

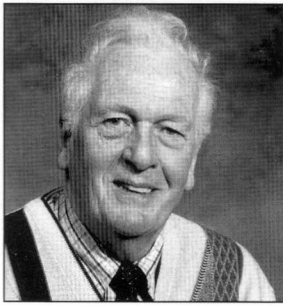
Men-at-Arms

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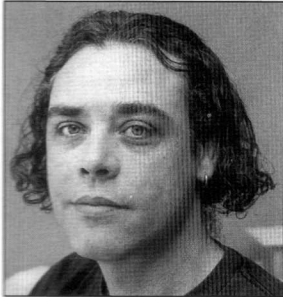
Tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy



Johnson • Illustrated by Jonathan Smith



MICHAEL JOHNSON has researched the material culture, demography and linguistic relationships of Native American people for more than 30 years. A collector of data, photographs and artefacts, he has presented many exhibitions, including annual exhibitions at the American Museum in Bath. He is the author of scores of articles and has previously written a number of titles in the Men-at-Arms series.



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Men-at

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Michael Johnson • Illustrated by Jonathan Smith

Series editor Martin Windrow

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to two Iroquois scholars: the late Jack C. Hayes of Lands End, England; and Arthur Einhorn of Lowville, New York, who have shared their extensive knowledge with the author and without whose help this book would not have been written.

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Artist's Note

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TRIBES OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY

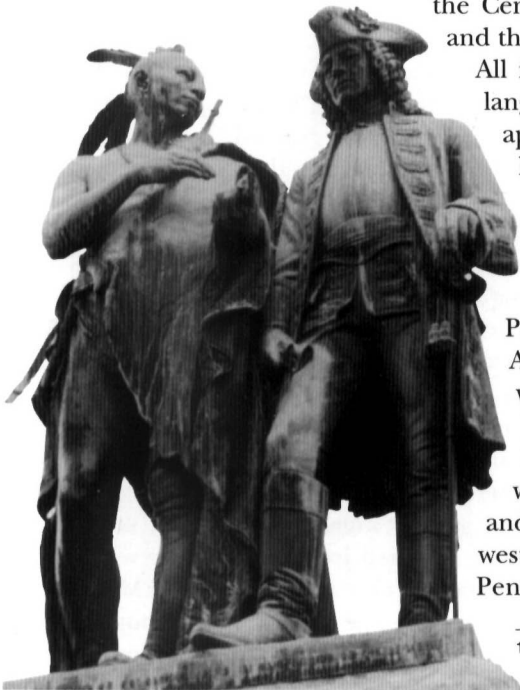
ORIGINS OF THE CONFEDERACY

BEFORE THE ARRIVAL of Europeans in their homeland, the five linguistically related but separate Native American tribes living along the rivers, lakes and in the forests of what is now the north central area of New York State formed themselves into a league. Although the date is uncertain, tradition holds that these tribes formed a confederacy in order to eliminate the constant state of warfare that had existed between them. The Confederacy is still called Haudenosaunee, or "People of the Longhouse," in reference to the elm bark communal dwellings once used by them. The French, who encountered a related group during their exploration of the St Lawrence River, named them "les Iroquois," and the British later called them the "Five Nations."¹

The confederated tribes were, from east to west, the Mohawks, who lived along the Mohawk River; the Oneidas, near Oneida Lake; the Onondagas, near Onondaga Lake; the Cayugas, near Cayuga Lake; and the Senecas along the Genesee river. Collectively they likened their territory to a huge longhouse dwelling, in which the Mohawks were Keepers of the Eastern Door and the Senecas the Keepers of the Western Door. Centrally located were the Onondagas, Keepers of the Central or Great Fire. Two "Younger Brothers," the Oneidas and the Cayugas, completed the Confederacy.

All form a part of a linguistic family of about 16 "Iroquoian" languages descended from an ancestral prototype that goes back approximately 4,000 years; the most divergent is the Cherokee language. Archaeological evidence suggests culturally linked phases around Lake Simcoe and Grand River in Ontario, on the St Lawrence river below Montreal, in the heart of the Iroquois homeland of central New York State, then extending along the Susquehanna river into present-day Pennsylvania. These cultural cleavages go back to about AD 800; the Cherokee separation from their northern cousins was, however, much earlier, and their subsequent homeland became present-day North Carolina. The remaining Iroquoians were the Huron, themselves a confederacy, who lived around Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe; the Petun and Neutral in southern Ontario; the Wenro and Erie to the west of the Seneca; the Susquehannock or Conestoga in Pennsylvania; the Nottoway, Meherrin, and the Tuscarora

The statue of "King Hendrick" (Teyonhehkwen) and Sir William Johnson, erected in the State Park, Lake George, to commemorate their victory there over the French in September 1755. The old sachem was killed in the action, and Johnson wounded in the thigh. Hendrick was one of the four Iroquois chiefs who had visited London in 1710. (M.G.Johnson photograph, 1987)



¹ J.C.Hayes suggests that the French term "Iroquois" possibly derives from the Micmac form of a Mohawk war shout challenge, so perhaps "shouters." However, it is usually reported to stem from the Ojibwa for "adders," i.e. snakes.



"The Indian Widow" by Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–97). Although the woman mourning the loss of her warrior husband is Europeanized, the warriors accoutrements hanging in the tree are painted from life. Perhaps they are objects taken to England by the American Loyalist painter Benjamin West? (Derby Museum & Art Gallery, England)

(to become in about 1722 the sixth member of the Iroquois Confederacy, which consequently became known as the Six Nations), who lived on the coastal plains of the Virginia and North Carolina borderlands.

* * *

The date of founding of the Iroquois Confederacy was probably sometime between 1450 and 1600, and tradition claims that the founding father was Deganawida, born on Lake Ontario's northern shore. He travelled among the five tribes, who were wasted by wars and blood feuds, persuading them to join in a "Great Peace." Among the Mohawks he met an Onondaga exile, Ayouhwaatha or Hiawatha (subsequently transformed by the poet Longfellow into an Ojibwa). Together Deganawida and Hiawatha visited all five Iroquois tribes and proposed a confederacy, an extended family based on local kinship groups or clans. Locally two or more matriarchal families formed a self-governing clan who joined with the other clans in governing the village and tribe, a system that they planned to apply to the whole confederacy. The clan chiefs appointed by the clan

mothers would become confederacy chiefs, without interfering with the independence of either tribal or clan governments.

Each tribe that accepted the "Good News of Peace" would become a nation within the confederacy. The Onondagas, under a great chief and wizard named Tadodaho, at first resisted the proposals, but ultimately he was won over. Finally, with all 50 chiefs of the first Grand Council assembled on the shore of Onondaga Lake, the Peacemaker Deganawidah planted the original "Tree of Peace", a magnificent white pine beneath which representatives of the Five Nations buried their weapons of war. Four long roots, called the "White Roots of Peace," stretched out from the tree in the four sacred directions. The Peacemaker proclaimed that should other tribes desire to obey the laws of the Great Peace (Great Law), they would be welcomed beneath the tree. This oