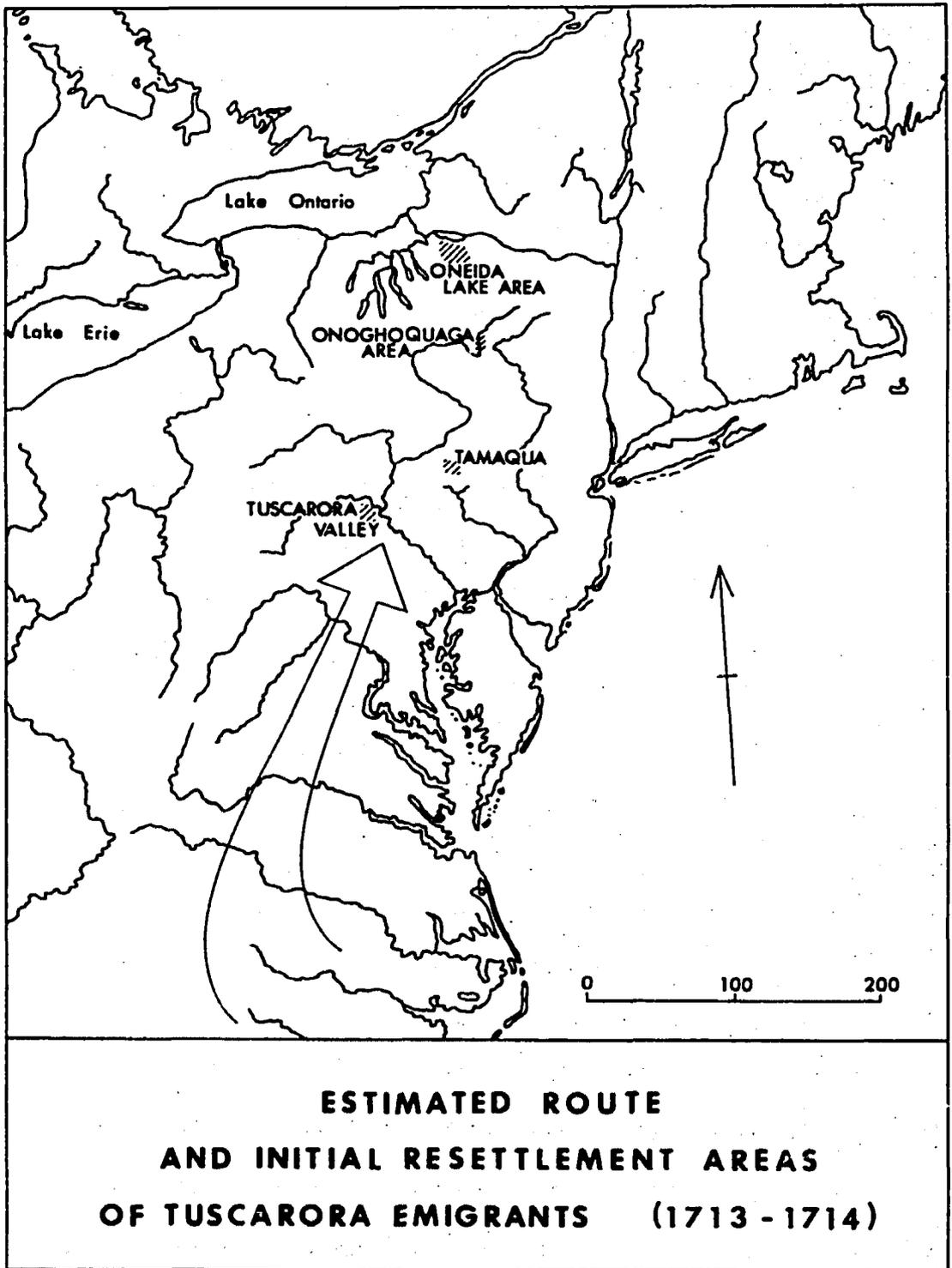
The Five Nations played heavily on their linguistic affinity with the Tuscarora while convincing the colonists to allow their "kinsmen," with whom they had been at war three years

earlier, to "return home." The Five Nations' speaker also touched on a sore spot in their relations with New York on the matter of the Tuscarora. In July 1712, the Five Nations had asked that New York officials be sent to mediate between the Tuscarora and North Carolina government.⁴⁵

The New York Commissioners refused even to entertain the request and thereby angered the Five Nations' delegation. The allusion to this again in the September 20, 1713 speech quoted above seems to hint that the Five Nations believed New York must, for not actively mediating, bear some of the blame for the continuation of the hostilities. At any rate, a year later, on September 25, 1714, when the Five Nations' speaker said "that the Tuscarore Indians are come to shelter themselves among" us, no objections were made by New York officials.⁴⁶

In chapter 7 consideration will be given to the process of adoption and the timetable of status changes of the Tuscarora in relation to the Five Nations. At this point, however, the emigration route and areas of settlement of the refugee Tuscarora elements should be briefly described. Very little direct evidence has been found for these topics. Map 2 shows the probable route through Virginia if well established trails were used. Their pace must have been slow, so children and old people could rest and food could be hunted and gathered. Inference would suggest some may have settled briefly in what came to be called the Tuscarora Valley on the Juniata River in Pennsylvania. Tuscarora Elias Johnson claimed one group stopped two miles west of Tamaqua, Pennsylvania, in 1713. According to tradition, they established a village and set out apple trees, but only stayed for two years.⁴⁷

Onoghoquaga was an important, old Five Nations village on the Susquehanna River that received Tuscarora remnants who settled nearby. Gideon Hawley, a missionary to these villages from 1753 to 1756, wrote, "A number of Tuskaroras



Map 2

removed from the sea coast, in one of the Carolinas, about the year 1711, into the country of the Five Nations. Two Villages of these Tuskaroras settled not far distant from Onohoquaga, and Some of their first settlers were alive in the year 1756."⁴⁸ This would suggest that these villages were settled very early, perhaps by those who stopped briefly in Pennsylvania or perhaps by groups coming directly from North Carolina in 1713.

The September 1714 statement of the Five Nations that the Tuscarora were "among" them, may indicate that some groups had already reached one of their later-known villages near or with the Oneida. Elijah Wampy, a Brothertown Indian living near Vernon, New York, in the late eighteenth century, told early White settlers that an ancient, irregularly planted apple orchard was eighty-four years old. Oneida County historian Pomroy Jones, who dates the planting as 1714, suggests that the orchard was perhaps the work of early Tuscarora immigrants who were known to have lived in the area later in the eighteenth century.⁴⁹

Very little was recorded from 1713 to 1722 about these Tuscarora who joined the Five Nations, although the chronicles of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (hereafter SPG) gives us some information. Early in 1716, the Society's missionary to the Mohawk, William Andrews, was warned by his interpreter not to go to Onondaga because he would have to pass through the country of the Tuscarora who had a deep hatred of Whites and practiced cannibalism.⁵⁰ The Tuscarora were also blamed for stirring up the Oneida and Mohawk against Andrews' missionary endeavors. The Tuscarora, who frequently passed his mission at Queen Anne's Fort on their way to trade at Albany, mocked "at Mr. Andrews when he would offer to talk to them about Religion; and when he proffered to go to their Abode, they absolutely forbad him."⁵¹

This view of the Tuscarora soon changed, however, for during the next 100 years many of them embraced Christianity

and came to be seen by their White neighbors as one of the most "civilized" groups of Indians on the New York frontier.

Tom Blount and the Carolina Reservation Tuscarora

The important role of Tom Blount in the changing political organization of the Tuscarora remaining in North Carolina has already been mentioned. He continued as the dominant figure in southern Tuscarora-White relations throughout the decade following the war. Before the war Blount had been the village chief of Ucouhnerunt, one of at least three Tuscarora settlements on the Pamlico River. His name appears often in the colonial records of Virginia and North Carolina. He was unique among the Tuscarora chiefs in his attempt to do all he could throughout the war to enhance his own status and that of his village with Governor Spotswood and especially Governor Pollock. For example, the delegates from the Upper Tuscarora village of Raroucaithee who came to a council with Spotswood during the winter of 1713-1714 were asked if they wanted to return to North Carolina, "why don't they then go to Collo. Pollock. He [the delegate] knows nothing of him for none goes there but Blunt."⁵²

When it came time to reach a settlement, Tom Blount was ideally situated for colonial manipulation. In March 1713 Spotswood suggested to Pollock that Blount be placed in charge "of all Indians under North Carolina jurisdiction. This proposition will stir up his ambition; and no doubt oblige him to be faithfull to the English for the future."⁵³ A month later Pollock wrote that "we will make and acknowledge him King and Commander in Chief [of] all the Indians on the south side of Pamptico River under protection of this government; and that we will make a firm and lasting peace with him and all the Indians that acknowledge him as sachem."⁵⁴

As indicated earlier, most of the Tuscarora remaining in the south returned to North Carolina territory and submitted themselves to Tom Blount's (and the colonists') hegemony. In their weakened, disorganized state, they were easy prey for the raids of those same Indians who had driven them from their homes during the war. On April 15, 1715 the Yamasee and other South Carolina Indians attacked the English settlements in the Charles Town area. By June 1715 SPG missionary John Urmstone told of the consequences for North Carolina. From fifty to two hundred strange Indians had pitched their camp in part of the abandoned Tuscarora territory and had attacked settlements of the local tributary Indians. One hundred and fifty North Carolina tributary Indians and Whites left for South Carolina under the leadership of Colonel Maurice Moore, while fifty others investigated the local intruders. The number of Tuscarora in Moore's army was said to be thirty-six by LeJau in August 1715; but Thomas Hassell claimed there were seventy in December of the same year. Most of these Tuscarora remained in South Carolina after the war and were given permission to settle near Port Royal.⁵⁵

This Port Royal band of the Tuscarora proved useful to the colony during the war, and apparently provided cheap manpower afterwards. Sauhoe, a Tuscarora Indian working in 1718 as a pack horse man in the Creek trade, was paid at the rate of three pounds per month. White pack horse men in the same trade received ten to fifteen pounds per month.⁵⁶

"Indian Forster," chief of these South Carolina Tuscarora, complained of being seized and robbed by one Daniel Callihaun, who reportedly said "that since the Government had now no further Service for him [Forster] or his People, that 'twas designed to knock some of them on the Head, and enslave the Rest." In spite of this kind of treatment, the next item in the Indian Trade Commissioners Journal states that Forster wanted a pass to go to North Carolina

and bring the rest of his people south to Port Royal. He was given permission two months later; but it is not known whether or not he made the trip.⁵⁷ If he did go back to North Carolina he must not have been very successful, perhaps only returning with the families of those who went south in Moore's army, thus making their total population from about 150 to 300. In 1723, they were still in South Carolina, but their fate after that time is unknown. Milling has suggested that they probably returned to the north and eventually joined the Six Nations.⁵⁸ One inconclusive but interesting shred of evidence makes it necessary for us to allow for the possibility of their descendants remaining as identifiably "Tuscarora," well into the nineteenth century. J. N. B. Hewitt was informed in 1916 of a Tuscarora woman whose grandmother owned property in South Carolina that had been leased when she left it. The granddaughter hoped Hewitt could trace the leased property. There is a chance that the woman was a final link to the Port Royal Tuscarora.⁵⁹

The participation of the Tuscarora in campaigns against the Yamasee and other Indians involved in the South Carolina war, resulted in continued attacks on the Tuscarora settlements below the Pamlico River. As a result, Tom Blount finally asked permission for them to move to the north side of the Roanoke River, an area which long had been reserved for them as a hunting territory; and which afforded them a natural defensive boundary--the river and swamps an enemy would have to cross before reaching their new settlements. The North Carolina colonial government took advantage of their plight to secure the release of all their lands in North Carolina except those included in the Bertie County reservation.⁶⁰

The villages of Ooneroy and Resootskeh were established on the reservation. (See map 1.) SPG missionary Thomas Newnam described these Tuscarora in 1722 as "not exceeding 300-fighting men, they live in 2 Towns by themselves, very

quiet & peaceable." An estimation of a one to four warrior to population ratio would suggest a total of about 1,200 in North Carolina. In spite of the loss of land, the confinement of a reservation, the consolidation of former villages and their political power, daily life began to be less hazardous. Many routines of pre-war life could be re-established. For example, in the late fall of 1717 the entire town of Ooneroy was found abandoned by colonial officials. No explanation was given, but this probably represents the re-establishment of the pattern of entire villages moving to a hunting territory for the winter.⁶¹

Tom Blount was used by the colonists, but he did apparently try to help his people. After he initially became the only chief recognized by the North Carolina government, references suggest he was responsive to the desires of a council and the Tuscarora people in general. Among other things he tried to effect the release of Tuscarora children who had been enslaved, and made attempts to have the Tuscarora reservation secured when White encroachment took place.⁶² Unfortunately this pattern did not continue. The North Carolina Tuscarora reservation later became subject to internal dissension and there developed on it a cultural system very different from that of the Tuscarora in the north.

Chapter II

Footnotes

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Chapter III

THE SIXTH MEMBER OF THE CONFEDERACY

The Tuscarora who went north to join the Five Nations found themselves in very different circumstances than those of their southern kinsmen. In New York they participated in the strategic role played by the Iroquois Confederacy in the history of that region. Most of the sociocultural changes that determined who the Tuscarora were in 1800 unfolded in the land of the Iroquois Longhouse.

The Historical Setting

The League of the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca was old when the initial Tuscarora refugees joined them in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The date of formation is unknown, but the Confederacy was definitely in operation prior to 1650 and some scholars have suggested dates nearly 100 years earlier.¹ The seventeenth century was a period of Iroquois conquest and territorial expansion. The Erie, Potun, Huron, Susquehanna, and Mahican were all defeated; they and their lands came under the control of the Five Nations. These conquests were largely related to the Five Nations' attempt to control trade with the French, Dutch, and later English. Wedged between European colonies, they acted as middlemen in trade to the far western and northern Indians. The increased competition of these world powers, especially the French and English, made the Five Nations' position extremely valuable.

By the end of the seventeenth century the beaver trade

was becoming exhausted and a new strategy was employed. In 1701, the Five Nations made two nearly simultaneous treaties of neutrality, one with the French at Montreal and the other with the English at Albany. A policy was adopted of peace toward distant Indians, manipulation of nearby Indians, and "armed neutrality between contending Europeans."² The success of this policy was based on a balance of Iroquois equivalency in relations with the French and English. This balance was fairly well maintained, and resulted in the Five Nations receiving economic and political concessions from each of these European powers trying to woo them into their alliances. The balance of power was effectively maintained by the Five Nations only through their being able to threaten military action or promise useful military assistance. It was probably the need of increased numbers that led the Five Nations to so readily receive the Tuscarora and other adopted people. Through such moves they strengthened their own position in relation to the French and English. On several occasions the Five Nations made errors and conceded too much, or lost control of too many warriors. Especially trying were the three intercolonial wars of the century, Queen Anne's War, 1701 to 1713; King George's War, 1744 to 1748; and the French and Indian War, 1754 to 1763. The events of this last conflict proved especially harmful to the Five Nations play-off policy. The English had gained a decidedly upper hand. In 1768 at the Fort Stanwix treaty conference, large concessions were made by the Iroquois of lands south of the Ohio and Susquehanna Rivers. This created difficulties for the Confederacy. The Shawnee and other Iroquois dependents living on the land sold by the League were extremely embittered and rebellious.

The most drastic break in the policy of neutrality came during the Revolutionary War. The directions taken by the Tuscarora and others of the Six Nations, however, had their origins in the decades prior to 1776. In the present

chapter we will look at the physical distribution of the Tuscarora, the relationship of the Tuscarora to the other people in the Confederacy, the changes that took place in Tuscarora political organization, and the factors that would determine the directions of the Tuscarora during the Revolutionary War.

References to the Tuscarora are infrequent in the historical record from 1722 until about 1750. At the beginning of this period they are first referred to as the sixth nation of the Confederacy. Following the proclamation the Tuscarora are mentioned primarily in some context of League activity and usually are playing what appears to be a minor, subordinate role. The Five Nations announced in 1714: "the Tuscarores . . . are come to live among us as our Children who shall obey our commands & live peaceably and orderiy." The Tuscarora seemed to have taken this directive seriously; and the fears of many New York colonists that the Tuscarora would stir up trouble proved to be unfounded.³

Tuscarora chiefs appeared as part of Six Nations' delegations at conferences with the English and the French. As members of the Confederacy the Tuscarora shared a concern about the prices of trade goods, the construction of trading posts, placement of gunsmiths and blacksmiths, southern Indians, disputes with Whites in New York and neighboring colonies, and other matters of mutual interest. Not only did they appear at Albany and Montreal, but Tuscarora chiefs were also present at Onondaga when League business was conducted. Conrad Weiser went to Onondaga in April 1737 to help establish peace between the Six Nations and the Cherokee and Catawba. As the council began, Weiser could report "that some of the Chiefs of every of the Six Nations was there." Again in 1743, John Bartram, traveling to Onondaga with Conrad Weiser and Lewis Evans, mentioned the participation of the Tuscarora in the Confederacy

Council which met to consider proposals brought by Weiser.⁴

These early pictures of the Tuscarora within the Six Nations are enticing but meager; and, while they do not suggest the exact nature of Tuscarora participation, they do confirm some active role. A more detailed analysis will be given to the changing position of the Tuscarora in chapter 7, but one area related to the Tuscarora's membership should be mentioned here. The Oneida were the specific group who adopted the Tuscarora. The influence the Oneida had on the Tuscarora was very great and enters significantly into the sociopolitical development of the Tuscarora for the bulk of the eighteenth century. It was the Oneida who provided the Tuscarora land for settlements, hunting, fishing, and gathering. Many of the Tuscarora settlements were either near those of the Oneida or were shared with Oneida. The imagery of the Confederacy was such that the Oneida and Cayuga were seen as the younger brothers or the sons of the Confederacy. The Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca were the elder brothers or fathers. The Tuscarora became one of the younger brothers or sons, and here again found themselves in an especially close relationship to the Oneida. The resultant influence the Oneida had on the Tuscarora became well-known to New York officials, who in land deals and even in matters of warfare came to expect the Tuscarora to follow the lead of the Oneida.⁵

The first half of the eighteenth century was a time of significant adjustments for the Tuscarora in the north. Differences in plant and animal life meant changes in diet, material culture, and annual cycles of hunting and gathering. The social environment was drastically different. As subsequent chapters will show, religious and civil ceremonies of the Five Nations were adopted; there were new languages, values and practices with which to become familiar. Indian-White relations were also very different, and these relations would demand new kinds of responses from those to which the Tuscarora had been accustomed.

Northern Tuscarora Villages and Territory

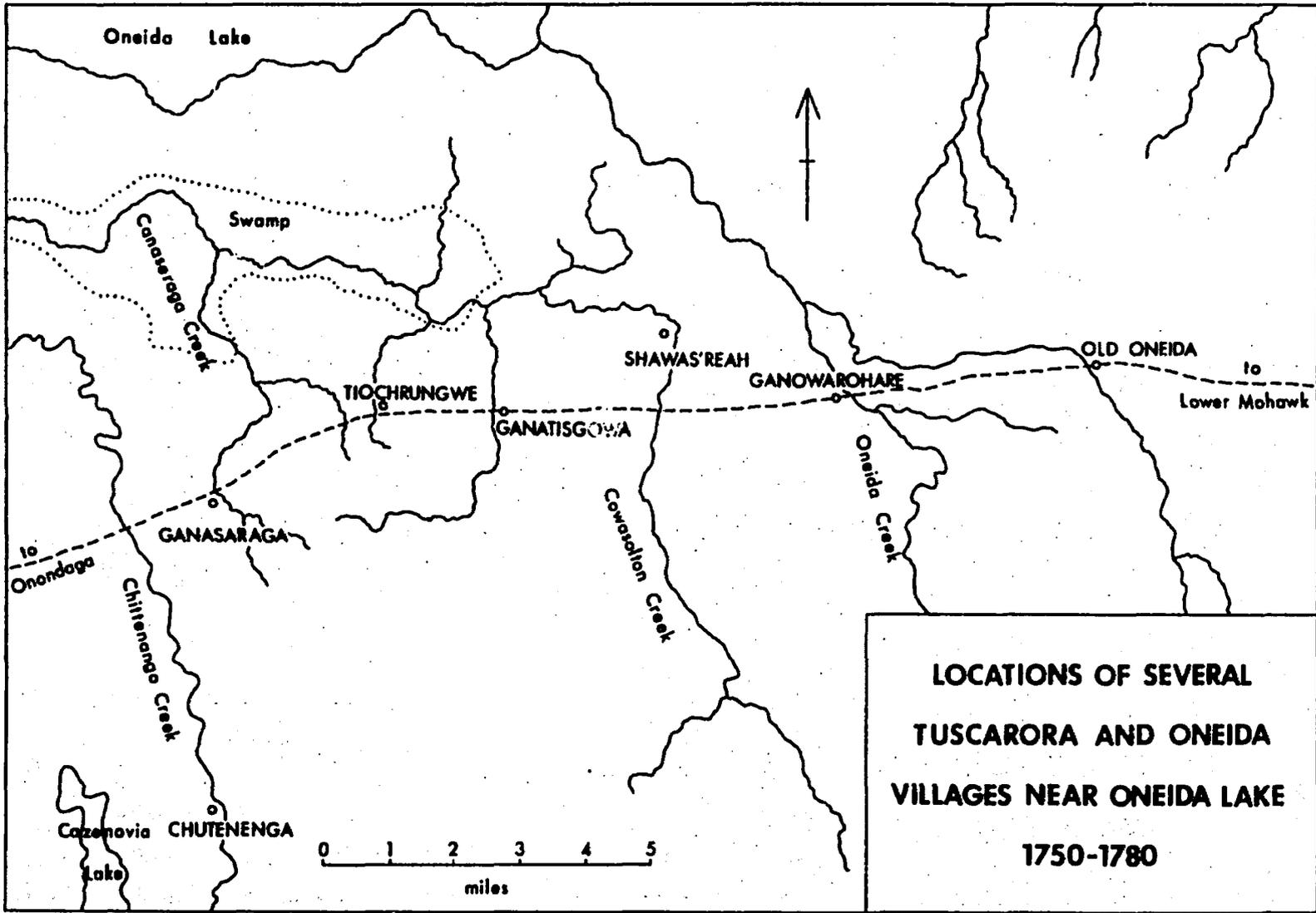
The Tuscarora were given land use privileges by the Oneida, but apparently never had sole land rights until their reservation in western New York was in part granted and in part sold to them by the Holland Land Company at the turn of the nineteenth century. The changes in the Five Nations' attitudes toward land and the Tuscarora's role in Five Nations land affairs are complicated matters and deserve a more detailed consideration than the scope of this study permits. Briefly, however, the Five Nations, early in their relations with the colonists, looked upon land solely as "a gift from the 'Maker'" that could not be bought or sold. Adopted groups were allowed to use land belonging to the League or its members, but could be expelled for misbehavior, and certainly had no group rights to the land.⁶ During the eighteenth century, through English pressure, the Five Nations' conceptions of land tenure were altered. "Land had become a commodity--a salable asset to be bartered for annuities, liquor, etc. In accepting this new philosophy, the League violated the close relationship which the Indian had with nature."⁷ As a result of this change in values and the continuous and close participation of the Tuscarora in the Confederacy, the Tuscarora were involved in Five Nations land affairs to a far greater extent than many Iroquoianists have been willing to admit. The names and marks of Tuscarora chiefs appear on deeds of land sales along with those of their Five Nations counterparts. The Tuscarora also received part of the payment for land sales to the colonists. In fact, after the Fort Stanwix treaty had been signed in 1768, an Oneida deputation complained to Sir William Johnson that the Tuscarora carried away all the presents and money they could "without allowing a division to be made, as is usual in such Cases."⁸ They then asked Johnson to make sure that there would be a proper division of payments for

lands recently sold to Pennsylvania.

In spite of this kind of Tuscarora participation in Five Nations land affairs, they never appeared to have sole control of even village areas. To some extent this reinforces the idea of Tuscarora dependency as adopted people, but it also reflects the close association of the Tuscarora and Oneida, and it was also in conformity with a long-standing pattern of Confederacy influence over the lands of members.⁹

The areas of Tuscarora occupation in New York have been briefly mentioned but the nature and locations of specific settlements deserve detailed treatment. (See Appendix A for a list of uncertain or poorly known settlements.) It was established earlier that some Tuscarora were living in the area between the Oneida and Onondaga shortly after their initial migration in 1713. A block of land extending from east of Oneida Creek to the west for an indefinite distance, but not farther than the present western border of Madison County, was called "Tuscarora" during Samuel Kirkland's years in the area. If the apple orchard in the eastern part of this plot mentioned by Pomroy Jones was, as he claims, planted by the first Tuscarora in the area, this would suggest their first settlements were southwest of Old Oneida and the area continued to be identified with the Tuscarora until 1790. By the 1750's there were at least four other Tuscarora villages more closely clustered along or just north of the trail that passed through Ganowarohare as it wound its way west southwest to Onondaga. (See map 3.)

The most easterly of the Tuscarora villages on this trail was Ganatisgowa. It was visited by Moravian missionary John Martin Mack in August 1752. He described it as having "almost thirty houses, large and regularly built, with a wide street through the middle of the town."¹⁰ The village chief was lame and therefore unable to attend the council to be held at Onondaga. Even though he had received



Map 3

**LOCATIONS OF SEVERAL
TUSCARORA AND ONEIDA
VILLAGES NEAR ONEIDA LAKE
1750-1780**

some previous account of Mack's business from the Oneida, he asked for and received a further explanation and seemed to be in favor of the proposed Moravian mission. Tiochrungwe was mentioned by Moravian David Zeisberger as being on this same road. Perhaps this was the "few huts, occupied by some Tuscaroras," Mack mentions being west of Ganatisgowa and just a few hours' walk from Ganasaraga. Lewis Evans' 1755 map shows an unnamed series of three Tuscarora villages stretching in a line up toward the east end of Oneida Lake. The southernmost of these villages is Ganasaraga; one of the others may be Tiachsochratota, another Tuscarora village mentioned by the Moravians. The Sautier map of 1778 also shows several villages above Ganasaraga, about halfway toward Lake Oneida; but, as on Evans' map, no names are provided for these. One of these was probably Shawas' reah, a village mentioned by Samuel Kirkland in 1770 as being four miles west of Ganowarohare.¹¹

Ganasaraga was the Tuscarora village most often mentioned in the historical record. It was in existence as early as 1748 on the Oneida to Onondaga trail between Chittenango Creek and the westernmost branch of Ganasaraga Creek. Conrad Weiser identifies it in 1750 as a Tuscarora settlement, but three references from 1757 to 1759 mention it as an Onondaga village. Samuel Kirkland, writing to Timothy Pickering in 1794, reported that both Tuscarora and Onondaga lived at Ganasaraga.¹²

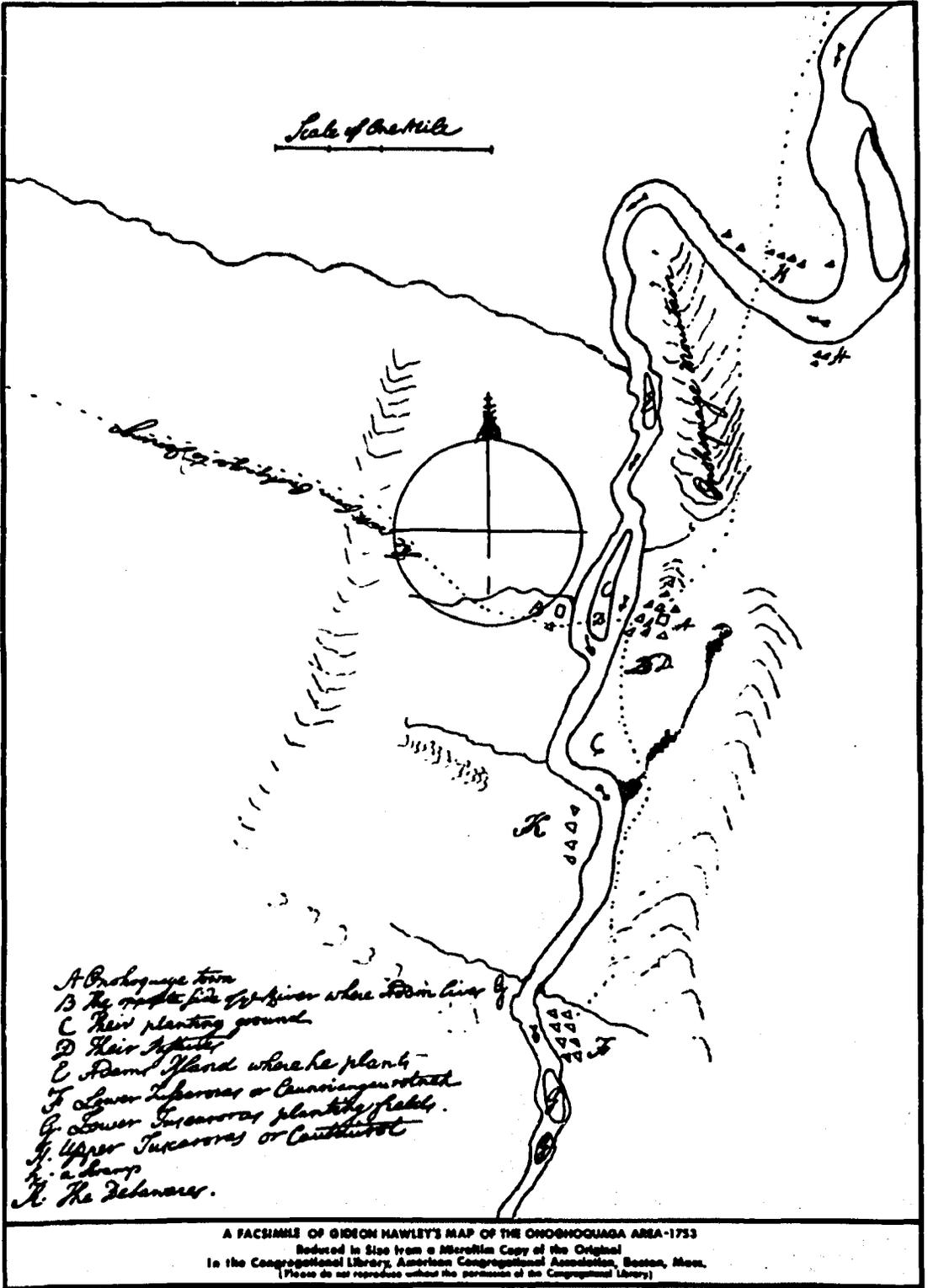
The people of Ganasaraga apparently had a defined fishing grounds at Lake Oneida, but there is no indication whether this was also the case with hunting territories. Oneida lands stretched north of Lake Oneida; and George Croghan states these were used by hunters of all these villages. The lands to the south toward Onoghoquaga were also important hunting territories for both the Tuscarora and Oneida.¹³

The Tuscarora villages of Cautaurot and Caunoiyangarotne near Onoghoquaga were established very early by some of

the first emigrants from North Carolina. Map 4 is a facsimile of a map of this area made by Gideon Hawley while he served as a missionary there from 1753 to 1756. Hawley reported in 1753 that there were 212 people who were "proper Inhabitants" of the three towns, with the Oneida being the most numerous. Scarouady, a well-known Oneida chief, visited Onoghoquaga early in 1756 with Andrew Montour, and later reported to Pennsylvania officials that there were about sixty or seventy men in the three towns, which roughly agrees with Hawley's figure. At a conference held with Sir William Johnson in December 1763, a speaker for the Tuscarora near Onoghoquaga reported their population as 100 men, women, and children over eight years of age, which included forty fighting men.¹⁴

In June 1769 Richard Smith, on a surveying tour of land surrendered by the Six Nations the previous year at Fort Stanwix, traveled down the east branch of the Susquehanna and described Onoghoquaga and surrounding villages. By 1769 the upper Tuscarora village, or Cautáurot, seems no longer to have been in existence. He reported about 140 Oneida lived at Onoghoquaga, and about the same number of Tuscarora at Caunoiyangarotne. He also states that Onoghoquaga dwellings were traditional longhouses, with from six to eight compartments or stalls per house. Each of these, he said, was inhabited by one family.¹⁵ Since he describes Onoghoquaga as having fifteen or sixteen longhouses on the east side of the river and a few others on the west side, it would appear that not all of these were inhabited, or at least not to full capacity. Otherwise there would have been a population of over four hundred, instead of 140.

Several Tuscarora villages established below Onoghoquaga after Hawley's residence from 1753 to 1756 were occupied primarily by 160 Tuscarora who emigrated from North Carolina in 1766. These were the towns of Shawiangto, one mile downstream from Caunoiyangarotne on the west bank, and Ingaren,



Map 4

about twelve miles farther south.¹⁶ Since they were destroyed during the American Revolution we will discuss them in more detail in chapter 4.

One Tuscarora settlement was located between those at Oneida Lake and the others near Onoghoquaga, but it was not established until 1763. This village was Ganaghsawaghta. It served as a much-needed relay station for messages and a resting place for travelers going between the settlements on the Susquehanna and those near Oneida Lake. The exact site is unknown. Samuel Kirkland stopped there in 1773, describing it on that occasion as being sixty miles from Old Oneida and on another only thirty-six miles. It was not a large settlement. When the people of Ganaghsawaghta requested that a fort be built there in 1764, Sir William Johnson declined because only a few families lived there.¹⁷

Upon arriving in New York for the first time, the Tuscarora emigrants from North Carolina found some parts of their new physical environment very similar to what they had known in the south, but much of what they found demanded new adaptations. No longer did they live on a coastal plain, but instead on the rolling hills south of Oneida Lake, or the mountainous region around Onoghoquaga. Instead of a scattered settlement pattern determined by the course of swamps along the Tar and Neuse Rivers, a more compact village pattern was adopted. The rugged winters of New York meant new kinds of housing and clothing had to be used. Differences in vegetation demanded learning which new materials could be used to do old tasks, and also which materials should be used in the technology they borrowed from their new neighbors.

Many aspects of subsistence and the general economy could be continued as they had been in the south. Many of the problems were the same as well. In 1769, Richard Smith observed that the islands in the Susquehanna River and the lands through which it ran near Onoghoquaga were cleared, but "full of fine & high Grass." Fifteen years earlier

Hawley wrote that much of the land was cleared, but only about one-fortieth of it was "improved." The area had long been occupied, but as the soil was exhausted and grass made it difficult to plant, new fields had to be cleared. The village of Onoghoquaga and others nearby had been relatively stationary for some time in 1770, and this was due largely to the introduction of the plow by the English. A Tuscarora chief from Caunoiyangarotne explained to Sir William Johnson in 1768 that "as their Corn Lands had for a long Series of time bore Crops without any Tillage, they were now impoverished, they therefore requested that some white man might be permitted to bring a Plough to them to plough their Lands," to which Johnson agreed. Smith noted in 1769 that the islands near the villages had been cleared. Interestingly enough, Hawley's map of the area confirms the use of these areas for crops and as pasture lands.¹⁸

Adjustments to changes in traditional culture were a made by all of the Six Nations in many cases such as the one above. The availability of a grist mill, blacksmith, gunsmith, and other conveniences soon came to be seen by the Six Nations as necessities. Requests for these services were often made to Sir William Johnson at annual conferences. The people of Onoghoquaga for many years supported Elisa Gun, who "mended [flint]locks & made & mended axes & other iron toles for the Indians." Gun worked at Onoghoquaga while Hawley served there as a missionary, and was still there in 1761, but he was gone by 1768 when the people pleaded with Sir William Johnson to send them another smith.¹⁹

With the decline of the fur trade, new materials became marketable, leading the Six Nations into new economic pursuits. One of the most interesting of these was ginseng. Several varieties were found in New York; and the root of the plant had a market for export to the Orient, where it was used as a medicinal agent. In 1752 Zeisberger met 100 of the Six Nations digging up these roots. Hawley wrote

of the people near Onoghoquaga in fall 1752 that "their business the summer passed had been gathering the Gensang." Sakwarithra, a Tuscarora chief from Ganasarga, in August 1766 asked Sir William Johnson to allow a trader to "go into their Country with Goods where with to purchase Jengsang, of which they had a Plenty."²⁰ New elements were constantly being added to the cultural inventory of the Six Nations, demanding rapid adaptations. But for the Tuscarora there was the extra burden of adjustment to the new physical as well as social environments of Iroquoia.

In summarizing the Tuscarora population in New York up to 1770, a very disturbing fact becomes clear. This was a period of sharp population decline. Based on North Carolina figures, about 2,000 people migrated north in 1713. Contemporary New York observers agree quite closely with this estimate. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionary William Andrews reported in 1715 that 500 Tuscarora families had recently arrived. Cadwallader Colden, who became the New York Surveyor-General in 1720, wrote in his history of the Five Nations that 600 Tuscarora warriors, plus 400 old men and boys came to join the Five Nations in the spring of 1713. Assuming about an equal number of women and girls, we again have a total of about 2,000. Throughout the period from 1713 to 1770 there were additional migrations, the largest of 160 in 1766, bringing several hundred more Tuscarora north. George Croghan reported in 1765 that the Tuscarora living in the villages around Oneida Lake could raise 200 fighting men. In 1770 Sir William Johnson wrote that the Tuscarora had, with the addition of those from the south in 1766, about 250, or a total population of about 1,000.²¹ What happened? This represents a far greater decline than the other Five Nations of the League experienced. During this time period smallpox epidemics were reported within the Confederacy; playing the French against the English was costly in terms of warfare-- but why a greater decline in the Tuscarora? The answer is

perhaps found in the rigors of the adaptations that faced the Tuscarora. The difficulties of adjustment to a new physical environment were significant, but the problems of psychological and social adjustments may have been more important. These are, unfortunately, the most difficult to document.

There is some evidence that the Tuscarora who came north in the initial migration suffered severe psychological scars from their defeat in North Carolina. Their bitterness and antagonism toward Whites in New York during the initial years following their resettlement have already been mentioned. As late as 1754, Gideon Hawley relates that "the Indian war of the Tuskraro Nation it seems to be as I am informed something discouraging to this people they are afraid that it will be the occasion of much unhappiness to 'em."²² Thirty years after the war, Tuscarora wrath had turned to despair. Many of them participated in the great League of the Iroquois, and all the benefits that involvement brought; but they still suffered under the strain of defeat, destruction, and change. This was a shadow of what the Confederacy would suffer at the hands of Sullivan and Clinton during the Revolutionary War. As a result of this defeat, much of the League would become ripe for the religious revitalization of Handsome Lake, and the Tuscarora in New York were ready in 1750 for the message of Christianity.

The Rise of Christianity

In North Carolina the Tuscarora had not been exposed to Christianity; and, perhaps because of their distrust of Whites after the 1711 to 1715 War, the first immigrants in New York actively worked against the SPG missionary to the Mohawk, William Andrews. Since the mid-seventeenth century the Five Nations had been exposed to Roman Catholic

Christianity. Andrews, who began his work in 1712, was the first Protestant missionary to minister regularly to any of the Iroquois. Tuscarora attitudes toward Christianity began to change, as evidenced by the occasional reference to a Tuscarora baptism or marriage in the records of Henry Barclay, who succeeded Andrews.²³ The SPG mission to the Mohawk was manned by clergy of the Episcopal Church. Congregational missionaries of the "presbyterian" persuasion, however, came to have the greatest influence on the Tuscarora and Oneida. A mission to the Mahicans was established by John Sergeant under the auspices of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (hereafter SSPCK), in 1734. Two years later he moved the operation to Stockbridge, Massachusetts.²⁴

The first known missionary contact with Onoghoquaga began in 1748. Elihu Spencer was sent to the Oneida and Tuscarora living there by the Commissioners of the SSPCK at Boston. According to his eventual successor, Gideon Hawley, Spencer "could not grapple with the difficulties he met with and tarried at Onoghoquaghe only two or three months and came off in the dead of Winter." Hawley goes on to say that several Indian families "manifested a thirst for Christian knowledge by coming down to Stockbridge & encouraged the Commissioners to make another attempt."²⁵ Instead of sending another missionary, it was decided to invite both parents and children of the Oneida and Mohawk to come to Stockbridge; about ninety arrived in 1750. Hawley was selected to start a school for the children in 1751. By January 1752 there were sixty Oneida, Tuscarora, and Mohawk children present for the school. Most of these were from villages near the Susquehanna, not from the heartland of the Six Nations. In May 1753, Gideon Hawley started out to establish a mission at Onoghoquaga. With Hawley during much of his stay were Rebecca and Benjamin Ashley. Mrs. Ashley had been captured by the Mohawk at Deerfield as a child of four. She grew to adulthood at

Caughnawaga and served as an interpreter for both Spencer and Hawley. Except for brief trips back to Stockbridge, Hawley stayed at his mission until January 1756, when Indians hostile to the English during the French-Indian War proved a threat to his safety.²⁶

While the results of Hawley's mission do not seem particularly dramatic, Christianity clearly became a significant influence for the change of cultural values and political relationships within the Six Nations. Shortly after Hawley arrived, he reported that the drunken Indians at Onoghoquaga were not "the Indians who belonged here, but Delawares who come to trade."²⁷ The people of the three villages at Onoghoquaga even requested Hawley to write William Johnson requesting that no liquor be allowed to be brought to them. Three men were placed in charge of small amounts of rum to be used for medicinal purposes. When the people were not away hunting, maple sugaring, gathering ginseng, or at a conference, a high percentage of both Tuscarora and Oneida regularly attended religious services. An indication of the extent to which Christian concerns and symbols were internalized by this time is provided in the following extract from Hawley's journal:

This week there was a Tuskerore Boy who had been sick five nights & on the fifth he lay in a * * [coma] about 2 Hours before he came to revive again--He said that in that Time * [he] went into a large plain * * * * he saw a man walking that can * [came] to Him & * he wanted to find somebody to mind Him but he would not find any that Would pay any regard to Him--Then the man said to the Boy you must repent of all your Sins you don't mind what your mother says to you--you play on the Sabbath--you are cross. but now you must repent now & do better--the Boy Answered I will repent & reform--Then the Boy went with the man a little farther & He heard a great noise Louder than Thunder * * * * [boiling water and fire came] out of the Earth & came all round Him but did not hurt Him. Then he came

to the Boy * * & the Boy kneeled down & prayed & the Water came boiling up all round Him & one drop of the flame came on Him . . . which made Him cry out so that he was in very great distress. then they went further toward Hell & . . . [they] saw the people * * [squirm] like worms in the fire and as they were looking one come out & look[ed] up & cryed to God for mercy--then the Devil came out in an awful Shape with Horns looking dreadfully, & He had a great Laddle & large as a frying pan & he bro't the man something in it to drink & He made the man take it down, now says the Dev'l why do you cry for mercy this is what you used to love, you used to love rum & now you have it . . . & [the Devil] took Him & kicked Him into Hell again.²⁸ [Asterisks indicate illegible portions of the microfilmed manuscript.]

The significant feature of this dream is the seemingly high degree to which traditional Christian symbols, theology, and values were internalized by this boy. This is, of course, only one individual; and we cannot be sure of the extent to which others shared this degree of cultural absorption. But the continued reputation of these people as being predominantly Christian is suggestive of changes in this area.

The importance of dreams in the everyday lives of many of the Iroquois people deserves emphasis. According to Anthony F. C. Wallace, they had come to recognize the conscious and unconscious parts of the mind. The Iroquois realized that they could not properly understand their unconscious desires, but that the frustration of these desires could cause mental and physical illness. They looked upon dreams as symbolic expressions of their desires that must be heeded to avoid harmful consequences. From Hawley's journals and other references from this period it is clear that the Tuscarora shared this same concern about their dreams.²⁹ Satisfaction of some dreams was a simple matter of performing some act, going to some place, or acquiring whatever had been dreamed. On other occasions,

as in the dream above, a supernatural being was involved, who spoke personally to the dreamer; and sometimes messages were given for the entire community that had fairly broad behavioral consequences. An example of a Tuscarora visionary who had an impact on his community in favor of Christianity in 1769 is mentioned by Samuel Kirkland. In Kirkland's own words:

I have lately had an invitation to preach Christ in two villages where I could never get admittance before, at least without opposition and many discouragements. One at 18 miles distance from Kanowarohare, viz. the upper Castle of Kannoghsorage. The Sachem is still unfriendly to the Christian Religion, as he ever had been, but his influence is not great in this Village, where there has something happened lately, very unusual and extraordinary, viz. An Indian heard (as he says) these words pronounced with an audible voice: "Repent, and prepare to meet the Lord; embrace his word and worship." which word overcame him, and almost deprived him of life for some time; but when he came to himself, his heart was strong towards God, 'Tis said he now appears like another man. The whole Village are much affected with the account he gives and his correspondent conduct; and soon after unanimously agreed to invite me to preach Jesus as the Savior of the Indians.³⁰

Christian missionaries rarely had such dramatic conversions among the Iroquois, but clearly traditional attitudes toward dreams effectively combined in this case with some social readiness to turn to Christianity.

Hawley left Onoghoquaga in 1756, and returned only briefly in 1761. Because of the continued interest expressed by the Tuscarora and Oneida to whom Hawley had ministered, the Commissioners of the SSPCK at Boston sent Eli Forbes there in 1762.³¹

Samuel Kirkland visited the Onoghoquaga area in November 1764, taking with him Joseph Woolley, a Delaware Indian who had been one of Eleazer Wheelock's students in Connecticut.

Woolley was left by Kirkland at the village to learn Oneida and Tuscarora and then establish a school. He was not very successful at either task, however, and died of tuberculosis in November 1765. In 1765, Gideon Hawley again returned, but only to introduce Eleazer Moseley to the people of the Onoghoquaga area. Moseley remained there at least until June 1769, when Richard Smith visited him. Following Woolley's death, James Dean was hired by the SSPCK to conduct a school at Onoghoquaga and serve as an interpreter for resident missionaries. Dean continued to serve in this capacity at least until 1770.³² In 1772 the same missionary society sent Aaron Crosby to take the position vacated by Moseley. With only brief periods intervening, there were missionaries present at Onoghoquaga from 1748 until the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Even when there were no missionaries in residence, the Tuscarora and Oneida of Onoghoquaga maintained contacts with the Boston Commissioners and the mission station at Stockbridge through correspondence, visits, and sending their children to school there. This is not to imply that all of these Tuscarora and Oneida were Christians. Richard Smith reported that about 100 attended a Sunday morning service when he visited Onoghoquaga in 1769. This represents only one-third of the total population of their villages as Smith reported it. Even as early as 1756, however, Hawley counted as Christians many of the leading men in village affairs. Perhaps the most interesting expression of some of these people's commitment to Christianity is found in a letter to Sir William Johnson dictated to Eli Forbes by Good Peter (Agorondajats), speaking on behalf of the "Christian Indians," who apparently expressed the dominant opinion of the people of the villages in council. They asked that forts built for their protection during the French-Indian War be dismantled and the White soldiers removed. Along with their fear of land encroachment, they claimed the forts were "a great Hurt to Religion, because some of our Warriors

are foolish, & some of our Brothers soldiers dont fear God Our eyes are so far opened as that we are more afraid of Losing our Souls by our Sins, than our Lands by dishonesty. We have made [our] choice of Religion as the best thing & are determined never to let it go."³³

The evangelization of the Oneida and Tuscarora living near Oneida Lake sprang from Onoghoquaga. A few children had been sent to Stockbridge from the Oneida Lake settlements in the early 1750's; but the first real impact of Christianity in the area came at the end of this decade. The evangelist was not a White man, but an Indian. Good Peter, who was converted under Hawley's ministry in 1754, came to have a reputation as a preacher. Andrew Eliot wrote Hawley in 1761 that word had reached him in Boston that Good Peter had gained the attention of the Indians at Old Oneida, who, in turn, extended an invitation asking him to come and minister to them.³⁴ During the preparations in 1760 for the offensive against Canada, General Amherst stopped at Oneida on a Sunday and was surprised to find the people attending a worship service conducted by a "grave Indian Sachem," apparently Good Peter. The villagers asked Amherst to send John Ogilvie, the current SPG missionary to the Mohawk, to visit them. Ogilvie arrived on July 18, 1760, and found a "large congregation" participating in a worship service. Three men and three women presented themselves to be examined for baptism. Satisfied of their faith and serious intent, Ogilvie baptized them. These same people then asked for Christian marriage. Ogilvie described them as "three principle Men & their Wives who had lived many years together according to the Indian Custom." By the end of his visit that day, he had baptized six adults and fourteen children and performed Christian marriage ceremonies for nine couples. Amazed at what he had found, he wrote; "I would to God, we had Labourers in this Part of the Vineyard, to keep alive the Spark that is kindled among some of these Tribe."³⁵

The laborers came, but they were sent by Boston

presbyterian Congregationalists and not the SPG. Edward Johnson went to the Tuscarora village of Ganatisgowa early in 1761 to start a school for the Tuscarora and Oneida, to instruct them in English and the Christian religion. Tiagawehe, who was in 1760 referred to as the head chief of Ganatisgowa, assured Sir William Johnson that his people and the Oneida were "fully resolved to get as much insight [insight] into the Christian Religion as they possibly could."³⁶ Edward Johnson wrote Sir William Johnson in April 1762, and reported a conflict that continued to divide many of the various Iroquois groups for years to come: "There is here two sorts of people the one is for the religion and other is not and that Party is allways striving to hurt me by words and some times allmost to the taking of my life."³⁷ There are other indications that early missionary attempts in the Oneida area were difficult. Eleazer Wheelock sent one of his Mohegan students to Oneida in July 1761. Samson Occum, whose training progressed to the point of ordination in England, lasted only five months before leaving the mission. In spite of the personal difficulties of the missionaries and the divisions of the people, remarkable success was achieved. Chiefs from Oneida, Ganatisgowa and Ganasaraga visited Sir William Johnson in January 1764 to proclaim their political allegiance, and "as Christians" expressed their intention to be honest, open, and loyal. Several days later this same group met in council with a number of the Mohawk. As Sir William described the occasion, the Oneida and Tuscarora delivered the Mohawk a belt of wampum, "desiring they would leave off their wicked doings, such as listening to Wizards, or the like, and live like friends, and Christians together, as they now resolved to do."³⁸

At least one other Oneida besides Good Peter aided in the conversion of the Oneida and the Tuscarora to Christianity. Sir William Johnson in July 1763 wrote a note reminding himself to "write a Testimonial for y^e Praying

Oneida Thomas & Send it to Brants House." This individual, whose Indian name was Adinghkanorum, assisted Samuel Kirkland after the latter arrived among the Oneida in 1766. Kirkland usually referred to him as Deacon Thomas. By 1771 Deacon Thomas was conducting a school for fourteen Tuscarora children at Ganatisgowa and performed many other pastoral duties. Kirkland wrote his supervisors in Boston that there "will probably be no call for another missionary the ensuing year--by Dⁿ Thomas's help I will manage to do as much Service as any two Miss^{rys} that ever came into these parts."³⁹

Another of Wheelock's students was sent to the Oneida in May 1765. David Fowler and his wife, Hannah, were Montauk Indians from Long Island. They continued to work among the Oneida for several years, and also helped Samuel Kirkland get settled at Ganowarohare, instructing him in the Oneida language when he arrived in 1766.

Kirkland did not receive the same degree of support that Gideon Hawley had at Onoghoquaga thirteen years earlier. For example, drunkenness was such a problem that Kirkland had to deliver the people of Ganowarohare an ultimatum only a few months after his arrival. He assembled the people and told them they would have to establish and enforce a temperance policy or he would terminate his mission with them. The matter was discussed for four days, after which they acceded to Kirkland's demands. Eight men nominated by Kirkland were appointed unanimously by the people to enforce the agreement. While there were serious breakdowns in temperance in the years that followed, the inroads of Christianity were great.⁴⁰ The ministries of Spencer, Hawley, Forbes, Edward Johnson, Good Peter, Deacon Thomas, and others had borne fruit. Kirkland's mission had only begun, and his presence would profoundly influence the history of both the Tuscarora and Oneida, but a foundation had been already laid. The introduction of Christianity not only had consequences in the change of belief systems, values, and thereby identity, but as I will illustrate

below, it also helped to determine the direction of changes in political organization.

League Politics:
A Case for Differential Involvement

In an earlier section of this chapter, I outlined the general nature of Tuscarora political relationships as a group in the Six Nations. In brief, they were involved in League affairs, often acted with the Oneida, did not have an equal position in terms of land rights, but otherwise seemed to participate on an equal footing. The question at this point is what was the nature of local village politics, especially the political relationships of the Tuscarora villages with one another and in the context of the League?

The power structure of village politics was very generalized. Unanimity was necessary for decisions to be implemented. Gideon Hawley wrote on this matter with regard to the people of Onoghoquaga, "You know that tis a very unusual thing for two or three to transact any publick affair; how small soever it's Consiquence, except they are chosen & impowered by the rest after a council upon the affair from which they received their Instructions--If two or three act for the rest without a Delegation (you know what I mean) from the whole it is of no Force--Indians are as exact about such Things as any People I know or have read of."⁴¹ The specific makeup and mechanisms of village political organization will be discussed in chapter 8. At this point it is only necessary to affirm the continuing importance of local village units. It was at the village level that ordinary people had the greatest voice, and without their agreement, decisions made above that level were meaningless.

The various Tuscarora villages were not clustered together, and often living the closest to them or with them

were Oneida, Onondaga, or Nanticoke. These two factors, variations in the proximity of Tuscarora villages and the close contact of the Tuscarora with other ethnic groups, had significant consequences for the nature of Tuscarora political organization.

The heartland of Iroquoia began in the east on the Mohawk River with the Lower Mohawk village. From there several trails wound west northwest to the Oneida and Tuscarora villages near Oneida Lake. Continuing west southwest the trails reached Onondaga, the meeting place of the Great Council of the Confederacy. Proceeding west southwest, the major routes led to the Cayuga village at the north end of Cayuga Lake, and from there to the Seneca villages around Seneca Lake and along the Genesee River. News traveled quickly along the trails between these villages, which were spread out roughly on an east-west axis. The topography, composed of rolling hills and plains dropping gradually down to the rivers, streams and lakes feeding Lake Ontario, posed no problems for travel. To reach the Tuscarora villages on the Susquehanna River, however, meant traveling through the low mountain ranges of the hunting territory lying between and shared by the two settlement areas (i.e., Oneida Lake and Onoghoquaga). For the most part, the area was more rugged and lacked villages where the traveler could conveniently find shelter and food. Poor communications due to the traveling conditions and distance to Onondaga would tend to make it difficult for the Tuscarora and Oneida at Onoghoquaga to participate in League affairs. Aside from the geographical distance, the people on the Susquehanna were also far from many of the Six Nations in the heartland in terms of ideology.

Sir William Johnson wrote in 1757 that many friends of the English originally living near Oneida Lake "who are disgusted with the ruling Politics of their People leave their Castles and go & settle at Oghuago." As was indicated

in the historical introduction to this chapter, the Six Nations tried to maintain a firm neutrality by playing the French against the English. Sir William Johnson was aware of this; but he also knew that many were not neutral, and which of these could be relied upon by the English. He wrote in May 1758 that the Tuscarora and Oneida

were very much divided amongst themselves & that their intestine Broils took up all their Attention; These arose from a French & English Faction--to this day it exists; and as some of these Nations have & do act with us, so tis probable others do with the Enemy, however I judge the greater part [of the Six Nations] are neutral Spectators There are a number of almost everyone of those Nations settled . . . on the Susquahannah River These Indians have ever been firmly attached to our Interest, and no Indians during the present war, have been more ready on every summons to come & join His Majestys Arms.⁴²

The political position of the Tuscarora and Oneida living at Onoghoquaga was clearly not equal to that of their kinsmen near Oneida Lake. In September 1746 a delegation sent to New York Governor Clinton from Onoghoquaga made this clear, affirming Johnson's statement quoted above.

We live at oghquago, the news that is Sent from your Excell^{cy} through the Six Nations is not brought truly to us, nor the news that the Governour of Canada Sends to the Said Nations, we have not been taken notice of nor acquainted that your Excell^{cy} was to treat with the Six Nations till the Interview was near over We have Received different news from the Six nations at times, it is as if the French be masters of them.⁴³

The lack of influence in the Confederacy on the part of the Oneida and Tuscarora at Onoghoquaga is well illustrated by their conversation with Sir William Johnson in May 1757. Johnson asked them to send delegates to Onondaga for a general Council of the Six Nations that was about to convene, hoping thereby that they would exert their influence

in favor of the English. The Onoghoquaga speaker replied: "Brother the People who are to compose that Council think themselves too wise to be directed by us -- We are obliged to You for your good Opinion of us, but hope you will not take it amiss that we are unwilling to go up to Onodagee as we think it would not have the good Effects w^{ch} you seem to imagine."⁴⁴ Not being on the best of terms with their kinsmen in the heartland of the League meant not only that they had very little influence but also that they often refused to obey the dictates sent to them. For example, in September 1753, Sir William Johnson asked the Oneida and Tuscarora from the Oneida Lake region to gather all their people and live as closely together as possible for their mutual protection. The Oneida agreed to his suggestion; and in March 1754 Gideon Hawley recorded in his journal that a chief of the Oneida had asked the Tuscarora and Oneida at Onoghoquaga to move to Old Oneida. Hawley wrote that "the Tuskaro'es we herd is not for it, how it will turn out in the End I can't tell."⁴⁵ He does not mention the situation again; but the people did not move.

The differential involvement in the Confederacy of the Tuscarora on the Susquehanna versus those in the heartland of the League is clearly reflected in the historical record. It is more difficult to determine differences in the nature of the participation of the villages near Oneida Lake. Information about the political relationships of these villages is available for only the post-1750 period.

Ganasaraga was the closest Tuscarora village to Onondaga, and, in fact, was occupied by people of both ethnic groups. The village and its chief, Sakwarithra, are mentioned more often than any other Tuscarora village and chief, in the historical record. The people of this village came to be looked upon by Sir William Johnson and others as forming a special category. At conferences or in lists of warriors, a distinction was often made between the Tuscarora,

Onondaga, and Ganasaraga. This was also the case with the Oneida and Tuscarora living close together in several villages on the east branch of the Susquehanna. They were at times listed and dealt with separately as the Onoghoquaga. Interestingly, this special category was maintained into the nineteenth century by the Onoghoquaga themselves, who lived both on the Grand River in Ontario and on the Oneida reservation in New York.⁴⁶ What this distinctiveness meant with regard to the people at Ganasaraga is not clear. The Onoghoquaga were remote geographically and were to some degree political separatists who strongly opposed the French. Conrad Weiser's account of a Six Nations Council in 1750 indicates many at Onondaga were pro-French but the Onondaga and Tuscarora at Ganasaraga were pro-English. This same sentiment was echoed by Thomas Butler in 1759.⁴⁷ Unlike the Onoghoquaga, however, the people of Ganasaraga were very much involved in Six Nations affairs. Sakwarithra was apparently the only Tuscarora representative to a general council at Onondaga in 1752. In 1761, Sir William Johnson talked with him and found him to be very knowledgeable about League affairs and hoped he would use "his influence" in favor of the British. Sakwarithra went on to explain that he would "acquaint the rest of the sachems [of the Great Council] and then fall on the best measures they could" to get to the bottom of what Johnson had told him about the Seneca. At a general Six Nations conference held at Johnson Hall in 1764, Sakwarithra told Sir William Johnson, in the presence of Onondaga, Seneca, and Mohawk chiefs, that the Cayuga warrior who spoke the day before did so "contrary to our Intentions," (emphasis added) suggesting his position as a voting co-equal with the other chiefs of the Confederacy. Furthermore, the very fact that a Tuscarora was the chief of a village made up in part of Onondaga indicated the Tuscarora of Ganasaraga were not second-class members of the Iroquois Longhouse.⁴⁸

The proximity of Ganasaraga to Onondaga may in part

explain its apparent high level of involvement in Confederacy affairs. The fact that Tuscarora and Onondaga lived together may also have been a factor. Kinship ties were very important to the Six Nations political organization, although this is very imperfectly reflected in historical records. First of all, lineages possessing chiefly titles automatically had a slight advantage in councils. Equally as significant were the advantages that might be had by being related to anyone having some influence gained through personal ability. "Sakwarithra," is one of the few Tuscarora hereditary titles that was still in use during the nineteenth century, when lists were made by Hewitt and others, that I have been able to confirm in the historical record during this period of the eighteenth century. The title was associated with a lineage of the Turtle Clan, living at Ganasaraga until 1777 when Sakwarithra left to actively assist the English during the American Revolution. The individual bearing the name Sakwarithra in 1766 may have further enhanced his political position by the fact that he was married to an Onondaga woman.⁴⁹ This is only an inferred possibility, but certainly the intermarriage of the two ethnic groups could have served to improve the situation of the Tuscarora involved in such an alliance.

Another individual who contributed culturally, genetically, and politically to this group is William Printup. From 1753 until the close of the French-Indian War, he served as an interpreter for Sir William Johnson. In 1756, at the request of the Onondaga, he went to live among them as an English agent and smith. He had already been married to a Tuscarora or an Onondaga woman for some time; and his descendants were later associated with the Tuscarora at Ganasaraga.⁵⁰ The family continued to be prominent at the Tuscarora reservation near Lewiston, New York, throughout the last two centuries.

Sakwarithra was not the only Tuscarora chief who

participated in the Confederacy. In December 1762 "Se-quarēsere, chief Sachem of Ganughsaragey, with four other Sachems of Tuscarora" attended a Six Nations conference at Onondaga. Unfortunately the chiefs are not identified, nor is it clear what is meant by "Tuscarora." The village of Ganatisgowa was sometimes called Tuscarora, but so was a block of land which was south and southwest of the Oneida village of Ganowarohare. Most likely, the four chiefs were from several of the Tuscarora villages in this area including Ganatisgowa. Other references associate various Tuscarora chiefs with specific villages near Oneida Lake and elsewhere. For most of these chiefs, little or nothing is known. There are a few interesting exceptions. Tiagawehe was very likely one of the four mentioned above. He seems to have been the only Tuscarora at a meeting the Oneida chiefs had with John Martin Mack in 1752 to determine whether or not Mack should be allowed to go to Onondaga. In 1760, Jelles Fonda spoke of Tiagawehe as the "head man" of Ganatisgowa. He is mentioned several times in historical records as serving in this capacity. He, probably more than any other Tuscarora chief, was personally responsible for bringing several groups of Tuscarora from North Carolina. He asked for Sir William Johnson's help in this matter in August 1763 and in 1766 traveled with eight other Tuscarora to North Carolina to make the arrangements which permitted 160 Tuscarora from the reservation to migrate north. Upon Tiagawehe's death in 1770, Tarriwahwaga was "raised" in his place at a Six Nations conference with Sir William Johnson.⁵² This procedure, a practice common to all the groups of the Six Nations throughout Johnson's years as Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the northeast, serves as a further example of Tuscarora adaptation to and involvement in the life of the Longhouse.

Information is especially scanty about the Tuscarora living at Ganatisgowa, Tiachsochratota, Tiochrungwe, Shawas'reah, and other settlements near the Oneida. They

characteristically appear in the colonial records with their Oneida neighbors. There is no way to determine how different from Ganasaraga their relationship to the other elements of the Confederacy was. Sakwarithra was attending a meeting at Oneida in September 1767, from which he did not have time to return to go to a conference called by Sir William Johnson at Onondaga. This would indicate that some communication existed between these two areas.⁵³

Geographical distance and ideological differences had previously prevented good communications between the Tuscarora and Oneida in the heartland and those at and around Onoghoquaga. After the successful beginnings of Christianity in the Oneida Lake communities by Good Peter, Edward Johnson, and others, attempts were made to heal the breach that existed. One such step was the establishment of Ganagsawaghta between the two areas in 1763 to serve as a stopping place and a relay station for messages. Tiagawehe and his father Gaghswangarora, another Tuscarora chief, were asked by the Oneida to move themselves to the new village, which eventually contained Tuscarora from both areas as well as Nanticoke and Conoy.⁵⁴ One of the Ganagsawaghta chiefs was Isaac Kariwhagarron, who was very likely the same Isaac for whom Edward Johnson wrote Sir William Johnson a letter in April 1762. Isaac had moved from Ganatisgowa, "Something more than half way to Connoquaga [Onoghoquaga] to a Place Called Connosomothdian."⁵⁵ Friends from both areas asked him to move to one place or the other, but he stubbornly refused. Instead he invited all those who wanted to "follow the Christian religion" to live with him. Some of the Christians from these two areas apparently did join him at the new settlement of Ganagsawaghta the following year, but by no means did all the Christians leave the areas of Oneida Lake and Onoghoquaga. Smauel Kirkland found many friends at Ganatisgowa and the other Tuscarora villages closer to the Oneida. At Ganasaraga, previous to 1769, he had no response to his ministry

other than antagonism. This changed with the vision one individual had late in 1769, the account of which is quoted on page 59. Almost over night many of the people became Christians. Kirkland reported that the "Sachem is still unfriendly to the Christian Religion." This chief is not identified by Kirkland, but may have been Sakwarithra. After this religious awakening had taken place, Kirkland stated that the chief's opposition had little effect, since so many in the village had become Christians.⁵⁶

With the acceptance by many of Christianity came the political alignments that led to the different directions taken by various groups of Tuscarora and Oneida during the Revolutionary War. Not only were their political divisions based on whether a group adhered to traditional Tuscarora and Oneida religious beliefs or held to Christianity, but there were group alignments based on which branch of Protestantism the Christian Tuscarora and Oneida were associated with, New England presbyterian Congregationalists or the Church of England Episcopalians. Missionaries of the former persuasion (Gideon Hawley and Samuel Kirkland, for example) had the greatest influence on the Tuscarora and Oneida. A letter to the Governor of Boston dictated by two of the civil leaders at Onoghoquaga in November 1764 indicates this distinction.

After seeking some Time to find the Habitation of Honesty, and where Sincerity was practiced, we found it resided in Boston, and there we gave a listning Ear. General Johnson's House is always to full of the King's News that we can hear Nothing from that Quarter of Jesus Christ & Religion. We desire that such News should come direct; for when it goes round in that Crooked Way, it often gets lost, and never reaches our Ears.⁵⁷

Christianity had unified some Tuscarora and Oneida, but it had also created new bases for fragmentation. To the already complicated political allegiances founded on relationships with European powers were added new mechanisms and factors based on religion.

The subtle details of local politics are but meagerly reflected in the historical record. It does seem clear, however, that not every Tuscarora community found itself in even similar local relationships with neighbors, nor did each local community have an equal participation or voice in the affairs of the Confederacy. The obvious external influences of European powers had an effect, as did Christian missions, proximity of villages, geographical barriers, kinship ties, and undoubtedly many other factors that are lost to us in the clouds of the past.

North Carolina Tuscarora Decline

The Tuscarora remaining in North Carolina after 1715 included primarily individuals who were from the Upper or neutral villages that did not involve themselves in the war. We might expect that the Six Nations would either ignore them or class them with other southern enemies such as the Catawba and conduct raids against their Bertie County reservation villages. Instead of these courses of action, the Six Nations chose to establish friendly relations with the North Carolina Tuscarora, and used their reservation as a southern base of operations.

As early as 1717, the proceedings of the Colonial Council of Virginia stated "that the Constant Excursions of the s^d Five Nations & their Dependents along the ffrontiers of this Colony & their Correspondence with & frequent marches to & from the Tuscaroras have occasioned a vast charge & trouble to this Colony in keeping Rangers for its necessary defence."⁵⁸ The colonial records of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina contain numerous references to the movement of parties from the Six Nations to and from the Tuscarora reservation in Bertie County.⁵⁹ This frequent contact had several consequences for the Tuscarora remaining in North Carolina. It gave their warriors the opportunity of joining larger sorties against the

Catawba, Cherokee, and other mutual enemies. The regular travel of warriors from the Six Nations into the area gave the North Carolina Tuscarora the opportunity to blame the Six Nations for acts of hostility that were committed by them. Regular communication and interaction with the Six Nations also meant that as life on the reservation became undesirable there was a ready avenue of escape to their kinsmen in the north.

Sir William Johnson's influence on the Six Nations extended even to the North Carolina Tuscarora, through this same means of contact with the north. In February 1767 a number of Tuscarora who had emigrated from North Carolina the previous year spoke the following to Johnson:

Although we have lived at a considerable Distance from you, which we have found by travelling it, yet your Name, and Words reached us, as though you was but close by, and we always paid the greatest regard to your Orders, and advice, for Instance when you desired us to Leave off going to War ag^t. the Catawbas, we obeyed.--we complied also with your desire of Joining the Army to the Westward, and lost sev^l. of our young men in the service.⁶⁰

The "Army to the Westward" is a reference to their sending twenty-eight warriors to assist Colonel Henry Bouquet who was second-in-command to Brigadier General John Forbes in the 1758 campaign against the French in western Pennsylvania. Sir William Johnson encouraged the migration to New York of the Tuscarora remaining in North Carolina, personally making arrangements with North Carolina colonial officials and John Stuart, the Southern Indian Superintendent.⁶¹ The knowledge of Johnson's support produced a loyalty in the North Carolina Tuscarora that could influence them to look favorably on and respond to his directions concerning them in the above instances. A further possible consequence of Johnson's influence on the 1766 migrants who settled below Onoghoquaga at Ingaren and Shawiangto is the fact that they leaned

toward the English during the American Revolution.

The historical record portrays the dismal situation of the Tuscarora in North Carolina. Population declined; Indian-White relations deteriorated; and internally the artificial social structure devised by the colonists (setting Tom Blount up as "king") led to political dissension. For a few years Blount seems to have been able to function adequately in his role, but in August 1723 he found it necessary to seek colonial support. Some of his people apparently wanted to join the Six Nations. A party of northern Indians were soon to arrive for that purpose; and Blount asked for the North Carolina Colonial Council to assist him.⁶² In October 1725 once again colonial assistance was needed to maintain Blount's position.

King Blount Cheif man of the Tuscororoos representing to this Board that some of his people are disorderly and arc thro- wing off their Obedience to him as their Ruler and praying the Protection of this Government and this Board being fully Satisfyed of the faithfullness & Fidelity of the said Blount desired the Honoble the Governor to . . . Issue a procla- mation Commanding all the Tuscaroroos to render the said Blount Obedience other- wise they will be looked upon as Enemies to the Government.⁶³

Blount continued as "Ruler" for about another ten years until his death, the date of which cannot exactly be de- termined. In May 1731, William Blount is referred to as the "intended King" of the Tuscarora; but Tom Blount was still alive in 1733. After a six-year gap in information, the colonial records state that in March 1739 deputies from the Tuscarora asked permission of the Governor to choose a new chief. Permission was granted, and they were told that the election should be held the third Tuesday in June of that year at Resootskeh, one of their two villages on the reservation, and they should then report the results to the Governor. The name of the winner is not recorded; but in 1748 James Blount, the last chief to bear that surname, is

mentioned in the colonial accounts.⁶⁴ Interestingly enough, by this time the Tuscarora were of minor consequence to the colony and internal social adaptations had taken place to return political power into the hands of the people to a great extent. These changes are suggested by the March 1753 "petition of the Tuskerora Indians, setting forth that their King had in a Clandestine manner leased [land] to John McGasky contrary to their Inclination." Six months later McGasky was ordered off the land.⁶⁵

As the area around the reservation was settled, land encroachments and Indian-White animosity increasingly became problems. Land surveyors had to be chased off the reservation in 1721, squatters in 1722, 1732, 1741, and 1757-1759; and, by the time it was finally surveyed properly for the first time in 1803, Tuscarora land rights had been violated so blatantly that only a small fraction of the original reservation was unclaimed by Whites.⁶⁶

As the War of 1711 to 1715 tapered off, the usefulness of the Tuscarora to the North Carolina colonists also declined. No longer needed as border guards, the Tuscarora became despised and on various occasions found it necessary to complain about the treatment they received. White settlers often threatened them for hunting too near their homesteads. The Tuscarora were allowed to accumulate greater debts than they could pay and then taken advantage of through land frauds. Traders plied them with rum and cheated them. Ferry operators either refused them passage or overcharged them. In addition to the reservation's being illegally settled by some Whites, others drove their herds on Tuscarora lands to graze or conducted unauthorized logging operations to rob the Tuscarora of their resources.⁶⁷

The Tuscarora population on the reservation declined sharply, due to a number of factors. Virginia Governor Spotswood reported there were 1,500 Tuscarora scattered on the Virginia frontier in 1713 from five of the Upper villages. Others remained in North Carolina with Tom

Blount; and, over the next few years, most of those in Virginia returned to North Carolina. The first enumeration of the Tuscarora in the colonial records after the war reports they had about 300 fighting men in 1722, or perhaps a total population of about 1,200. North Carolina Governor Burrington wrote in 1731 that the Tuscarora had approximately 200 warriors, which would suggest a population of about 800. In 1755 a census of North Carolina Indians revealed the Tuscarora had dropped to 100 fighting men and 201 women and children. The 1766 migration north of between 130 and 160 Tuscarora left only 104 on the reservation in 1767.⁶⁸ By that time Ooneroy had been abandoned, and Resootskeh was the only village occupied by the Tuscarora on the reservation. This represents, in fifty years, a decline from about 2,000 to 100. Migration is one explanation. One small band of about sixty warriors went to Port Royal in 1715 and returned for their families several years later. Other small groups who were dissatisfied with reservation life under Tom Blount and his successors, left to join friends and relatives in the north, prior to 1752 and again in 1763 and 1766; and others just moved off the reservation, perhaps contributing in part to the isolated marginal populations that developed in the colony, e.g., Haliwa and Lumbee Indians. Some Tuscarora population decline can be attributed to warfare with the Catawba, which continued on a stop-and-start basis until 1759; but this was probably a minor factor. Outmigration and perhaps low fertility due to social factors associated with the unfavorable reservation situation of the Tuscarora were probably the major causes of population decline.

The best description of the Tuscarora and their reservation is found in the published archives of the North Carolina Moravians. In fall 1752 Bishop August Spangenberg and other Moravians visited North Carolina with the intention of establishing missionary work in the colony. They visited the Tuscarora reservation, hoping to procure rights

to the lands should the Tuscarora decide to leave. They were encouraged by the fact that so many had grown dissatisfied with reservation life and had gone north to live "on the Susquehanna; [and] . . . others are scattered as the wind scatters the smoke." Spangenberg wrote that they were living "in great poverty, and are oppressed by the whites."⁶⁹ They had continued traditional agricultural practices, planting "until the grass grows so freely that they cannot till their corn, -- for they have neither plough nor harrow,--and then they clear and plant a new piece." No missionary work had been conducted among them; and, though the Moravians claimed to recognize this need, they decided to settle farther west at present-day Winston-Salem. Isaac, an Oneida chief at Onoghoquaga, complained to Sir William Johnson of the disinterest of the 1766 migrants in Christianity. "Last Fall on the Arrival of our Brethren of Tuscarora from Carolina I was rejoiced in the hopes I had of increasing the number of hearers of the word of God, but how great was my Concern on finding them averse to it."⁷⁰ In spite of fairly regular contact between the northern and southern Tuscarora, the different local groups had each developed a Tuscarora subculture that made every group unique. These cultural differences were important enough to give rise to the various interest groups that existed during the Revolutionary War, but were not significantly different in those key areas that determined Tuscarora ethnic identity, hence they continued to acknowledge one another as "Tuscarora."

Chapter III

Footnotes

1. For a brief summary of the major historical evidence concerning the date of formation see William N. Fenton, "Iroquoian Culture History: A General Evaluation," in Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, eds. William N. Fenton and John Gulick, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 180 (Washington, D.C., 1961), pp. 270-273.
2. Anthony F. C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 112.
3. Wraxall, Indian Affairs, p. 144; O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 5:387.
4. "Conrad Weiser's Narrative of his Negotiation with y^e 5 Nations in April 1737 . . .," 10 May 1737, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 1 (microfilm reel 1, PA.M.Ia); John Bartram, Observations . . . on Travels from Pensilvania to Onondago (London: J. Whiston and B. White, 1751), p. 56; for examples of Tuscarora interest in Confederacy business, see Wraxall, Indian Affairs, pp. 150, 160, 182, 224; O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 5:671-672, 788, 966.
5. "The Report of John Penn and Richard Peters . . .," July 1754, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 2 (microfilm reel 1, PA.M.Ia); New York Council to George Clinton, 30 July 1746, George Clinton Papers, vol. 3, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; James Sullivan, Alexander Flick, and Milton W. Hamilton, eds., The Papers of Sir William Johnson, 14 vols. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921-65), 9:784.
6. George S. Snyderman, "Concepts of Land and Ownership among the Iroquois and their Neighbors," in Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 149 (Washington, D.C., 1951), pp. 15-22.
7. Ibid., p. 26.
8. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:670. William Johnson was made Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the northeast in 1746 and exerted a tremendous influence on the Six Nations throughout the nearly thirty years he served in that capacity. He had worked as a trader, going often to Onoghoquaga and other settlements. His house was open to visiting Indians, he knew Six Nations diplomacy, and he understood the people perhaps better than any other colonial official of comparable standing.

9. "The Report of John Penn and Richard Peters . . .," July 1754, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 2 (microfilm reel 1, PA.M.Ia).
10. John W. Jordon, ed., "Rev. John Martin Mack's Visit to Onondaga, 1752," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 29(1905):350.
11. Edmund DeSchweinitz, The Life and Times of David Zeisberger (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1870), p. 55; Lawrence Henry Gipson, ed., Lewis Evans (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1939), map 6; William M. Beauchamp, A History of the New York Iroquois, New York State Museum Bulletin no. 78 (Albany, 1905), p. 297; idem, Aboriginal Place Names of New York, New York State Museum Bulletin no. 108 (Albany, 1907), pp. 110, 115; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 7 October 1770 to 6 February 1771, Samuel Lothrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 6 March 1789 to 12 January 1790, Samuel Kirkland Papers, Hamilton College Library, Clinton, N.Y.; Cartografia de Ultimar, Servicios Geografico e Histórico del Ejército, 2 vols. (Madrid: Impv. de Servicio Geografico de Ejército, 1949), 2:33; original maps consulted for map 3 include Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1907), series I, 1:48-50; Ibid., 4:5-6, 9-10; "Sketch of Canasavage Creek . . .," 1794, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.; "Map of Oneida Reservation," September 1789(?), Schuyler Papers, Box 13, New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.; David H. Burr, An Atlas of the State of New York . . . (New York: David H. Burr, 1829), plates 29, 30.
12. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 1:157; Ibid., 9:834; Ibid., 10:37, 92-94; Hazard, Provincial Council, 5:474; Kirkland to Pickering, 8 December 1794, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62.
13. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 13:167; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., Early Western Travels, 1748-1846, 32 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1904-07), 1:16; Gideon Hawley to Barnabas Bidwell, 27 June 1796, Gideon Hawley Papers.
14. Hawley to Avery, 13 June 1753, Gideon Hawley Papers; Hazard, Provincial Council, 7:68; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 10:948.
15. Francis W. Halsey, ed., A Tour of Four Great Rivers (1906; reprinted, Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, 1964), pp. 60-70.

16. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:240, 270. Some villages in Ohio and Pennsylvania have been mistakenly identified as Tuscarora. Fenton ("Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois," Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections 100[1940]:212) lists "Tuscaroras Town," or Tuscarawas, in Ohio as a Tuscarora village. It was in fact a village occupied primarily by Delaware. There were never more than a handful of Tuscarora in Ohio. A fairly accurate census of the area reported in 1751 by the Six Nations listed none at all (Hazard, Provincial Council, 5:351). The number of Tuscarora living regularly in Pennsylvania after about 1730 has been badly overrated. Hewitt is probably in error when he states there was a settlement in the Tuscarora Valley as late as 1762 ("Tuscarora," p. 848). For a good discussion of this point see George Patterson Donehoo (A History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania . . . [Harrisburg: Telegraph Press, 1928], pp. 237-239).
17. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1772 to 1773, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1770 to 1771, Samuel Lothrop Papers; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 11:185.
18. Halsey, Tour of Rivers, p. 64; Hawley to Avery, 13 June 1753, Gideon Hawley Papers; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:624.
19. Hawley to Elliot, 20 May 1761, Gideon Hawley Papers; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:625.
20. DeSchweinitz, Life of Zeisberger, p. 189; Hawley to ?, n.d., follows Hawley to Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 29 July 1794, Gideon Hawley Papers; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:168.
21. Cadwallader Colden, "Continuation of Colden's History of the Five Nations, for the years 1707 through 1720," Collections of the New-York Historical Society 9(1935):414; Thwaites, Western Travels, 1:167; O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 4:427, 1093.
22. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
23. "Register of marriages, baptisms . . .," January 1735 to February 1746, Indians, New-York Historical Society, New York.
24. Electa F. Jones, Stockbridge, Past and Present; or Records of an Old Mission Station (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles & Co., 1854), pp. 41-42.
25. Hawley to Belknap, n.d., Gideon Hawley Papers.

26. Ibid.; Jones, Stockbridge, pp. 74-75.
27. Hawley to Elliot, 13 June 1753 and Hawley to Johnson, 12 June 1753, Gideon Hawley Papers.
28. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
29. Wallace, Seneca, pp. 59-75; for an example of how dreams indicate the extent to which cultural input has been internalized, see Jackson S. Lincoln, The Dream in Primitive Cultures (London: Cresset Press, 1935); Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:638.
30. Kirkland to Wheelock, 15 February 1770, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
31. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 5:596.
32. Hawley to Belknap, 6 June 1798, Jeremy Belknap Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.; Halsey, Tour of Rivers, pp. 64-65. Besides the missionaries mentioned, Benjamin Ashley and Henry Avery both spent some time at Onoghoquaga prior to the American Revolution (Jones, Annals of Oneida, p. 861).
33. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 3:871-872.
34. Hawley to Elliot, 20 May 1761, Gideon Hawley Papers.
35. Ogilvie to Burton, 9 August 1760, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Records (microfilm reel 2, vol. B. 2).
36. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 13:167; Ibid., 10:220-221.
37. E. B. O'Callaghan, The Documentary History of the State of New-York, 4 vols. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1849-51), 4:311.
38. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 3:437, 586; Ibid., 11:28, 34.
39. Ibid., 10:753; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1770 to 1771, Samuel Lothrop Papers.
40. Barbara Graymont, The Iroquois in the American Revolution (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), pp. 34-35.
41. Journal of Gideon Hawley, September 1756 to December 1756, Gideon Hawley Papers.
42. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:827, 903-904.

43. "Answer from the Indians . . .," 9 September 1746, George Clinton Papers, vol. 14.
44. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:714-715.
45. O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 6:811; Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
46. Charles M. Johnston, ed., The Valley of the Six Nations, Champlain Society, Ontario Series no. 7 (Toronto, 1964), p. 281, 307; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, January to April 1804, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
47. "A Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser on his Journey to Onontago . . .," August to September 1750; Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 1 (microfilm reel 1, P A.M.Ia); Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 10:92-94.
48. DeSchweinitz, Life of Zeisberger, p. 190; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 3:440-441; Ibid., 13:220; Ibid., 11:142.
49. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:168.
50. Ibid., 9:585, 624-625.
51. Ibid., 10:589.
52. Jordon, "Mack's Visit," pp. 348-349; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:943; Ibid., 10:220; Ibid., 13:167, 390-392; Saunders, Colonial Records, 7:219; "Proceedings at a Treaty . . .," July 1770, Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 95, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
53. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:362.
54. Ibid., 10:643-648; Ibid., 11:80-85.
55. O'Callaghan, Documentary History, 4:312.
56. Kirkland to Wheelock, 15 February 1770 and Kirkland to Wheelock, 25 April 1770, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
57. "Isaac Takayensere and Gwedethes Akirondongwas" to "Governor of Boston," 12 November 1764, Copy of original, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.
58. Council proceedings, 4 May 1717, Ludwell Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.
59. For example, O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 5:660; McIlwaine, Executive Journals, 3:126; Ibid., 4:365; Saunders,

Colonial Records, 2:304-304; Hazard, Provincial Council, 4:734; Saunders, Colonial Records, 11:10-15; Palmer, Virginia State Papers, 1:210.

60. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:273-274.

61. S.K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard, The Papers of Henry Bouquet, 2 vols. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1951), 2:164, 205, 210, 217, 356, 416, and 520; Saunders, Colonial Records, 6:90; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:1001.

62. Saunders, Colonial Records, 2:496.

63. Ibid., p. 573.

64. Ibid., 11:10; Ibid., 3:537; Ibid., 4:891.

65. Ibid., 5:31, 35.

66. Ibid., 2:428-429, 456; Ibid., 3:404; Ibid., 4:345; Ibid., 5:785, 994-995, 1082; Ibid., 6:100; "A Correct Plan of the Lands Alloted to Tuscarora Nation of Indians," 1803, Governor James Turner Letter Book, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.

67. Saunders, Colonial Records, 2:458; Ibid., 4:45, 224; Ibid., 5:155, 785.

68. Thomas Newnam to Secretary of the SPG, 29 June 1722, Records of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (microfilm reel 3, no. 9); Saunders, Colonial Records, 3:153; Ibid., 7:218-220, 249, 431.

69. Adelaide L. Fries, Douglas L. Right, Minnie J. Smith, Kenneth G. Hamilton, eds., The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, 11 vols. (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1922-68), 1:41-53.

70. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:270.

Chapter IV

THE DECLINE AND COLLAPSE OF THE CONFEDERACY, 1770-1800

In 1770 it had been more than fifty years since the first Tuscarora migrants settled in the Iroquois Longhouse. For many old people, life in North Carolina was a dim memory; and yet for others who had arrived in 1763 or 1766 much of their lives had been spent on the Bertie County reservation and the Longhouse meant a new life. The Tuscarora in the Longhouse were a heterogeneous people who developed out of many different experiences and backgrounds. There was a strong desire on the part of those Tuscarora in Iroquoia to bring the remainder of their people north to join in the good life of the Longhouse as soon as possible. Their hopes were thwarted; the good life came to an end when the dark clouds of political collapse and colonial revolution gathered threateningly in the skies above them.

The Historical Setting

The Six Nations had long been operating under a power play-off policy between the French and English. This system had worked well to get the Six Nations economic and political concessions from these European powers. The delicate balance of power upon which the success of this policy depended tipped precariously in different directions over the years, but the final destruction of the scale began in 1768. At the treaty conference of Fort Stanwix the Six Nations surrendered a great deal of land south of the Ohio and Susquehanna Rivers. Some of these western

lands were claimed by the Shawnee. The Shawnee were glad to receive the benefits of being dependents of the Six Nations, but they could not idly see their lands sold from under them. Many of the Six Nations who had settled in the Ohio valley, and especially a number of Seneca warriors, were sympathetic with Shawnee complaints. Tempers and weapons flared on all sides as western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and all of Kentucky were opened up to White settlers. As Anthony F. C. Wallace explains their predicament, "Iroquois credit with the British now depended upon their ability to control other tribes, and the Iroquois knew it; but Iroquois ability to control other tribes also depended on their ability to protect them from the British. Far from being able to play off two sides against one another, the Iroquois were now being squeezed."¹ The Six Nations federal position urged peace and restraint on all sides. The continued flow of Whites onto their lands led the Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandot, and their western Iroquois supporters into Lord Dunmore's War in 1774. It was over as rapidly as it began, and although the Six Nations never entered fully into the battle, the white roots of the great tree of peace were shaken and the walls of the Longhouse were weakened.

Before this threat was over, another began. In September 1774 the First Continental Congress met to discuss grievances over British controls. Less than a year later, the first blood of the Revolutionary War was shed at Lexington and Concord. Early consideration was given by the Continental Congress to what role the Six Nations should play in the ensuing struggle. Certainly the military potential of the Iroquois could not be ignored. The Indian territory was divided into three departments; the northern department, which included the Six Nations, had three commissioners, the others one each.

Initially the Continental commissioners and the English officials all told the Six Nations to maintain a neutral

stance in the affair. The Iroquois readily complied; but this soon came to be impossible. The Six Nations could not seal themselves off from their White neighbors. To different degrees, the Six Nations' settlements had become economically dependent on White goods and services. Many Tuscarora and Oneida had made commitments to Christianity that tied them emotionally to various elements in White society. Furthermore, the English and the Continentals soon changed their minds and sought the aid of the Six Nations. This time the pressures were too great for the Longhouse. The wall already weakened by previous conflicts collapsed.

Religious and Political Allegiances, 1770-1778

The influence of Christianity in the Oneida Lake area increased rapidly beginning in 1770. As people began to return from the winter hunt late in April, Kirkland wrote to Eleazer Wheelock that the communicants at his Ganowarohare church exceeded thirty in number. Of these about a half dozen were Tuscarora, who traveled from the villages to the west.² As the year progressed, the response from the Tuscarora increased. In November 1770 the people of Ganatisgowa were reported to have spent most of a day and evening "in fasting & prayer." Large numbers began coming regularly to Ganowarohare for weekends to confer with Kirkland late into the night about their spiritual condition and to attend Sunday services. On Sunday, November 18, 1770, he wrote in his journal that between "2 & 300 Souls" were present from five different villages; included were Tuscarora from Ganatisgowa and Shawas'reah. Two weeks later, on Saturday, December 1, as he worked on his sermons for the next day, he was "interrupted by the Tuscaroren, who flocked in one after another until my house was full--discussed w^h them till midnight, I then c^d scarcely get away from

them." This was a scene often repeated over the following weeks and months. The zeal of the people at Ganatisgowa led them late in December 1770 to ask for "a School Master to reside more constantly with them--who sh^d teach them to read in y^e Indian Language & particularly Instruct them as a Catechist, in y^e Christian Religⁿ." Deacon Thomas was sent to them by Kirkland for these purposes, and Thahnehtory was sent to Shawas'reah to perform these same services for the Tuscarora living there.³

The first firm indication of Sir William Johnson's antagonism toward the influence Kirkland and his mission were having came early in 1771. At Kirkland's encouragement, the members of his church petitioned the commissioners of a Boston mission board for funds to build a church. Johnson told the Oneida to revoke their petition and instead ask the King of England to build them one, giving as his reason that the people of Boston are rebels and the Oneida and Tuscarora should want to please the King. To Johnson's displeasure, the Oneida in Kirkland's church said they would have nothing to do with the King's religion, recounting stories of the loose conduct of Episcopal ministers with whom they were familiar.⁴

In connection with this incident we get a glimpse of how the Christian Oneida and Tuscarora functioned as a political unit. Late in March 1771, Kirkland wrote that "the Indians in this Town [Ganowarohare] & several adjacent Villages convend here, & at a Whole day in Consultation upon religious affairs--chiefly in respect to a Church, or meeting house--choosing a place, & fixing the time to cut y^e Timber for a sawmil in order to get Boards for the House,--at y^e close of the day they appeared to be of one heart & one Mind."⁵ The unity of this group continued to grow, but those in opposition to them also rallied their supporters. An unnamed Tuscarora chief who, from earlier references, was associated with Ganasaraga and was probably Sakwarithra, continued to work against the Christians.

Kirkland wrote in April 1770 that this chief "and his party have not yet overthrown the faith of any here, tho' it for a while shook some." A year later he stated in a letter that the Tuscarora chief "continues to oppose & reproach the work of God with All his might, & uses every Artifice to dissuage his people from attending divine worship with us here."⁶

In spite of mounting opposition, Kirkland could report in the same letter than the Oneida chiefs at Ganowarohare seemed to support his work even more fully than they had in previous years. As a further encouragement to Kirkland, the chiefs gave "a general Invitation to the Tuscaroras, & some of y^e Onondagas to come & settle down anywhere they pleased about this Town, if they are desirous to hear the Gospel of Jesus." In response six or seven Tuscarora families and one Onondaga family indicated their intention to move closer to Ganowarohare during the upcoming summer.

The political phenomena unfolding around Oneida Lake had a closely parallel expression at the Oneida-Tuscarora settlements on the Susquehanna River. At Onoghoquaga, as indicated in the last chapter, there was an even greater historical depth for the political interest groups that were forming. In 1772 Aaron Crosby became the resident missionary at Onoghoquaga. He found that there were personal, theological, and political differences between Good Peter (Agorondajats) and Isaac (Dakayenensese). Samuel Kirkland finally felt compelled in March 1773 to visit Onoghoquaga because of these problems. After several conferences with the individuals involved, their differences were at least temporarily resolved.⁷

In June 1774, Seth, A Tuscarora chief from a village near Onoghoquaga, wrote to Sir William Johnson on behalf of the people of his settlement. He indicates they had just recently been awakened to the "pleasures of a religious life," apparently through the efforts of Aaron Crosby. They were appealing to Johnson to send them paper, ink, and

printed portions of the Gospels in Mohawk, so more of them could learn to read the scriptures and write. Johnson's reply shows he knew more about the situation in the area than Seth's letter revealed. After addressing himself to their specific requests he goes on to give them a firm rebuke. "I am very sorry to find that for some time past, there is not that cordial affection between you and the [other people in your area] . . . that ought to subsist between brothers and fellow Christians, but that you appear to be separating yourselves from the Oneida chiefs." The fact was that even the Oneida chiefs at Onoghoquaga were divided over the resurgence of the old problem that Kirkland thought had been settled a year earlier. In October 1774 Kirkland explained in a letter to Andrew Eliot that "old Isaac (the Pharasee) & his party . . . are determined to expel & banish from that quarter -- the, Pres-y-e-n- or d-s-nt-g cause -- & introduce the K--'s religⁿ (so called) at all adventures."⁸ Kirkland was clearly bitter about the turn of events at Onoghoquaga, but difficulties in his own neighborhood were also mounting.

Kirkland's mission continued to grow throughout 1773 and 1774. Deacon Thomas had more than he could handle working with several groups of Oneida and Tuscarora. By late 1773 Kirkland had one Tuscarora who was devoting all his energies to the religious instruction and counseling of his own people. The church proposed for Ganowarohare was completed in June 1773, and attendance at Sunday services was ranging between three and four hundred by the following year.⁹

The problems on the Ohio between the Shawnee, Wyandot, and some of the Seneca, on one hand, and the White settlers moving into Kentucky, on the other hand, were troublesome to all the people of the Longhouse. The Tuscarora and Oneida were no exception. Yet at the height of Lord Dunmore's War in the summer of 1774 a number of Oneida were also disturbed enough to complain about Samuel Kirkland's

activities in their area. In January 1775 this same group, led by the Oneida chief Conoghquieson, leveled an attack against Kirkland to Guy Johnson who had recently become superintendent of Indian Affairs following Sir William's death.¹⁰ They protested that Kirkland refused to baptize their children. This was true. Firm Calvinist and Puritan that he was, Kirkland baptized only the children of regenerate adult believers. The Church of England clergy, on the other hand, had less stringent requirements that appealed to Conoghquieson and his party. Kirkland's rigid stance in matters of theology and the necessity for Christians of his church to have an exemplary life added fuel for his opponent's anger.

The opposition element went on to complain that Kirkland was occupied with keeping a store, meddled in the political affairs of the Six Nations, and implied that he was actually a Boston political agent to the Indians. They wanted him removed as soon as possible. For the most part, these accusations were untrue; they represented the emotional and probably strategically political reactions of those who looked with disfavor upon the rapid growth the Christian Oneida and Tuscarora had experienced under Kirkland's ministry. This group had as a result, however, increased in size through population consolidations, resulting in a loss of people from the villages of those who opposed Kirkland. Even when the Christians did not leave their villages to move closer to Kirkland's mission, they constituted a disruptive element in their settlement. In other words, as the religious unity of the Christians associated with Kirkland's church grew, their political unity and power grew, much to the displeasure of the various opposition groups. As far as the latter were concerned, this could be attributed to Kirkland, and to that extent he was helplessly involved in the people's politics. As we might guess, those who came to Johnson and criticized Kirkland, were not from Ganowarohare, but were from those

communities that saw Kirkland's work as a very real political threat. When the people of Ganowarohare heard of this attack on Kirkland, they sent a delegation and a letter signed by seven chiefs, to clear him of the accusations brought against him.¹¹

As conditions in New England deteriorated, Guy Johnson knew that the presence of missionaries among the Indians who were associated with the Boston dissenters, involved a potential threat to English control of the Six Nations. His concern was warranted, because Kirkland indirectly, through a letter to Andrew Eliot, urged the Continental Congress to secure the friendship of the Indians. Kirkland urged the Oneida and Tuscarora to maintain a policy of neutrality because he was sincerely concerned for their welfare; but he clearly supported the efforts of the colonies personally and did not want the Six Nations to be prevailed upon by Guy Johnson to support the English. Johnson, together with General Thomas Gage, decided that the influence of the New England missionaries would have to be undermined and as a first step decided to ask the Church of England missionary, John Stuart, to work among the Oneida.¹² The Oneida opposition party even assisted Johnson by suggesting, as Kirkland wrote, that "the Six Nations should have no instructors but such as have royal commission or bear the title of K--gs Ministers." The plan did not work, and Johnson finally issued a directive that the New England missionaries would have to leave their missions. Kirkland, on his way back to Ganowarohare in May 1775 (before Johnson's order had been issued) was stopped and kept against his will at the superintendent's home.¹³

Guy Johnson went to Canada in July of 1775, and after that time Kirkland once more had his freedom. He instructed the Americans in Indian diplomacy, and advised them concerning the organization of their tripartite Indian department. In the summer of 1776, several Oneida chiefs confided to him that their people, the Tuscarora, Onoghoquaga, and

Caughnawaga, had formed a defensive alliance but were "resolved that if the others [of the Six Nations] join the King's party they would die with the Americans in the contest." The warriors of the Oneida, Onoghoquaga, and Tuscarora (including many from Ganasaraga) assured the Continental Indian Commissioners a month later in an emotion-filled speech that they would remain neutral; but they admitted that there were some "amongst us who Regard you. & some that Doe not."¹⁴ The months that followed brought a severe test of these sentiments, as the various groups were forced to take some kind of stand.

In December 1776 Joseph Brant reached Onoghoquaga from the City of New York, where he had landed after a trip to England. He effectively rallied the English Loyalists in that area and used the village as a base of operations. In spite of Brant's influence, Good Peter and a few followers from Onoghoquaga actively supported the colonists, but still others probably sought to remain neutral.¹⁵

The Six Nations' official neutrality continued for two more years until 1777. A few warriors were persuaded to help one side or the other; and slowly the unity of the Longhouse succumbed, on the one hand to the pressures of Joseph Brant and his followers, who were strongly pro-English, and on the other hand, to the pro-American elements, primarily Oneida and Tuscarora from Kirkland's church. The official position of the British and the Continental Congress changed from asking for Six Nations neutrality to encouraging the use of Indian troops in May 1776. In January 1777 a severe epidemic swept through the Six Nations, taking the lives of three chiefs and eighty-seven others at Onondaga. This "extinguished the fire" of the Great Council; no political decisions could be made until condolence ceremonies were performed. Since it was mid-winter, nothing could be accomplished to restore what had remained of the Confederacy's political effectiveness. All governmental matters were in the hands of the local communities

and the interest groups they contained.¹⁶

A July 1777 meeting with the Seneca at Irondequoit, on Lake Ontario, was called by Colonel John Butler. The English had stockpiled trade goods and rum, with which they tried to soften resistance to their proposals. The British agents formally asked the Seneca to take up the hatchet against the American rebels. The Seneca warrior Blacksnake related in his conversations with Lyman Draper in 1850 that, at some time shortly after the July 1777 conference, Sakwarithra accepted the war-belt from the English on behalf of the few Tuscarora under his influence that were willing to commit themselves to the English cause.¹⁷

On September 14, 1777, about three hundred men, women, and children of the Six Nations, primarily Oneida and Tuscarora with a few Onondaga and Mohawk, met with the Continental Indian Commissioners at Albany. Most of those in attendance indicated a willingness to act with the colonies, and accordingly accepted the war-belt that was offered to them. A few of the Tuscarora and Onondaga present at that meeting appeared three months later at Niagara, expressing their fidelity to the English, explaining that they took the war-belt from the Americans only as a ploy to buy time.¹⁸

Although historical records do not provide sufficient information to fully identify the interest groups that had developed by 1778, the Tuscarora seem to have gone in three directions politically. Sakwarithra, together with a few other chiefs and warriors from Ganasaraga and the other religious traditionalists and English Loyalists from nearby villages as well as some of those below Onoghoquaga, were actively pro-British. These were probably drawn to a great extent from the elements that worked against Samuel Kirkland's and Aaron Crosby's missionary efforts. Kirkland's and Crosby's followers, on the other hand, contributed most of those Tuscarora who were actively pro-American. A third group, perhaps the largest, and unorganized among themselves, were those who tried to remain neutral. None of them managed

to avoid the ravages of the conflict. In the next four years most Tuscarora were uprooted from their homes, their villages burned, and their sociopolitical organization shattered. To the Tuscarora emigrants of the past sixty-five years the Longhouse had been their new promised land, but once again their Jerusalem was being destroyed.

The Shifting Commitments and Demographic
Consequences of the American Revolution, 1778-1783

The Oneida and Tuscarora at Onoghoquaga, who were strongly pro-American, left their homes sometime after Brant arrived there in December 1776. The Loyalists at Ganasaraga left with Sakwarithra in the summer of 1777 to take up the hatchet against the Americans. Several other small parties of Tuscarora left for Niagara later that year. In his memoirs Blacksnake later claimed that Sakwarithra had several under captains, but only on a few occasions did he lead more than twenty warriors into battle. This gives us some idea about how many Tuscarora were actively pro-English. Even fewer seem to have been actively pro-American.¹⁹

The Continental Indian Commissioners began to realize the heavy economic burden their British counterparts had carried in order to maintain the interest of the Six Nations. They soon learned the necessity of plying key individuals with gifts to maintain the friendly disposition of many of the Oneida and Tuscarora. The Commissioners' accounts for this period show Sky and Sky's Son, two Tuscarora war chiefs from Ganasaraga, as well as "the handsome Tuscarro," getting cash presents. Grasshopper, the Oneida civil chief from Ganowarohare, and Lodwick, Little Peter, Pine Splitter, and Adam, all apparently recent migrants from Onoghoquaga, were also encouraged to serve American interests through the personal gifts of cash they received.²⁰

In a very timely move, some of these individuals were given presents on February 27, 1778, just over a week before

the March 7 Six Nations conference held by the Americans at Johnstown. No Seneca were present, and only a few Cayuga and Mohawk were in attendance. The majority of the seven hundred Indians present were Oneida, Tuscarora, and Onondaga. The Commissioners chastised the chiefs present for allowing some of their warriors to act against the Continentals. The Onondaga chief, Tenhoghskweaghta, and Grasshopper, speaking for the Tuscarora and Oneida, explained that because the warriors no longer listened to the chiefs, they could not take responsibility for the warriors' actions.²¹ The proceedings are significant because they suggest the extent to which social controls had broken down, and how the traditional authority of the civil chiefs had degenerated. Any group that wanted to break away could apparently do so without fear of immediate reprisal. The polarization that took place in the White political structure had placed a tremendous strain on the political structure of the economically White-dependent Six Nations. This strain was too great for them to maintain the unity of the Confederacy that had been so badly shaken by seventy-five years of walking a tight rope between the French and the English, and in recent years between the western Indians and the English. When the American Revolution began, there was no longer a tight rope on which to walk. For many Tuscarora and Oneida, it was difficult to accept the English pronouncements that the people of Boston were evil, lying, rebels, when in the Tuscarora view Boston had provided missionaries and the Christian message that they had grown to love.

At an April 1, 1778 meeting in Albany, Deacon Thomas appeared as the speaker for the pro-American Oneida and Tuscarora when Grasshopper was sick. With Thomas were warriors from the Oneida Lake area, including some from Ganasaraga. They had committed themselves to going out with General LaFayette as soon as a fort was built at Ganowarohare for the protection of their women and

children.²²

Colonel Marinus Willett, who was in command at Fort Stanwix, received an interesting letter asking for some powder from "Edward Johnson, the Indian," written on April 11, 1778, at Ganasaraga. Several week later Johnson wrote another letter to Willett, this time for "Sky and his Son," the two war chiefs at Ganasaraga. Sky requested a keg of rum for his sick sister, and assured Willett of his fidelity. Johnson added a note to the bottom, thanking Willett for the powder he had sent to him.²³ At about the same time, two head warriors of the Oneida thanked Willett for presents which had been delivered to their and the Tuscarora's warriors. After the conversations he held with the warriors, Willett optimistically wrote General Schuyler to exclaim that through the encouragement of Samuel Kirkland some of the Oneida and Tuscarora would soon be going to Albany to join LaFayette.²⁴

It is clear that, while some zealous individuals were willing to commit themselves to the American cause, most were playing a waiting game, hanging onto their neutrality as long as possible. Early in April, following the March 7 conference, LaFayette and others in the colonial ranks fully expected 300 or more Oneida and Tuscarora warriors to join them when the fort was completed at Ganowarohare. By mid-April the Oneida and Tuscarora were telling the Commissioners that their fear of an invasion would make it impossible to leave their families defenseless. Fifty warriors did fight at Barren Hill in Pennsylvania with LaFayette; but the 300 hoped for was unrealistic. By May 25, James Dean, who had been sent to Oneida to act as the Commissioners' Indian agent in that area, wrote Schuyler that more Tuscarora and Oneida not only would not leave their families, but they desired more American troops around them for protection. When this aid was not forthcoming, Dean wrote again to Schuyler on June 15 that the Oneida and Tuscarora wanted more protection or else to be removed to the White

settlements where they would be safer.²⁵

Other than the brief service of 150 Oneida and Tuscarora warriors in September 1777, fifty at Barren Hill in May 1778, and occasional services as scouts and messengers after that, no real commitment to the American cause was made until September 1778. About 100 Oneida and Tuscarora attacked the Tory strongholds of Unadilla and Butternuts, taking ten prisoners and freeing several Americans captured by Brant several weeks earlier. The Oneida and Tuscarora were clearly trying to placate colonial mistrust: Grasshopper stated when the prisoners were brought in, "we hope you are now Convinced of our Friendship towards you & your great Cause."²⁶

The first offensive against the settlements at Onoghoquaga took place in October 1778. Lieutenant Colonel William Butler led a force of nearly 300 Continental troops toward the Susquehanna. They crossed the river near Unadilla, traveled south along the west bank on October 8, and they crossed back to the east side several miles above Onoghoquaga that night. The Loyalists had been warned by scouts and escaped before Butler's troops arrived. The next morning Butler's forces burned the approximately forty houses of the village, including furniture and "Great Quantities of . . . Corn." Described as "one of the Neatest of the Indian towns on the Susquehana, it was built on each side of the River with good Log houses with Stone Chimneys and glass windows it likewise had a Church & burying ground and a great number of apple trees." A smaller party went further down stream on the east bank to Caunoiyangarotne, where they burned the seven or eight houses of that village and returned.²⁷

Two things are significant about these events and the descriptions of the villages. First, the populations of these areas had to relocate. Some families may have moved to the Tuscarora village of Shawiangto on the west bank a mile down river from Caunoiyangarotne, or to Ingaren twelve

to sixteen miles below that. Others may have traveled northwest to the Genesee River, where they were known to have a village shortly after the war ended. Second, the descriptions of Onoghoquaga tell a startling story of cultural change. Richard Smith wrote that they were living in traditional bark-covered longhouses in 1769. Less than ten years later, these were largely replaced by log cabins with stone chimneys and glass windows. Aside from showing the adoption of new material culture, the smaller living units may reflect significant changes in family organization.

The sentiments of the Oneida and Tuscarora near Oneida Lake are well expressed in the report of a council they held in January 1779. Everyone was asked to "declare his final resolution . . . in the present seeming crisis of their affairs." Also, anyone who was inclined to join the British was encouraged to do so. None left, but the final decision of the council, as it was reported by them to Colonel Van Dyck, was not to support the Americans offensively. Their "unanimous resolution [was] to stand by each other in defence of their lives and Liberty against any enemy that might be disposed to attack them." In a message to the Cayuga, who had accused them of destroying the Confederacy, the council denied the Cayuga's claim. Furthermore, they added that "they would never violate their alliance with the American States, and tho they would not be the aggressors or wantonly provoke any tribe to war, yet that they should be henceforth on their guard against any enemy whatsoever."²⁸

In effect, they said that they were allies of the Americans, but only because they needed powder, clothes, rum, tools, and other things that could be obtained from White people. If attacked, they would defend themselves; but that was all. Instead of trying to get these "allies" to act offensively for them, the Continentals decided to use them in a defensive role. The fort at Ganowarohare was to be built up and then "a considerable body of Oneida,

Tuscarora and Onondaga will be collected" to man it. This action, combined with the use of Indian scouting parties, would provide security for the colonial frontiers of New York. During 1779 this arrangement worked well. In January the Commissioners resolved that one-half "of the Blankets & every other kind of Goods in the Indian store at Fort Schuyler be distributed in presents to the Oneidas and Tuscaroras our Allies."²⁹ The Oneida and Tuscarora faithfully brought the Americans news of the enemy's movements, and a few warriors did play a more active role.

Schuyler had asked the chiefs to recommend twelve warriors for commissions as officers in the Army of the United States. The commissions were certified by Congress in June 1779.³⁰ Many of these individuals distinguished themselves in service to the Americans. One of them was Nicholas Kaghnatsho (Cusick), who became one of the most important figures in the unification of the Tuscarora after the war.

Late in August 1779, Continental forces headed by Major General John Sullivan moved north into the territory of the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, destroying crops and villages as they traveled. The Fourth Brigade of the expedition was led by Brigadier General James Clinton. Clinton's troops from Fort Schuyler moved down the Susquehanna to Tioga, where, on August 22 they met the other brigades that had been organized at Easton, Pennsylvania. On August 14, they reached the ruins of Onoghoquaga. Leaving the seventeenth, they passed the remains of Caunoyangarotne, burned a year earlier by Butler's forces. Crossing to the west side of the river, they came to Shawiangto a mile downstream and destroyed the ten or twelve houses they found. Twelve to sixteen miles farther, they reached the village of Ingaren, which had "5 or six houses but a good deal Scattered . . . here they had planted a good deal of Corn, potatoes &c." They destroyed the houses and food, taking with them some hides that had been left partially tanned by the inhabitants

in their haste to leave.³¹ These villages had been occupied primarily by the 1766 emigrants from North Carolina who may have tried to remain aloof from the war, but more probably were at least moderately Loyalists. The Tuscarora from this area were closely associated with the Nanticoke and Conoy. Politically they had formed an alliance, shared several villages with them, appeared with them in 1775 at Philadelphia, and after the war a number of Nanticoke and Tuscarora were still living close together at Grand River in Ontario. Presumably these incidents represent an historical sequence that we will consider further in chapters 7 and 8.

As Clinton's brigade returned from the western regions of the Longhouse, they passed through Ganasaraga on September 23. Lieutenant Robert Parker described it as "a handsome village & Capital of the Tuscarora Tribe. The Inhabitants appear very hospitable & presented us with boiled corn & eels, with every other thing their town afforded."³² As he continues his account for the remainder of the trip to Ganowarohare, old fields are mentioned; but no other occupied village was described along the road. Parker's silence does not prove the Tuscarora villages of Tiochrungwe and Ganatisgowa were abandoned; but it is likely that they were, since the Americans had encouraged the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Onondaga to consolidate themselves for their own protection. Ganasaraga certainly was not the capital of the Tuscarora "tribe" unless Parker was referring to those Tuscarora in the Oneida Lake area which may have been the case.

Ganasaraga had been Sakwarithra's home and probably remained a stronghold for the neutral Tuscarora element who remained in the east. The letters to Colonel Willett written by Edward Johnson for himself and the war chief Sky in the spring of 1778 had never indicated a strong overt commitment to the Americans. Another letter dictated to Johnson on July 31, 1778, by "Tall printtop alias

haahooawatta" was addressed to General Schuyler. Printup was probably a son of William Printup, the English interpreter during Sir William Johnson's superintendency. Tall Printup tried to convince Schuyler of the village's loyalty, but was primarily concerned that nothing happen to the village.

My people are all of one mind here not one of them in the least inclins to the other party Brother . . . as it is now likely for trouble . . . Grant me Some token For a Safe Gord [guard] to me and [mine because] . . . I love my place here and Cant bear the thoughts of leaving my house and land Brother I Speak thus & I would be Glad if you Could order it So, as not to pass through this Castle but to Gow round for it will perhaps Surprize the women and Children very much. . . . I Suppose you hav heard of the bad that was here but I have Sent them all out of this place that was in the Least inclined to the other party.³³

The Tuscarora most actively engaged in the war with the Americans were living at or near Ganowarohare. The events of June 1780 are not surprising, when considered in the light of what is known about Ganasaraga. Wayondenaye, an Onondaga war chief, came from Niagara and stopped at Ganasaraga and Ganowarohare, to tell them of an impending attack by the British. Several days later the Oneida chiefs Grasshopper, Adam (originally from Onoghoquaga), Rekengo, and William informed Colonel Van Dyck that the "whole Town [of Ganasaraga] have left their habitation & gone to the Enemy. Also two families of the Oneidas with all the Onondagas who had joined us since the Capture of their Village."³⁴

The women of the Oneida and Tuscarora who remained wanted to move into the White settlements. The warriors had agreed and said that after the women and children were resettled they would return to Fort Stanwix to assist the Americans. Before this plan could be executed, Seneca war parties arrived at Ganowarohare. A council was held, and

the Oneida, apparently faking submission to the British due to their inability to defend their women, children, and property, sent a party of warriors with the Seneca back to Niagara. The Oneida had requested that the rest of their warriors be allowed to remain with the chiefs to prepare their families for a later trip west to the British. On July 2, those who left the Oneida area with the Seneca arrived at Niagara. Seventy-eight Tuscarora and sixty-one Onondaga had voluntarily left Ganasaraga with 123 Onondaga who had been living with the Oneida, and thirty-two Oneida from Ganowarohare.³⁵

Joseph Brant left Niagara on July 11, 1780 with a war party that returned to the Oneida Lake area by the end of the month and burned the Tuscarora and Oneida villages. A few of the former inhabitants of these settlements were induced to return to Niagara, but 400 fled to Fort Stanwix to remain with the Americans. Of these, probably no more than about fifty were Tuscarora. Ten years later, when the United States compensated the Tuscarora who had suffered the loss of property in Brant's raid, the list was not long. David Taalough Haugweaunde, Tollōndowaugōn, Nicholas Cusick, Peter Teoquōnt, and Jacob Yoonohsowonhta were those loyal to the United States who were reimbursed for their losses. Jacob Joquollis and John Frenchman had since become British adherents, but some of their losses when in service to America were compensated. David Hurlehonunt was a Tuscarora warrior who "lost nothing" but was rewarded for his outstanding aid to the United States. These men, with a few others and their families, were the only Tuscarora who had been actively pro-American.³⁶

The Oneida and Tuscarora who fled to Fort Stanwix later settled east of Schenectady in a hastily made village of flimsy huts, shelter which proved completely inadequate for the harsh New York winter. When Chastellux visited their village in December 1780, he found their "number at present is 350, which is constantly diminishing."³⁷ Provisions were

meager for warrior and soldier alike. With inadequate food, clothing, and shelter, several died during the winter from disease and exposure. Throughout 1781 the Oneida and Tuscarora warriors continued to serve as scouts and messengers. When on June 30, 1782, General Washington arrived at Schenectady, "about one hundred warriors of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras completely armed and painted for war, met him without the gates."³⁸ Five months later the Preliminary Articles of Peace between the British and the Americans were agreed upon; and although skirmishes continued throughout the following year, the war had ended.

But this still does not account for the other Tuscarora. At this point we must rely on oral tradition in part, although the various versions do not fully agree. Elias Johnson, a Tuscarora writing in 1881, claimed that when the other Indians

which took part with the British knew the Tuscarora took part with the United States, they invaded their settlements, destroyed their property and burned down their houses to ashes, which scattered them for a while. There was a party that settled at Oyonwayea, or Johnson's landing place, on Lake Ontario . . . for the purpose of getting out of the centre of the other Indians which were for the British. About the close of the war there were two families of Tuscaroras hunting and fishing . . . up the east short of Niagara River as far as Lewiston, and there left their canoe, then traveled east and up the mountain . . . [to what is now] the Tuscarora Reservation.³⁹

It is possible that several families whose homes were burned in Brant's July 1780 raid took this route, but it is doubtful that they would have gone that close to Niagara to avoid the British. A mid-nineteenth century historian of western New York, Orsamus Turner, suggests a different origin for the first Tuscarora settlers near Lewiston.

Such portions of the Tuscarora and Oneidas as had been allies of the English, in their flight from the total route of Gen. Sullivan embarked in canoes, upon the

Oneida Lake, and down the Oswego River, coasted along up Lake Ontario to the British garrison at Fort Niagara. They encamped during the winter of 1780 near the garrison, drawing a portion of their subsistence, in the form of rations. In the spring a part of them returned, and a part of them took possession of a mile square upon the Mountain Ridge, given them by the Senecas.⁴⁰

This version has a sounder ring to it; but it should perhaps be pointed out that the Tuscarora routed by Clinton's forces in August 1779 were living near the Pennsylvania-New York border on the Susquehanna River; if Turner is correct, they had to pass through American territory at Oneida Lake on their way to Niagara. An overland route to western New York may have been taken instead.

In these and other similar accounts, no details are given concerning the Tuscarora who settled on the west bank of the Genesee River. Two different villages seem to have been occupied. Elias Johnson and Orsamus Turner both mention a village two miles above the bridge at the town of Geneseo. Johnson gives its name as Junastreyo and Turner simply calls it Tuscarora. A second village, Ohagi, was supposed to have been three or four miles south of Geneseo. Since this last is a Seneca name, it is a possibility that there was, in fact, only one village. Samuel Kirkland's December 1790 census refers to only one village "situated near Big Trees town [a Seneca village which was on the west bank directly opposite Geneseo]--26 houses--Aghstigwalesele their Chief--208" men, women, and children.⁴¹ It is very likely that this was where the largest number of Tuscarora waited out the war after Sullivan's rampage in 1779.

The war had clearly taken its toll in Tuscarora lives. Sir William Johnson had estimated the Tuscarora had 250 warriors in 1770. When Kirkland made his family-by-family census of the Six Nations in the United States in 1789, he reported a total of 110 Tuscarora men, some of whom would not be counted as warriors due to advanced age or their

positions as civil chiefs. The most striking feature of Kirkland's figures is the low percentage of children. Of the total of 283 Tuscarora, 209 were adult males and females. There were only twenty-one boys, twenty-two girls, and thirty-one infants whose sex is not identified.⁴² Seventy-four percent of the Tuscarora population were adults. Kirkland's figures can be trusted. He spoke Oneida fluently, was familiar with the other Six Nations languages, knew the different communities and the people who lived in them, and made the census in the summer and fall when everyone or almost everyone would have been home. Why such a small number of children? The war years were especially filled with stress and rear over family safety and being able to provide food and shelter. Absence of some of the men who were most involved as warriors perhaps reduced the opportunity for sexual relations, and the diseases and famine that swept across the Niagara frontier and at Schenectady must have been especially hard on the children. The census taken by Kirkland does not include those already in Canada with Brant. According to one source there were 129 Tuscarora at Grand River in 1785. This number may have declined slightly due to migrations back to New York. Another small band seems to have gone to Canada in 1792, but during the early years of the nineteenth century their numbers remained below 150.⁴³ Including all the small pockets of people identifying themselves as Tuscarora: on the North Carolina reservation, near Ganowarohare, on the Genesee, near Niagara, at Grand River in Ontario, as well as scattered bands and families, the Tuscarora as an ethnic group had probably dropped to between 500 and 600 people. These were separated by miles and more importantly by ideologies that would have to be reconciled or the continuation of these groups would be doubtful.

The Beginnings of Reconciliation, 1784-1800

In 1784, the United States invited the Six Nations to a treaty conference at Fort Stanwix. The Iroquois delegates led by Joseph Brant began to arrive late in August. On September 2, the Oneida and Tuscarora from Ganowarohare had not yet arrived. They had been told by Kirkland that the United States wanted their lands. When they arrived the following day, they were assured that these were groundless rumors. The conference was a painful experience, for the remnants of the Six Nations, and, in a sense, previewed the diplomatic tyranny of the decades which followed. Indian delegates were mistreated, proceedings were conducted at gun point, hostages were demanded; and, under great duress, the lands claimed by the Six Nations west of New York were formally yielded to the United States in a treaty.⁴⁴

Less than a year later, in June at Fort Herkimer, the Oneida and Tuscarora who had been the active allies of the colonists were pressured into selling their hunting lands and village areas on the Susquehanna west of the 1768 treaty line. Good Peter, serving as their speaker, gave a dramatic plea concerning the dark consequences this would have for the Oneida and Tuscarora: the rest of the Six Nations would be angry, and the Oneida and Tuscarora would lose their best hunting territory. The wording of one compromise offer to the New York State officials provides a significant clue to the political role of the fifty Tuscarora living near the Oneida. The offer was based on the unanimous agreement of the three Oneida clans and the three clans of the Tuscarora. This indicates the Tuscarora had a decision-making role, and that only three of the seven or eight Tuscarora clans were represented in this small band. The Governor was not satisfied, and continued to pressure them several more days until an agreement was reached that satisfied the officials.⁴⁵ By 1789 the State of New York had purchased not only all of the Oneida lands

but also those of the Onondaga and Cayuga, leaving the remnants of these groups occupying small reservations in the areas of their primary villages.

The Tuscarora returning to live near Ganowarohare after the war were Christians. Samuel Kirkland, although he had helped the State get the Oneida's lands, resettled in the area and continued his missionary work until his death in 1808. At his urging, the Oneida offered to open up their reservation to all who wanted to settle in a Christian community.⁴⁶ The plan was begun before the war and continued with the arrival of the Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians by 1788. These groups were composed of indigenous New England ethnic remnants. A few Tuscarora from the Susquehanna River and some Oneida from Onoghoquaga lived at Shawas'reah west of Ganowarohare on the creek of the same name. Most of the Tuscarora, however, lived in a village two miles south of Ganowarohare along Oneida Creek. Joshua Sharpless decribed their settlement in June 1798 as he and several other Quakers visited the Oneida reservation. "The Land is good with a considerable bottom up the creek on which the Tuscaroras are scatteringly settled, most of them having some enclosures of wheat, corn, mowing ground &c. with a considerable number of cattle & some horses, sheep, & swine, which made a pretty clever appearance."⁴⁷ The Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians on this reservation became known for their "industry," by White standards, and for the great extent to which they had adopted an agricultural lifestyle with men focusing their attentions on farm work. Here, as at Onoghoquaga, the Tuscarora and Oneida had been living in single nuclear family residences, many of White frontier log style, and even a few frame houses, prior to the Revolutionary War. This information and other details of the material culture of the Tuscarora have been carefully preserved in the lists that were made to compensate their losses in Brant's July 1780 raid. Brass kettles, pewter ware, axes, hoes, hand saws, steel traps,

grindstones, horses, saddles, milk cows, and many other elements of White material culture are listed. The Onondaga and Cayuga, on the other hand as late as 1796, still lived in traditional longhouses and maintained the traditional division of labor, with women only caring for the fields. This cultural trait was not widely replaced among the Seneca until well into the nineteenth century.⁴⁸

From Hawley to Kirkland, the missionaries who worked so intensively with the people at Onoghoquaga and those around Oneida Lake did more than introduce Christianity. They also, inadvertently and sometimes purposely, stimulated a wide variety of cultural change. Kirkland, as early as 1770, had instructed the Oneida and Tuscarora near Oneida Lake in "husbandry," carpentry, reading, and writing, on occasion providing the necessary tools, plows, and writing implements himself.⁴⁹ Probably even more important to the spread of recently introduced ideas and technology were those Tuscarora who readily adopted them and encouraged their people to do likewise. Such a person was Nicholas Cusick (Kaghnatsho). He was born (ca. 1758) and grew up in the Oneida Lake area, became one of Kirkland's converts to Christianity, and learned to read and write at one of the schools Kirkland started in the area. During the Revolution he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Army, and some fairly good evidence indicates he served General LaFayette as a personal bodyguard.⁵⁰ After the war he became one of the leaders of the Tuscarora living on Oneida Creek.

In March 1789 Kirkland arrived back in the area, settling near Old Oneida to re-establish his mission. Throughout that spring he records visits from the Tuscarora living nearby. "Some, on religious accounts, some for an adjustment of domestic quarrels; but all plead and some with tears, their distressed situation for want of provisions." On Sundays he often traveled to the Stockbridge, Tuscarora, or Oneida villages, where the people would meet to hear him speak. As in pre-war days, his sermons were long, often two

hours; and he preached at three services, morning, afternoon, and evening. When there were too many people to fit in one of the larger houses, he held six services because of the different linguistic groups for which translators were needed.⁵¹

In 1790, most of the Tuscarora seem to have begun to affiliate themselves with a church at New Stockbridge, two miles farther upstream to the south from their own village, under the pastorship of John Sergeant. Nicholas Cusick became a deacon of the church, and served as Sergeant's interpreter to the non-English speaking Tuscarora.⁵²

Cusick's experience in the broader White society made him the natural person to conduct business for his community. Early in 1792 money was appropriated by Congress for the community of Tuscarora who had been loyal to the United States during the war. They were to be given one yoke of oxen, two chains, and a plow and harrow. Cusick was asked by Timothy Pickering, the Superintendent of the Six Nations, to purchase the items for his people. Spending all of the allotted money as carefully as possible, he was able to buy two scythes and two augers in addition to the authorized items. In his October 1792 letter to Pickering, he reported his actions and thanked him for the money, then went on to further use the occasion for the benefit of his people.

I am desired by my nation who reside here to inform you that we understand our Brothers the Oneidas, have made application for further compensation for losses during the late war. we wish to let you know we were sufferers equally with them, that if they have anything given them on that account, we beg for your friendship, that we may be considered equally with them.⁵³

Payments based on detailed statements of personal losses recorded through interviews made by James Dean and Samuel Kirkland were finally distributed two years later, in November 1794.

In January 1793 Sergeant opened a school at New Stockbridge "in union with the Tuscaroras." Of the approximately

seventy students about twenty were Tuscarora. Plans were also under way for a "spining school that Females might learn the art of manufacturing cloth." The teacher of the first-mentioned school is not identified by Sergeant; but it is very likely that Nicholas Cusick served in that capacity for part of its existence. Israel Chapin's account book, as Deputy Agent to the Six Nations, has a December 1796 entry £5.12.0 being paid to Nicholas Cusick "as Schoolmaster." Although the location is not named, it was probably at New Stockbridge.⁵⁴

The October-November 1794 treaty conference at Canandaigua was convened for the purpose of settling differences existing between the New York Iroquois and the United States. The Oneida and Tuscarora were soon to get their personal losses compensated, but money promised to rebuild the church burned during the war and funds pledged for a sawmill and gristmill took over three years to come to fruition. To this conference came a large number of delegates from the various New York Indian communities. Representing the Tuscarora from the Oneida reservation was Nicholas Cusick. The main delegate from Kauyanunk, the Tuscarora settlement near Niagara, was Sakwarithra.⁵⁵ Two more opposite individuals could hardly have been found. The latter was an active religious traditionalist and had been one of the most militant of the pro-English Tuscarora during the war. The former was an evangelical Christian who had distinguished himself in service to the colonies. Here they met, fully aware of their past and present differences, yet both had a great love for their people and realized how difficult the days ahead would be.

Sakwarithra was a traditionalist, but he could see that a new day had begun. He looked ahead with a flexibility uncommon to others around him among the Tuscarora on the Niagara frontier. At the Canandaigua treaty proceedings in 1794, he used his time between sessions well, talking with White visitors and observers. The journals of the

Quakers who were attending the conference mention his efforts.

Sayquaresy (or Sword Bearer) the Chief of the Tuscaroras+ being at our Lodging with Thomas Green a half Indian to interpret . . . (+a sober intelligent Man) we had much Satisfactory conversation with him respecting the difficulties to which the Indians were subjected;--he suggested a query whether we could not send some white people amongst them for their instruction.⁵⁶

Throughout the last decade of the eighteenth century, many significant changes also took place among the Tuscarora in western New York. In 1790 most of them (ca. 200) were still living on the Genesee River. The Seneca had given one band of those who served the English most faithfully a small plot of land at the site of the present-day reservation. In that general area, with each of the Six Nations (except the Mohawk) represented in the total Indian population, and with the British a short distance across the Niagara River, political relations were fast changing and complicated. Occasional references indicate the structure of the former Confederacy was still intact to some degree. The Cayuga chief Fish Carrier, addressing Major John Butler, a British Indian Agent near Niagara, spoke in "behalf of three nations vizt. the Cayugas, Tuscaroras, and Teddioghronies [Tutelos]." These groups, with the Oneida and Nanticoke, had constituted the younger branch of the Confederacy prior to the war. The Tuscarora living on the U. S. side of Niagara blatantly flirted with the British. Rochefoucault-Liancourt describes the visit of some of these Tuscarora to Canadian Governor Simcoe in 1795. As he explained them, "all these visits and congratulatory compliments have no other object but to obtain some drink, money, and presents."⁵⁷

In 1792 the remnants of the Six Nations in western New York were becoming increasingly at odds with one another over the treatment they had received from the United States. Samuel Kirkland, writing U. S. Secretary of War Henry Knox

in February 1792, gives some hint of how this was affecting the Tuscarora on the Genesee:

It is probable that a division will soon take place among them unless a general peace is settled. They begin already to take sides. Five Tuscaroras marched off on Saturday last for their settlement near the landing place below the Falls of Niagara, with a determination not to return unless Capt. Brant should advise them to do so.⁵⁸

One month later, a deputation of the Tuscarora from the Genesee arrived at the Canadian side of the Niagara, complaining to the British that they and the Oneida living with them were being pressured by the United States to move to the Oneida reservation near Oneida Lake, in order to remove "them entirely from all influence of the British Government." The Oneida "after repeated application" were refused permission to settle at Grand River, and had agreed to do what the United States asked them. The Tuscarora "were of a different opinion" and decided to apply for land from the British. Butler told them they would have to deal with Joseph Brant, who was in the neighborhood and had the authority to make such decisions.⁵⁹ Brant's refusing to allow the Oneida permission to settle at Grand River probably indicates they were those who remained at Oneida Lake until the threat of violence in 1780 brought them over to the British side. The Oneida at Onoghoquaga who had served with the British from the beginning of the war were allowed to settle in Ontario. Apparently some of the Tuscarora who applied to to Brant had success. At least a few Tuscarora families from the Genesee passed through British territory west of Niagara on their way to Grand River.⁶⁰

Most of those who left the Tuscarora settlement on the Genesee settled near Sakwarithra's village. When Benjamin Lincoln visited the area in June 1793 he found two villages, the smaller in an area recently cleared for the purpose. This might suggest that those who came from the Genesee River had only recently arrived. In the older village there were

about thirty houses, and in the newer one a half mile away, about twelve.

The Indian houses are about twelve feet square, built some with bark and others with wood, as we build our log huts. Many of them have chimneys, in which they can keep a comfortable fire, while others retain their ancient custom of having the fire in the centre of the house. These Indians, as well as the Senecas, are settled on good land, and might live very well, and with great ease, if they would attend to agriculture. Some of them now sell a considerable quantity of corn for rum. We found among them a number of cows, which appeared exceedingly good.⁶¹

The proceedings of the treaty conference at Canandaigua, in the late fall of 1794, contain one insignificant reference to the Tuscarora village on the Genesee in a hastily written list of villages, but no delegates were mentioned from there.

Prospects for the Tuscarora near Niagara were looking bright until the treaty conference of Big Tree in the summer of 1797. The Seneca were the last of the Six Nations still possessing major portions of their original land. Although the Seneca had verbally given the Tuscarora permission to settle on the edge of the escarpment above Niagara, they completely ignored the Tuscarora at Big Tree, selling the lands on which the Tuscarora were living without making any provision for a reservation. This would be long remembered in the oral tradition of the Tuscarora. Elias Johnson relates that in September 1797 the Tuscarora "made their complaint by their chiefs, for the first [time] since they were initiated into the confederacy of the Iroquois; [and,] . . . asked if they were to be driven in this manner from place to place all the days of their existence, and if that is the way a father should use their children, or brothers should use their brothers, and to keep them living in disappointment."⁶²

Major Ulrick Rivardi, commander of the U. S. garrison

at Niagara, wrote Timothy Pickering in December 1797 that a Tuscarora delegation led by Sakwarithra had left for Philadelphia. Robert Morris, who purchased the Seneca lands, had offered the Tuscarora a reservation of one mile square, which they believed to be totally inadequate for their needs. Rivardi claimed their "ignorance in Agriculture," and therefore by inference their dependence on hunting and gathering, made the proposed reservation much too small. He did feel their protests should be heard because "they are a Sober quiet & in many ways usefull tribe--which it would be a pity to lose . . . [them, an option] not unlikely considering the encouragements held up to them from the opposite Shore."⁶³

During this trip Sakwarithra's party stopped at Oneida, and were then accompanied by Nicholas Cusick to Philadelphia. Cusick had wisely continued to maintain the confidence and trust of Timothy Pickering, who not long after the treaty conference at Canandaigua became the U. S. Secretary of State. In March, Cusick, Sakwarithra, and the other Tuscarora in the delegation from Niagara arrived in Philadelphia. Pickering, in a letter to New York Governor John Jay, wrote that

Nicholas Cusick, a lame man, and a very sober discreet person, is naturally interested in the fate of the whole tribe: but more immediately concerned for that portion of it which is at Oneida. He has shown me a belt delivered to them last summer as an evidence of their admission to all the rights of the Oneida Reservation. This was a kind act in the Oneidas; but it does not satisfy Nicholas and his brethern who being inclined to pursue improvements in Agriculture . . . wish for a stable property in the land they cultivate. But this cannot be required without the act of the legislature of New-York,--if the Oneidas themselves should be prevailed on to . . . [provide] this portion of the Tuscaroras, or the whole tribe with a separate and exclusive interest in a part of the reservation.⁶⁴

Pickering then suggested, probably at the urging of his Tuscarora visitors, that since all of the Tuscarora in New York number only about 330, perhaps they could be provided with a six-miles-square township on the Oneida reservation. If, as he suspected, the Oneida would not go along with this suggestion, he wanted some provision to be made for the "five families of Tuscaroras living at Oneida." These sixty people "are the remnant of those who during the American Revolution were attached to our cause, in which a number of them perished; and all greatly suffered. They are also more inclined to civil life, in which some and especially Nicholas, have made considerable progress." Although Jay proposed a bill on behalf of the Tuscarora to the New York Legislature, action was never completed.⁶⁵ Very possibly the Oneida were not willing to give the Tuscarora exclusive rights to a piece of property, as Pickering had requested in their behalf.

While in Philadelphia, Sakwarithra and his party talked over their current land problems with James W. Henry, the Secretary of War. Henry offered them no hope of getting additional land near Niagara. Sakwarithra later related in a letter the sentiments they had received via Henry from President Adams. "He used us kindly, and advised us to work What Land we had, more, and not go hunting or trapping as much as we were wont. We have followed his council in every matter & I hope it will be well for us."⁶⁶ The Seneca did take the Tuscarora complaint against them under consideration. In council at Buffalo Creek in June 1798 they granted an additional square mile to be added to the one given to the Tuscarora by Morris. The Tuscarora flatly refused to allow the surveyor near their village, saying that even with the addition "the lands given them were too small to include their village, Planting ground, timber for fire wood &c."⁶⁷ They eventually accepted these plots and an additional square mile from the Seneca but substantially increased their holdings only through buying land from the

Holland Land Company.

The Tuscarora communities were never fully united. They had never before been so politically; and cultural differences that had developed in the various groups after their initial dispersal in 1713 were great. Yet, a certain amount of unification did take place, the beginnings of which can be seen in the events of the 1780's and 1790's. The relationship of Sakwarithra and Nicholas Cusick provides some slight reflection as to how the reconciliation of the Tuscarora people slowly progressed. Sakwarithra unexplainably complained that "Cusack did not serve us well" when they visited Philadelphia together in 1798. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century they were working side by side to help their people adapt to the world changing rapidly around them. The leadership of these two men, and others who shared their vision, would go a long way toward healing the wounds and closing the cultural gaps of the past.

Chapter IV

Footnotes

1. Wallace, Seneca, p. 123.
2. Kirkland to Wheelock, 25 April 1770, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
3. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1770 to 1771, Samuel Lothrop Papers.
4. Ibid.
5. Kirkland to Pemberton, 25 March 1771, Samuel Lothrop Papers.
6. Kirkland to Wheelock, 25 April 1770, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Kirkland to Pemberton, 25 March 1771, Samuel Lothrop Papers.
7. Kirkland to Eliot, 28 March 1773, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1772 to 1773, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
8. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:1109-1110; Kirkland to Eliot, 24 October 1774, Samuel Lothrop Papers.
9. Kirkland to Eliot, 19 November 1773 and 13 June 1774, Samuel Lothrop Papers; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1772 to 1773, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
10. "Proceedings of a meeting with . . . the Six Nations," 20 January 1775, Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 126.
11. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, January to March 1775, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
12. Kirkland to Eliot, 28 March 1775, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Gage to Johnson, 5 February 1775, Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 125; Gage to Johnson, 13 April 1775, Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 127.
13. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1775, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Graymont, Iroquois in the Revolution, p. 63.
14. Ibid., p. 101; "Peter . . . to the Commissioners . . .," August 1776, Schuyler Papers, Box 13, New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.
15. Graymont, Iroquois in the Revolution, pp. 108-110.

16. Wallace, Seneca, p. 132.
17. "Conversations with Gov^r Blacksnake," February 1850, Draper Manuscript Collection, 4S19, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison (microfilm copy at Duke University Library).
18. Graymont, Iroquois in the Revolution, pp. 149, 161.
19. Jones, Annals of Oneida, p. 870; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, March 1789 to January 1790, Samuel Kirkland Papers; "Conversations with Gov^r Blacksnake," February 1850, Draper Manuscript Collection, 4S47-48.
20. "An Account of Money paid to Indians of the Six Nations, as private presents . . .," n.d. Schuyler Papers, Box 13; Account, April 1777 to August 1780, Schuyler Papers, Box 13.
21. "At a Meeting of the Commiss^{rs} of Indian Affairs . . .," 7 March 1778, Schuyler Papers, Box 13.
22. "Speech of the . . . Oneida and Tuscarora Nation," 1 April 1778, Marinus Willett Papers, New-York Historical Society, New York.
23. Johnson to Willett, 11 April 1778, Marinus Willett Papers; "Sky and his Son" to Willett, 21 April 1778, Marinus Willett Papers; Edward Johnson was a missionary and schoolmaster at Ganatisgowa in 1762. We can only surmise that the literate Tuscarora or Onondaga of the same English name living at Ganasaraga was one of his students.
24. "A Speech of Kayendalongwea & Skenondon . . .," 22 April 1778, Marinus Willett Papers.
25. Hugh Hastings, comp., Public Papers of George Clinton, 10 vols. (Albany: State of New York, 1899-1914), 3:118, 356-357, 457-459; "At a Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs . . .," 15 April 1778, Schuyler Papers, Box 13.
26. Hastings, Clinton Papers, 4:131-132.
27. William H. Egle and John B. Linn, eds., Pennsylvania Archives, 2d ser., 19 vols. (Harrisburg: State of Pennsylvania, 1877-96), 15:232, 291; Hastings, Clinton Papers, 4:185, 222-231.
28. Hastings, Clinton Papers, 4:492-493.
29. "At a Meeting of the Commiss^{rs} of Indian Affairs . . .," 4 January 1779, Schuyler Papers, Box 13; Hastings, Clinton Papers, 4:529, 568.

30. "Recommended by the Chiefs for Commissions," n.d., Schuyler Papers, Box 13.
31. Egle, Pennsylvania Archives, 15:232-233; "Journal of Lieutenant Robert Parker, 1779," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 27(1903):412; for archaeological survey information of these villages see Warren K. Moorehead, comp. and Arthur C. Parker, ed., A Report of the Susquehanna River Expedition (Andover: Andover Press, 1938), pp. 31-39.
32. "Journal of Lieutenant Robert C. Parker, 1779," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 28(1904):19.
33. Tall Printup to Schuyler, 31 July 1778, Schuyler Papers, Box 13.
34. "A Speech of the Oneida Chiefs to Lieut. Colonel Van Dyck. . .," 18 June 1780, Indian Miscellaneous Manuscripts, New-York Historical Society, New York.
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36. "Account of Losses sustained by the Oneidas & Tuscaroras . . .," November 1794, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62.
37. Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr., 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 1:208.
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41. "A General Statement of the Six Nations of Indians living within the United States," 24 December 1790, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
42. "Return of y^e six Nations with y^e names & y^e heads of families & tribes," 20 October 1789, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
43. Johnston, Valley of the Six Nations, pp. 52, 281.
44. Peter Ryckman to Henry Glen, 23 August 1784, O'Rielly Collection, New-York Historical Society, New York; Proceedings

of the Fort Stanwix Conference, September 1784, O'Rielly Collection.

45. Proceedings of the Fort Herkimer Conference, June 1785, O'Rielly Collection.

46. Jones, Annals of Oneida, p. 86.

47. "Account of a visit paid to the Indians of New York . . .," April to July 1798, Joshua Sharpless Manuscript Book, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.

48. "Account of Losses sustained by the Oneidas & Tuscaroras . . .," November 1794, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62; "Series of Letters Written on a Journey to . . . the Indians of the Five Nations. . .," June to July 1796, Morris-Sansom Collection, Quaker Collection; Journal of William Allinson, 1809, Allinson Collection, Quaker Collection.

49. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1772 to 1773, Samuel Kirkland Papers.

50. "To Col. R. M. Johnson-, Now in Congress," National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser, 18 December 1817 (copy in Draper Manuscript Collection, 11U245).

51. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, March 1789 to January 1790, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Kirkland to Levi Hart, 17 January 1771, Samuel Kirkland Papers.

52. Jones, Stockbridge, pp. 90, 98.

53. Pickering to Knox, 3 May 1792, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62; Cusick to Pickering, October 1792, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62.

54. John Sergeant to Israel Chapin, 14 January 1793, O'Rielly Collection; Sergeant to Pickering, 15 January 1793, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62; "War Department Accounts of Israel Chapin . . .," 1796 to 1802, O'Rielly Collection.

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57. "Copies of Papers on File in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa Canada, Pertaining to Michigan, as Found in

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64. Pickering to Jay, 15 March 1798, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 8.

65. Jay to Pickering, 10 April 1798, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 22.

66. Henry to Chapin, 18 May 1799, O'Rielly Collection.

67. Robert Warwick Bingham, ed., Holland Land Company's Papers, Reports of Joseph Ellicott, 2 vols. (Buffalo, N.Y. Buffalo Historical Society, 1937-41), 1:23, 54, 55; see also "Historic Wampum," Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society 25(1930):208-213.

Chapter V

ADAPTATION TO RESERVATION LIFE, 1800-1825

Western New York was occupied primarily by remnants of the Six Nations until 1800. During the early years of the nineteenth century, the Holland Land Company rapidly sold property purchased from the Seneca in 1797. The village of New Amsterdam, surveyed in 1798, grew into the bustling hub of activity that later became known as the City of Buffalo and smaller villages such as Lewiston and Niagara Falls were gradually established. A stream of Whites traveled past the Tuscarora reservation on their way to homestead in western New York or Canada. When the initial portion of the Tuscarora reservation was formally laid out in 1801, hundreds of thousands of acres of good hunting land was close by and the reservation boundary meant very little to most Tuscarora living there. As the White population increased, the reservation boundary became more restrictive.

The chronological period covered by this chapter begins at a significant time in Tuscarora history, the formal beginning of the reservation period; but the year 1825 was arbitrarily selected as a stopping point. My intention is to discuss the major early population inputs and changes that took place during the beginnings of the modern Tuscarora reservation communities in New York and Ontario. After the social demography is considered, we will examine the basic adaptations that took place. The discussion will focus primarily on the Niagara reservation, but whenever the very limited data I have permit, I will insert comparisons with the Tuscarora in Canada. By stopping at 1825,

I do not mean to convey the impression that the communities remained static after that time. Many significant changes took place. The documentary evidence for the nineteenth century is exceedingly rich and would require a study as long as the present one to deal with it adequately. For this reason, I have decided to only introduce the reservation period here, and perhaps deal with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a subsequent study.

The Foundation for Tribal Emergence

After the New York Tuscarora were left out of the treaty of Big Tree in 1797, they were offered one square mile for a reservation by the Seneca and an additional square mile by the Holland Land Company.¹ Initially the Tuscarora were outraged at the small size of the reservation and refused to allow surveyors near their settlement. After Sakwarithra led an unsuccessful delegation to Philadelphia in 1799, they resigned themselves to the two square miles given to them and began plans for the sale of the North Carolina reservation and purchase of additional lands in New York.

The land granted by the Holland Land Company to the New York Tuscarora was surveyed by Joseph Ellicott in 1801. At about the same time Solomon Longboard and Sakwarithra, who were both highly regarded Tuscarora chiefs, were chosen by their people to go to North Carolina. Another delegation of Tuscarora had gone to North Carolina that year and had been sent away on the pretext that their credentials were unsatisfactory. Arrangements were made by the United States Secretary of War in 1802, Henry Dearborn, to expedite the sale of North Carolina Tuscarora lands and to have federal officials present at the proceedings. A multitude of legal problems made a simple resolution of the affair impossible. The Tuscarora who were still living in North Carolina had

given long-term leases, commonly for ninety-nine years, to a number of different individuals. A survey of the reservation was conducted in 1803, the first since the land had been set aside as a reservation for the Tuscarora in 1717. The surveyor found that leasees were using as much as six times the amount of property stated in their leases. Restitution was demanded for the Tuscarora by the North Carolina government, and the remainder of the reservation was leased. Congress then authorized Henry Dearborn to purchase additional property from the Holland Land Company, with the money raised in North Carolina, contiguous to the two square mile reservation in New York. In May 1804, Erastus Granger, a United States Indian agent for western New York, assisted the Tuscarora chiefs with their purchase of just under seven square miles of land. The final one square mile that was added to produce the modern 6,249-acre reservation was given to the Tuscarora by the Seneca in March 1808.²

Now that the origins of the New York reservation lands have been outlined, we can turn to the settlement history. In the previous chapter the earliest population inputs were discussed. Initially settled by pro-English adherents in 1779, additional people came from Ohagi, the Tuscarora village in the Genesee River, in 1792 when that village began to disband under pressure from the United States. The Tuscarora living on the Oneida reservation after the Revolutionary War moved to the Tuscarora reservation near Niagara. They had increased to about seventy people, and that brought the population of the Tuscarora reservation up to approximately 300. The circumstances leading to this move are not completely clear, but the few shreds of information available provide some light on the subject.

The New York Missionary Society decided in 1800 to send Elkanah Holmes to evangelize the Tuscarora and Seneca living in the western part of the state. As Holmes traveled west he stopped at the Oneida reservation, where he hired

Nicholas Cusick to accompany him as interpreter. Holmes was received with friendship and attention. He wrote in October 1800 that he preached four times that week. "Every one of the chiefs and a great part of the rest of the tribe, appear very anxious to hear, and very attentive when they do. . . . For two or three years past, many of them have begun to reform, especially Sacaresa, the chief sachem."³ Sakwarithra became a strong proponent of Christianity, to the point of becoming one of the first six members of the church established by Holmes on the reservation. As we might expect, Nicholas Cusick was one of the others.

With his ethnic kinsmen near Niagara so receptive to the Christian Gospel he loved, Cusick returned to his family and friends living on Oneida Creek and apparently talked them into moving to western New York.⁴ In addition to the services he performed as an interpreter for Holmes and the hopeful prospects of seeing his people converted to Christianity, Cusick was probably motivated by the state of land affairs. As mentioned in chapter 4, Timothy Pickering had unsuccessfully tried to help the Tuscarora at Oneida get a segment of that reservation granted to them. This attempt failed; and the prospects for a secure tribal land title were much better on the reservation near Niagara. Cusick, his family, and the other Tuscarora living near Oneida Creek moved west within a few years after 1800 and settled on the Niagara reservation.

By 1803, most of the Tuscarora that had remained in North Carolina were brought north. It is very possible that many of the marginal populations that claim partial Tuscarora origins, e.g., Lumbee and Haliwa Indians in North Carolina and the Sand Hill Indians of New Jersey, may have received some population contribution from the Tuscarora. The Port Royal band of Tuscarora discussed in chapter 2 may have maintained their Tuscarora identity into the nineteenth century, and other such groups may have existed in

Pennsylvania. But by 1803 the majority of ethnically identifiable Tuscarora people living together as a community or part of one were on the New York reservation near Niagara or on the Grand River reservation in Ontario.

The reservation populations were neither completely stationary nor ethnically homogeneous. Families and, as we shall see later, larger groups moved back and forth. Visits were most common, but a dissatisfactory situation was sometimes escaped by simply moving to the other reservation. At Grand River there were several families of Nanticoke and Nottoway who eventually became assimilated culturally and linguistically. The Nanticoke-Tuscarora, as they were called at the turn of the twentieth century, had their own hereditary chiefs' titles and participated in the Six Nations Council. Their identity was maintained primarily through genealogical awareness.⁵

On the New York reservation the population was also ethnically diverse. One segment, according to Elias Johnson numbering about seventy in 1885, were called Shawnee. I have not been able to determine when they joined the Tuscarora. Johnson told A. S. Gatschet that they had a chief representing them in council. With all of them "speaking Tuskarora, they tried to palm themselves off for Tusk[arora] but have not passed through that yet."⁶ There were a few Onondaga who had lived at Ganasaraga. A number of White males married Tuscarora women and their names have been carried on by their descendants into this century. Prominent among these are the names Mountpleasant, Chew, Printup, and Green.⁷ A detailed discussion of such individuals would perhaps be interesting, but is inappropriate for our purposes here. Generally they were affiliated with the military or a government agency. Most of these men were English, and their interaction with the Tuscarora was brief and came in the context of the Revolutionary War. Of those mentioned, William Printup is an exception to this last point. Printup

was an interpreter for Sir William Johnson and a blacksmith for the Onondaga and Tuscarora in the Iroquois heartland.

To say that outside of these few White individuals and the other indigenous ethnic groups listed there was no other intermarriage with non-Tuscarora would be inaccurate. Hawley found a great deal of ethnic intermarriage at Ono-ghoquaga during his stay from 1753 to 1756. Several Oneida chiefs had Tuscarora wives. He could report that "almost every family" had some French or English ancestry. The phenotypic results were evident to Maximillian when he visited the Tuscarora and several Seneca reservations in 1834. In comparing the various populations, he commented that at Tuscarora the people's "features, colour, and hair seem to be more changed by their intercourse with the whites."⁸

What I want to emphasize by introducing the above information is that the reservation populations both in Canada and the United States were very heterogeneous. There were major ideological differences, especially with regard to religion and the Revolutionary War. Ethnic diversity was great. Since the people came from many different villages, the pull of local loyalties and cultural idiosyncrasies probably added fuel for what appear to have been potentially divisive situations. Some of these factors did lead to problems. In the following section we will begin to see how a tribal identity and political organization emerged in New York despite these problems. The past experiences and personal appeal of leaders, the growing antagonism of Whites, the security of the reservation and having their own tribal land, and even the destruction of their village by the British in 1813, all led to what can be seen in retrospect as a highly adaptive response.

The Old Way and the New

The settlement pattern on the reservation was compact. Nuclear family dwellings made after the White log frontier pattern and a few small bark houses were clustered in a village setting. One reference from 1800 seems to indicate there were still two villages on the New York reservation, although this cannot be positively confirmed. Elkanah Holmes, the missionary sent to the Seneca and Tuscarora, was pleasantly surprised at the situation he found among the Tuscarora. "They are, perhaps, more industrious than any Indian tribe in these parts. Many of the men work in the field (as well as the women) by planting, hoeing, and harvesting their corn, etc., which (I am informed) is not the custom of the Senecas or any of the western tribes, for among them the women do all the work in the field."⁹ It is particularly interesting to note that some of the men did agricultural work. Since Holmes was writing before the Tuscarora living on the Oneida reservation moved to western New York and also before those from North Carolina had arrived, he was not referring to those populations. Besides, other earlier observers made similar statements concerning the Tuscarora in western New York. It is possible that this was to some extent a cultural survival from the pre-1711 period. John Lawson indicated in 1709 that the Indian men of the villages with which he was familiar in North Carolina regularly helped with agricultural work. He even makes the point that they were unlike the Iroquois in that respect; and since the Tuscarora were the dominant ethnic group in the area, we can quite safely assume this applied to them.¹⁰ Whether it was a cultural survival or a recent change, male agricultural work facilitated the Tuscarora's status being seen by Whites as "in a more improved state than the rest of the Indians,"¹¹ because they conformed more fully to White normative behavior. The post-1800 Tuscarora arrivals probably contributed a great deal to this status. For

example, Erastus Granger and Jasper Parrish reported to Henry Dearborn in November 1804 that some of the western New York Indians had experimented with planting wheat and oats for the first time.¹² It is probably no coincidence that the Tuscarora from Oneida arrived at the Tuscarora reservation in 1802 or 1803 and brought with them a decade of experience in planting these crops.

The Federal Government, under the impetus of men like Timothy Pickering and Henry Dearborn, encouraged the cultural assimilation of White life styles through technological aid and the verbal support of missionaries who wanted to work on the reservations. In March 1802, Dearborn, who was then Secretary of War, wrote the following to Israel Chapin, the Indian agent for the Tuscarora.

For the purpose of introducing a spirit and knowledge of agriculture and the domestic arts among the Tuscaroras you are requested to deliver two or three ploughs to such Chiefs as in your judgment will properly use them; also one or two yoke of Oxen with two or three pairs of cards and such number of wheels for the purpose of spinning as may be usefully employed. You are also authorized to erect in a situation most convenient to the nation, a cheap saw Mill, this when completed you will place under the direction of some discreet and careful white man--who will conduct the business for a certain reasonable proportion of the profits.¹³

The order for the saw mill was not carried out by Chapin. He was fired in July 1803 and still had the ironworks for the mill in his possession at that time.¹⁴ Apparently it was built under the supervision of Erastus Granger, who succeeded Chapin.

At about this same time the State of New York financed the construction of a building that was used as a chapel and schoolhouse, with a second-story room as an apartment for Elkanah Holmes.¹⁵ Sakwarithra had asked the Quakers in 1794 at the Treaty of Canandaigua to start a school for the

Tuscarora living near Niagara. Nothing came of his request, but the same plea was repeated to Holmes' mission board in 1800. By the fall of 1803, a school was in operation, "taught by a young Indian, who has a good share of English learning, and is a very sober, respectable man."¹⁶ The teacher's name is not mentioned. One reference indicates he was a Stockbridge Indian, but it could have been Nicholas Cusick's son David, who had been left by his father with Samuel Kirkland for four years of personal tutoring. Since the Cusicks went to the New Stockbridge church and had just moved from the vicinity of New Stockbridge to the Tuscarora reservation, there could have been some confusion. At any rate, English literacy was not very high among the Tuscarora at this point in time, and the number of possible candidates for bilingual teachers was small. Grand River Tuscarora leaders requested a school in 1819. One was established by a local missionary and flourished for several years but attendance dropped to three students by the mid-1820's.¹⁷

Elkanah Holmes was given a great deal of cooperation for his efforts from both Christians and non-Christians on the New York reservation. In October 1800 he wrote the New York Missionary Society that he hoped to establish a covenant with the people to observe the Sabbath day.¹⁸ Lemuel Covell, visiting the reservation in the fall of 1803, wrote of Holmes' efforts with the Tuscarora and Seneca:

With the Tuscaroras he has been much more successful. In less than two years, he has had the happiness to prevail on them to abandon many of their [old ways]. . . . they have entered into solemn covenant with him, to abstain from the use of spiritous liquors, of all kinds; to observe the Sabbath as a day of religious worship, and to do everything in their power to restrain licentiousness among the rising generations, and become acquainted with the Christian religion. To this covenant they adhere, with a scrupulosity that might be an admonition to white people.¹⁹

This was by now an old pattern for many of the Tuscarora. Samuel Kirkland had asked for and gotten such a covenant, and so had Gideon Hawley before him. Covell's optimism seemed to be somewhat warranted. There were perpetual drunks and troublemakers, but their numbers remained relatively small.

Most people seem to have given a passive compliance and verbal assent to the missionary efforts of Holmes and the other pastors who followed him. Although religious services were held from the beginning of Holmes' ministry in 1800, with attendance often over 100, the first church was not organized until 1805; and only six adults were deemed to be regenerate and therefore fit for membership. Besides Sakwarithra, Nicholas Cusick, and their wives, the other members were Mary Pembleton and Apollos Jacobs. Fifteen years later the membership was only up to sixteen.²⁰ Opposition to missionary work was apparently not great at first, but, as we shall see later in this chapter, it eventually welled up to become a very significant political factor.

Although social control does not seem to have been a problem on the reservation, several disruptive situations are mentioned in the historical literature. A Tuscarora belief in witches is mentioned by Hawley in 1754.²¹ Proving to the satisfaction of the community that a person was a witch could legitimately lead to the accused's execution. Women were most often suspected of witchcraft, and two early Tuscarora reservation cases are mentioned by William Allinson in 1809. One of these we will consider here. Erastus Granger related an incident to Allinson that occurred in 1805 involving two women who were accused of being witches. One of the women had been put to death and the other tortured. When Granger heard what was happening he went to the reservation and pleaded with the people to spare her. When he persisted in his objections, the woman's son stepped forward and filled with emotion said:

My Friend I hope you will listen to what I have to say I am the Son of that Woman --She is my Mother! She nursed me when I was a child and I love my Mother! Her arms were extended for my protection-- She clothed me & kept me from all harm both in sickness & in Health & you cannot doubt that I still love my Mother yet notwithstanding my strong attachment to her, I am convinced that she is a bad Women & has been the means of taking the Lives of some of our People by Witchcraft --I think therefore she ought to Die and desire Mr Granger that you will not oppose her being put to Death--As myself & my Brother we have given her up for the good of the Nation.²²

This quote is, of course, given as Granger remembered it. He told Allinson that, while the young man was not a public speaker, he expressed himself with strong feeling. Granger admitted that he was moved to tears by the man's speech, and the situation made a profound effect upon him.

The woman was spared. Granger does not say why, but among the Handsome Lake followers of the Seneca, a person admitting guilt as a witch could be cleansed and forgiven. This may have been the case in the above incident. As old as the belief in witchcraft was among the Tuscarora, there may have been an increase in the number of public accusations during the early reservation period. At about this same time, Handsome Lake's ministry was marked by a witch hunt mania in Seneca communities.²³ Apparently this was an external expression of internally held hostilities that built up under the pressures of post-Revolutionary War reservation life. Aggression was ideally not to be expressed toward any individual of the Six Nations, let alone the people of one's village. Warfare, hunting, and other approved means of venting hostility were becoming less possible because of higher population density and rapidly decreasing open land area; therefore, witchcraft probably increased. To expose and destroy a witch was seen as doing others a service, and if the above quote is any indication

of the extent to which this was believed by others in the community, then the belief was a deeply ingrained and socially significant one.

Living under the watchful eye of state and federal officials, the Tuscarora found that matters previously of little or no concern to Whites now had to be explained to avoid trouble. In March 1808 Nicholas Cusick wrote a letter to Erastus Granger on behalf of several chiefs and warriors. The letter explained the death of William, an Oneida, who had killed his wife on the Oneida reservation and had come to live at Tuscarora. He married a woman living on the reservation, but proved to be a disruptive individual who was regularly drunk and often beat his wife. On one such occasion he attacked his son, who took his father's knife, broke it, and ran outside. All the people of the village ran to hide in the bushes and woods except a brother of William's wife, who was visiting from Grand River. Fearing for his sister's safety and believing William had a pistol, the wife's brother shot him. By the next morning William was dead and the brother went back to Grand River. The Tuscarora chiefs expressed their concern to Granger. "We hope you will advise what is right--we send you knife broke you may see it -- we hope you will not think [it] murder-- Our whole Nation mourns -- We hope our Nation will not be blame[d]." ²⁴ Explaining situations such as this one, that would otherwise have been taken care of through internal means, was just part of the adjustment that had to be made to reservation life.

The general relations of the Tuscarora with Whites in western New York is of particular significance for understanding the unique growth of the Tuscarora tribal organization. Prior to 1803, a westward-bound traveler found very few White families after crossing the Genesee River. John Mountpleasant (1770-1854), who grew up on the Tuscarora reservation, recalled in 1848 that the earliest White people

he could remember were the English at Fort Niagara, the soldiers at a small outpost at Lewiston, the early emigrants going to Canada, and a few traders. There was also an assortment of cattle drovers and ferry and tavern operators.²⁵ Orsamus Turner reported that the surviving initial White settlers of the Niagara frontier "bear witness to the uniform good conduct of the Tuscaroras, and especially to the civility and hospitality they extended to the early cattle drovers and other adventurers upon the trail that passed through their village. . . . The primitive settlers found them kind and obliging."²⁶ Tuscarora hospitality was not always reciprocated, and especially as the White population increased so did hostility and social barriers. Several soldiers killed three horses belonging to the Tuscarora in 1799, and not only did the soldiers refuse to pay for the horses but the commander of their post apparently ignored Tuscarora complaints. The War Department eventually compensated the Tuscarora for their loss. Killing horses was bad enough, but during the summer of 1800 a Tuscarora and Seneca were murdered at Big Beaver Creek with just about as much concern. The War Department once more compensated the loss, two hundred dollars to each family.²⁷

The Tuscarora found themselves to be more and more a minor segment of the increasingly White-dominated plural society. Their response was not total withdrawal into the reservation community. Many of the Tuscarora, such as Nicholas Cusick, were, from their own varying experiences, familiar with the values and ways of White people. To the extent that they were able, they took advantage of the human and material resources available to them. One early settler reported that Whites often went to Canada to buy supplies, but the "Tuscarora Indians generally had corn to sell."²⁸ With Niagara Falls at their doorstep, there was a heavy flow of tourist trade that began early in the nineteenth century. Tuscarora women became known for the handicrafts they sold from the City of Buffalo north along the

Niagara River. Tuscarora men and women were familiar sights to local people as they went to White homesteads selling mats, baskets, bead work, and berries during the summer.²⁹

There is some evidence which suggests the Tuscarora came to be a prominent financial interest in Niagara County. They had a regular income as a tribe from the rental of their former reservation lands in North Carolina that was to continue until 1916 when the land reverted to State ownership.³⁰ Jacob Cram, a missionary who visited the Tuscarora occasionally, reported as early as 1803 that they "are industrious, have skill in business, correct ideas of property, and are rich."³¹ By the early 1820's they were said to have become the principal money lenders in the county. An 1824 gazetteer of New York State stated that "as a nation, or tribe, they are rich, and many of them, as individuals."³² These claims may be overstatements circulated by White inhabitants of the county in an attempt to keep from losing income from Tuscarora lands. In January 1821 Sakwarithra and other chiefs asked the New York State Assembly to exempt the Tuscarora from paying property taxes on the nearly seven square miles of land they had purchased from the Holland Land Company. The next month the White inhabitants of Lewiston presented a petition against that of the Tuscarora. Not to be out done, Nicholas Cusick and Guy Chew made an additional appeal on behalf of the Tuscarora in March. The final recommendation of the legislative committee was that the Tuscarora should be required to pay taxes on the land purchased by the tribe.³³ Whether White resentment stemmed from the possible financial loss to taxes, from the material success of the Tuscarora, or both, the social barriers between them were becoming increasingly well-defined.

In an attempt to deal with the above data concerning Indian-White relations in a way that maintains a necessary degree of continuity, I have chronologically bypassed several significant topics to which we can now return. The War of 1812 between Great Britain and the United States had

the Niagara frontier as one of its major fronts. The New York Tuscarora for the most part wanted to remain neutral, but, with their homes and reservation only a few miles from the border of two nations at war with one another, they could hardly feel secure. To complicate matters, Erastus Granger encouraged the Seneca and Tuscarora to assist the United States. A major confrontation was finally impending in December 1813. Most of the Grand River Iroquois had declared their support for the British very early, and although there were defectors, many of their warriors were waiting near Queenstown. The New York Tuscarora requested that a meeting be held with them. Sakwarithra and nine other Tuscarora met the Grand River delegates on December 4. After preliminaries were taken care of, Sakwarithra spoke.

Brothers--Our desire to see you is to know whether the same sentiments of friendship exists that you expressed . . . two year ago Notwithstanding we are separated by the Contention between the British and Americans our sentiments are still the same. . . . These times have been very hard and we labour under Great difficulties being so near the Lines and we wish to know whether your sentiments are still friendly towards us, and if you cross the River whether you will hurt us. Keitwerota [an Onondaga from Grand River spoke] This will depend on yourself if you take no part with the Americans we shall meet you with the same friendship as we ever did and . . . we have no Contention with you it is the King and the Americans and we have taken a part with the King.³⁴

The situation must have been an agonizing one for the New York Tuscarora and especially Sakwarithra. He had been one of the few actively pro-English Tuscarora leaders during the American Revolution. Thirty years later he found himself committed to a community and reservation surrounded by the territory of his former enemies, and British forces, both Indian and White, were preparing to enter the United States.

The New York Tuscarora did not maintain a perfect

neutrality. A few had helped the British over a year earlier at Queenston Heights, and others had been assisting the United States. Most New York Tuscarora were in the middle. But the events that transpired two weeks after the December 4 conference made neutrality impossible. On December 18, the British troops crossed the river and attacked Fort Niagara. Lewiston was burned and, on December 19, the Tuscarora settlement was set aflame. The people had, for the most part, left their homes, so few were hurt. Many of the Tuscarora men took an active role in defense of their people and also helped to thwart British advances. With their homes, church, school, and livestock destroyed, most of the Tuscarora apparently left the Niagara frontier and many went to the Oneida reservation. Lewiston was abandoned until 1815 and groups of Tuscarora presumably began to return at about that time as well.³⁵

When the Tuscarora returned to their reservation a significant change was made. Instead of rebuilding their houses in a village cluster, they built adjacent to each family's agricultural fields and pasture lands. This was, of course, a marked departure from the settlement pattern that characterized most of their villages in New York from as early as the 1750's. Even the Tuscarora at the Grand River reservation had established themselves in a compact village. A Scottish clergyman, John M. Duncan, visited the New York reservation in October 1818. His description indicates the degree to which reconstruction had taken place and some interesting detail about their homesteads.

I proceeded to the Tuscarora village.
. . . A field intervenes between it and
the road, and it is composed entirely of
Log houses [that] . . . are generally
scattered up and down at some little dis-
tance from each other. . . . I crossed
some fields and soon found the church.
It also is a log-house, but larger than
most of the others; it is a church on
Sabbath, and a school-house during the
rest of the week. . . . The view was

bounded by thick forests stretching far in every direction; round us the axe had been at work, and for a considerable extent, the ground was covered by the stumps of trees; part of it was divided into fields, surrounded by the zigzag rail fences, and crops of Indian corn had been partly gathered, and were partly ripe for it.³⁵

Several years later another one-day visitor mentioned that the Tuscarora had herds of cattle, a few frame houses besides the log cabins, and that rye and wheat as well as corn were grown "in abundance."³⁶ Duncan had visited the Oneida reservation and possibly those of the Tonawanda and Buffalo Creek Seneca. These communities had not been destroyed during the recent war, and Duncan was struck by the differences between them and the Tuscarora. The Oneida and Seneca he found in a "state of miserable degradation. . . . The Tuscaroras, however, who were gathering around me, presented a remarkable and cheering contrast. They were all decently, some of them even showily dressed, and in almost all of them might be recognized marks of the enjoyment of personal and social comfort."³⁷ In spite of the hardships they had suffered as a result of the war, the Tuscarora had not returned downtrodden and dejected but instead they had a spirit of determination. Rebirth and renewal were at hand. At least most Tuscarora thought so. A conservative anti-Christian minority soon became not only visible but also aggressive. They had other plans.

Elkanah Holmes had left his mission in 1807 or 1808 because the New York Missionary Society, a predominantly Presbyterian organization, did not like his "pseudo-Baptist leanings." He was replaced by Andrew Gray in 1808 or 1809. After the War of 1812 the mission was not re-established until 1817 when James C. Crane arrived with his wife and his brother-in-law, James Young. The latter reopened the school that had been in operation before the war.³⁸ Crane met with difficulties from the beginning of his stay on the

reservation. A large portion of the population had been non-Christian, but generally willing to accommodate or at least tolerate the presence and work of earlier missionaries. While this was still to some extent true, a new militantly anti-Christian segment developed. One visitor to the reservation during the winter of 1818 wrote that "there is a missionary among the Tuscaroras; but I understand that he meets with much opposition from them. . . . There are individuals among this tribe, who threaten the most bloody destruction upon those of their nation, who shall embrace the christian religion."³⁹ Why such a change in attitudes on the part of some? The reason is not clear, but the influence of the Handsome Lake religion is a good possibility.

Handsome Lake was an Allegany Seneca who in 1799 began to have a series of visions. Out of his experiences came a code of behavior and ritual that led to the moral and religious revitalization of his many followers among the Six Nations' remnants. The result was a unique combination of traditional beliefs and values with many features of the dominant White society such as men doing agricultural work. The innovations had far-reaching social consequences, and served as an alternative to Christianity, yet, an adaptive response to the changes taking place around them. Handsome Lake apparently avoided the Tuscarora reservation because of the missionary influence present there. He did gain a significant following among the Tonawanda Seneca and indirectly among the Oneida.⁴⁰ Travel between reservations was common; and, as mentioned earlier, many Tuscarora fled to Oneida and possibly Tonawanda when their village was burned in 1813. The influences of these contacts would then have been given several years to germinate without a Christian missionary in the community until 1817.

The suggestion of the above quote that those who become Christians would be subjected to "the most bloody destruction," would not suggest the Handsome Lake religion was the

motivation for the anti-Christian party. Handsome Lake's code did not condone such violence. It is very likely, however, that this statement was the personal interpretation made by the White observer on the basis of what he heard. Some of the Tuscarora were said to have conducted the white dog sacrifice, which was an important ceremonial part of the Handsome Lake religion. It is very likely that the religious beliefs of those antagonistic to Christianity were a blend of what they brought with them to the reservation.

Whatever the beliefs of the anti-Christians, their opposition was politically significant. The power struggles were even noticed by Duncan during his one-day visit in 1818. Near the end of the Sunday morning church service that he attended on the reservation, a chief whom Duncan identifies as Longboard gave a ten-minute talk. Later he got the Christian's viewpoint as to what the chief was trying to accomplish.

Longboard's address, though professedly in favour of Mr. Crane and the instructions which he gave, was secretly intended to prop his own authority; that when a fitting opportunity offered, it might be exerted in an opposite way. He was formerly a chief of considerable influence in the nation, and his inclinations were strongly opposed to the introduction of Christianity, but finding that it was obviously gaining ground, he for a time trimmed to the current; he often said that it was altogether in consequence of his addresses, that any improvement had taken place in the character and conduct of the Indians.⁴¹

The diverse backgrounds and degree of disorientation of many of the Tuscarora who gathered themselves together on the reservation during the years from 1790 to 1805 apparently precluded political polarizations. There was a fairly general agreement about adopting White technology and farming techniques. Most people saw the usefulness of becoming able to deal with Whites in an effective way, by

learning to read, write, and speak English in order to maximize their own gains. Following the War of 1812 and the rebuilding of their farms, they had grown to know each other well, their existence was no longer threatened by warfare or starvation. Religious differences and the social consequences of these differences became increasingly divisive. The same phenomena were occurring, with local variations, on other reservations in New York and Ontario. What Whites and many Indians called the "Pagan Party" became increasingly at odds with the "Christian Party."

Finally at Tuscarora a physical break took place through emigration to Grand River of the anti-Christian party. Jabez Hyde, who had been a missionary at Buffalo Creek from 1811, described what happened at Tuscarora in 1820. The Tuscarora

tribe contains rising of 300 souls in this State. The Pagan party of late have made violent struggles, and as their last resort they determined to break the tribe up by persuading such a number to move into Canada that the remainder would not be of importance for a missionary establishment. About 70 have emigrated this Spring.⁴²

The reservation continued to have a resident missionary and the support of a succession of mission boards. Some of the Tuscarora who moved to Canada may have returned eventually, since they probably left behind farms representing at least five years of work. The emigrants could not have sold the property they had occupied because all land was owned by the tribe. Individuals and families had rights to the land only as long as they occupied it. We cannot assume that all those remaining on the reservation were Christians. Many people remained non-committal. They were willing to participate in Sunday services; they did not mind the activities of the missionaries. Many probably felt there was a certain efficacy in being on the fringe of Christianity and some form of semi-traditional, non-Christian religion, enabling them to reap the benefits of both. At any rate, overt

conflict for religious reasons was a thing of the past after 1820, and the New York Tuscarora were known thereafter as Christians.

I do not want to suggest that the Tuscarora were on a road leading to the total assimilation of White culture. The field studies begun in the 1880's by Gatschet, Hewitt, and others who followed them, indicate quite the opposite. Wallace's work conducted intermittently from 1948 to 1950 led him to quite the same conclusions as the earlier researchers. While all aspects of Tuscarora culture have been changing, "many of the more intimate aspects of their culture" have changed more slowly. Wallace mentions, for example, attitudes toward sex, marriage, communal responsibility, the clan system, chiefs' council, herbalism, and mythology as having traditional tendencies.⁴³ The accounts I have used for this section were written, for the most part, by Whites who were unable to see anything of these more intimate aspects of Tuscarora culture. What impressed them, and what has come to characterize the Tuscarora in the eyes of non-Indians, was the Tuscarora's willingness and ability to change those institutions that prohibited economic involvement in White society. These changes they made with an apparent ease unparalleled by the other remnants of the Six Nations.

Chapter V

Footnotes

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2. Bingham, Reports of Ellicott, 1:86-87, 92; Herbert Richard Paschal, "The Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina" (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1953), p. 141; Dearborn to ?, 30 July 1802, Henry Dearborn Papers, Duke University Library, Durham, N.C.; Miscellaneous Papers, 1697-1912, PC.21.1, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.; "A Correct Plan of the Lands Allotted to the Tuscarora Nation of Indians," 1803, Governor James Turner Letter Book; Frank H. Severance, ed., "Joseph Ellicott's Letter Books," Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society 26(1922):145; N.Y., Legislature, Senate, Journal, 49th sess., 20 March 1826, p. 387.
3. Frank H. Severance, ed., "Narratives of Early Mission Work on the Niagara Frontier and Buffalo Creek," Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society 6(1903):187-190.
4. Jones, Stockbridge, pp. 91, 98.
5. Turner, Holland Purchase, p. 314-315; Louis L. Babcock, The War of 1812 on the Niagara Frontier (Buffalo, N.Y.: Buffalo Historical Society, 1927), p. 27; Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers; David Mead, "The last indians of Virginia," Atlantic Journal, and Friend of Knowledge 1(1832):127.
6. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers.
7. Concerning Joseph Chew see O. Turner, History of the Pioneer Settlement of Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, and Morris' Reserve . . . (Rochester: William Alling, 1851), p. 294n; for information about John Mountpleasant and James Pemberton see Turner, Holland Purchase, pp. 314-317.
8. Hawley to ?, n.d., follows Hawley to Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 29 July 1794, Gideon Hawley Papers; Thwaites, Western Travels, 24:176.
9. Severance, "Narratives of Mission Work," p. 190.
10. La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Travels, 1:447; Lawson, History of North Carolina, pp. 184-185, 189, 199.
11. Babcock, War of 1812, p. 26.

12. Ibid., p. 27.
13. Dearborn to Chapin, 1 March 1802, O'Rielly Collection.
14. Dearborn to Chapin, 7 July 1803, O'Rielly Collection.
15. D. C. Brown, Memoir of the Late Rev. Lemuel Covell, Missionary to the Tuscarora Indians . . . 2 vols. (Brandon, Ver.: Telegraph Office, 1839), 1:92.
16. Severance, "Narrative of Mission Work," p. 192.
17. Jacob Cram, "Journal," Massachusetts Missionary Magazine 1(1803):68; David Cusick to Samuel Kirkland, Jr., 22 March 1800, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1798 to 1799, Samuel Kirkland Papers; Johnston, Valley of the Six Nations, pp. lxxxv, 245-246.
18. Severance, "Narratives of Mission Work," p. 190.
19. Brown, Memoir of Covell, 1:92.
20. Johnson, History of the Tuscarora, p. 174; Jedidiah Morse, A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs . . . (New Haven: S. Converse, 1822), p. 5.
21. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
22. Journal of William Allinson, 1809, Allinson Collection, vol. 3.
23. Wallace, Seneca, pp. 254-262.
24. "Sagarisa, Capt. William, Thomas, Dagwaleahah, John Montplysent, Peter, Nicholas Cusick" to Erastus Granger, 8 March 1808, Halliday Jackson Papers, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, Penn.
25. Turner, Holland Purchase, pp. 311-312, 351; idem, Phelps and Gorham's Purchase, p. 413.
26. Turner, Holland Purchase, p. 183.
27. James Henry to Israel Chapin, 10 February 1800 and Samuel Dexter to Israel Chapin, 17 February 1801, O'Rielly Collection.
28. Turner, Holland Purchase, p. 497.

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30. Paschal, "Tuscarora Indians," pp. 141-142.
31. Cram, "Journal," p. 69.
32. Horatio Gates Spafford, A gazetteer of the state of New-York . . . (Albany: B. D. Packard, 1824), p. 282; see also Tucker, Knickerbocker Tour, p. 86; N.Y., Legislature, Senate, Journal, 47th sess., 17 March 1824, p. 281.
33. N.Y., Legislature, Assembly, Journal, 44th sess., 23 January, 8 February, 15 March 1821, pp. 165-166, 397, 921.
34. Johnston, Valley of the Six Nations, p. 212.
35. John M. Duncan, A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians (Glasgow: University Press, 1819), p. 23-26.
36. Tucker, Knickerbocker Tour, p. 86.
37. John M. Duncan, Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819, 2 vols. (London: Hurst, Robinson, & Company, 1823), 2:64-65.
38. Severance, "Narratives of Mission Work," p. 126; Johnson, History of the Tuscarora, p. 134; Duncan, Sabbath among the Tuscarora, pp. 47-48; Morse, Report on Indian Affairs, p. 87.
39. Thwaites, Western Travels, 8:157.
40. Wallace, Seneca.
41. Duncan, Travels in 1818, 2:73.
42. Severance, "Narratives of Mission Work," p. 249.
43. Wallace, Personality of the Tuscarora, pp. 16-17.

Chapter VI

TUSCARORA ETHNIC IDENTITY

In the previous chapters an attempt has been made to account demographically for the Tuscarora following the dispersion generated by the 1711 to 1715 War in North Carolina. To the extent it was possible, the nature of the relationships between the scattered Tuscarora segments was revealed. It would be unrealistic to suggest that a cultural reconstruction has been made. Many minutiae of material culture and history have not been included because they do not bear significantly on the concerns of this study. Even if those details had been included, the picture would have been far from complete. In this chapter the Tuscarora ethnic identity will be considered, with an emphasis on the nature and significance of the social boundaries that existed between the Tuscarora and other ethnic groups.

The Tuscarora as an Ethnic Group

The Tuscarora of 1711 and those of 1825 were different in many ways. In 1711 the Tuscarora lived in relatively close proximity with one another. Culturally they had a basic homogeneity: sharing a common language, having made a fairly uniform adaptation to their niche in the North Carolina coastal plain, interacting regularly for ceremonial and trade purposes as well as for hunting. Tuscarora communities apparently provided suitable mates for their

young people from their own populations or those of neighboring Tuscarora villages, if for no other reason than because the Tuscarora were the most numerous, non-Tuscarora being either enemies or drastically depleted. Outsiders and Tuscarora alike identified the "Tuscarora" as a distinguishable category. All of these factors meet the requirements given in chapter 1 to define an ethnic group; i.e. the Tuscarora were a socially and to a great degree a biologically reproductive population that agreed on socially relevant cultural factors that were considered diagnostic for membership by both the Tuscarora and others around them. Prior to their 1713 dispersal, there may have been Tuscarora communities removed from those in North Carolina; but if they existed we have no record of them. Certainly the Tuscarora were not, even prior to historical European contact, in a pristine state of cultural and ethnic isolation. But in 1711, in comparison to their later condition, they did constitute a culturally homogeneous ethnic group having an historical and territorial continuity.

By 1825 a great deal had happened to the Tuscarora. They had been scattered widely, had suffered severe depopulation; the various bands had participated in different social systems, experienced different kinds of sociocultural change, and, finally, they had regrouped at two principal locations (i.e., Lewiston, New York, and Grand River, Ontario). Therefore, throughout much of the period of 1711 to 1800, they did not constitute a single socially or biologically reproductive population, nor did they have a completely shared cultural inventory. The different groups had made many varying adaptations to the cultural and physical environments of which they found themselves a part. Those who remained in North Carolina were exposed to the problems of reservation life in a predominantly White society. Those near Oneida Lake became fully involved in the activities of the League of the Iroquois. A still different situation existed for the Tuscarora more remotely

related to the Confederacy, living near Onoghoquaga. All of these elements however did continue, to greater or lesser extents, to interact socially and biologically, each local community was developing along increasingly divergent lines.

In addition to the obvious social and material cultural changes associated with these groups, there were more subtle areas of change. Ideologically the Tuscarora communities took different roads based on their religious and political inclinations. Language, which is often a rallying point of ethnic identity, followed different lines of development for the Tuscarora. Elias Johnson told Albert Gatschet in 1885 that when Sakwarithra and Solomon Longboard led a delegation of Tuscarora to North Carolina in 1802 to sell the remaining Tuscarora lands and take the rest of their people north, they were startled by what they found. The Tuscarora on the North Carolina reservation "spoke a dialect considerably diff^t from theirs; . . . the Northern Tusk[arora] had changed . . .; only one delegate could understand them."¹ Both groups had changed, not just those in the north; but this provides a further indication of just how much cultural variety the Tuscarora contained, as an ethnic group.

The question logically arises, should the Tuscarora even be considered an ethnic group? The answer is yes. In spite of the variety that existed, they still looked upon one another and were seen by others as constituting an identifiable group. There were still, in spite of tremendous diversity and change, a commonly held set of socially relevant cultural symbols that were diagnostic for membership and provided the basis for Tuscarora ethnic identity. These identity symbols, while not static nor even necessarily part of their prehistoric North Carolina culture, were more conservatively held intact. As cues for identity, they could not include cultural features easily threatened by environmental changes or adaptations to new situations.

Relying on historical documents, we can only imperfectly isolate these identity symbols. When the time period

and data covered in the descriptive chapters is extended by considering the work of Albert S. Gatschet, J. N. B. Hewitt, Anthony F. C. Wallace, and David Landy, primarily with the New York Tuscarora, the picture becomes clearer. Wallace and especially Landy have emphasized the significance of the preservation of the clan system and the chiefs' council made up of individuals holding chiefly titles associated with the clans. This complex has all but disappeared on the reservations of the many "more conservative" Iroquois groups. The Seneca in the United States now have an elective system for the chiefs' council. The Tuscarora also more fully maintain matrilineal residence than the Seneca. Other conservative areas include basic ethical values with regard to sexual behavior and marriage, communal responsibility, and attitudes toward material possessions. These are some of the symbols, or at least reflections of the symbols, basic to Tuscarora identity.² As important as these symbols are, the appropriate focus for understanding ethnicity, as Barth expresses it, is "the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses."³ By looking at the ethnic boundary we better understand how the group's identity was maintained.

A Framework for the Analysis of Ethnic Boundary Maintenance

An ethnic boundary is a social boundary. Prior to 1711 the Tuscarora were also associated with a territorial boundary, but the loss of their land did not bring about the demise of the group. An ethnic group is a social group. Often it represents an individual's broadest identity. Thinking in terms of social groups, there are several factors pertinent to ethnicity that should be mentioned. Some social groups are easy to identify, such as a family group; but others are very difficult and perhaps impossible to delineate, such as a "society." No social group of any

magnitude, exists in complete isolation, and, at the same time, each group is in some way unique.

From one perspective found within social anthropology this uniqueness could be expressed in terms of the social institutions, or standardized modes of behavior each group possesses. M. G. Smith, speaking of homogeneous societies that fit this pattern, points out that the boundary between such groups is "defined by the maximum span of the institutional system on which their social organization and cohesion are based."⁴ The boundary between two social groups is then maintained as long as there continue to be differences in their respective institutional systems. Moving to a different tradition in cultural anthropology, a similar distinction could be made between groups possessing different cultural configurations. Here, as with a social institutional approach, boundary distinctions can be maintained only as long as the cultural configurations of the groups were sufficiently different.

Whether one prefers to think only in terms of social structure or include cultural patterns, a common problem emerges. How do social groups maintain their identity and, by extension, their boundaries, while interacting with one another? We will concern ourselves with two processes in operation in this situation. On the one hand, some cultural and social differences have a tendency to become similar through contact and would appear to threaten identity.⁵ The Tuscarora joining the Five Nations adopted many elements of material culture from the indigenous groups with whom they were in close contact, as well as the English, French, and Dutch colonists. On the other hand, in some realms and under certain circumstances "differentiations and exclusion are best maintained by interaction."⁶ After several centuries of close contact with Whites, including intermarriage, the matrilineal clan system and other cultural features of the Tuscarora, although different from what they had been, are uniquely Tuscarora and are thriving vigorously. An

understanding of the processes involved in boundary maintenance is crucial to an understanding of the maintenance of any social identity, including the ethnic identity of the Tuscarora Indians in the present study.

In order to determine why rapid Tuscarora cultural or social change took place in some contact situations and not in others, and what effect, these changes, if any, had on ethnic identity, we must consider the nature of Tuscarora relations with other groups, and the nature of the groups themselves. To achieve these ends, several different levels of analysis will be used. First, two kinds of "Tuscarora" social units need to be considered: local Tuscarora social groups (corporate and non-corporate) and Tuscarora individuals. Second, the organizational features of the groups and something about the value orientations of the individuals interacting with the Tuscarora must be understood. Third, the specific nature of Tuscarora--non-Tuscarora interaction has to be determined.

On the individual level, transactional analysis must be attempted in order to explain, through a description of the interaction processes involved, how differences inherent to the ethnic group are maintained. The differences in ethnic groups are, it should be remembered, the bases for ethnic boundary maintenance. As difficult as it may be, considering the limitations of the data of ethnohistory, some attempt must be made to delineate the persons held by individuals, how these determined behavior patterns during interaction, and why, as a result, some persons and cultural features have been strengthened and others declined. On a social group level of analysis, what is the significance for Tuscarora identity of differences in social organization (e.g., primary and secondary institutions, presence and degree of stratification) that exist between the Tuscarora social group and other groups with which they are interacting.

An Application of the
Framework for the Tuscarora

Chapters 2 through 5 cover various chronological periods that have marked major changes in Tuscarora ethnic history. These time periods, along with the spatial distribution of the Tuscarora, form the framework of analysis using the model for the study of ethnic boundary maintenance outlined above.

The historical events leading up to the 1711 to 1715 War are discussed elsewhere in a study which provided the stimulus for the present one. In my earlier work, it was noted that the definable ethnic groups with whom the Tuscarora interacted were small in number, (probably due to depopulation) often occupying only one village; and hence, they were in many ways structurally equivalent to the Tuscarora villages. Since Tuscarora villages were the most effectively organized Tuscarora corporate groups, a political "tribe" being an uncertain possibility, interaction was between villages and members of villages of different ethnic groups. Descriptions by White contemporaries suggest that many of these groups to a great extent had a common cultural inventory, having made similar adaptations to their coastal plain environment. Some of these groups, notably the Nottoway, Meherrin, and possibly the Neusiok and Coree, spoke similar languages of the Iroquoian family that in the case of the first two were probably close enough to Tuscarora for the three to be mutually intelligible. Since they utilized a common ecological niche we might expect these groups to be in competition for the resources that they shared. In 1700 conflict was not apparent, perhaps because population density was not high enough to warrant it. Peaceful trade for items not found locally was carried out with coastal people and some small eastern piedmont groups. Beyond these buffer groups the Tuscarora traveled to the mountains to go maple sugaring or gather blood root (sanguinaria canadensis) used for body paint and

as a dye. On these and other excursions they had the potential threat of encountering bands of the Cherokee, Creek, Catawba, Conestoga, Five Nations or other enemies.⁷ This summary leads us up to the events and relationships described in chapter 2.

In creating an alliance and serving as middle men in the Virginia deerskin trade the eight Upper Tuscarora villages were not motivated completely by economic gains. These Upper villages had already shed blood with White colonists over present-day Bertie County.⁸ They probably wanted to create dependency relationships between themselves and both Indians and Whites that would solidify their territorial and social position and enable them to withstand colonial expansion.

The nature and intensity of social relationships with Whites varied greatly. This is illustrated by the fact that Tom Blount often visited the Governors of both North Carolina and Virginia. Other village chiefs had few or no such encounters. Some Tuscarora traveled door to door in colonial settlements selling woven mats or hunted game for White families. For the most part, however, Tuscarora interaction with Whites was negligible and of little consequence for Tuscarora identity. Language barriers most of the time prohibited verbal communication between Whites and Tuscarora, except in formal meetings with colonial officials at which translators would be present and the contacts with rare individuals, usually traders, who knew Tuscarora. The only Tuscarora who knew any English were those working regularly for White families.⁹

In terms of social organization, the Tuscarora were egalitarian; status was based on age, sex, or achieved through skill in hunting, as a shaman, or some other personal ability.¹⁰ In contrast, the North Carolina colonists were highly stratified, ranging from persons placed in political positions as favorites of titled land grant holders to Quakers who were economically and politically disenfranchised

because of their religious beliefs. Thus when Indians and Whites interacted, their respective definitions of the situation differed because of their distinct cultural values. What these values and ideas were, and how accurate they were, can be inferred to a limited extent from the patterns of behavior reported in historical accounts.

Whites expected to find an authority system similar to their own among the Tuscarora. Decisions should be made quickly by one person, ideally the village chief, who was believed by the colonists to be equivalent in status to their Governor. Others conceived of a Tuscarora "nation," and the first village chief they encountered was referred to as the "king." To the Europeans, land did not belong to the Indians but to the Lords Proprietor. So why bother giving anything to the Indians? One interesting exception to this attitude is found in the behavior of Graffenried and his colony of Swiss Palatines, many of whom had land taken from them in Europe, and may have thereby been sensitized to the rightful claim of the Indians. They arranged to pay the Neusiok for the site of New Bern. The Tuscarora, on the other hand, had corresponding misconceptions about the Whites who were slowly intruding on their lands. Beliefs, both Indian and White, about one another were constantly adjusted in response to unmet expectations. Colonists pronounced the Tuscarora as untrustworthy on various occasions, not understanding that the Tuscarora villages had to discuss matters until unanimity was achieved, and if this was not accomplished, the problem would simply be shelved until further developments made a decision possible. Different stereotypical expectations developed among both Tuscarora and Whites; and there emerged what Edward Spicer refers to as an "oppositional process" based on these beliefs and experiences that continued to strongly maintain the groups and the boundary between them.¹¹ While not the only means of maintaining a sense of "otherness," hostility and distrust worked exceptionally well. In 1700 the Tuscarora,

with ca. 5,000 people, were more populous than their White neighbors. By and large the only exchanges between the two groups were occasional sexual relations and some material culture of minor technological importance (few guns, no plows, no hoes, primarily trinkets), except for metal pots and clothes. Missionary work among the Indians had been undertaken, and no changes that significantly threatened Tuscarora identity seem to have occurred.

The consequences of the 1711 to 1715 War were very significant for Tuscarora identity. Drastic changes in Tuscarora sociopolitical organization took place in response to the loss of territory, the dispersion of population, and the new relationship that existed with the increasingly dominant colonial society. The political construct set up by the colonists that made Tom Blount "King" of all the Tuscarora remaining in North Carolina can be seen as a fulfillment of White values and ideas about the way the Tuscarora should be organized. This was not a grand social scheme of a benevolent nature meant for the improvement of the Tuscarora, but merely the way Whites could best control the Tuscarora. The oppositional process set into play prior to the war developed to its natural consequences after the approximately 2,000 Tuscarora who did not migrate north settled on the Bertie County reservation in 1717. Over a period of fifty years, the population declined to 100, largely due to emigration. Many of those who left the reservation maintained their Tuscarora identity by joining their northern kinsmen. Others, as Spangenberg wrote in 1752, were "scattered as the wind scatters the smoke,"¹² probably making a small genetic contribution to the marginal populations that are so prevalent in the Carolinas (e.g., Lumbee, Haliwa) but most importantly losing their ethnic identity.

At any rate, the reservation proved to be an undesirable place to live, not only because of the artificial political system imposed by the dominant colonial government but also

because of restrictions on Tuscarora freedom of movement, access to hunting rights, even use of ferries and other public facilities. The result for the Tuscarora remaining on the reservation was social disintegration, despondency, and the search for an explanation for their situation on the one hand, and escape from it on the other.

In 1738 William Byrd reported a Tuscarora tradition about an earlier revitalization attempt that was apparently used as an explanation for their misfortune. The Tuscarora were supposed to have rejected the instructions of the unnamed prophet and instead killed him. As Byrd goes on to explain the consequences, the Tuscarora "God took instant Vengeance on all who had a hand in that Monstrous Act, by Lightning from Heaven & has ever since visited their Nation with a continued Train of Calamities, nor will he ever leave off punishing, and wasting their People till he shall have blotted every living Soul of them out of the World."¹³ For an escape the Tuscarora chose rum. Some of those who migrated north in 1766 visited Sir William Johnson in February of the following year. Their speaker was Kanigot, one of the Tuscarora chiefs from Caunoyangarotne.

We' return you many thanks in bringing our People from Carolina, where they lived but wretchedly being Surrounded by white People, and up to their Lips in Rum, so that they could not turn their heads anyway but it ran into their mouths. this made them stupid, so that they neglected Hunting, Planting &c.¹⁴

Spangenberg's comment that the North Carolina reservation Tuscarora were "oppressed by the whites," is probably an understated summary of their status in the colonial plural society of which they found themselves a part. Cultural, social, and phenotypic differences combined with the slowly changing stereotypes that had developed during early Tuscarora-White contacts to maintain the oppositional process. These factors contributed to the continuing importance of

distinctions in ethnic identity and the resulting boundary between the groups. The limitations invoked by reservation life made traditional cultural patterns (e.g., hunting, moving villages when fields and firewood were exhausted) difficult to continue as before the war. Since effective boundaries precluded assimilation by the dominant White groups there were few remaining options. The North Carolina Tuscarora could leave the reservation to join a group such as the Notowega, a composite of dispersed Indians of various ethnic groups, who vengefully cooperated in raids against White settlers.¹⁵ Or they could remove to the "pine barrens," as the sandy area extending from south of Raleigh into South Carolina along the eastern edge of the piedmont was called. At this time in history the area had low agricultural potential and was, therefore, of little importance to the coastal-dwelling Whites. Through exercising either of these options the Tuscarora lost their ethnic identity and were eventually amalgamated with lower class Whites, free Blacks, escaped slaves, and other Indians of various groups.

The final option for the North Carolina Tuscarora was migration to their northern kinsmen. This escape valve had been kept open by the relatively frequent (considering the distance) interaction with the Six Nations via war parties from the north using the reservation as a southern base of operations.

Tuscarora ethnic relations in New York were extremely complex. Chapter 3 outlines the locations and relationships of the various Tuscarora communities from 1722 to 1770 and suggests some of the major factors that led to ideological and material cultural change. As the sixth member of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Tuscarora occupied lands desired by Whites but which had not yet fallen under White control. The Tuscarora interacted most regularly with Indians.

On a group level of analysis the Tuscarora shared many social institutions with their Oneida, Onondaga, Nanticoke,

and Shawnee neighbors. All had matrilineal descent; all apparently had clan systems which were similar; and they all were organized on a non-stratified egalitarian basis. As a result, they also shared certain general values, related to expectations of reciprocity, understandings about how decisions were made by the other group, and in general could feel some sense of sameness in areas for which they shared general institutional features. This emphasis on similarities of organization is not meant to suggest the groups did not have differences. On the contrary, there were many cultural and social differences, some of which changed and others which did not. Some of them were viewed as important symbols of their respective identities, and others were not. I shall return to the specifics of these below; but the organizational and individualistic features of the various Tuscarora communities should be considered first before returning to the general problem of Tuscarora ethnic identity maintenance.

The Tuscarora settled near Oneida Lake were, by 1750, residentially organized in very different ways with regard to the Onondaga on the west and the Oneida to the east. Ganasaraga was occupied by both Tuscarora and Onondaga. Members of the two ethnic groups were intermarried; and they shared a common village sociopolitical organization. Evidence for the specifics of their interaction as groups is lacking, but, since the relationship between the two elements continued from prior to 1750 into the reservation amalgamation near Niagara that took place after the American Revolution, and down to the present day, we can assume it remained mutually satisfactory to those involved.

The Tuscarora living at Ganatisgowa, Tiochrungwe, Tiachsochratota, Shawas'reah, and other villages between Ganowarohare and Ganasaraga did not live in social isolation from other groups; but the presence of Oneida in these communities is not specifically mentioned by contemporary

White observers. There were probably only a few Tuscarora living at Ganowarohare until just prior to the American Revolution. Yet, close interaction of Tuscarora from this area with their Oneida neighbors was great (see chapter 3) and their specific political relationship in the context of the Iroquois Confederacy which is the area of social exchange that I have best been able to document, will be considered in chapter 8. I have not, unfortunately, been able to find any data concerning the frequency or even presence of intermarriage between the Oneida and Tuscarora in this area, but it probably existed.

Living in the heartland of the Iroquois Longhouse the Tuscarora's ethnic identity was reaffirmed and strengthened by their participation in the Confederacy as the sixth "nation." This group position meant adopting many individual statuses and roles that would be necessary for them to properly function in this capacity; but their continued participation in the Confederacy as "Tuscarora" served as an impetus for ethnic identity maintenance. There is absolutely no way of determining with certainty whether the Tuscarora had chiefly titles associated with certain lineages of each clan in North Carolina. By 1750 they did have this kind of system, exactly paralleling those of the other five members of the League. A tradition related to Albert Gatschet by Tuscarora Adam Williams in 1885 suggests that this was one area of early change. According to Williams, after the 1713 defeat the Tuscarora who immediately came north arrived "at a large Settlement of Senecas and they met them. The Senecas made a treaty and made friends and raised up chiefs by means of long wampum. These chief-offices were to keep on as far into the future as the Senecas would exist."¹⁶

(emphasis added) It was the Oneida and not the Seneca who had adopted the Tuscarora. This transfer can probably be explained by the fact that for nearly 100 years prior to 1885 the Tuscarora in the United States had been living closer to and interacting more frequently with the Seneca in

western New York. This error does not completely void the possible validity of the notion of chiefs being raised so the Tuscarora could more effectively participate in the Confederacy. There is some linguistic evidence to support the idea. Sakwarithra is referred to as the village chief of Ganasaraga prior to 1778. He was also the holder of one of the Turtle Clan's chiefly titles. The general Tuscarora term for a clan chief, as recorded in 1882, was /rhū'ku'wa'nuñ/. The only other term used for "chief" is one of probable nineteenth century origin, translated "chief of the tribe" -/rhu'ya'närh/. John Lawson's Tuscarora vocabulary, recorded within a few years after 1700, lists the word /teethha/ for king or village chief. The equivalent Nottoway term is preserved in the Virginia colonial records as /teerheer/, and the similar word in an 1820 word list for "Queen," /etesheh/. The consistency of these forms, along with Lawson's accurate transcription for other terms in his vocabulary list that have remained the same into the present century, would indicate a basic change in the terms used for chiefs. The final evidence in favor of concluding that the Tuscarora adopted new political statuses is the similarity of the more recent Tuscarora term for clan chief and its Five Nations' equivalents, e.g., /rotiyanehr/.¹⁷

The apparent creation of these new chiefly positions which were comparable in scope to those already existing among other members of the Confederacy is especially significant in as much as it resulted in an institutional complex that facilitated interaction and incorporation. Tuscarora clan chiefs attended and participated in the Great Councils at Onondaga, they or other appropriate representatives attended councils with the English at Albany, Easton, Lancaster, Philadelphia, and with the French at Montreal. The Tuscarora chiefs were often even more careful to observe traditional Confederacy protocol for condolence ceremonies than were the other original members. On several occasions Tuscarora and Oneida held up conferences for several days

by stopping on the way to condole the death of Mohawk or Onondaga chiefs.¹⁸ Under the traditional system of the Confederacy this had to be done before business could be conducted, but was on these occasions neglected by the other members of the Six Nations. Through performing the condolence ceremony when others failed to do so, the Tuscarora reaffirmed both their identity as a member in good standing of the Confederacy and their general ethnic identity as Tuscarora. As long as the structural relationship of some Tuscarora group could be maintained in the organization of the Confederacy, the Tuscarora identity could be maintained, even with the tremendous amount of material culture, social organization, and values that were shared with other members.

This last statement should not be construed to mean that there were no differences between the Tuscarora and other members of the League. Many cultural features remained distinctively Tuscarora. While some Five Nations' oral tradition was apparently adopted, many items recorded by Hewitt, Gatschet, and more recently Wallace, are uniquely Tuscarora.¹⁹ Many specific items and practices used by herbalists are characteristic of the Tuscarora. Puberty rites that can be historically traced from a generalized North Carolina-Virginia pattern, shared there by a variety of ethnic groups, were described for Hewitt by New York Tuscarora in 1895.²⁰ Language changed to some degree, but Tuscarora remains today mutually unintelligible from the other Six Nations languages. An interesting suggestion of how the Tuscarora language served to maintain their identity is found in the historical record. Timothy Dwight visited the Oneida reservation early in the nineteenth century, after the Tuscarora who previously lived there had moved to western New York. He talked at length with James Dean, Samuel Kirkland and others about the Six Nations people with whom they had spent most of their lives. The following was probably based on those conversations:

They [the Six Nations] valued themselves not a little on their pronunciation. The Oneidas are considered by them[selves] as speaking their language in a manner more graceful and mellifluous than the rest of the tribes. All of them use the guttural aspirate. The Tuscaroras terminate a great part of their words with this aspirate, and are laughed at by the rest of their countrymen for the harshness which this circumstance introduces into their pronunciation. The Oneidas say that the pronunciation of a Tuscarora is like the noise of the white man's wagon running down a stony hill.²¹

This "guttural aspirate," noted in this quotation perhaps refers to what we today call glottalized sounds, specifically glottal stops ([ʔ]), fricatives (e.g., [h]), and resonants. The Tuscarora language was probably an important identity symbol for all Tuscarora throughout the period covered by this study. Not all symbols were of such uniform significance.

The relationships of the Tuscarora around Onoghoquaga with the Confederacy and with the various groups of people living near them were significantly different from those of the Tuscarora in the heartland of the Iroquois. These different relationships had important consequences for the identity of the Onoghoquaga Tuscarora. In chapter 3 it was suggested that the participation in the League by the Oneida and Tuscarora at Onoghoquaga was sporadic. They exerted minimal influence on the Confederacy, and conversely the Great Council of the League or the councils of their ethnic kinsmen near Oneida Lake had little social control over them. The Onoghoquaga were predominantly pro-English as a group; and many had moved from the Oneida Lake area, disgusted by the degree of French influence and also with the Great Council's neutrality toward the French and English.

Because they were not as politically involved in the institutional organization of the Confederacy as their kinsmen between Ganowarohare and Onondaga, we might expect a weakening of the groups' ethnic identities around

Onoghoquaga and other similar settlement areas on the Susquehanna. In fact, this was in part the case. The identity of some individuals as Onoghoquaga rather than Oneida, Mohawk, or Tuscarora was becoming increasingly important. Long after their settlements were burned and they were dispersed, during the 1778-79 campaigns, many stayed together, preserving their Onoghoquaga identity. A settlement existed on the Oneida reservation, but the largest group moved first to the Genesee River and eventually to Grand River. As late as 1843, two bands of Onoghoquaga (Peter Green's--seventy-five, Joseph's--eighty-two) still distinguished themselves from the Oneida band numbering forty-two.²²

Not all Tuscarora were incorporated into this new identity group; in fact, the majority of them probably were not. The situation is unclear in the historical record, but the arrival at various times of North Carolina emigrants who stayed on the east branch of the Susquehanna below Onoghoquaga helped to complicate this situation. These Tuscarora had a common bond with other groups, such as the Nanticoke and Conoy, who had been displaced by Whites from their lands on opposite sides of the Chesapeake Bay. They appeared together at conferences on some occasions. During the mid-1750's the Nanticoke lived at Chenango, Chugnut, and Owego to the west of the Tuscarora. Hawley's map of the Onoghoquaga area (produced in facsimile in chapter 3) shows a trail going overland toward those villages. In Hawley's journals of his stay at Onoghoquaga he mentioned groups of Nanticoke visiting. On one evening in February 1754, "the Indians were dancing & Singing tho' not in an Idolitrous manner all night, which is occasioned by some Strangers that are here. who call themselves Neanticoske."²³ Some of these Nanticoke settled with Tuscarora from both the Onoghoquaga and Oneida Lake areas at Ganaghsawaghta. During the years prior to the American Revolution these groups all maintained their identities. The factors involved in their ethnic

boundary maintenance are not illuminated by the limited data available. The possibilities that I will suggest are primarily speculative, but are offered in the belief that they may serve as testable hypotheses when further information comes to light. It should be emphasized that most of the Tuscarora avoided becoming "Onoghoquaga." Some of the Nanticoke who lived and were intermarried with Tuscarora preserved their identity into the present century. Elias Johnson told Gatschet in 1883 that some of the Nanticoke at Grand River "speak Tuskarora and some also Mohawk."²⁴ In spite of cultural assimilation to the point of being linguistically "Tuscarora," they were still ethnically distinguished from the Tuscarora through the maintenance of their descent groups, both lineages and clans. This identity maintenance is most strikingly indicated by the fact that two Nanticoke-Tuscarora chiefs' titles associated with the Wolf Clan were actively maintained.²⁵

There are a number of factors that may have been important for the Onoghoquaga, Tuscarora, Nanticoke ethnic boundary maintenance. These groups were actively pro-British. The northern Indian Department, led for many years by Sir William Johnson, strongly cultivated the friendship of those Indians who leaned toward them. Johnson was very knowledgeable about the appropriate diplomacy for different groups, their values and concerns. This familiarity facilitated his interaction with the various groups, including those around Onoghoquaga, on a more fully communicative basis in situations in which both Indians and Whites were trying to maximize their gains. At times this meant, for the people near Onoghoquaga, the protection of English troops and the construction of a fort to ward off pro-French Indians. On other occasions trade contacts closer to their village were desired, or any number of other requests were made. In return Johnson expected to get intelligence about enemy movement, warriors for military campaigns, and political support among the Six Nations for the British. The

Tuscarora were scattered, it must be remembered, in villages as far as about twenty miles south of the settlement of Onoghoquaga. Although political interaction existed between the people of Onoghoquaga and the Tuscarora living elsewhere on the Susquehanna, the English goods and services that came to the Onoghoquaga did not necessarily reach the Tuscarora living by themselves down river. In order to reap the benefits of their English loyalty, it was necessary to emphasize their Tuscarora identity, so that these benefits would be directed specifically to them. Several factors may have linked the Tuscarora on the Susquehanna with those in the Oneida Lake area and served to emphasize their common ethnic identity.

First, there was a high level of English support at Ganasaraga, as opposed to the French influence among some of the Tuscarora closer to the Oneida; and this may have provided an ideological bond that would help to maintain Tuscarora identity on the Susquehanna. Second, the strong commitment to traditional Tuscarora religious beliefs some individuals from these two areas shared may have been a significant factor for identity. Third, the continued interest in their homeland and the occasional communication with their kinsmen in North Carolina on the part of many of the Tuscarora in the Iroquois heartland may also have helped to maintain ethnic cohesion in spite of the cultural differences that existed among them. Fourth, Tuscarora moving from the Onoghoquaga and Oneida Lake areas to settle the new centrally located village of Ganaghsawaghta represented a kind of communicative bridge that may have increased Tuscarora interaction and supported ethnic identity maintenance. Fifth, those Tuscarora from the two areas who were converts of New England missionaries had a further ideological bond, but this was negated in part by the opposition their beliefs created between them and the Tuscarora religious traditionalists.

A further explanation for the Tuscarora on the Susque-

hanna not becoming more fully "Onoghoquaga" in identity, can probably be related to the harsh circumstances they had experienced. Hawley related in 1754 that the 1711 to 1715 "war of the Tuskraro . . . seems to be as I am informed something discouraging to this people they are afraid that it will be the occasion of much unhappiness to 'em."²⁶ The Oneida, who made up the bulk of that group and eventually called themselves Onoghoquaga, had never experienced the kind of disruption, dispersal, and demoralization that was brought on the Tuscarora. The Nanticoke, who were originally settled in Maryland, had gone through similar kinds of experiences. Their common experiences may have to some extent drawn the Tuscarora and Nanticoke together and, along with the other factors mentioned above, may have helped to maintain a boundary between them and the Onoghoquaga. The Nanticoke had been adopted as a member of the Confederacy in 1743.²⁷ They had not been active in League affairs, however, living primarily on the Susquehanna and Tuscarora chiefs often spoke for them at conferences with the English. Many of the Nanticoke migrated to the Ohio River, both prior to and after the Revolutionary War, to join the Delaware, who were linguistically and culturally more similar to them than the Tuscarora. Those who remained with the Tuscarora on or near the Susquehanna did not lose their identity, as indicated by the presence of continuing Nanticoke lineages having chiefs' titles; but they became culturally Tuscarora in many respects, including language.

During the Revolutionary War and its aftermath, significant changes took place in the balance of power within the Iroquois Confederacy. The Tuscarora were forced to flee their homes; and population consolidation took place as groups gravitated eventually to either Grand River or Niagara. These changes brought about new relationships between the Tuscarora and other people. A number of cultural changes and political alignments were taking place

that resulted in the Tuscarora identity system that emerged.

The Grand River Tuscarora were not all pro-English; and the Tuscarora who stayed in New York were not all pro-American. Matters were not that simple. Most of the Tuscarora tried to stay neutral during the Revolutionary War. For many of these individuals other concerns determined where they settled, such as loyalties to family and the friends of former settlements, religious beliefs, and circumstantial factors. In many cases priorities had to be determined. Sakwarithra, for example, eventually set his pro-English loyalty aside after his commitment to both Christianity and the economic development of the New York Tuscarora became more important to him. The two Tuscarora reservation populations were not isolated from one another. Movement back and forth between Grand River and Niagara was common. Especially in New York, the Tuscarora were minority members of the increasingly dominant White society.

In the plural society of which the New York Tuscarora found themselves a part, several different kinds of individuals were important agents of culture change on the one hand, and agents of ethnic revitalization on the other. These individuals were able to operate with great success along the social boundary between the Tuscarora and Whites. Usually they had a solid enculturative background and ethnic identity. The significance of these individuals lay in their ability to function well enough to be considered normal by members of their own ethnic group and their ability to understand another group well enough to communicate in a mutually satisfactory way. While bilingual ability was useful in such cases, as we will see below, it was not absolutely necessary. The pattern I am suggesting excludes those who were viewed as misfits by most of the Tuscarora. Such individuals existed, but their significance was small in terms of cultural changes and innovations

generally accepted by their people.

The kinds of boundary people described above can be thought of as agents of change; we are primarily concerned here with those agents of change who served to support a distinctive Tuscarora identity.²⁸ There were in this category both Indians and Whites. Nicholas Cusick grew up in the Oneida Lake area. Prior to the American Revolution, he apparently had learned to read, write, and speak English at one of the mission schools established by Samuel Kirkland; at some point he became a firmly committed Christian. As a commissioned officer in the Continental Army, he gained additional exposure to Whites outside of the mission context. After the war, he settled with other pro-American Tuscarora on Oneida Creek where he served as the representative for those Tuscarora in dealings with Timothy Pickering and other United States officials. With that kind of a background he proved to be an effective agent of culture change. He did not stay with his small band of Tuscarora at Oneida and turn his back on his ethnic kinsmen in western New York. He had the necessary White contacts and personal ability to often make sure that Tuscarora concerns were communicated to state and federal governments. When something happened on the reservation that could have potentially caused trouble with the Indian agent, for example a murder, Cusick knew how to write a letter or personally explain the situation in a way that would placate the agent, and shift the prejudicial blame of Whites away from the tribe as a whole.

Sakwarithra, although a very different kind of a person from Cusick was an equally important agent of change and an individual who emphasized Tuscarora identity. He had been primarily associated with an ideologically very different Tuscarora element prior to the reservation period, those who were anti-Christian, pro-English, and tended to be generally conservative. His sharp turnabout after 1790 seems strange and we can only assume that it was a response

to something fairly extraordinary that happened in his life. At any rate, his conversion was not generally treated with scorn or ridicule by those he had once rallied in opposition to Christianity. He was a highly regarded title-holding chief and probably influenced most successfully those who saw themselves as traditionalists. When nearly all Tuscarora had adopted an English name, Sakwarithra used his Tuscarora chiefs' title with a pride that enhanced his people's self-esteem and identity. Although Cusick spoke English, Sakwarithra did not. But Sakwarithra's inability to speak English did not preclude his functioning well in White circles. By 1800 he was over seventy years old and had been a village and Great Council chief for a half-century. He had dealt with Whites in conferences on many levels of importance. He served as a war chief with his band of Tuscarora for the English during the American Revolution. Although his verbal interaction with Whites was through interpreters, he had learned a great deal about what to expect of White people and what they expected of him in various situations. Sakwarithra was a leader. When he said something, it carried with it the authoritative weight of an old wise chief. As strange as it may have sounded to many Tuscarora to hear him encourage them to send their children to the mission school, to go to church, to fence their fields, and to grow more wheat instead of corn, they listened.

Sakwarithra and Cusick are only two examples of Tuscarora agents of change and while it is tempting to think of them as two basic types, the individual varieties are too numerous to do so. There were probably other Tuscarora who in their own unique ways sought to bridge the boundary to the White society without denying their Tuscarora identity in the process.

There were several non-Tuscarora agents of change that should at least be mentioned. White men, such as John Mountpleasant and James Pemberton who had married women

living on the reservation were sympathetic contacts in the mainstream of White society. Such missionaries and school teachers as Gideon Hawley, Samuel Kirkland, Elkanah Holmes, and others, convinced mission boards that their presence was needed and that they were accomplishing enough to justify their support. They helped to raise levels of English literacy and introduced White agricultural technology that made many Tuscarora able to deal more effectively with Whites off the reservation. Some missionary activity did introduce or reinforce many changes such as Christian marriage ceremonies, patrilineal descent system for surnames, and other things that would seem to have been "detrimental" to Tuscarora identity. But many less superficial cultural aspects remained sufficiently unique to serve as ethnic identity symbols. Among these are the clan system, mythology, historical traditions, emphasized genealogical ties, and a variety of social values. More tangible identity symbols include New York tribal land, the chiefs' council in the form which it has developed since 1800, a perhaps uniquely "Tuscarora" Christianity, and other features that are products of reservation life. These and many other Tuscarora cultural features that came into existence as adaptive responses to the conditions in which they found themselves, have in turn become supportive symbols for Tuscarora identity.

Many New York Tuscarora learned to handle themselves well in White society. They even managed to excel in some realms. The Tuscarora were "successful" by many external material standards of their White neighbors, although the values of the two groups were not necessarily the same. Descriptions of the Tuscarora as being "rich" and the principal money lenders of the county were apparently believed by many Whites. Whether an audit would have confirmed their wealth is unimportant. They convinced White people, perhaps unintentionally, that they were rich.

The Tuscarora were to some extent more "Christian" than

the Whites. Before many White settlers were able to establish churches, they went to the Tuscarora mission.²⁹ Two visitors to the reservation in 1822 went to gawk at the Indians and buy some handicrafts. The men were surprised by the answer they got when they asked one "very polite gentlemen" who "spoke English fluently" to demonstrate a war dance. They were told

"if it was not Sunday, he would try." asked if we could buy any mockasons, said there were plenty but that "it was contrary to their religion to traffic on the Sabbath. Keep holy the seventh day." [we were] surprized to hear an Indian quote Scripture, and astonished at the strictness with which they observed the "Lord's Day," Whereas in Lewiston you could trade with any shop keeper on this day.³⁰

While the internalized economic and religious values held by many Tuscarora were not exactly those of neighboring Whites, the external features of these institutions were such that they not only permitted a high degree of articulation but they appeared to at times surpass White ideal behavior.

In spite of the fact that many of the Tuscarora were "good" Christians and economically successful, they were, in the eyes of most Whites, still only Indians, no matter how polite or rich. Tuscarora success merely made them more contemptable to these Whites. Thus in spite of the many material cultural similarities shared by Tuscarora and Whites, social boundaries became more rigid. As interaction along the boundary became more difficult because of growing White hostility, a new adaptive response became necessary. A fairly well-defined set of Tuscarora role behaviors became established as what we can call an ethnic pose. When dealing with most White people, except those to whom they were very close, a highly structured set of behaviors expected by Whites was employed that minimized hostility and still permitted Tuscarora interaction with Whites in a way

that was economically beneficial for the Tuscarora. A Niagara resident of the early nineteenth century provides us with a good example of this ethnic pose.

There were two classes of Indians: The Tuscaroras and the Canadians. The visits of the latter were considered great occasions. They came in parties of two or four, generally in the winter because then they were hungry. . . . They were . . . unwilling to acknowledge any mendicancy. . . . They stalked into the kitchen without knocking. . . . The Tuscaroras were much milder and came oftener. They sold mats, baskets, and beaded work, and in the summer berries. One of their number could dance. He like to be asked to do so, in as it was sport to watch him, it became a regular thing. It was a wild dance; he accompanied himself, and all his fellows were proud of him.³¹

The external ethnic pose of which this can be seen as an example, characterized the Tuscarora in the eyes of Whites as unthreatening, friendly, and useful members of the plural society. This kind of behavior allowed the Tuscarora who employed it to economically participate more fully than they might otherwise have been able.

The ethnic boundaries between the Tuscarora and the other remnants of the Six Nations living on other reservations changed discernably during the post-Revolutionary War period. Prior to the Revolutionary War the Seneca and Tuscarora rarely interacted except in the context of League affairs. After the war their reservation communities were close to one another. At Grand River all of the ethnic groups lived in relatively close proximity. Although the Confederacy was a "dead" political structure, its prior existence still influenced the thinking and interactions of the former member groups. Six Nations' Council fires were kindled in both the United States and Canada and a pretense of the pre-war era was continued.

The Seneca around 1800 turned in great numbers to the

Handsome Lake religion which, in itself, involved an adaptive response to their changing world. The Tuscarora in New York, on the other hand, were all nominally Christian or had that inclination by 1825. The "Pagan" versus "Christian" conflict sharpened social boundaries between these groups. These boundaries are perhaps best seen in the governmental sphere. For example, after Jedidiah Morse visited a chiefs' council of Iroquois remnants meeting at Buffalo in August 1820; he remarked as follows:

I found that a Council, of a part of the Six Nations was in session, to transact business of their own: . . . I found them convened in their Council House in very decent order, arranged in two parties, the Christian party on my right hand, Capt. Pollard at their head; the Pagan party on the left hand with the celebrated Red Jacket, at their head. [Nicholas Cusick was present for the Tuscarora on the Christian side.]³²

This physical arrangement, which was of course not that traditionally used by the Six Nations, was a structural manifestation of the social and political reorganization that was occurring. The Christian-Pagan alignment did not correspond with ethnic boundaries. Captain Pollard and Red Jacket were both Seneca. On every reservation there were those who allied themselves to both sides. Since Christianity predominated at Tuscarora after 1820, the consequences for ethnicity of the value changes these alignments reflected can be seen in the following statement made by Red Jacket to Elkanah Holmes in 1802:

Here are a number of different nations--Delawares, Tuscaroras, and others--who, from a want of education and a knowledge of your customs, have been seen at their doors, cutting wood and making brooms, to earn their bread; when if they had followed the custom of their forefathers, they would have known better, and would not have been there.³³

The expression of such ideas by Red Jacket illustrates, to some extent, the feelings that must have been held by many

religious traditionalists, and some kind of opposing rationale was probably held by the Christians. The social boundaries that were built up between these religiopolitical groups had important consequences for Tuscarora-Seneca ethnic relations. The religious differences, the Seneca's selling land out from under the Tuscarora, and the total disruption of the Confederacy probably had a greater effect on nineteenth century ethnic relations than most anthropologists have been willing to admit.

Tuscarora ethnic history has been turbulent. The eighteenth century was marked by a series of disruptions that wrought extreme depopulation, demanded many adjustments to new situations, and resulted in an identity that was very different from what it had been a hundred years earlier. We can point to some kinds of cultural changes that may have affected ethnic identity symbols especially in the realms of religion, settlement pattern, material culture, political organization and language. But itemizing cultural changes or even conservative features, such as the clan system, that are significant symbols for identity does not reveal the ways in which that identity was maintained. Ethnic boundaries are the result of the complexities of interaction with other groups. Tuscarora ethnic elements were scattered in villages that were often widely separated geographically. Each local settlement was unique and developed along increasingly divergent sociocultural and especially ideological lines. Some small bands and individuals lost their "Tuscarora" identity. But many Tuscarora elements did not. Through the analysis of these, we have learned something about the ways in which local situations and broader ethnic relations were dealt with in ways that preserved a unique, but changing Tuscarora identity.

Chapter VI

Footnotes

1. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers.
2. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism and National Identity," pp. 266-267; Wallace, Personality of the Tuscarora, pp. 16-17.
3. Barth, Ethnic Groups, p. 15.
4. M. G. Smith, "Institutional and Political Conditions of Pluralism," in Pluralism in Africa, ed. Leo Kuper and M. G. Smith (Berkeley: University of California, 1971), p. 28.
5. Barth, Ethnic Groups, pp. 15-16.
6. Robert F. Murphy, "Social Change and Acculturation," Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, 2d ser. 26(1964):847.
7. Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization," pp. 30-38; idem, "Tuscarora Confederacy."
8. William Stanard, ed., "The Indians of Southern Virginia, 1650-1711. Depositions on the Virginia and North Carolina Boundary Case," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 7(1900):346; J. R. B. Hathaway, ed., "Articles of Peace with the Tuscarora Indians," North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register 2(1901):218-219.
9. Todd, Graffenried's Account; Lawson, History of North Carolina, pp. 220, 226, passim.
10. Boyce, "Tuscarora Political Organization," pp. 17-18.
11. Spicer, "Persistent Cultural Systems," pp. 797-798.
12. Fries, Records of the Moravians, 1:41.
13. William Byrd, Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1929), pp. 290, 292.
14. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:273.
15. Milling, Red Carolinians, pp. 91-93.
16. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers. It should be noted that this is a ritual, not a monetary, use of wampum.

17. Hewitt, "Tuscarora," p. 849; An Introduction to the Tuscarora Language, January 1882, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 372A; Lawson, History of North Carolina, p. 244; McIlwaine, Executive Journals, 3:366, 368; Albert Gallatin, "A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes Within the United States East of the Rocky Mountains . . .," Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society 2(1836):321; William N. Fenton, "The Iroquois in History," in North American Indians in Historical Perspective, eds. Eleanor Burke Leacock and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 138.
18. See for example, Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:350, 925.
19. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers; Anthony F. C. Wallace, "The Tuscaroras: Sixth Nation of the Iroquois Confederacy," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 93(1949):159-165; Anthony F. C. Wallace and William D. Reyrburn, "Crossing the Ice: A Migration Legend of the Tuscarora Indians," International Journal of American Linguistics 17(1951): 42-47.
20. "Tuscarora Customs & Beliefs," March 1895, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 110.
21. Timothy Dwight, Travels in New England, ed. Barbara Miller Solomon, 4 vols. (1822; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 4:144.
22. Johnston, Valley of the Six Nations, p. 307.
23. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
24. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers.
25. Chiefs of the Six Nations at Grand River: 1848-1897, 1897, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 3635, see also no. 3559.
26. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
27. Bartram, Observations, pp. 60-63.
28. This is a type suggested by Barth, Ethnic Groups, p.33.
29. Turner, Holland Purchase, p. 497.
30. Tucker, Knickerbocker Tour, pp. 87-88.

31. Robinson, "Life of Porter," pp. 262-263.
32. Morse, Report on Indian Affairs, Appendix, pp. 3, 4.
33. Brown, Memoir of Covell, 2:99-100.

Chapter VII

TUSCARORA ADOPTIVE STATUS: A NEW INTERPRETATION

Several previously unquestioned interpretations about the Tuscarora as members of the Iroquois Confederacy will be carefully examined in this chapter to determine their validity in light of oral and written historical evidence. The two major topics to be dealt with are the adoption of the Tuscarora as the sixth member of the Confederacy and the extent of their participation in the League. Much of what will be said in this chapter, and the one that follows, assumes a basic familiarity with the ideal structural features of the Iroquois Confederacy as they have been described in the anthropological literature. Therefore these features will be reviewed before proceeding farther.

The Ideal Political Structure of the Iroquois Confederacy

The five original members of the Confederacy were the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes. A tribe, in the way it has been used in reference to each of these is the widest "group possessed of a name, a territory, and a group decision-making mechanism."¹ Each tribe was made up of at least three matrilineal clans. The Oneida and Mohawk had this minimum number, and the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca had at least eight. The basic units making up the clans were matrilineages or ohwachiras. Marriage was restricted by clan and perhaps tribal moiety exogamy. While hunting territories were said to have been tribal lands,

agricultural plots were controlled by the clans. During the early historical period the Oneida and Mohawk seem to have had single-clan villages, but this cannot be generalized to the other members of the Confederacy.

One or more of the lineages within each clan had the title of a chief associated with it. A man filling one of these positions was a member of that clan, although if an appropriate candidate was not available, a man from another clan was sometimes borrowed. The candidate was chosen for the position by the senior women of the clan. Their recommendation was then acted upon by the tribal council, and then the other chiefs of the Great Council of the Confederacy. Sometimes the nomination was vetoed; but this is said to have been rare and, in such cases, the second candidate was always accepted. A man selected to hold one of these titles became a civil chief for life in the Great Council of the Confederacy. If he served improperly, was unresponsive to his lineage and clan, or went against the Great Law, he could be "dehorned," the title being taken from him.

The Great Council was made up of forty-nine or, some authorities say, fifty chiefs, unequally representing the five tribes. This inequality in numbers was offset by each tribe having one vote. Majority decisions were not made. If unanimity could not be achieved, then a decision was postponed. A moiety system existed for the Confederacy, and was indicated by the terms of reference used between tribes. The Oneida and Cayuga (members of one moiety) were called "younger brothers" or "sons" by the members of the other moiety. The Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca in turn were addressed as "older brothers" or "fathers" by the Oneida and Cayuga. In council a tripartite arrangement was used: the Oneida-Cayuga on the west side, the Mohawk-Seneca on the east with the Onondaga in the center acting in part as judge, moderator, and member. The Onondaga were the record

keepers for the Confederacy and, in that capacity, were expected to recall past decisions and policies in order to assist the other chiefs during discussions. As a member their tribal vote had equal weight, but they also served to maintain order and protocol for the entire assembly.

The Great Council met regularly in the fall and on other occasions as requested by members. The chiefs of the Great Council were from many villages scattered throughout the Longhouse. Local village councils met frequently and had varying memberships, minimally including a chairman, and representatives for each clan of the village. These individuals might be League chiefs who lived in the village, renowned warriors, senior women, old men who were well thought of by the people, and Pine Tree chiefs (men of unusual merit who were given titles that were not passed on after the holders died). Besides these formal members who participated in the discussion, other villagers were present and made their thoughts known informally to the council members. Here again, as in the case of the Confederacy, decisions had to be unanimous. Basically the village council was concerned with things such as the clearing of new fields, building houses, use of nearby hunting land, and other local matters.

The tribal council, as we might expect, is said to have "been simply the sum of all the chiefs of the village councils."² Business taken up by this council concerned external affairs, land sales, declaration of war, and other topics of tribal concern.

A quote from a recent survey article by William N. Fenton should illustrate how these levels of political organization are thought to have been related.

Moiety and tripartite arrangements for counseling extended from sib, to tribe, to league councils, and there were devices for gaining unanimity at each level and for reporting up and down the chain. Village, tribal, and national autonomy

were not abridged. What made the League effective was not its ability to centralize power and communicate authority to the margins, in which it failed miserably, but the consensus not to feud among the Five Nations and to compound such infractions by ritual payments of wampum. Iroquoia was a kinship state. The image of the Longhouse, as they saw themselves, as one united house, with its central fire at Onondaga and its doors fronting on the Hudson and Niagara, was clearly intelligible to every Iroquois person.³

I do not agree with every detail and emphasis of the description of Iroquois political structure and organization presented above. Some of my specific differences in opinion will be mentioned later in this chapter and the one that follows; but I felt it was necessary for the reader who is unfamiliar with Iroquoian literature to have what I hope is an accurate summary of the governmental structure of the Five Nations as it is usually described.⁴ It was to this idealized political framework that the Tuscarora have been added as an unequal appendage, having a second-class position, "a mendicant cousin who shuffles with self-consciousness and embarrassment into the peripheral shadows of the council fires."⁵

Tuscarora Adoption by the Five Nations

Iroquois oral history is very rich; and much of it lives vigorously on in the lives of the people today. The colonial historical literature contains many brief versions of the traditions recorded more recently by Morgan, Hale, Gatschet, Hewitt, Fenton and others.⁶ The Deganawidah tradition is the one that concerns us here. Personally guiding the formation of the five-membered Confederacy, Deganawidah was said to have given the Iroquois people the Great Law of Peace. The accuracy of the published versions

of this political constitution have been questioned, but since one of these has especially influenced the conceptualizations about political organization commonly given in the literature, it will be considered here. The following quotations deal specifically with group adoption:

When any alien nation or individual is admitted into the Five Nations the admission shall be understood only to be a temporary one. Should the person or nation create loss, do wrong or cause suffering of any kind to endanger the peace of the Confederacy, the Confederate Lords shall order one of their war chiefs to reprimand him or them and if a similar offence is again committed the offending party or parties shall be expelled from the territory of the Five United Nations. . . .

No body of alien people who have been adopted temporarily shall have a vote in the council of the Lords of the Confederacy for only they who have been invested with Lordship titles may vote in the council. Aliens have nothing by blood to make claim to a vote and should they have it, not knowing all the traditions of the Confederacy, might go against its Great Peace. In this manner the Great Peace would be endangered and perhaps be destroyed.⁷

According to traditional law as it is presented in this version of the Five Nations Constitution, the Tuscarora could never be adopted as a permanent member, nor could they ever have a voting status in the Great Council of the Confederacy. This is the primary evidence used by Wallace in his earliest statement of the Tuscarora adoptive position.⁸ A perceived ideal position or behavior can, however, be ignored or opposing ideas justified by the people involved. This must be considered as a possibility. Furthermore, it is questionable to accept the statement of an orally transmitted tradition which exists in several significantly different versions and which have been critically attacked for overtones of recent influences.

Anthony F. C. Wallace's and David Landy's independently

published positions on the adoptive status of the Tuscarora were presented in chapter 1. By way of summary, Landy and Wallace both contend that the Tuscarora were never made an equal member of the Confederacy, i.e., they had no voice or vote in the Great Council; positionally they were women, in the same sense as the Delaware. Landy also claims that when they were not referred to as "women" they were considered as politically disadvantaged "children." Wallace further asserts they were admitted as temporary members. Before I present my evidence for a different interpretation of the Tuscarora place in the Confederacy, we should review the evidence Wallace and Landy use or--as I tend to believe --misuse.

To begin with, let us look at the way kinship terminology was used for inter-tribal relations. As stated above, the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca formed one moiety of the Confederacy. Males of this moiety referred to each other as brothers, and addressed male members of the other moiety (i.e., originally Oneida and Cayuga) as sons or younger brothers. The Oneida and Cayuga called one another brothers and referred to the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca as father or older brother. Landy cites such a statement of relationship made by Tuscarora Elias Johnson. "If a Seneca addresses the Tuscaroras, he will invariably salute them as 'my sons,' in social or in council; and also the Tuscaroras in return will say 'my fathers.'"⁹ Quite mistakenly, Landy uses this to support his contention that the Tuscarora position was unequal to those of the other members of the Confederacy. The exact opposite is the case. The Cayuga and Oneida also referred to the Seneca as "fathers," in which case the Tuscarora using the same term of reference would seem to indicate some degree of equality with them as members of the same moiety (i.e., Oneida, Cayuga, and Tuscarora).

Landy quotes a statement made by Moravian missionary, John Christopher Pырlаeus about the League. Pырlаeus

received the information from a Mohawk in 1743.

This alliance having been first proposed by a Mohawk chief, the Mohawks rank in the family as the eldest brother, the Oneidas, as the eldest son; the Senecas who were the last who had at that time consented to the alliance, were called the youngest son; but the Tuscaroras, who joined the confederacy probably one hundred years afterwards, assumed that name, and the Senecas ranked in precedence before them, as being the next youngest son, or as we would say, the youngest son but one.¹⁰

Landy uses this statement to again try to establish that "since they had been so badly defeated on their home grounds,"¹¹ the Tuscarora were "ranked," in a socially stratified way, lower than all of the others as "younger sons." This appears to be Pyrlaeus' understanding of what he heard, but there is no historical or traditional evidence to indicate this ranking existed for the original five members. On the contrary, the opposite is emphasized. In council, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, each had one vote and was equal. The Tuscarora were the youngest sons; but this status cannot legitimately be interpreted as a ranked political status entailing unequal privileges, any more than the Oneida as the eldest son could be considered as ranking higher than the Cayuga. Pyrlaeus' ordering represents the sequence of admission to the Confederacy, nothing more.

To establish the Tuscarora adoptive status as children or infants, Landy cites J. N. B. Hewitt's article on the Tuscarora in Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. Hewitt quotes two colonial documents that mention the Tuscarora as "children" of the Five Nations. The first is the 1714 statement of the Five Nations to the Governor of New York that the Tuscarora had "come to live among us as our Children who shall obey our commands & live peaceably and orderly."¹² The second passage from the colonial records

is a statement made by Sir William Johnson to the Oneida in 1753.

Have your Castles as near together as conveniently you can, with the Tuscaroras who belong to You as Children and the Skaniadaradighrones [Nanticoke] lately come into your Alliance or Families, which makes it Necessary for me, to fix a New String to the Cradle, which was hung up by your Forefathers, when they Received the Tuscarores . . . to feed and protect.¹³

Hewitt uses this quote not to say anything about Tuscarora status, ranked or otherwise, but to point out that it was the Oneida instead of the Seneca who adopted the Tuscarora, contrary to what Elias Johnson wrote. To illegitimately strengthen his case, Landy implies Hewitt's position corresponds with his own, that the Tuscarora membership "status was not genuine."¹⁴ This is flatly not the case. Hewitt's article on adoption in the Handbook clearly states his position. Because of its importance for this discussion I will quote from it at length.

From the political adoption of the Tuscarora by the Five Nations, about 1726, it is evident that tribes, families, clans, and groups of people could be adopted like persons. A fictitious age might be conferred upon the person adopted, since age largely governed the rights, duties, and position of persons in the community. In this wise, by the action of the constituted authorities, the age of an adopted group was fixed and its social and political importance thereby determined. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the expulsion of the Tuscarora from North Carolina it was deemed best by the Five Nations, in view of their relation to the Colonies at that time, to give an asylum to the Tuscarora simply by means of the institution of adoption rather than by the political recognition of the Tuscarora as a member of the League. Therefore the Oneida made a motion in the federal council of the Five Nations that they adopt the Tuscarora

as a nursling still swathed to the cradle-board. This having prevailed, the Five Nations, by the spokesman of the Oneida, said: "We have set up for ourselves a cradle-board in the extended house," that is, in the dominions of the League. After due probation the Tuscarora, by separate resolutions of the council, on separate motions of the Oneida, were made successively a boy, a young man, a man, an assistant to the official women cooks, a warrior, and lastly a peer, having the right of chiefship in the council on an equal footing with the chiefs of the other tribes. [emphasis added]¹⁵

For Hewitt, Iroquois adoption was a process whereby status changes metaphorically expressed as analogous to an age-process, were confirmed in the Great Council in response to resolutions of the sponsoring member. These changes were contingent on the behavior of the adopted group during the probationary period. Landy, Wallace, and others have taken the stand that the Tuscarora remained in an unequal status as either infants or women.

I have not been able to find any reference to the Tuscarora as "women" in either oral tradition or written history. On this point Landy cites Wallace in support of his statement that the Tuscarora were referred to by the Five Nations as "women." Wallace in his footnote cites the Newhouse version of the traditional Iroquois Constitution and a 1744 article in The American Magazine and Historical Chronicle written by the interpreter Conrad Weiser.¹⁶ Neither of these references indicates the Tuscarora were called "women;" this term was reserved, according to Weiser, for the Mahican and Delaware. Wallace correctly uses Weiser's statement concerning the Mahican and Delaware, but mistakenly adds the Tuscarora to the list.

Before discussing my view of Five Nations' adoption and the place of the Tuscarora in the Confederacy, the ideas of several other people should be mentioned to indicate how confusing the literature is on these points.

Landy begins his analysis of Tuscarora status in the Confederacy by quoting Lewis H. Morgan. Published in 1851, Morgan's League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois remains a classic in anthropology as the first detailed description of the social and political organization of a native American group. Morgan wrote that the Tuscarora

were never received into an equal alliance with the other nations. After their disastrous overthrow, and expulsion from North Carolina, they turned towards the country of the Iroquois, and were admitted about the year 1715, as the sixth nation, into the Confederacy. But they were never allowed to have a sachem, who could sit as an equal in the council of sachems. The five nations were unwilling to enlarge the number of sachemships founded at the institution of the League. For purposes of national government, they were organized like the other nations, with similar tribes [clans], relationships, laws, and institutions. They also enjoyed a nominal equality in the councils of the League, by the courtesy of the other five, and their sachems were "raised up" with the same ceremonies. They were not dependent, but were admitted to as full equality as could be granted them, without enlarging the framework of the Confederacy. In councils of the League, they had no national designation.¹⁷

Several points made by Morgan warrant more detailed examination. He claimed the Tuscarora never had a chief who could sit as an equal in the Great Council, yet the Tuscarora were "admitted to as full equality as could be granted them," and finally that they had no "national designation" in the Great Council.

Morgan had most of his field experience with the New York Seneca. One of his primary informants was Ely S. Parker. Born in 1828, Parker was only in his teens when he began working with Morgan, and although he became a Seneca civil chief and knew a great deal about his people's cultural history, he was several generations removed from the

period before the Six Nations' collapse and was closer to the strained relationships that had developed during and after the American Revolution. Parker on one occasion wrote that the Tuscarora

entered the Long House not by the regular doorway at the west, but knocked for admission at the sides of the Long House, claiming consanguinity as the basis of admission. They were taken in, but some of the bark of the sides of the Long House had to be taken off to admit them, and as a penalty for their irregular entrance into the House they were debarred the high privilege of having sachems. They were therefore never accorded the right of hereditary representation at the high councils of the League except as spectators, and they could only be heard through the sachem of some other tribe.¹⁸

In 1884, Parker wrote to William C. Bryant that the Tuscarora "were not admitted to a perfect equality in the League. They were not granted sachemships."¹⁹ In Parker's terminology "sachem" is reserved for the original forty-nine or fifty chiefs, bearing titles associated with specific lineages and clans, that made up the Great Council. Bryant had referred to John Mountpleasant as "the principal hereditary sachem of the Tuscaroras." Parker wanted to make it clear to Bryant that the original number of "sachems," in his usage, was not expanded for the Tuscarora. Strangely, he does not justify the Tuscarora being without "sachems" through a reference to the constitution, but instead draws on a tradition that the Tuscarora made an improper approach to the Longhouse.

Parker's tradition concerning the Tuscarora admission to the Confederacy is in error on several points. The historical evidence presented in chapter 2 clearly indicates that the Tuscarora did not just show up in New York asking for admission to the Longhouse. The Five Nations extended an invitation to the Tuscarora to join them after the Lower Tuscarora's defeat was assured in 1713. The Five Nations

invoked "consanguinity" as the justification for admitting the Tuscarora against the objections of colonial officials. Finally, even Morgan was willing to admit that the Tuscarora did have chiefs who were more than spectators. Parker's denial in this area may have been due to the political climate that existed between the Six Nations' members in New York during part of the nineteenth century.

In the 1840's several Seneca reservations dropped their clan and lineage based chiefs' council for a council selected through general elections. Six Nations Councils in New York were rarely held and served no real governmental function. Some of the Tuscarora were so disgusted by the situation of the Confederacy, that they did not attend the November 1862 Six Nations Council. They sent a message to the effect that "they shall not be able to be present in this Council they have a government of their own." The council proceedings later included a warning resolution which was issued to the Tuscarora. "Three times will the delinquent be requested to return their allegiance before the final action will be had; if they return well and good and if not, their horns will be shorn and their authority will be taken from them." (emphasis added)²⁰ It would have been meaningless to "de-horn" the Tuscarora chiefs and thereby strip them of their "authority" if they were only on the fringe of the Confederacy in the first place and had no voice or vote in Council.

William Beauchamp, an energetic student of the Six Nations who worked during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century, had an informant who was closer to the Tuscarora. Albert Cusick, although Onondaga due to matrilineal descent, was a grandson of Nicholas Cusick and son of James Cusick. Albert Cusick, a civil chief on the Great Council, was a well-qualified informant. Nine chiefs' titles hereditary to Tuscarora clans and lineages are listed by Beauchamp in Onondaga,

apparently elicited from Cusick. Comparing them to the titles of the Five Nations, Beauchamp wrote that "none rank in council as high as the others." Several pages later he relates that "their position is not equal to the others, but more like that of our territories. Except by courtesy they have no votes." (emphasis added)²¹ Morgan stated in a similar fashion that the Tuscarora "enjoyed a nominal equality in the councils of the League" and "were admitted to as full equality as could be granted them, without enlarging the framework of the Confederacy." Both of these writers and most others who have addressed themselves to the question of Tuscarora adoption and position within the Confederacy have found themselves caught between their own Western cognitive pattern of social stratification on the one hand and the seemingly anomalous structural position of the Tuscarora in the Confederacy on the other hand. The fact that the Tuscarora chiefs did vote in the Great Council is looked upon by Beauchamp as a matter of "courtesy" on the part of the Five Nations. Tuscarora equality in the Confederacy was only "as full . . . as could be granted them," from Morgan's point of view because he, Beauchamp, and others were, I believe, blinded by their inability to entertain the possibility that the Tuscarora's having a structurally different position in the Confederacy did not necessarily imply that they did not in fact participate on an equal footing.

The various supposedly "traditional" Iroquois metaphors that have been used to express the structurally different position of the Tuscarora are illustrative of the problem involved in understanding the Tuscarora place in the Confederacy. Beauchamp claims "the Indian idea is that the Five Nations are the house, the Tuscaroras like a wood house, built outside but attached." The chiefs' version of the Five Nations' Constitution written in 1912 says "other Nations who shall accept and come under the Constitution of the Confederacy will become as props in support of the

said Confederacy." In 1880, Horatio Hale found references in old Onondaga manuscripts at "Onondaga Castle" (near Syracuse), New York, that refer to the Tuscarora as an added "frame-pole to the great frame work" of the Confederacy. A frame-pole of a longhouse was an "inner one, which is bent to form the frame."²² These would not seem comparable, since in one case the Tuscarora are in the category of an external supporting prop, in another they are described as an added on wing to the Longhouse, and in the last example, they are viewed as one of the main parts of the inner framework of the Longhouse. While these seem contradictory, it is possible that they represent different stages through which the Tuscarora progressed as part of their adoption. This would tend to support Hewitt's processual model of adoption.

I do not claim to be able to reconcile all of the different evidence and interpretations that have been made concerning the Tuscarora. But I think there are several unjustifiable assumptions dominating the conclusions drawn in the secondary literature that deals with Tuscarora adoption by, and participation in, the Iroquois Confederacy. First, the "traditional" law of the Five Nations Confederacy could never be broken to permit a permanent adoption or a voting equality of the Tuscarora in the Great Council. Second, the adoptive status of the Tuscarora did not change through time. Third, the Tuscarora were different structurally from the other members, e.g., the original number of chiefs' titles were not expanded to include them; therefore, the Tuscarora did not have equal rights or obligations and were ranked below the other members of the Confederacy. My position is that these assumptions cannot be justifiably accepted unquestioningly, and that, when a broader base of written and oral historical evidence is considered, they are probably erroneous and at least of doubtful validity. Hewitt's understanding of adoption as a process, as it is expressed in the quote earlier in the chapter, goes a long

way to explain what appear to be inconsistencies in both oral and written history. Writing a letter to H. D. Patterson on the same subject in 1931, Hewitt explained his position further. Since the Tuscarora emigrated north and

did not come in a single body . . . the Council had to deal with them at different times by the action of Councils made up of quite different chiefs. So the traditions relating to the adoption of the Tuscarora people are not in agreement at all times. But it appears that after being adopted as a nursing baby, that is the new arrivals, the Council later by duely [sic] adopted resolutions made them full-grown men. . . . This adoption made the Tuscarora people the Sixth tribe of the League of the Iroquois, and gave them and their officers the rights of full citizenship in the League, without any drawback. [emphasis added]²³

This processual adoption helps to explain why, if we accept the Parker-Newhouse version as being accurate, the Constitution of the League could be brushed aside so easily. The reason given in the Constitution for not allowing adopted groups to have "a vote in the council" is because they do not know "all the traditions of the Confederacy, [and] might go against its Great Peace."²⁴ After a gradual enculturation as fledgling probationary members of the Longhouse the Tuscarora could have gained the necessary knowledge and "maturity," thereby becoming fit for "the rights of full citizenship in the League."

At this point it might prove useful to examine some of the evidence that indicates at least part of the Tuscarora participated in the political organization of the Confederacy on an equal standing with the other members. More explicitly, what evidence is there that the Tuscarora were involved in the decision-making and implementing processes of the Confederacy?

An oral tradition concerning the adoption of the Tutelo, who were received under the sponsorship of the Cayuga as members of the Confederacy sometime between 1752

and 1753, provides information about the Tuscarora as well. Hewitt recorded the tradition in Onondaga from John Buck, Jr., in 1918. William N. Fenton made a literal translation in 1945 with the assistance of A. General, a Cayuga. Passages pertinent to the Tuscarora are excerpted below, with several minor changes in word order to clarify meaning.

And already another nation [the Tuscarora] has been bound into one which is called the Six Nations. . . . So now therefore . . . all of the Six Nations shall work together. They [the Tutelo] have equal rights in the council and their seat is placed next to ours [the Cayuga], that is where I have placed you. . . . We are [working and] will work together in the future for the welfare of all the people and even those faces [who] are coming, our grandchildren. . . . You [Tutelo] must obey the laws of the Six Nations and moreover [you will have] equal (dual) [with the Cayuga] privileges in the future forever. And now, moreover, here I leave you [the Tutelo] there on the side of where the four brothers [Oneida, Cayuga, Tuscarora, Tutelo] are and you all shall work together in the Law.²⁵

Horatio Hale wrote of the Six Nations in Canada in 1883 that "a chief still sits in the council as a representative of the Tuteloes, though the tribe itself has been swept away by disease, or absorbed in the larger nations."²⁶

Tuscarora in Canada, unlike the Tutelo, vigorously maintained themselves as a distinctive group, but they did absorb some Nanticoke and Nottoway remnants. Tuscarora chiefs were present on the Canadian Six Nations Council in Hale's day; interestingly enough, the hereditary titles that they held were duplicated by the New York Tuscarora. Appendix B. contains a list and discussion of the Tuscarora chiefs' titles.

The Tuscarora and even the Tutelo, according to John Buck's tradition, were positionally equal to the other members of the Confederacy. Even in the Great Council it is indicated that the Tuscarora and Tutelo had chiefs who

not only observed but who participated. The statement that the Tutelo's seat was placed next to the Cayuga's is especially significant. Anne Powell observed a Six Nations Council near Niagara in 1789 and was careful to note that "old women" were present, who were probably senior clan matrons. They "walked one by one with great solemnity-- and seated themselves behind the men. . . . These ladies observe a modest silence in the debates . . . but nothing is determined without their advice."²⁷ Even if the Tuscarora and Tutelo had been seated in the women's place, this would not have indicated they had no political power, but the tradition stating they sat next to the other members indicates a full equality, including the right to speak in council.

The written historical evidence from the eighteenth century about the Tuscarora's position in the Confederacy is sadly lacking in the kind of information needed for the problem at hand, since few Whites were knowledgeable about the internal working of the Confederacy. In spite of that difficulty, however, some clues are available. To begin by stating the obvious, the fact that the Tuscarora were acknowledged to be the sixth member of the Confederacy by the other five members after 1722 indicates some kind of status in the League was granted to them. After 1722 the Confederacy was still occasionally called the Five Nations, although Cadwallader Colden, writing in 1747, indicates this was merely force of habit on the part of the English and the Confederacy did "indeed consist of Six Nations."²⁸ That this was the case is well illustrated by the following by the following words of Sir William Johnson in 1756, who wrote, "The Five Nations are the Mohawks, Oneidaes, Tuscaroras, Onondagas, Cayugo's and Senecas."²⁹ Occasional comments in the historical record suggest Tuscarora status was equal to that of the other members. For example, a 1763 enumeration of Indian manpower in Sir William Johnson's

Northern Department contains the following remark about the "six Nations":

The Mohawks or Mohocks, Onondagas and Senecas are considered as the Chief and elder Branches--The Oneidas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras are the younger; the last mentioned Nation having many years ago retired from the southward were admitted into the Confederacy with the then Five Nations, the Oneidas giving them land, and they now enjoy all privileges with the rest. [emphasis added]³⁰

While statements such as the last line of the preceding quote are significant, the terms of reference used by the Tuscarora for other members of the Confederacy and, in turn, the terms they use for the Tuscarora are, in my opinion, even more indicative of the Tuscarora position.

The use of kinship terms to express the structural mechanisms of the Confederacy was maintained with careful consistency. As early as 1744, Conrad Weiser wrote that the Tuscarora "is Brother to the Onoyders and Cayukquo's and Son to the others."³¹ In 1750, Weiser participated in a condolence ceremony at Onondaga. An Oneida spoke on behalf of his moiety in the Great Council, and addressed the Onondaga as "Father." Weiser adds in his journal that this is how "the Oneiders, Cayugers and Tuscorors stile or address the Onotagers, Mohocks & Sinickers."³² This terminology was used in colonial councils as well as those of the Confederacy. In the following example, taken from a December 1755 Council at Fort Johnson, the additional distinction of the order of entry into the League is also employed in part. Sakwarithra addressed Sir William Johnson for the Tuscarora living near Oneida Lake:

We have been speaking to our eldest brother [the Oneida] these four years, about having a place of defence made against the French, but could never bring them to a conclusion until now. . . . Conaghquayeson spoke [for the Oneida] . . . We join our brothers, the Tuscaroras, in

returning you our hearty thanks. . . .
 We have been lost or drunk these several
 years past, in not listening to you and
 our youngest brothers in joining the two
 castles together.³³

To show that the use of "eldest brother" by the Tuscarora in reference to the Oneida was not a special show of deference due to an unequal position, we would expect to find the Cayuga calling the Oneida their "elder brother." That was exactly the case. In March 1758, for example, the Cayuga sent the Oneida a belt of wampum. The Oneida speaker explained that the Cayuga wanted "to know from us their Elder brother why we did not call a Meeting upon [of] the Sachems and warriors of the Oneidas Tuscaroras Cayugas & Nanticokes." (emphasis added)³⁴ Also, in line with this system of terminology, the younger moiety of the Confederacy referred to the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca as "father" in colonial councils.³⁵

The terms of reference used by and for the Tuscarora took on an even greater significance when the Delaware and others who were, according to Conrad Weiser in 1744, "Dependents and Tributaries" of the Six Nations are considered. The data important for understanding the relationships these people had with the Six Nations are confusing. Part of the confusion that exists is probably due to status changes or even current behavior that embarrassed the Six Nations. Weiser explains that the Mahican and Delaware were "conquer'd by the Five Nations" and they were called women when the Iroquois felt it necessary to "speak severely to 'em: At other Times they call them Cousins, and are in Return called Uncles." Teasingly Weiser adds that they "are Tributary in an Indian Sense,"³⁶ but does not explain their status more fully. At other times, the Delaware were also called "nephews," and in turn addressed the Six Nations as "uncles." Weiser's use of cousin may be an error. The important point for the present discussion is not the exact terms used, or which groups were involved,

but the fact that some distinction was made between members of the Confederacy and others who were on the fringe. The evidence is clear that the Tuscarora were not in the latter category.

The close relationship of the Tuscarora and Oneida was discussed briefly in chapter 3. It was pointed out there that the two members often acted together with a great deal of apparent unity. The Oneida were the adopting sponsors of the initial Tuscarora emigrants. The settlements of the Tuscarora were established near those of the Oneida, both on the Susquehanna and near Oneida Lake. The Tuscarora were assigned fishing and hunting territories. In light of Hewitt's processual model of adoption, the Tuscarora probably relied very heavily on the Oneida during their early years of enculturation as prospective members of the Confederacy. After they had been granted fully equal status in the Confederacy the bonds that had been established between the Oneida and Tuscarora remained. The existence of these social bonds led to the colonial expectation that the Tuscarora and Oneida usually acted together. And I would add that as knowledgeable as Sir William Johnson was about Six Nations political organization, he, I believe, mistakenly interpreted this continued social cooperation and apparent political unity as meaning the Tuscarora were, in the 1750's, still in an earlier dependent stage of their adoption. Thus in 1757, he wrote a letter which mentions his waiting for deputies of the Six Nations to arrive for a conference and being told by the Seneca that they had "called upon the Oneidas, who they say, refused to come; and the Tuscaroras (who are, as it were, under the Oneidas), I suppose, followed their Example."³⁷ The Oneida and Tuscarora from the heartland of the Longhouse operated under similar circumstances that precipitated their common political position. Johnson explained later that both had elements that leaned politically toward the French. The Tuscarora were also still unhappy about the

murder of one of their warriors a year earlier at the hands of some British soldiers at Schenectady.³⁸ When Sir William Johnson finally did have a conference with the Oneida in September 1757, he asked the Oneida deputies whether their people would commit themselves to the English cause. "They said they could not give a determinate Answer till they had consulted with their Bretheren the Tuscarores, that they would take the belt [of wampum] with them, talk to the Tuscarores & let Sir William know their resolutions."³⁹ This suggests the Tuscarora had an equal role in the making and implementing of decisions that resulted in their usual unanimity with the Oneida.

The Tuscarora and Oneida, however, did not always act together. Sometimes an agreement could not be reached. Early in 1756, before the previously mentioned conference and the murder of the Tuscarora warrior, the Tuscarora near Oneida Lake had been more uniformly pro-English. Thomas Butler wrote a letter to Sir William Johnson on May 4, 1756, from the "Carrying Place" on Oneida Lake with intelligence about recent activities in the area. He had learned that the Oneida asked the Tuscarora to accompany them to a conference with the French. The Tuscarora "intirely refused."⁴⁰ This kind of evidence does not agree well with assertions that the Tuscarora had no political power in the context of the Confederacy.

Tuscarora were involved in the various supportive activities of the Confederacy. These included the condolence ceremony and raising up of new chiefs, as well as general institutional patterns common to the other members, e.g., adoption of war captives. This involvement indicates the full participation of the Tuscarora in many activities of the Confederacy. As suggested in the last chapter, the structure of Tuscarora politics may very well have been altered, by establishing hereditary chiefs' titles and "raising up" individuals from appropriate clans and lineages to fill the positions. Whether these changes were made or

not, the institutional similarity that is indicated in the written historical record of the mid-eighteenth century and in oral tradition must have facilitated Tuscarora participation in the Confederacy. Even Morgan could write in 1851 that "for the purposes of national government . . . they were organized like the other nations, with similar tribes [clans], relationships, laws and institutions."⁴¹ Such institutional similarity would have the effect of facilitating Tuscarora interaction with other members and equal participation in the Confederacy.

Before concluding this analysis of Tuscarora adoptive status in the League, several additional realms in which the Tuscarora are different from other members should be noted. I assert that these differences, like those discussed earlier, do not in themselves mean that the Tuscarora had an unequal position in the Confederacy in the sense of being denied the rights and responsibilities assumed by all the other members. The only reason I feel it necessary to bring these additional differences up here is to anticipate and hopefully preclude further misinterpretation of the primary sources on the Tuscarora.

A Tuscarora speaker was rarely used in Six Nations conferences with colonial officials. There might be the tendency on the part of some investigators to declare that those groups that provided the most speakers for a random sample of councils must have been the most important, those who provided a smaller number of speakers would then be ranked accordingly in importance. Such a conclusion would be worthless because it assumes social stratification. There were at least two principles at work in the selection of a speaker for Six Nations conferences with White officials. To some extent a kinship-age principle was observed. A Mohawk or Onondaga speaker was more appropriate since, in terms of the idealized kinship organization of the Confederacy, they were the oldest of the "fathers." If only

the younger moiety was present, then the Oneida often provided a speaker as the "eldest" of the younger brothers. The other major principle that affected speaker selection was ability. Six Nations' speakers were well-known for their eloquence and persuasiveness in oratory. When one of the "younger" members of the Confederacy could provide such a speaker in the absence of an equally capable person from the "elder" members then this second principle was employed for the benefit of the entire Confederacy.

Landy uses Lewis H. Morgan's statement that the Tuscarora had no "national designation" in the Great Council as evidence for their "inferior position" within the League due to the "disorganized state of the Tuscarora bands who, as homeless exiles, knocked on the door of the great alliance."⁴² The Tuscarora were disorganized when they began to arrive at the Longhouse of the Five Nations in 1713, but that has, in my opinion, little to do with Morgan's statement. Morgan's claim that the Tuscarora had no national designation is either wrong or poorly worded. The Tuscarora were known on the Great Council as the Tuscarora. What Morgan may have meant, and in the context of the pages preceding his statement this would seem to be the case, was that the Tuscarora had no specific council name. Each of the other members had one or two council names besides other ethnic group names. The Cayuga, for example, were known as the "great pipe," the Oneida, the "large trees," and the Onondaga, the "name bearers." In 1750 when Conrad Weiser went to Onondaga to speak to the Great Council of the Confederacy, he addressed the members by the "national designations" that were appropriate for the occasion. After asking permission to speak, he addressed the council as "Brethren" of the "Six united Nations, to wit Togarihoan [Mohawk], Sagosanagechteront [Onondaga], Dyonenhogarow [Seneca], & Neharontoquoah [Oneida], Sanonowantowano [Cayuga], and Tuscaroro."⁴³ A statement by John Norton in 1801 affirms the contention that the Tuscarora

had no other council name, but Beauchamp does claim, more recently, that they were called "Tu-hah-te-ehn-yah-wah-kon, Those who embrace the Great Tree."⁴⁴ I tend to believe that this name was a relatively late addition. If that is the case, and the Tuscarora did not have a council name during the eighteenth century other than their ethnic group name, then they were, in fact, different in that respect from the other members. This difference does not indicate that the Tuscarora had an inferior position in the Confederacy. It simply reflects the fact that council names and organizational beginnings of the original members are shrouded in the historical fog of an uncertain past and that the Tuscarora came along at a later time.

One final topic about the Tuscarora that has relevance for understanding their position in the Confederacy is ethnic identity. The Tuscarora were unique, and, while this was true of every other member of the League, the Tuscarora were even more different culturally than the others. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the Tuscarora language was crude sounding to the speakers of the other Iroquois languages. If the Tuscarora men were willing to work in the fields, following a North Carolina pattern, this must have seemed strange to the Five Nations because, except for clearing fields and helping with the harvest, agricultural work was woman's work. These and other factors in the ethnic identity system of the Tuscarora that the other members found different, probably resulted in a certain amount of jesting being directed toward the Tuscarora. Group pride is a part of identity maintenance. Prejudicial feelings were, no doubt, held about one another by all of the Six Nations. As Shibutani and Kwan indicate in Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach, the ethnic identity of people operating within a relatively egalitarian social organization cannot be treated by the investigator as having the same kinds of structural con-

sequences as it does in the highly stratified situations of Western nations.⁴⁵ Therefore we cannot assume that the Tuscarora were a politically disenfranchised or second-class member of the Confederacy on the basis of ethnic differences that may have been perceived and emphasized by the original five members.

As I indicated in chapter 6, the Tuscarora who were most fully involved in affairs of the Confederacy, i.e., those near Oneida Lake, helped to preserve Tuscarora identity through their participation as a member "nation." The published statements of the more recent contributors to the literature on the Tuscarora indicate the Tuscarora membership position was inferior to those of the other members. David Landy, for example, wrote that the Tuscarora "accepted a dependent, childlike status as a relatively powerless, denigrated member of the Iroquois League."⁴⁶ This may have been true initially, but I believe there is sufficient evidence which reveals they eventually, as Hewitt suggested, achieved a place of political equality during the decades preceding the American Revolution and the destruction of the Confederacy.

Chapter VII

Footnotes

1. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Political Organization and Land Tenure among the Northeastern Indians, 1600-1830," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 13(1957):304.
2. Wallace, Seneca, pp.39-40.
3. Fenton, "Iroquois in History," p. 139.
4. For example see Lewis H. Morgan, League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois, ed. Herbert M. Lloyd, 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1901); Alexander A. Goldenweiser, "On Iroquois Work, 1912," Summary Report of the Canada Geological Survey 26(1913):464-475.
5. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 251.
6. William N. Fenton, "Collecting Materials for a Political History of the Six Nations," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 93(1949):233-238; Fenton, "Iroquois Culture History" pp. 270-273; Horatio Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites, Brinton's Library of Aboriginal American Literature, no. 2 (Philadelphia, 1883); for additional references see Paul L. Weinman, A Bibliography of the Iroquoian Literature, New York State Museum and Science Service Bulletin no. 411 (Albany, 1969), pp. 90-99.
7. Arthur C. Parker, The Constitution of the Five Nations, New York State Museum Bulletin no. 184 (Albany, 1916), pp. 50-51.
8. Anthony F. C. Wallace, King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), pp. 99, 139, 278, 286.
9. Johnson, History of the Tuscarora, p. 69.
10. Quoted in Fenton, "Iroquois Culture History," p. 271.
11. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 268.
12. O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 5:387.
13. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:113.
14. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 269.

15. J. N. B. Hewitt, "Adoption," in Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, 2 vols., Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 30 (Washington, D.C., 1907-10), 1:15-16.
16. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 270; Conrad Weiser, "An Account of the first Confederacy of the Six Nations . . .," American Magazine and Historical Chronicle December 1744, pp. 665-669; Wallace, Teedyuscung, pp. 99, 139, 278, 286.
17. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 1:93-94.
18. Ibid., 2:302.
19. "Red Jacket's Disappointed Ambition," Transactions of the Buffalo Historical Society 3(1885):69.
20. "Report of Six Nations Council," 29 November 1862, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 3550.
21. William M. Beauchamp, A History of the New York Iroquois, New York State Museum Bulletin no. 78 (Albany, 1905), pp. 158, 163-164.
22. Beauchamp, New York Iroquois, p. 163; Duncan C. Scott, "Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada 3d ser. 5, sec. 2 (1911):230; Hale, Iroquois Rites, pp. 152-153.
23. Hewitt to Patterson, 15 June 1931, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 4271; two of the traditions mentioned by Hewitt are among his papers (nos. 1515, 3590) but have not yet been translated into English.
24. Parker, Constitution, p. 51.
25. "The Tutelo," 1918, trans. 2 November 1945, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 1364.
26. Hale, Iroquois Rites, p. 32.
27. "Extracts from a letter from Miss [Anne] Powell describing a tour from Montreal to Detroit in 1789," Copy of original made in 1863 by Elisa S. Quincey, New-York Historical Society, New York.
28. Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations, 2 vols. (1727-47; New York: New Amsterdam Book Co., 1902), 1:xxi.
29. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:493.

30. O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 7:582.
31. Weiser, "Account of the Six Nations," p. 666.
32. "A Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser . . .," August to September 1750, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 1 (microfilm reel 1, PA.M.Ia).
33. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:332-333.
34. Ibid., p. 880; see also Ibid., 2:375.
35. Ibid., 10:902-904.
36. Weiser, "Account of the Six Nations," p. 666.
37. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:784.
38. O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 7:278.
39. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 9:852.
40. Ibid., p. 44.
41. Morgan, League of the Iroquois, 1:93.
42. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 268.
43. "A Journal of the Proceedings of Conrad Weiser . . .," August to September 1750, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, vol. 1 (microfilm reel 1, PA.M.Ia); see also Hazard, Provincial Council, 5:477; Onondaga-Hodisenñageta-they are the name bearers, Seneca-Hononneho'ont-the doorkeeper, Oneida-Nihatiloendagowa-they are large trees, Cayuga-S'hotinoñnāwāntō'nā-they are great pipes.
44. Douglas W. Boyce, ed., "A Glimpse of Iroquois Culture History through the Eyes of Joseph Brant and John Norton," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 117 (1973): 66-67; Beauchamp, New York Iroquois, p. 163.
45. Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach (New York: Macmillan, 1965), p. 96.
46. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 278.

Chapter VIII

HISTORICAL TRENDS IN TUSCARORA POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Tuscarora villages, as they existed historically in North Carolina prior to 1713 and in the New York pre-reservation period (before 1800), were the focuses of most social activity. Personnel came and went, villages were moved, new villages branched off old ones, and the nature of internal social organization and relations with outsiders changed; but the majority of all Tuscarora spent most of their social interaction time with people of their own village. Tuscarora political activity cannot easily be distinguished from non-political activity. Public decision-making versus the implementation of decisions was not always an identifiable dichotomy in the minds of the people or the observer. Public goals sometimes appear obvious, yet we can never really be sure of motivations or long-range, complex goals beyond the simpler one at hand. Using historical sources, we are severely limited as to the kind of information available to us. Unfortunately much of the detail needed for the study of village life is missing. We will be forced to fill in many voids with inferences, but only when some evidence exists to justify them. Every village was unique, yet each shared many structural and organizational features. These common features will be the point of analysis and reconstruction.

As indicated in chapter 1, political organization in this study is understood to be "the set of arrangements by which a public regulates its common affairs." To the extent that a distinction can be made, activities which con-

sist "in the exercise and competitions of power to influence or control the course of these affairs" will be thought of as political. Action which "consists in the authoritative conduct of public affairs" will be viewed as administrative.¹ Two levels of analysis will be employed to determine the "set of arrangements" involved in village political organization and how these changed through time. First, who were the politically important persons? When considering governmentally significant dyadic relations and the participation of individual persons as group members, what patterns of expectation were brought to bear on the interaction situations? It must be understood that a distinction is being made here between "persons" and "individuals." An individual is a human biological organism; a person, in Fred Gearing's words, is "an idea, a social invention handed down by tradition." These shared ideas identify a man or woman to others "as first one social thing then another . . . according to the situation."² Person is both a social position and the roles expected of an individual in that position. For example, in different situations the same individual may be a father, a chief, a Turtle Clansman. Likewise, there will be other individuals who will also be fathers, chiefs, and Turtle Clansmen on various occasions. Second, what were the various structural configurations of persons or "structural poses" that came into being for different political activities. The persons, patterns of expectations for interaction, and structural poses of Tuscarora political organization changed discernably from 1700 to 1800. Primary emphasis will be placed on the trends of change that took place. The trends brought out below must be thought of as being illustrative of the kinds of change involved and not an exhaustive list. The limitations of the data available for Tuscarora political organization make it impossible to do more.

Pre-War North Carolina

In an earlier study of pre-1711 Tuscarora political organization, I discussed the persons involved in political activity and administration. The most important of these were village chiefs, elders, and shamans. In my analysis of these here, I will refer primarily to my other reports instead of the original sources. To justify the conclusions I made in those works again would be an unnecessary duplication of effort. Quotes from primary documents will be cited, but the reader can assume that other material is drawn from the secondary sources.³

The village chief looms as a significant figure in the historical literature. Prior to 1713, little is known about his selection. One meager reference to a "young" village chief, who stayed away from the negotiations his village's representatives were having with colonial officials, suggests the position may have been hereditary within a descent group and that in this case only a young man was available from the appropriate lineage and clan. Other village chiefs were more actively involved in affairs with the colonists and, as we will see later, age ideally had an expected premium in accrued wisdom. Statements made by contemporary White observers that unfortunately do not specify any particular ethnic group, refer to village chiefs as being hereditary. John Lawson, for example, enticingly tells us "the Succession falls not the the King's Son, but to his Sister's Son."⁴

The village chief had a number of different roles he was expected to play. He acted as a moderator in the village council, he may sometimes have been his village's representative to councils with delegates from other villages, and he acted as the voice of the people and host when strangers visited the settlement. Even when Graffenried and Lawson were prisoners, the chief of Catechna was the person who brought them food.

In a general way the village chief was involved with the daily activities of his people. He was not aloof or unapproachable. On occasion he helped the shaman treat the sick. He and the village elders were consulted on the arrangement of marriages and were prominently involved in funerals. There seem to have been no special privileges associated with the job, no special personal attendants nor spectacular housing. He went hunting with other men in his village. Granffenried described the lodging of one village chief as a "hut two miles from the village."⁵ The broad involvement of the village chief in the lives of his people seems to indicate their expectations of him were high. His many responsibilities reaped the benefit, however, of greater village cohesion. Since we do not know whether the village was made up of members of different clans, the whole question of inter-clan rivalries and the problems village chiefs may have had under such circumstances must be remembered as a possibility, but their existence or relative absence cannot be confirmed or denied.

The "old men," "Ancient Men," or, as I will call them here, the elders, were an important segment of every village population. It is doubtful that a firm age of transition marked the beginnings of a man's status as an elder. The elders were men "of Conduct and Reason . . . those that have been counsellors for many years, and whose Advise has commonly succeeded very well."⁶ Besides their role in village councils, they were relied upon for their ceremonial knowledge; war parties were not planned without their advice, and in general, their approval or disapproval carried the weight of time-tested reason that normally influenced the actions of others.

The significance of shamans for village political organization was very subtle. Usually called "conjurers" by Lawson, it is not clear whether they were full-time practitioners or not. As indicated by my use of the term

shaman, I tend to think he activated his magicoreligious status only when appropriate and his position was undistinguishable from other men his age at other times. He had important roles to play in terms of daily and seasonal activities, especially for curing, assisting at funerals and other ceremonial occasions, and generally helping people deal with the unknown or uncertain realms of their belief system.

In addition to village chiefs, elders, and shamans, several other persons should be mentioned briefly. There were some men who were not elders who also served on the village council. The documents are inconclusive; but very likely many or all the lineages were represented at village councils, and not all lineages had elders to represent them. War chiefs, called by Lawson "war-captains," were present. Their positions were achieved after proving their ability as warriors. The significance of war chiefs and warriors for Tuscarora political organization was intermittent. Villagers expected them to provide appropriately violent retaliation against enemies who had caused them harm. In turn, the warriors and war chiefs received material and sociopsychological support. For the pre-1711 period it is unclear what the structural pose for warfare was. Later, in New York, a unique social configuration emphasizing clan organization was closely related structurally to blood revenge and possibly warfare. This pose will be considered later. In New York, after 1750, we can also document the significant role of clan matrons in the political organization of the village and Six Nations Confederacy. Outside of several inconclusive references to "Queens," nothing suggests the behavior that is attributed later to women. John Lawson, who was familiar with the Tuscarora and whose pre-1710 descriptions were relatively thorough for his time, says nothing. Since the political roles of women were "behind the scenes" activity in New

York and surfaced in the historical record only rarely, it is very probable that their significance was real but not recognized by earlier North Carolina observers.

Now that most of the persons involved in the Tuscarora political organization have been introduced, we can examine two structural poses they formed on some occasions of political activity and public administration: the council and mutual aid poses. These were not the only structural poses relevant to Tuscarora social--or more specifically political--organization, but the details of others are simply not clear enough to attempt a discussion for the pre-1711 period. Village councils met with moderate regularity, as need demanded. The council was composed of the elders, younger lineage representatives, war chiefs, and the village chief. Lawson makes the following general statement that probably applied to the Tuscarora. The members met with the village chief

in all general Councils and Debates, concerning War, Peace, Trade, Hunting, and all the Adventures and Accidents of Human Affairs, which appear within their Verge; where all affairs are discoursed of and argued pro and con, very deliberately (without making any manner of Parties or Divisions) for the Good of the Publick; for, as they meet there to treat, they discharge their Duty with all the Integrity imaginable, never looking towards their Own Interest, before the Publick Good. After every Man has given his Opinion, that which has the most Voices, or, in Summing up, is found the most reasonable, that they make use of without any Jars and Wrangling, and put it in Execution, the first Opportunity that offers.⁷

This account corresponds well with the several fragmentary statements about village councils I was able to collect. Carrying with them the concerns of their families, each council member had the right and perhaps the responsibility to share their views with the rest of the council. But decisions were not always reached as simply as Lawson indicates.

At least under the pressures of colonialism "yes" or "no" decisions were sometimes never made. This brings us to the ideal of unanimity that has been mentioned several times in this study. My conception of council unanimity is that it at times involved the passive but not wholehearted compliance of some council members. On many matters all council members agreed without having any strong reservations. Occasionally a minority may have actively opposed a proposal but finally acquiesced. When such a minority continued to dissent verbally, then no formal council decision was made.

The council pose was predominantly political. Councils meant discussion and decision-making. Administration came later in the structural poses of mutual aid, warfare, or in the context of daily household activity. The value placed on the wisdom of the elders came to bear in council as on other occasions. Virginia Governor Spotswood wrote of the Tuscarora in 1711 that "their old men . . . have the greatest sway in their councils."⁸ Those elders who most consistently reaffirmed their wisdom probably gained the greatest hearing and following, but other factors such as personality characteristics and general circumstances were probably significant. Since council members were quite well aware of the fact that they had to answer to their households, lineages, and clansmen concerning their decisions and furthermore had to expect them to comply, they were generally realistic about how far they could go. Most matters of concern to the council were routine, for example, when the village should move to the hunting quarter, which hunting quarter was to be used, and other often annually recurrent questions for which there were precedents or general agreement of opinions. The structural strength of the council and the administrative pose of mutual aid which will be discussed below were most severely tested by problems that did not have standard decisions or applicable patterns for problem resolution. In those cases which were extreme, and no decision deemed adequate by

council members was apparent, then the escape valve of shelving the issue was taken to wait for further developments. It was this action that irritated colonists the most, because they interpreted this "wait and see" attitude as being total inactivity and disregard on the part of the Tuscarora. To impose a majority decision on the villagers, with the active opposition of some council members still present, would have been self-defeating. Such an action would have put those whose opposition was being ignored into a losers' position, driving a wedge between them and other members and thereby destroying their unity. The unity of the council was of utmost importance for the administration of their decisions. If they were divided they could hardly expect the villagers to be unified. Unity did not always exist; but this will be discussed later when we look in detail at the means available to villages for conflict resolution.

The administrative structural poses of Tuscarora village political organization were of major importance for authoritative conduct of public affairs. While others were probably present, a mutual aid pose has sufficient historical evidence to deal with here. What have been described in anthropological literature as mutual aid groups were common among the southeastern indigenous populations.⁹ I suggest that, for a variety of different situations, mutual aid was extended beyond the daily obligations to family and clan to assist other members of the village. Some of the situations that resulted in the mutual aid pose were recorded by Lawson. This is another of his general unspecified comments that we can only tentatively apply to the Tuscarora. Lawson and many other writers of his time used terms like "King" and "nation" to refer to what were in reality "village chiefs," and "villages." In the following quote "nation" can be more properly read "village."

They are very kind and charitable to one another, but more especially to those of their own Nation; for if any one of them has suffered any Loss, by Fire, or otherwise, they order the grieved Person to make a Feast, and invite them all thereto, which, on the day appointed, they come to, and after every Man's Mess of Victuals is dealt to him, one of their Speakers, or grave old Men, makes an Harrangue, and acquaints the Company, That that Man's House has been burnt, wherein all his Goods were destroyed; That he and his Family very narrowly escaped; That he is every Man's Friend in that Company; and, That it is all their Duties to help him, as he would do to any of them had the like Misfortune befallen them. After this Oration is over, every Man, according to his Quality, throws him down upon the Ground some Present, which is commonly Beads, Ronoak, Peak, Skins, or Furs, and which very often amounts to treble the Loss he has suffered. The same Assistance they give to any Man that wants to build a Cabin, or make a Canoe. They say it is our Duty thus to do; for there are several Works that one Man cannot effect, therefore we must give him our Help, otherwise our Society will fall, and we shall be deprived of those urgent Necessities which Life requires.¹⁰

Lawson is probably describing what I have called a village-wide mutual aid pose and he also includes kinship obligations. There were definitely situations, such as the first one mentioned, and perhaps house building that called for the mutual aid pose. The best example of this pose was during the winter when the entire village moved to a more remote village site to hunt. Lawson noted that "the Victuals is common throughout the whole Town; especially when they are in Hunting-Quarters, then they all fare alike, whichsoever of them kills the Game."¹¹ The cooperation of the entire village for game drives while together on the winter hunts further suggests the use of the mutual aid pose during this period. Most of the year families lived in small hamlets separated by fields, forests, and swamps.

from others who acknowledged a specific council and ceremonial center. Most daily activities were oriented toward the household, the family members present, and the hamlet. Unfortunately it is not known whether these hamlets were clan-dominated or not. In the winter hunting village, houses were of a different architectural style, and were clustered compactly along several streets.

The mutual aid pose, then, was taken up by individuals on specific kinds of occasions when disaster struck a village member, or a household, when there was a task to be done which required a great deal of help, and while living close together in the hunting village when a higher level of cooperation was necessary. What rules for interaction or role expectations were there for different persons? Lawson, in the above quote, describes one of the elders as reminding the people of their obligation to help others, as they could expect to be helped in return if necessary. Members of the village council, the village chief, and others having influence such as shamans were probably responsible for rallying the necessary cooperation through their own example of generosity and through verbal encouragement. Shamans were especially important persons for administration because they could successfully invoke divine sanction for cooperative effort. Religious festivals were held at times when the mutual aid was necessary, i.e., at planting time, harvest and maple sugaring, and must be thought of as not only religious exercises but also a means of mobilizing a work force. The ideal orientation of helping others is most interestingly taken to its extreme in the case of a person who suffered severe loss. Before he could expect gifts from the villagers "the grieved Person [had] to make a Feast, and invite them all thereto." Family and perhaps clansmen could be relied upon for the necessary food when all had been lost, but in the end, the gifts sometimes amounted "to treble the Loss he has suffered."

Before going on to discuss the changes that these structural poses underwent as a result of the 1711 to 1715 War, a conceptual tool that I have found useful to extend the applicability of the analytical model being used should be mentioned. Anthony F. C. Wallace observed a "world-space" conceptual division in the New York Tuscarora in 1950 and tentatively extended it to the protohistoric Tuscarora population.¹² This dichotomy can be thought of in terms of the "clearing" versus the "forest." The clearing represented the village and agricultural fields inhabited by friends and relatives. The forest and swamps were occupied by animals, supernaturals, and human enemies. While I think the general idea is useful, I question the validity of clumping the various beings the way Wallace does. For example, he classified supernaturals and Whites as "alternaturals" and suggests they were a single cognitive category for the Tuscarora.

In terms of Tuscarora political organization, and the structural poses that came into being on various occasions, Wallace's dichotomy, with less rigorous categorization, seems useful for understanding how village political organization dealt with other corporate groups. We can picture the clearing as being occupied by those thought of as "us." These were predominantly Tuscarora, and the inner core were lineage members, villagers of the same clan, other villagers, clansmen living elsewhere, other Tuscarora, or some similar set of concentric circles representing population sections deemed increasingly different and distant in terms of social interaction and similar ethnic identity. Beyond the circles representing people that were thought of as "us" and perhaps "like us" there were the /nua'kan/, whom Elias Johnson rendered in 1885 as "gentiles" or people other than the Iroquois or Tuscarora and we can think of as occupying the forests.¹³ That this kind of distinction, undoubtedly with different

criteria being cognitively employed, was present in Lawson's time is indicated by the fact that the Lower Tuscarora called one of their neighbors the Woccon. Linguistically the Woccon were of the Siouan family and had moved recently into the area of the Tuscarora.

The political power exerted by village council members was greatest in the central areas of their clearing, i.e., in their village. Here the authority of village councils was most often responded to with compliance. The shared values, overt cultural symbols, kinship and extended kinship ties found with other Tuscarora villages made an extension of the council, mutual aid, warfare and probably other structural poses a relatively simple and useful matter. Cooperation between villages was facilitated by their being for the most part, institutionally and ethnically the same. Representatives from several Tuscarora villages met in council to discuss common problems. These representatives were council members in their respective villages, and the structural poses assumed in village councils transferred with relative ease and applicability to inter-village situations. The power and authority of inter-village council members were weakened somewhat in terms of their local population's compliance because the decisions made still had to be considered by local village councils. The mechanisms of political organization became more complex, and power and authority were more diffuse.

On the basis of the historical evidence examined for an earlier study, my conclusion was that the existence of a politically organized tribe is doubtful and a Tuscarora Confederacy, which was suggested by previous authors, is out of the question.¹⁴ The alliances of the Upper and Lower Tuscarora villages, including other non-Tuscarora in each alliance, were probably the highest degree of governmental centralization that had existed. And these alliances seem to have been stimulated by the pressures of colonial-

ization.

The council pose was far from satisfactory for coping with problems stemming from interaction between the Tuscarora and the colonists. The colonists were, in terms of the clearing-forest dichotomy, the most distant concentric circle of nua'kan in the forest. The institutional and ethnic differences discussed in chapter 6 meant that no political or administrative interaction could prove fully satisfactory to either party. The Tuscarora were socially egalitarian, discussed matters at length in a council situation where everyone could speak. The colonists were socially stratified and expected one representative to do all the talking. For the Tuscarora the basis of power and authority rested with each village; the colonists thought in terms of power and authority resting with the King of England and his delegated representatives, i.e., governors and legislative bodies.

Post-War New York

After the 1711 to 1715 War, most Tuscarora went north and settled at the several locations discussed in chapters 2 and 3, primarily on the east branch of the Susquehanna River near Onoghoquaga and just south of Oneida Lake. It would be very interesting to know how well village members stayed together during emigration from North Carolina and their subsequent resettlement. Village names often translate as a geographical or botanical description, e.g., Ganatisgowa--"the very long town," Tiachsochratota--"place of white cedars," Tiochrungwe--"valley,"¹⁵ and therefore were probably changed readily when a new settlement was established. Once under the adoptive protection of the Five Nations the Tuscarora's initial status was that of an infant in the Longhouse. As infants they had no right to participate equally in the government of the Five Nations.

As suggested in chapter 7, however, it seems that successive resolutions passed in the Great Council brought them to the status of a peer having both voice and vote in Confederacy councils. In chapter 6, I suggested as a very real possibility the establishment of a new set of hereditary chiefs' titles for the Tuscarora, perhaps using the village chiefs, or the lineages and clans they represented as recipients. Although the historical documents often lack detailed information regarding structural changes which occurred as the Tuscarora adapted to their new environment, the persons and structural poses described for the earlier period can be used as bases for interpolating the kind of structural changes that may have taken place.

The council pose the Tuscarora brought north with them continued, with perhaps minor modifications, to serve them well at the village level. Gideon Hawley describes the continued importance of the council for decision-making no matter, as he expressed it, "how small . . . its consequence;" and, without council approval a public action was "of no Force."¹⁶ There is no reason to believe that village councils were any less representative than they had been in North Carolina. Some minor procedural changes were probably made, especially in villages such as Ganasaraga that were occupied by a large number of different ethnic groups.

The council pose was quite easily extended to the Great Councils of the Confederacy. There were differences, to be sure, but many basic expectations were shared and others were soon understood. The attitude of the Five Nations toward individuals and groups they adopted was probably as significant as the general institutional and structural pose similarities that existed. Many individuals who were captured in warfare were adopted to replace family members who had died. Such persons had an opportunity to become chiefs and distinguished leaders, and in fact did in

several well-documented instances.¹⁷ The willingness of the Five Nations to regard as unimportant the cultural differences of those adopted and their desire to incorporate more people facilitated the smooth adaptation of newcomers to life in the Longhouse. In 1885, Elias Johnson translated nua'kan as people other than the Iroquois or Tuscarora. This inclusion by the Tuscarora of the Five Nations as part of "us" was a gradual process governmentally as well as ethnically, as the "clearing" was expanded to include in a new set of concentric circles the various segments of Five Nations populations.

On a highly speculative, inferential level of analysis, I would suggest that the mutual aid pose described for pre-1711 North Carolina communities, became less distinct from the pose of daily activities. The settlement pattern of Tuscarora villages by the 1750's was more compact than it had been fifty years earlier in North Carolina. This brought households closer together and probably increased the interaction of people unrelated by kinship. The winter hunting-quarter pattern was gone, but hunting parties were often made up of unrelated males and included members of different ethnic groups that lived near one another or together in a village. The close sense of community that had existed before 1711 in the two- or three-house hamlets was extended to the entire village and the mutual aid pose probably became the ideal norm for village social relations and governmental administration.

Most of the persons important for the North Carolina political organization were still perceived in similar ways in New York. Village chiefs were still not able to demand anything of their people, and seemingly still had no special privileges. Chiefs and other council members alike used persuasion for the administration of their decisions. A village chief of Cautaurót, the Tuscarora settlement just north of Onoghoquaga, was said by Hawley to have been burned

to death in a fire drive being conducted with the men of his village, which suggests his equal standing in the community.¹⁸ Tuscarora village chiefs and even those with hereditary titles who sat in the Great Council went to war.¹⁹ This was not to be done, according to the accepted practice of the Confederacy, but even here a title could legally be laid aside, permitting a chief to go out as a common warrior. Samuel Kirkland, describing the Christian revival that took place at Ganasaraga late in 1769 as a result of one individual's dream, remarked on the opposition of the village chief who although not named, was probably Sakwarithra. In February 1770 Kirkland brushed the opposition of the chief aside by saying "his influence is not great." The chief was able to gather personal support, however, because Kirkland wrote in April that "the Tuscarorer Sachem and his party have not yet overthrown the faith of any here [Ganowarohare], tho' it for awhile shook some."²⁰

The other persons important for village political organization in North Carolina had roughly equivalent counterparts after 1750 in New York, often with different names used for them by the colonists and probably the Tuscarora. The elders were called head men or village council chiefs as opposed to old men or ancient men in North Carolina. Their expected roles were about the same, but, as we shall see later, their influence began to erode significantly, especially during the American Revolution. Shamans found their influence on the decline as Christianity made ideological inroads. Again evidence is poor, but my impression is that the shamans made a gradual but occasionally stormy adjustment in their status and roles away from the magico-religious sphere toward new positions as predominantly medical practitioners or herbalists. This had always been part of their job, but by the early nineteenth century that was their predominant role, and herbalists are still prominent today among the New York Tuscarora. This shift

toward specialization may have made the shaman a person with much less significance in Tuscarora political organization.

The festival cycle was still intact during Hawley's stay at Onoghoquaga. On April 30, 1754, during his first spring with the Tuscarora and Oneida, he noted in his journal that a shaman at Cautaurot was telling the people it "was now near planting time & the Indians . . . must make a feast and pray to God for his Blessing . . . if they did not the Corn would certainly be destroyed by the frost."²¹ In this way the shaman invoked public concern about their crop and through ceremonial participation mobilized a work force for preparing fields and planting.

War chiefs and warriors were no less significant in New York than they had been in North Carolina for carrying out the decisions of the village councils with regard to declarations of war. Politically, they seem to have become increasingly powerful both in and out of council. This was a trend in all of the Six Nations which eventually led to a breakdown in civil authority of the elders or council chiefs and title-holding chiefs. Conrad Weiser, writing in 1744, portrays the apparently fragile balance of power that existed in the Six Nations. His description also provides good insights about the roles and nature of the interaction between chiefs and warriors.

Their Form of Government, is a Council of their oldest and wisest Men, who have been great Warriors: Everyone of the Six Nations have such a Council, in which all Matters relating to that Nature, are determin'd. And if it is of great Moment, they consult, their young Warriours, and the Business is debated with great Deliberation. In Foreign Affairs, which relate to the Union in general, every one of the Six Nations send Deputies out of their Council, to a General Council; and this General Council, as well as the Particular Ones, consult the young Warriours, and have their Concurrence, before any Matter of great Consequence is determined. All their

Debates in Council, are manag'd with great Decency and Deliberation; and the Resolution is imprinted in the Memory of One chosen from among them, of great Reputation and Elocution, who is appointed to speak in Publick. He is assisted by a Prompter, who puts him in Mind of any Thing he forgets. They have no coercive Power over their young Warriours; they can only persuade and admonish.²²

Weiser knew a lot about the Six Nations political organization although he fails to mention the political role of women, especially that of senior clan matrons.

The importance of clan matrons could not be confirmed for the pre-1711 period, but after 1750 there are several references, relating specifically to the Tuscarora, that allude to their importance to village and Confederacy political organization. In December 1755 several representatives were sent to Albany from one or more of the Tuscarora villages near Oneida Lake. Their speaker delivered the following message:

We are disnatched by the Warriors & Women of the Tuscarore Nation to acquaint you that our Nation apprehend themselves to be in imminent Danger having received Intelligence that a French Army is designed again[st] us to cut us off. . . . We apply our selves to you for assistance in this our Distress. . . . Our chief Women join in this Application & desired us to tell you that we Warriors are sprung from & are apart of themselves.²³

The fact that this message came from the warriors and women suggests the village or inter-village chiefs' council was by-passed, or perhaps since the nature of the assistance being requested was military the warriors were given the responsibility of petitioning the English themselves. Whatever the reason for this unusual approach, the association of the women with the request, and especially the "chief Women," who were probably the senior clan matrons, suggests some direct involvement in the political

organization.

A message sent from the Cherokee women to the women of the Six Nations in 1758 indicates the responsibility of women to care and provide for warriors.²⁴ Without the assistance of providing pounded parched corn, foot gear, and other necessities made by women, warriors could never go out to war successfully. Yet there was more to the women's role than this material domestic involvement. In September 1763, Thomas King, an Oneida war chief who lived at Onoghoquaga, told Sir William Johnson that the Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, and others of eight villages in the area had resolved to stay in their settlements and promote peace. Part of his message was as follows:

Brother--By this Belt we Acquaint you that we have Spoke to all our Women to use thire [their] Indeavers wth all ye young Men to preserve y^e paice [peace] & keep thire Sons & Husbands att home that None of them May Stragell towards ohio & y^e Lackes [Great Lakes] & hope they will be able to be of Some Service that way as they have a Good Dale [deal] to Say in our Nations.²⁵

When in December of the same year the English were having trouble with the Delaware and other pro-French Indians, the Tuscarora of Caunoiyangarotne (just south of Onoghoquaga) decided to offer Johnson their assistance. Kanigot was their speaker. Note especially the speech given by him on behalf of the women to their "Friends & Relations."

We are come to Assure You of our determined resolution, taken on the most serious deliberation of our Sachims, Chiefs, Warriors, Women & even Children; to Join [you] & assist You in bringing them [the Delaware] to reason, by a proper punishment and now we are at your disposal. . . . A Black Belt from the Cheif Women to y^e Sachims & Warriors on their declareing their resolutions.-- Brethren, Freinds & Relations--We the Women of Tuscarora Town do now with the utmost pleasure return You thanks for, and highly commend the part you have

determined to act in the present Quarrel . . . it is what we wished You to do, . . . we will afford You all the Assistance in y^e power of Women towards so good an End. . . . We have now only to recommend to You all a Valliant & Steady conduct in Action, as well as in Council, and we shall not fail in y^r absence, or in case of Death, to instill y^e principles you are now to act upon into the minds of your Children, so that they may always follow y^r Example.²⁶

The opinions of the women were not just tolerated, but seem to have been sought by chiefs and warriors alike because without the support of the women little could be accomplished.

A title-holding chief was raised up after nomination by the women of the clan. If he failed to do his job properly, impeachment proceedings or "dehorning" were instituted by the women. Women had a powerful interpersonal control over the warriors, and chiefs knew full well that political and administrative success was often based on how satisfied the matrons of the village were with their behavior. The women, especially the senior clan matrons of a village, must be considered as political persons of great importance. A final example is provided by Samuel Kirkland. During a Great Council meeting at Onondaga in 1774, the council formally censured the Cayuga for allowing their warriors to go out before the Confederacy had determined a policy. Kirkland remarks on the wisdom of the "governesses or she-sachems" who, through their speaker, lectured the council members on the subject.²⁷

I have discussed what happened to the council and mutual aid poses described for the Tuscarora prior to 1711. Given the changes in settlement pattern, in the mutual aid pose, and the other adjustments of social institutions to participation in the Iroquois Confederacy, we might expect new structural poses or ones not observable in the historical record earlier to have emerged. What I will call a clan

pose is probably a little bit of both. Historical evidence concerning residence patterns and other classificatory criteria are confusing, so I will use clan here in a general way to mean a unilineal, in this case matrilineal, kinship group that maintains the fictional belief in a common "genetic" descent. In the case of the Tuscarora we are not even sure how many clans there were during the eighteenth century or earlier. Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Eel, and Snipe were commonly given by late nineteenth century informants. Variations included divisions such as Large Turtle, Small Turtle and Gray Wolf, Yellow Wolf.²⁸

It seems from the scant evidence available that more than one clan, but not necessarily and perhaps rarely were all the clans represented in a village. The relatively compact settlement pattern brought members of various households and clans into closer proximity. This new settlement pattern was a product of colonial influence. Year after year, beginning as early as 1742, at conferences with colonial officials the Six Nations were urged to have their settlements close together for better security.²⁹ Gunsmiths, blacksmiths, gristmills, oxen, and plows became available at certain villages only. These and other factors brought households closer together. The gradual extension of the mutual aid pose to the point where it predominated in daily activities was mentioned earlier. Much of an individual's activity was spent with his or her clan identity relegated to a minor place. Instead, an individual functioned in terms of household and village identity a greater part of the time. On some occasions, however, clan identity became prominently important. Many of these occasions were of negligible governmental importance--for example, marriage and burial--but others were significant. An unnatural death brought clan awareness to the forefront in a way that was significant for social control. A death could be compensated by a gift in the form of payment or service

to the bereaved family. In such cases the entire clan of the person responsible for the death, or at least the local segment of the clan, helped to raise the necessary payment. When the circumstances of the death justified revenge, the clan members shared this responsibility.³⁰

The clan pose seems to have been prominent enough in some Six Nations communities so that clans were sufficiently coordinated to be described as corporate groups. Under such circumstances the organization of warfare may in part have been along clan lines. Thomas Butler wrote from an Oneida village in 1757 that "the Wolf tribe [clan] of this Castle Seems to act Contrary to the others they often reflect on [influence?] Each other. Goweaha is Still among the French who is the head fighter of his tribe [clan] here [and I] belive the Others will do nothing without him."³¹ Several years later, in January 1764, Sir William Johnson convinced a number of Oneida and Tuscarora from the Oneida Lake area to take up the war belt to aid the English against the Delaware and Shawnee. It would appear, since "tribe" was usually used in a way that is roughly equivalent to our term clan that the clan pose was involved. "The Oneida Speaker first begun his Dance, and every Tribe [clan?] did the same." They spent the next three days in preparation and then "delivered in their Numbers by a Parcel of red painted Sticks from every Tribe."³² Lewis H. Morgan makes no mention of clan organization entering into the activities of war. He does say that a war chief rallied followers in a village by beginning a war dance and warriors indicated their intention to follow him by joining the dance. It seems probable that on at least some occasions these war parties were organized in the name of clan membership. Clansmen were expected to support one another, and what better way than to join in a common war effort?

Whether or not the clan segments of villages can be described as corporate groups, they did function as such on

various occasions. Clan members, men and women as well as women alone, apparently met in council at various times. The clan and more specifically lineage matrons had the important responsibility of nominating men for vacant chiefs' titles. Their influence over the warriors has already been noted and, with the probable significance of the clan pose for warfare, clanswomen may have been more firmly organized during times of war, in council and out, for their socio-psychological and material supportive roles.

In July 1762, Augus Kanigot dictated a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania. Kanigot was a Tuscarora chief who lived at Caunoiyangarotne. Part of his letter suggests the corporate nature of the clan. "I, the Beaver Augus, [a] Chief of the Nation . . . with my whole Tribe [clan?] have ever been for peace with the English Colonies in America."³³ When the United States in 1785 was trying to buy most of the lands that prior to the Revolutionary War had been occupied and used for unting by the Oneida and Tuscarora, they were given an offer to which the three Oneida clans and three Tuscarora clans had agreed.³⁴ The Tuscarora involved were the fifty or sixty that had been actively pro-American and were settled on Oneida Creek. Either they had only three clans represented among them or the number given was merely symbolic. Which ever was the case, it seems to indicate at least sporadic political significance of the clans. On many different occasions, of which the above list is not exhaustive, the structural clan pose was an important part of the village, inter-village, and Confederacy political organization. When segmentation of village unity was useful or even necessary for political activities, warfare preparation, or revenge, clan identities and organizations served these these purposes well.

The Changing Nature of Social Control

Throughout this discussion of Tuscarora political organization, the topic of social control has been mentioned

but not specifically dealt with in a systematic manner. The ideas of Siegfried Nadel concerning regulative institutions seem useful for discussing the means by which governmental administration was effectively conducted and community disagreements contained or settled. Nadel suggests two basic categories for social institutions, operative and regulative, but emphasizes there is no sharp line between them. The institutions shared by any social grouping vary in the extent to which they are operative and regulative. He defines an operative institution as one that "achieves its task within itself and so, in a relatively self-contained fashion, renders its specific 'service.'" For examples that are predominantly operative he suggests somatic (i.e., institutions that bear specifically on the facts of physical existence such as age, sex, bodily function, health), economic, and recreational institutions. "The regulative institution bears upon the operation of other institutions; it achieves its purpose or task in enabling the purpose and task of other institutions to be achieved." Kinship, legal, political, educational, and religious institutions are those to which Nadel attributes in descending order some degrees of regulative effects. These effects, according to Nadel, may take different general forms: threats of sanction, positive inducements, instruction, and a subtle form that he calls "dramatization," which is the demonstration of desired behavior in the expression of ceremony.³⁵

In the context of Tuscarora village political organization the regulative effect of social institutions was determined by the structural pose that was prominent at a given time. Prior to 1711 when the mutual aid pose was appropriate, for example, when an individual or family suffered severe losses, communal work needed to be done, or the village moved into their winter hunting quarter, the regulative effects of kinship were extended by the use of

religious ceremony, subtle threats given in speeches by elders, the example of village members, and other primarily non-kinship behavior. Taking a post-1750 example, we can consider an occasion, such as clan revenge for a murder, as being behaviorally dominated by a clan pose. The expectations of responsibility to fellow clansmen become extremely significant for the behavior of the individuals involved.

We can also apply the previously introduced forest-clearing distinction to the realm of social control. The Tuscarora of a village treated all those they thought of as "us" differently from the nua'kan. Within the category "us" were nuclear family, lineage members, local clansmen, unrelated villagers and, after several generations in New York, seven other members of the Confederacy were thought of as "us" by some Tuscarora. These different categories of persons were not all understood in the same way. I suggested earlier that concentric circles of social distance were probably perceived by individuals, and that these probably fell into various patterns. Feelings of responsibility to aid different persons were determined by the nature of the relationship and the structural pose in operation. When it came to appropriate expressions of aggression, however, these gradations were no longer needed. In the context of a given situation, all those thought of as part of "us" were off limits as focuses for hostility. Tuscarora and Iroquois enculturation in general included strong sanctions against misplaced aggression. Lawson wrote that "they never fight with one another unless drunk, nor do you ever hear any Scolding amongst them. They say the Europeans are always rangling and uneasy, and wonder they do not go out of their world, since they are so uneasy and discontented in it."³⁶ Children directed their hostility toward animals or inanimate objects; men went hunting and to war; women participated in the war dances and tortured prisoners, but physical or even verbal outbursts of

aggression exhibited inappropriately were quietly but sternly reprov'd. The general effectiveness of the sanction against internally directed aggression was what kept the Six Nations from feuding, but it was not balanced by an equally effective means of regulation to promote unity of action above the village level of political organization. As a result marginal villages and people did as they pleased, as long as they did not overtly threaten the Confederacy.

This brings us to the matter of how internal village conflict was resolved. Councils composed of the opposing parties were organized to handle differences. Samuel Kirkland often found himself acting as a moderator on such occasions, but the extent to which this pattern was successfully employed outside of mission situations cannot be determined. Aggression shown by someone under the influence of alcohol was brushed aside, the individual was not held responsible, and the beverage was given the blame. Witch accusations increased along with White domination and they probably served as an approved way to vent aggression when other means were no longer possible.

Violent take-overs were non-existent. Such actions would have violated too many values that were firmly held by the Tuscarora. Conflicts that continued to boil under the apparently placid surface of village life eventually led, in some situations, to the movement of dissatisfied families, either to existing villages or to establish new ones. The drastic decline in the North Carolina reservation population can in part be attributed to the emigration of families that were unhappy with the colonially imposed leadership of Tom Blount. Individuals unhappy with the French influence in the Oneida Lake area villages sometimes moved to the Susquehanna River settlements. Some Christian Tuscarora left their villages to live in isolation or be closer to mission activities. During the American Revolution Sakwarithra and some of his followers readily left

Ganasaraga because of their active pro-English stance. The dissatisfaction of Handsome Lake adherents motivated them to leave the predominantly Christian New York Tuscarora reservation in 1820 and go to Grand River.

One common thread running through all these examples is that colonial intervention of one kind or another stimulated the conflict that led to the movement of village segments.³⁷ The disruptive influence of Euro-american interaction with the Tuscarora can be seen in the emigrations that took place, but the final movement of people was only the tip of the iceberg. By looking at the roles of village chiefs and warriors, we can perhaps understand what was happening more fully. The opinions of warriors were, as Weiser indicated in 1744, given a great deal of weight by village, inter-village, and Confederacy councils. In 1767, Sir William Johnson explained in a letter the importance of having warriors present for colonial conferences with the Six Nations. "Should I send for a few Chiefs of each Nation only, they would according to custom say 'We are not all here, our Warriors must also be consulted, we must therefore go to our respective Castles, assemble them all, and consider on it.'"³⁸ The same was true at Onondaga. In May 1773 when the Great Council convened, Kirkland reported that about 200 chiefs and warriors had gathered.³⁹ Some degree of political balance between the predominantly civil and military segments probably existed from protohistorical times. Colonial involvement destroyed this balance.

Warriors and war chiefs began to act on their own, without the authority of the civil chiefs. I see as one of the major reasons for this change the fact that colonial officials blatantly ignored Tuscarora and Six Nations governmental authority. In their eagerness to get their military assistance, both French and English officials plied warriors with gifts, money, and rum. Since, for the

Iroquois, warfare served the important function of providing an approved channel for aggression, warriors soon became increasingly willing to ignore the decisions of the civil chiefs. In some cases this may simply have been due to the ignorance of colonial officials about appropriate procedures, but, for the most part, it represented blind opportunism. Recognizing the problem, the village chiefs of Onoghoquaga asked Sir William Johnson not to deal with anyone except those authorized by their council. To be more certain that this would be observed, the chiefs asked for a document that they could send with the authorized representatives. Johnson was not supposed to listen to or negotiate with anyone unless they had the letter. As warriors became more independent of village control, civil chiefs began to leave them out of their councils. The breach was widened as a result. In July 1770 Thomas King, speaking for the warriors of the Six Nations, provides an example.

Brother.--I take this Opportunity on behalf of all the Warriors of the Six Nations, and their Confederates now Assembled . . . to let you know that we are not well pleased with Our Sachems for neglecting to Acquaint us with what they proposed to Say this morning, and for not giving you Our particular thanks for Calling and Meeting us this Day, as the Occasion of this Assembly is primarily on our accounts.⁴⁰

Similar sentiments are expressed in the following statement made in 1776 by "Peter Chief Warrior of the Oneida" for the warriors and war chiefs of the Tuscarora, Onoghoquaga, and Ganasaraga.

We warriors never say much but speak our Minds at-once-- . . . Our [civil] Chiefs speak a great Deal. . . . They are acquainted with and often quote the Institutions of the Antients. We desired our Chiefs to speak for themselves only and that we want to speak for ourselves.⁴¹

The influence of the women on warriors that was discussed

earlier perhaps had eroded to some extent, or it could be that the women were also to some extent at odds with the civil chiefs.

The village chief, other council members, and warriors seem to have been caught between the changing expectations of their own people and the pressures of colonial officials. Sakwarithra found many of the people of Ganasaraga opposing him in 1770 because of his stand against Christianity. After 1800, when he became a Christian, a segment of the reservation population near Niagara who were "Pagans" opposed him because he was a Christian. Kanigot was either a village chief who often set his position aside to lead a war party, or he may have been a capable speaker and for that reason appears often in the literature. At any rate, the following statement he made to Sir William Johnson is especially interesting for the insights it provides concerning the clash of his roles.

Brother & Friend--You know I have from my first acquaintance with you always accompanied you ag^t the Enemy, and we were always successfull, I have really the greatest regard for you, and this has created me enemies among my own People, and they carry their Jealousy so far as to endanger my life often, particularly when they get drunk, so that I beg you will interpose, and tell me whether my Intentions are right, or not--viz^t to give up all business as a Chief, or Councillor, and not to meddle with any Council business, or to quit drinking, or both. I request y^r Advice in in this affair, as it concerns me much.⁴²

Johnson's answer is exactly what we might expect. He commends Kanigot on his service, expresses surprise that the people of his village could be so blind, tells him to refrain from liquor and encourages him to continue in his service to the King which, according to Johnson, would be the best thing he could do for his people.⁴³ A twentieth century public relations writer could not have done better.

Tuscarora village political organization changed. Some persons important to village political organization in 1700 were not important in 1800, such as the shaman; other persons were redefined or renamed, and the role expectations of all were changed. The impetuses for these changes originated in contacts with both Whites and Indians. Basic adjustments were made in the social configurations or structural poses that were employed by the Tuscarora for political and administrative activities. While the orientation has been that of the village, since the village was the focus of most activities, some attempt has been made to show how inter-village, village-Confederacy and village-Euroamerican relations were perceived and conducted. No attempt has been made to integrate the North Carolina reservation political organization into the discussion for two reasons. First, too little is known about the nature of social relationships on the reservation. Equally important is the fact that nothing is known about the political influence the later North Carolina emigrants had after arriving in the north. The beginnings of the modern reservation period in New York and Ontario will be analyzed below. They deserve a more detailed analysis because change was so drastic due to the unique impetuses that brought the reservation period into being: the American Revolution, the collapse of the Confederacy, and the expansion of the Euroamerican frontier.

A Tuscarora "Tribe": Figment or Fact?

The previous section of this chapter was concerned with Tuscarora political organization from the perspective of the individual village. The significance of this level of political organization has been ignored in the literature concerning the Tuscarora. The assumption made is that after

what has erroneously been called a Tuscarora Confederacy was disintegrated by the 1711 to 1715 War, groups trudged north, where they remained for a while in a relatively disorganized state but during the eighteenth century achieved some kind of unified tribal political organization as members of the Six Nations Confederacy.⁴⁴ One published variation of the final phase of this governmental chronology is treated in an extremely problematic manner.

Landy uses tribe to mean "a group or society with a common territory, common traditions, and common values and interests."⁴⁵ This is a widely held non-governmental meaning for the term tribe, and has been used consistently in this manner by some anthropologists. Confusion enters the picture when Landy then goes into a discussion of the Tuscarora government, the Tuscarora position in the Iroquois Confederacy, Tuscarora political institutions, and other factors of political organization without ever telling his reader what the unit of analysis is. Since he talks about the Tuscarora chiefs' council as a "tribal council," we have to assume he is now using tribe to mean a form of government.

Two questions need to be raised. Was there, during the time covered by this study, a Tuscarora tribal political organization in existence? If there were, then what were the boundaries or who were the members of the tribe? As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, in North Carolina prior to 1711, Tuscarora villages were the most inclusive corporate groups, they were independent sovereignties. Alliances of villages came and went, but an enduring tribal political organization probably did not exist. The ethnic identity of the Tuscarora provided the kind of commonalities that facilitated the occasional cooperation of villages and alliances. But other ethnic groups also participated in these alliances, and at times the jural community extended well beyond the Tuscarora ethnic boundary.

The situation in New York appears ever so much more complex, but it is very possible that the apparent increase in complexity is only a reflection of more complete data. Certainly the Tuscarora found themselves in very different physical and sociopolitical environments. Once more there is no question about the corporate nature of the Tuscarora villages; however, not everything was simple and clearcut. Ganasaraga was occupied by both Tuscarora and Onondaga. Inconsistent residence patterns and some degree of inter-ethnic marriage occurred both at Ganasaraga and in the Onoghoquaga area. In addition, some individuals were apparently independent of all villages.

Assuming momentarily that a single Tuscarora political organization existed in 1770, who would have been a part of it? By 1770 most of the Tuscarora who emigrated from North Carolina had arrived in New York. Sufficient time had elapsed for the independent spirit of corporate villages to have been overcome and a functioning tribal polity established. But this was not, in fact, the case. The evidence discussed in chapters 3 and 4 tells a story of villages being differentially involved in Confederacy affairs and acting independently of one another in their relations with the English. The villages of several ethnic groups on the east branch of the Susquehanna, including at least some of the Tuscarora settlements, formed their own political alliance apart from the Six Nations Confederacy. In September 1763, several representatives for this alliance went to Philadelphia to speak with the Governor of Pennsylvania.

Brother: I am now going to deliver a Message from Indians of several different Nations, as follows: The Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Delawares, and Munseys, living at Onohoquagey. Nanticokes, and Conoys, Onondagoes, & Mohickons, at Chenango. Cayugues & Munsies, at Chokenote. And a few Shawanese, at Awaigah.
Brother, Listen us to Us: All these Nations . . . speak now as one Man.

They have appointed the Nanticoke King to speak in behalf of them all. Brother: We have been counselling twelve days in the Nanticoke Town, and have joined together so as to make one.⁴⁶

Other references indicate this alliance, or similar ones formed by some of the villages more fully involved as members of the younger moiety of the League, came and went as the political climate changed.⁴⁷ It may have been that the Tuscarora villages in New York all participated in a tribal political organization. If they did, it was very ineffective. I think the various kinds of political activity in which the Tuscarora villages were involved can best be conceptualized not by assuming the existence of an ethnically inclusive tribal polity which was beset with division, but instead by assuming that only some or even perhaps none of the Tuscarora villages participated in a tribal political organization. If a Tuscarora tribal polity existed, I suggest it was made up of both homogeneously Tuscarora and ethnically mixed villages in the Oneida Lake area. More than one political tribe that was predominantly Tuscarora in terms of ethnic identity may have been present, and some villages, especially those on the Susquehanna River, probably remained sovereignly independent.

The ideal structure of the Confederacy presented at the beginning of this chapter becomes highly questionable at this point. It is an unstated assumption that villages were ethnically homogeneous. The Tuscarora, Oneida, or any of the other members of the Confederacy had a certain number of villages. Each of these had a council of elders and chiefs. Each village council sent representatives to their tribal council. The titled chiefs were involved at both levels, and they went to the Great Council with a few pine-tree chiefs and war chiefs. Ethnic continuity is assumed right down the line. But, as we have seen, many villages were ethnically heterogeneous. Does that mean the each ethnic enclave had its own village-level council apart from

the general village councils and clan councils we have discussed? I do not believe so.

As a tentative hypothesis, I suggest that the Iroquois Confederacy was not a true confederacy of three governmental tiers (local, tribal, confederacy),⁴⁸ but, instead, an ethnically heterogeneous politically organized "tribe." I realize that ethnic homogeneity (characterized in part by common language and cultural distinctiveness) is usually part of the definition of tribe, but, as Morton Fried has suggested, that ideal rarely if ever existed.⁴⁹ Anthony F. C. Wallace has, in fact, been willing to reverse himself recently with regard to the Six Nations in general, and admit that what has been called a "tribe was essentially not a political organization but a group of villages that spoke the same language."⁵⁰ As I indicated, even this degree of homogeneity was often not present. In spite of a half step in the right direction, Wallace goes on to use the same poorly defined jargon that has always been associated with the Iroquois. I have, with some discomfort, used these terms myself in this study because of the powerful precedent that exists and the fact that my primary focus is on the Tuscarora and not the Iroquois in general. To suggest that the League of the Iroquois was not a "kinship state," not a confederacy of politically organized tribes, or not a league of nations, is to challenge a beloved part of anthropological tradition and literature. But I think the possibility needs to be seriously entertained. We are encumbered with the conceptual patterns established by people like Conrad Weiser and Sir William Johnson in the mid-eighteenth century and still used, but poorly understood and not defined, by anthropologists of the twentieth century. We need to break away from the ideal patterns presently assumed, look long and hard at the primary source materials, and determine more carefully the changing reality of Six Nations' political organization.

Returning specifically to the Tuscarora, it is my opinion that the political organization observed by anthropologists on the New York reservation near Niagara has been viewed as a survival of a "traditional" tribal polity. It would be more realistic to view the nineteenth and twentieth century reservation government as a recent adaptive response to the organizational collapse of the Six Nations and the steady advance of the White frontier that were precipitated by the American Revolution.

In chapters 4 and 5 the historical development of what we might call a reservation tribe was outlined. Remnants of Tuscarora villages that had been pro-British settled in the area of the present reservation early in the 1780's. Among these were probably Sakwarithra and his followers. Other Tuscarora who had lived on the Genesee River until 1791 settled near the first group but established their own village. Over the next few years these groups merged into one compact village. In 1794 at the treaty conference of Canandiagua only one chief, Sakwarithra, was sent to represent these Tuscarora. Nicholas Cusick was present to represent the Tuscarora living on Oneida Creek. This latter village moved to the reservation near Niagara by 1802 after Sakwarithra's conversion to Christianity, apparently feeling their own religious ideological orientation had sufficient representation. The final major population input came in 1803 when North Carolina reservation lands were sold and the Tuscarora living there were brought north. The Grand River Tuscarora community was composed primarily of former members of the village on the Genesee and those religious traditionalists who left the New York reservation in 1820.

These two settlements, one in Canada and the other in the United States, served the Tuscarora ethnic group as protective enclaves. Some Tuscarora lived on several of the Seneca reservations and undoubtedly a few others were

more fully involved in the dominant White sectors of the frontier plural society. As Euroamerican settlements grew to towns and cities and the economy was increasingly dominated by their White inhabitants and their surrounding White farmers, off-reservation life became increasingly unpleasant and difficult. It was under these kinds of pressures that the two reservation political organizations developed after 1790. A strong pride in a partially fictional and partially real historical past grew up. Ethnic identity, with new or reinterpreted symbols and values, became increasingly important. Landy very appropriately identifies the chiefs' council as a significant cultural symbol that even today is important to New York Tuscarora identity. But the chiefs' council established on the New York reservation was part of this reservation development.

The hereditary titles of Tuscarora chiefs recorded late in the nineteenth century have not turned up in the historical literature, with the exception of Sakwarithra and several other questionable candidates. The titled chiefs were not always prominent in colonial spheres and were probably scattered throughout the different villages. Although the historical literature is filled with references to village and Confederacy councils, tribal councils are not mentioned. Inter-village councils of those living close to one another met occasionally, but the formal gathering of representatives from "all" the Tuscarora of known settlements in New York must have been rare, discretely held, or non-existent. Negative historical evidence is not good evidence, but I tend to think tribal councils were non-existent, except in the context of the Six Nations councils. If all the titled chiefs met at other times the occasions must have been unusual. On the New York reservation after 1800 many of the lineages and all or most of the clans possessing chiefs' titles were present. The reservation settlement, with a population of about 300, was in many ways

structurally similar to pre-Revolutionary War villages, but the reservation "village" council was not like that of earlier villages. Far more title-holding chiefs were members. There seem to have been nine titles during the early reservation period. As the confusing lists of chiefs recorded later in the nineteenth century in Canada and the United States seem to indicate (see Appendix B), some titles were filled by a different man at each reservation, and, over time, other hereditary titles were added and still others were moved from one clan to another. Reservation tribal councils were village councils, in the sense that they had very mundane, local kinds of problems with which to deal and they met often. It is, I believe useful to emphasize the importance of a council pose that changed through time and was adapted to various situations. To speak, however, of some undefined thing called a traditional tribal "Chiefs' Council" that at various times in Tuscarora history "fell into disuse, perhaps even disrepute,"⁵¹ is inaccurate because it conveys the idea that an unchanging social institution came down through time being used occasionally and not at other times. Besides being erroneous, such a statement covers significant variability in terms of the different kinds of Tuscarora councils that existed and the way they changed.

What shall we call the reservation political organization that developed after 1790 in New York? One writer has suggested recently that "tribe" be used for the Tyendinaga Mohawk.⁵² Following this system we can designate, for example, a New York Tuscarora tribe, a Tonowanda Seneca tribe, and a St. Regis Mohawk tribe. Since I prefer to use "tribe" for a unit of political organization, the Tuscarora at Grand River could not be called a tribe. They are a part of the broader Six Nations polity of the reservation and have no functioning council of their own.

Each of the others mentioned has tribal political organizations. Ethnically these tribes are not homogeneous. The New York Tuscarora as an ethnic group distinguish themselves from the Shawnee, Onondaga, and other elements on the reservation. The Shawnee had chiefs representing them in council at the turn of this century, the others were able to present petitions but had no direct vote.⁵³ These social categories of ethnic identity have been maintained through an enduring concern over being able to genealogically justify one's claimed ethnic and clan identity. The villages that contributed parts of their population to the early reservation community had been basically independent corporate groups. The tribal reservation political organization was an adaptive construct, not unlike, in principle, the Makah, Seminole, Cherokee, and others that have been described by anthropologists. It may be, as both A. L. Kroeber and Morton Fried have suggested, that what we have come to describe in anthropology as tribes are in most cases groups whose existences have been stimulated by colonialization.⁵⁴

A problem, then, that I believe exists in native American studies is that too often late colonial contact or reservation sociocultural features that appear "traditional," are projected carelessly back in time and assumed to be protohistoric. That kind of assumption can never be made legitimately, and the statements made by some anthropologists about Tuscarora political organization are no exception.

Chapter VIII

Footnotes

1. Smith, "Political Organization," p. 194.
2. Gearing, Priests and Warriors, p. 7.
3. Boyce, "Notes on Tuscarora Political Organization," pp. 13-24, 43-56; idem, "Tuscarora Confederacy."
4. Lawson, History of North Carolina, p. 207.
5. Todd, Graffenried's Account, p. 266.
6. Lawson, History of North Carolina, p. 210.
7. Ibid., pp. 206-207.
8. Brock, Letters of Spotswood, 1:96.
9. Raymond D. Fogelson and Paul Kutsche, "Cherokee Economic Cooperatives: The Gadugi," in Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, eds. William N. Fenton and John Gulick, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 180 (Washington, D.C., 1961), pp. 83-123.
10. Lawson, History of North Carolina, pp. 188-189.
11. Ibid., p. 188.
12. Wallace, Personality of the Tuscarora, pp. 25-30.
13. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers.
14. See especially Boyce, "Tuscarora Confederacy."
15. Beauchamp, Aboriginal Place Names, p. 115.
16. Journal of Gideon Hawley, December 1756, Gideon Hawley Papers.
17. For example, Clear Sky, an Onondaga chief was a Cherokee who had been captured by an Iroquois war party and later adopted ("Indians. Notes for M^r Duponceau. Language," 1794, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62).
18. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.

19. Hawley to Andrew Eliot, 25 November 1755, Gideon Hawley Papers; Sakwarithra is perhaps the best example, and possibly Augus Kanigot who will be discussed below.
20. Kirkland to Eleazar Wheelock, 15 February 1770, and Kirkland to Wheelock, 25 April 1771, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
21. Journal of Gideon Hawley, January to May 1754, Gideon Hawley Papers.
22. Weiser, "Account of the Six Nations," pp. 667-668.
23. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 2:384.
24. Ibid., 9:950.
25. Ibid., 10:647.
26. Ibid., p. 947.
27. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1774, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
28. Hewitt, "Tuscarora," p. 849.
29. O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 6:217.
30. "Proceedings at a Treaty with the Six Nations . . .," July 1770, Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 95; J. N. B. Hewitt, "Clan and Gens," in Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, 2 vols., Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 30 (Washington, D.C., 1907-1910), 1:304.
31. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 2:699.
32. Ibid., 11:33.
33. Hazard, Provincial Council, 8:722.
34. Proceedings of the Fort Herkimer Conference, June 1785, O'Rielly Collection.
35. S. F. Nadel, Foundations of Social Anthropology (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 135-137.
36. Lawson, History of North Carolina, p. 189.

37. This does not mean that village segments moved only in response to conflict caused by Euroamericans. Warfare, internal village conflict, starvation, and other factors stimulated prehistoric and protohistoric movements as well. For example see Wallace and Reyburn, "Migration Legend of the Tuscarora," pp. 42-47.
38. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:256-257.
39. Journal of Samuel Kirkland, 1772-1773, Samuel Kirkland Papers.
40. "Proceedings at a Treaty with the Six Nations . . .," July 1770, Gage Papers, American Series, vol. 95.
41. "Peter . . . to the Commissioners . . .," August 1776, Schuyler Papers, Box 13.
42. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 12:274.
43. Ibid., pp. 275-276.
44. Wallace, Tuscarora Personality, pp. 14-15.
45. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 251.
46. Hazard, Provincial Council, 9:46.
47. O'Callaghan, Documents of New-York, 6:988; Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 3:547; Ibid., 9:706, 934-935; Ibid., 10:635.
48. Wallace, "Political Organization," pp. 305-306.
49. Morton Fried, "On the Concepts of 'Tribe' and 'Tribal Society,'" in Essays on the Problem of Tribe, ed. June Helm, Proceedings of the American Ethnological Society for 1967 (Seattle, 1968), pp. 13-14.
50. Wallace, Seneca, p. 40; for his earlier position see idem, "Political Organization," p. 304.
51. Landy, "Tuscarora Tribalism," p. 263.
52. C. H. Torok, "The Tyendinaga Mohawk (The Village as a Basic Factor in Mohawk Social Structure)," Ontario History 57(1965):69-77.
53. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers.
54. Kroeber, "Land-Holding Group," pp. 303-304; Fried, "On the Concepts of 'Tribe' and 'Tribal Society,'" pp. 19-20.

Chapter IX

CONCLUSION

Anthropological literature on the Tuscarora is meager. The present study is a step toward filling this lacuna through an ethnohistorical analysis of data pertinent to several related problems. First, what were the demographic and sociocultural characteristics of the different Tuscarora elements that were dispersed as a result of the 1711 to 1715 War? Second, what was the nature of the relationships these groups had with one another? Third, how was "Tuscarora" ethnic identity maintained and how did it change throughout the time under study? Fourth, what was the nature of the Five Nations' adoption of the Tuscarora and the extent of Tuscarora participation in the Confederacy? Fifth, how did Tuscarora political organization change through time?

The Upper and Lower Tuscarora suffered severely as a result of the war which began in September 1711. The Upper Tuscarora tried to remain neutral but their villages were indiscriminately attacked by the English forces. As a result, nearly all of the Tuscarora were forced to abandon their homes. About 5,000 Tuscarora lived in eastern North Carolina before the war. Approximately 1,000 of these were killed or captured and sold as slaves. Another 2,000, primarily Lower Tuscarora, went north on the invitation of the Five Nations. Of the 2,000 Lower Tuscarora who remained in the south, 1,500 went temporarily to Virginia and returned to North Carolina in 1714.

During a colonial war with the Yamasee in 1715 about sixty men and later probably their families went to assist the English and settled near Port Royal, South Carolina.

The Tuscarora who remained in North Carolina moved in 1717 to a reservation in Bertie County on the Roanoke River. A Tuscarora government was set up by the colony; Tom Blount, a former village chief, was recognized by North Carolina and Virginia as the Tuscarora "king." The reservation culture that developed was characterized by despondency and depopulation. By 1767 only about 100 Tuscarora remained in Bertie County. Most of the people had immigrated to New York or lost their Tuscarora identity by joining obscure ethnic composite bands that eventually contributed to the marginal triracial populations of North Carolina.

The Tuscarora who went north had most of their villages in two settlement areas, below Oneida Lake in the area between Chittenango Creek and Oneida Creek (Madison County), and on the east branch of the Susquehanna River in present-day Broome County, New York and Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania. These Tuscarora found themselves in better circumstances than their kinsmen to the south. But in spite of their advantageous participation as the sixth member of the Iroquois Confederacy and occasional population inputs from North Carolina, they declined to approximately 1,000 by 1770. The Tuscarora in New York and Pennsylvania had major adjustments to make in response to the new biophysical and social environments in which they found themselves. They were proselytized by Protestant missionaries who found a good deal of acceptance in some communities as early as the mid-1750's. The American Revolution devastated the League and the Tuscarora shared in the catastrophe. Most Tuscarora tried to remain neutral, other small contingents were pro-English or pro-American; nearly all suffered the loss of property. Many lost their lives at the hands of the Crown or the colonies. By the end of the war, they had declined to about 500. One hundred thirty fled with Joseph Brant to Grand River in Canada. The remainder settled either near Oneida Lake (ca. fifty), on the Genesee River (ca. 200), or at the site of the present-day

reservation near Niagara (ca. 120). All of the remnants in New York gathered themselves together on the Niagara reservation by 1802 and were joined by the last few families from the North Carolina reservation in 1803.

The reconciliation of the ideological differences of these elements was difficult and the cultural diversity of former communities created problems for the Tuscarora in New York after 1800. About seventy anti-Christians left in 1820 and went to Grand River. In general the developing reservation culture was characterized by a fairly high external conformity to White normative behavior in terms of economic activities and religion. These realms were, however, uniquely Tuscarora and many other more internal aspects of reservation life were distinctively Tuscarora although not in every case unchanged survivals from the pre-Revolutionary War period.

There were varying degrees of interaction between the widely dispersed communities of Tuscarora following the 1711 to 1715 War. The social relationships that existed between the Tuscarora of different settlements, and also between Tuscarora and non-Tuscarora, had important consequences for Tuscarora ethnic identity. Those Tuscarora living near Oneida Lake were in very different sociopolitical circumstances than those living on the Susquehanna River. Ideological differences and geographical proximity limited communication between the two areas. In spite of many locally unique cultural developments, a constantly adjusting set of significant ethnic symbols served as cues for a distinctively "Tuscarora" identity. Local organizational relationships, the nature of social interaction, and other factors all operated to maintain identity.

Contacts existed with the Tuscarora in North Carolina through Six Nations war parties that almost annually traveled south and used the Bertie County reservation as a base of operations. The different circumstances of social exchange meant that Tuscarora identity was emphasized in

in varying ways. On any given occasion one set of identity symbols was more relevant than others. As an extreme example, when Tuscarora from New York visited those in North Carolina common cultural symbols were fewer in number than they were for inter-Tuscarora relations in the north, and those common identity references became especially important.

Once the post-1800 reservation amalgamations of former local communities developed, these interaction processes continued. Major adaptations were made to the increasingly White dominated plural society of which the Tuscarora found themselves a part. Social boundaries between Tuscarora and Whites became increasingly rigid. Many new or changing ethnic symbols were significant for Tuscarora identity. Yet, throughout chapter 6, the analysis of ethnicity emphasized not so much specific identity symbols, but following Fredrik Barth, I focused attention on the mechanisms of boundary maintenance. It was through the analysis of interaction along ethnic boundaries that the most reasonable explanations could be given for the continued existence and specific natures of a Tuscarora ethnic group.

The adoption of the Tuscarora by the Five Nations and the participation of the Tuscarora in the Confederacy have been poorly dealt with by David Landy and Anthony F. C. Wallace. J. N. B. Hewitt's interpretation, that I have called processual adoption, has been overlooked by both of these anthropologists. Landy and Wallace are unwilling to allow for changes in Tuscarora status as members of the Confederacy. According to them, the Tuscarora remained disenfranchised, second-class citizens having no direct political participation in the League. Hewitt's model suggests that formal changes were made in Tuscarora adopted status until they at some point in the second quarter of the eighteenth century held all of the governmental rights

and privileges shared by the other members of the Confederacy. This interpretation best explains the tremendous amount of otherwise inconsistent evidence that exists in both oral and written history.

Wallace based his conclusion that the adoption of the Tuscarora allowed them to "stay in Five Nations country," and nothing more, on a normative constitutional statement of the Great Law to that effect. Even if we accept without question the Great Law, as it was recorded late in the nineteenth century, ideal and real behavior does not necessarily coincide. As time passed it probably became easier for the Council of the Confederacy to justify the increased inclusion of at least some of the Tuscarora in their affairs. The Confederacy was on a slow road to destruction during the several decades prior to the American Revolution. During these same years the "Iroquois" enculturation of many of the Tuscarora meant they could better articulate in the context of the Confederacy. Political maneuvering on the part of the Tuscarora and various interest groups among the other members must have existed. Some civil chiefs saw the strategic value of Tuscarora participation, others may have been sympathetic but legal purists, still others, for various reasons, may have opposed the Tuscarora. The historical evidence, although at points confusing, seems to indicate that formalized governmental equality, i. e., the right to speak and vote in the Great Council, was eventually granted.

Tuscarora political organization was examined in this study primarily from the perspective of villages as corporate groups. Pre-1713 Tuscarora villages in North Carolina seem to have been sovereign. The Tuscarora tribal confederacy described in anthropological literature did not exist and it is doubtful that there was ever a persistent tribal political organization. The alliances that I have referred to as the Upper and Lower Tuscarora were formed in response to influences of the colonialization of the

Carolina-Virginia area. Each alliance included villages of other ethnic groups and may have represented the highest level of Tuscarora political integration that existed during the protohistoric period.

Tuscarora social organization was egalitarian and village governments were highly representative. Village chiefs had no coercive power. Council members were apparently responsive to the concerns of those they represented. Shamans played important supportive governmental roles that, with the assistance of elders, encouraged social conformity. After the 1711 to 1715 War, Tuscarora elements found themselves in differing circumstances. The governmental construct set up by colonial officials on the North Carolina reservation was unsatisfactory to those Tuscarora remaining in Bertie County. By setting Tom Blount up under colonial authority, many sociopolitical values important to the Tuscarora as well as their sovereignty were denied.

Those Tuscarora who immigrated to New York were able to retain their village autonomy. Even the villages near Oneida Lake, whose people participated the most fully in the Confederacy, were politically organized most effectively on the local level. Again as in North Carolina, a political tribe is doubtful. As a tentative hypothesis, I suggest this was also true of the other members of the "Confederacy." The Great Council was made up of local representatives of lineages and clans drawn from the various ethnic groups. It may even be inappropriate to describe the Six Nations as a governmental confederacy.

This classificatory problem aside, it was in the setting of the Iroquois Longhouse that several changes seem to have taken place in Tuscarora political organization. While political and administrative values were still about the same, structural changes did take place. Changes in settlement pattern, from dispersed hamlets to relatively compact villages, meant different kinds of daily social

patterns of interaction were introduced. Village-wide hunting groups were discontinued and replaced by an Iroquois pattern of small hunting parties made up of a few males or several families. These and other factors had consequences for when councils were held, the kinds of decisions that were made, and how village goals could be implemented.

In chapter 8 several changes in social structure were dealt with in terms of Fred Gearing's concept of "structural pose." While the discussion was limited to those aspects of political organization for which at least a minimal amount of evidence exists, some insights were provided concerning the ways social expectations and relations shifted in response to various tasks. For example, clan identity was of minor importance in many daily activities. But on some occasions an individual acted consciously in terms of clan identity for the revenge of the murder of a fellow clansman, in some cases for the organization of war parties, and in many council situations. The hamlets making up villages in North Carolina had probably been lineage and clan dominated. If this were the case, then a great deal of social interaction took place in that context. A mutual aid pose was activated when village instead of hamlet consciousness was required. In New York the changes in settlement pattern and broader governmental affiliations that took place, resulted in basic changes in local political organization. In spite of those changes, many features such as the nature of council proceedings, the means of social control, and political values were more conservatively held.

General structural changes have been noted and in some cases resulted from changes in governmentally significant persons. Role expectations changed in some instances and in other cases persons gained or lost importance. For example, to facilitate participation in the Confederacy, chiefs were raised in hereditary titles through the cere-

monies used by the other members of the League. As Christianity made significant inroads, shamans lost much of their governmental significance and eventually became primarily herbalists.

The adaptations that took place to reservation life involved additional changes that initially served to smooth the transition from several autonomous villages to one reservation settlement. The chiefs' council established in New York after the American Revolution is one example of how these changes were made. Title holding chiefs from the several local communities made up what was in a sense a village council dealing with daily local issues on the one hand and a tribal council representing all United States Tuscarora on the other hand. The reservation political organization, then, was built on the foundations of the past but was in a way something very new.

Aside from the specific problems concerning the Tuscarora that are dealt with in this study, a general deficiency in native Eastern North American ethnohistory should be noted. Ethnicity and political organization are often interrelated in very complex ways but they have been treated far too superficially. The term "tribe" has been used to mean a territorially bounded ethnic group of at times an ethnically homogeneous political organization. Both of these meanings are of doubtful utility. When such conditions existed the blanket use of the term tribe hides political processes and the nature of ethnicity. More often, however, both of these definitions are divorced from reality. After colonial contact, and perhaps prehistorically as well, ethnic homogeneity was rare. Political tribes probably existed only in a minority of cases until the later contact and reservation situations. The political tribes that developed were, then, adaptive responses on the part of both large and small ethnic segments.

It is not my intention to make an unproven blanket

statement about political organization. Instead I hope to encourage reanalysis. I say reanalysis because most of what has been done is badly dated. The concerns of anthropology are constantly shifting. The rapidly developing and interrelated orientations and studies of role theory, ethnicity, and political anthropology have much to offer native American ethnohistory. The challenge presents itself. The names of many different groups have passed into an obscure oblivion and those that remain represent a new identity. Archival and published documents have been barely touched for the purposes I am suggesting. As a laboratory for comparative studies of many kinds of ethnically plural situations they hold tremendous potential for finding principles that may help us understand the complexities of the inter-ethnic governmental relations of today and tomorrow.

Appendix A

TUSCARORA VILLAGES

1. Synonymies of North Carolina Villages

The North Carolina Tuscarora villages and forts in existence from ca. 1700 to 1712 were mentioned very briefly in chapter 2. Their names appear often in historical records, although the inconsistent orthography makes it difficult to determine when the same villages are being mentioned. Most of the Upper Tuscarora villages are clearly distinguishable and I have indicated them (U) and some of the Lower villages (L). Some villages, such as Narhunta, shifted their allegiance during the course of the war and both symbols (L-U) are used where this is suspected. Several of the villages named by Lawson do not correspond to others named in the literature. Perhaps they were geographically remote and not mentioned later in the historical record. It is more likely that different names were probably used for at least some of them. These synonymies should not be considered as being in final form. There are other manuscript sources that I have not yet been able to consult, and several of the names listed below are tentatively placed. Footnote numbers are repeated when the same source is used more than once. The first form listed is the one used in the study, others follow alphabetically. Map 1, which is based on this data, can be consulted for the approximate locations of several of the better known villages.

- a. Annaooka.¹
- b. Catechna,^{2,3} Catecno,⁴ Caughteghnah,⁵ Contahnah,¹
Hancocks Town,⁶ Handcocks Town,⁷ Hancock's fort,¹⁰ (L).
- c. Fort Cohunke,⁸ (L).
- d. Eno.^{1,2}
- e. Haruta (waqui),¹ Heeruta,⁹ Horatta,² Zurutha(?),³ (L).
- f. Jounonitz,⁵ Chounanitz,⁵ Chunaneets,¹ Innennits,¹⁰
Juninits,¹¹ Junonitz,¹² (U).
- g. Kenta,^{1,10,11} Kentha,^{2,5} Kinshaugh,¹³ Kint-haigh,¹²
Kinthough,⁵ (L-U?).
- h. Kentanuska.¹
- i. Narhunta,¹² Nahuntek,⁴ Narhontes,¹⁰ Naurheghne,¹ Nor-
hanta,² Tarhuntha,¹¹ Torhunta,^{6,7} (L-U).
- j. Nonawharitse,¹ Nonawharitsa,⁹ (L?).
- k. Fort Nayharu'ka,¹⁴ Naherock,⁴ Nooheroka,⁶ Nooherooka
Fort,⁷ No-ho-ro-co,⁸ Nursoorooka,¹ (L).
- l. Oonossoora.¹
- m. Raroucaithe, ⁵ Paroocathsee, ¹³ Ra-roo-caith-thee, ¹²
Rarookahoo, ¹¹ Raroucaithue; ⁵ the village moved late in 1711
and began to call itself Tookhoo¹³ or Tyahooka⁵; they
moved again early in 1713 to Virginia and called themselves
Tervanihow, ¹³ (U).
- n. Taughogkkee, ⁵ Taughoushie, ⁵ Taw-hagh-kee, ¹² (U).
- o. Tonarooka, ¹⁰ Conauh-kare Harooka, ¹ Taughairouhha, ⁵
Tonhairoukha, ⁵ Tonorooka, ¹¹ (U).
- p. Tosneoc, ¹ Tasky, ³ Tasqui, ¹⁵ Tastiahk, ⁵ Tosnect, ² (U).
- q. Ucoughnerunt, ¹⁰ Eukunkunreunt, ¹¹ K. Blunts to., ⁴
Kinquenarant, ⁵ Ucohnerunt King Blount's Town, ⁷ (U).
- r. Unagnara, ⁵ (U?).
- s. Unanauhan.¹

2. Uncertain and Poorly Known New York Villages

Most New York Tuscarora villages have been discussed in chapters 2 through 5. Very little is known about several others mentioned in secondary sources. Elias Johnson suggested that "Ju-ta-nea-ga" ("where the sun shines") was located on a fork of Chittenango Creek.¹⁶ A 1794 map made by several Oneida chiefs shows it spelled "Chutenenga," situated just as Johnson claimed (see map 3).¹⁷ I have not been able to find out anything about it other than its location. It was probably a small pre-Revolutionary War settlement, but it apparently was not occupied in 1794. Good census data exist for the post-war years and there was only one Tuscarora village on the Oneida reservation and that was on the Oneida Creek.

"Coram" and "Coerntha" are both mentioned by J. N. B. Hewitt,¹⁸ but I have not been able to uncover anything substantial about them. William Beauchamp claimed Coram or "Corum" was in the center of Bookhaven, New York and was named after a chief.¹⁹ This appears, however, to be highly speculative. One final village, "Kan-ha-to," is listed by Elias Johnson and also by Hewitt,^{16,18} as being on the Jordon Creek. Beauchamp claims that no such village existed and I have not discovered any evidence to contradict his claim.¹⁹

Appendix A

Footnotes

1. Lawson, History of North Carolina, p. 255.
2. Charles Robert Holloman, "Map of North Carolina Made by Baron Christopher de Graffenried, 1711," We, the People of North Carolina 23(February 1966):17.
3. Todd, Graffenried's Account, pp. 264-265, 272.
4. Eman Bowen, "A Map of the British American Plantations . . .," Gentlemans Magazine July 1754.
5. McIlwaine, Executive Journals, 3:294, 320, 357, 365.
6. War map, [1716], Public Records Office, London (photostatic copy in the North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill, N.C.).
7. Edward Moseley, "A New and Correct Map of the Province of North Carolina, 1733" in The Southeast in Early Maps, ed. William P. Cummings (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1962), plates 51, 53.
8. Saunders, Colonial Records, 2:11, 38.
9. Alonzo T. Dill, "Eighteenth Century New Bern: A History of the Town and Craven County," North Carolina Historical Review 22(1945):301.
10. Barnwell, "Tuscarora Expedition," pp. 33, 36, 38, 39.
11. "Preliminary articles . . . Between . . . Chief Men of Severale of y^e Tuscarora Towns . . . And the Hon^{ble} Thos Pollock . . .," 25 November 1712, Indians, 1712-1923, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, N.C.
12. Palmer, Virginia State Papers, 1:173.
13. Stanard, "Examination of Indians," pp. 272-274.
14. Gatschet's Tuscarora Notebook, 1883-1885, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers.
15. Saunders, Colonial Records, 1:920.
16. Johnson, History of the Tuscarora, p. 72.

17. "Sketch of Canasarage Creek. . .," 1794, Timothy Pickering Papers, vol. 62.
18. Hewitt, "Tuscarora," p. 852.
19. Beauchamp, Aboriginal Place Names, pp. 114, 211.

Appendix B

TUSCARORA CHIEFS' TITLES

Late in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries several students of the Six Nations collected lists of Tuscarora chiefs' titles that were hereditary to specific lineages and clans. William M. Beauchamp does not identify his informant, except to say he was Onondaga. Since Beauchamp is known to have worked closely with Albert Cusick (Onondaga-Tuscarora) we can quite safely attribute them to him. Edward M. Chadwick and J. N. B. Hewitt both relied heavily on Canadian Tuscarora informants and their forms, although differing in orthography, are consistently similar.

Sakwarithra has been prominent throughout this study, and I have attempted to find in historical records other titles from among the following lists. With the exception of the few questionable cases given below, I have been unsuccessful. This is generally the case with the title holding chiefs of the Six Nations who were most often not in the forefront of colonial negotiations. Historical records usually highlight the speakers or the representatives of the council and not the civil chiefs themselves.

As an aid to the reader I have indicated the origin of more recent forms using these symbols: Beauchamp (B),¹ Chadwick (C),² Hewitt (H-1),³ (H-2),⁴ and (H-3)⁵. Names taken from other sources will be footnoted, dated, and placed in brackets. Original orthography is maintained. Not all of these titles were being used both in Canada and the United States at the turn of this century. According

to Hewitt, g, j, k, and l were filled on both reservations.³ Some of those listed by Beauchamp, n, o, p, and q were probably known only in the United States. Some were known on both reservations but not active.

- a. Bear Clan, Utäk'wä'těⁿ'ä'- "The Bearcub" (H-1), Degwä'děⁿ'ä' (H-2), Dehwadehha (C), [Deg wa le a hah, 1808, N.Y.].⁶
- b. Bear Clan, Nākāiēñ'těⁿ' (H-1), Tah-ka-yen-ten-ah (B), Nakayendenh (C).
- c. Bear Clan, Ionēñtchānēñ'/'nākěⁿ' - "Its fore-paw pressed against its breast" (H-1), Nehchanenagon (C).
- d. Beaver Clan, Kari'hēñ'tiä'- "It goes along teaching" (H-1), Karinyenta (C).
- e. Beaver Clan, Ni'hno'kā'wä'- "He annoints the hide" (H-1), Ni'nu'kañuä' (H-2), Nehnokaweh (C).
- f. Beaver Clan, Nakä'hēñwä'č'hēñ- "It is twenty canoes" (H-1), Ta-ka-hen-was-hen (B), Nehkahehwahea (C).
- g. Snipe Clan, Karoñdawä'kěⁿ' - "One is holding the tree" (H-1), Ta'-ha-en-te-yah-wak-hon- "encircling and holding up a Tree" (B), Karindawagen (C), Karidawake (H-3), [Carighwage, 1755; It "was agreed in the Council of 5 Nations, that as he was now appointed Sachem he must take care of the News at his Castle"].⁷

h. Snipe Clan, Thanädäk'hwä' (H-1), T'ho'ne'däk'hwä' (H-2), Thanadagwa (C), [Tahanatakqua, 1742, treaty conference at Philadelphia].⁸

i. Turtle Clan, Ni'hawčñnā'ā' - "His Voice is small" (H-1), Nehawenaha (C).

j. Turtle Clan, Hotio'kwawā'kēⁿ - "He holds or grasps the multitude," or possibly, "He holds or grasps his own loins" (H-1), Rotyo'kwāwā'koⁿ (H-2), Tyogwawaken (C).

k. Turtle Clan, Säkwari'crā' - "The spear trailer" (H-1), Säkwari'thrā' (H-2), Sa-kwi-sā or Sequa-ri-se-ra (B), Sagwarithra (C).

l. Wolf Clan, Nāio'kāwe'ā' (H-1), Nayokawaha (H-3), Nayonkawehha (C).

m. Wolf Clan, Neiotčā'k'doñ' - "It is bent" (H-1), Näyotčā'k'doñ' (H-2), Nayonchakden (C).

No clan designations are given for the following:

n. Kah-en-yah-che-go-nah (B).

o. Na-wah-tah-toke - "Two moccasins standing together" (B).

p. Odādjigēⁿ's'dā' - "Bald head" (H-2), Ho-tach-ha-ta (B).

q. Sako'hēñde't'hā' (H-2), S'hago'hēñde't'hā' (H-2), Sah-go-hone-date-hah - "the one that spares another" (B).

r. Ta-wah-ā-kate (B).

The following are Nanticoke-Tuscarora titles from Grand River:

s. Rarehwetyeha (H-2), Rarewetyetha (H-3).

t. Sakokaryah (H-2), Sakokaryas (H-3).

Appendix B

Footnotes

1. Beauchamp, New York Iroquois, p. 158.
2. Edward M. Chadwick, People of the Longhouse (Toronto, 1897), titles quoted in William M. Beauchamp, Civil, Religious, and Mourning Councils and Ceremonies of Adoption of the New York Indians, New York State Museum Bulletin no. 113 (Albany, 1907), p. 391.
3. Hewitt, "Tuscarora," p. 849.
4. Tuscarora chiefs names, n.d., J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 3559.
5. Chiefs at Grand River: 1848-97, 1897, J. N. B. Hewitt Papers, no. 3635.
6. "Sagarisa, Capt. William, Thomas, Deg wa le ahah . . ." to Erastus Granger, 8 March 1808, Halliday Jackson Papers.
7. Sullivan, Johnson Papers, 2:372-374.
8. Hazard, Provincial Council, 4:585.

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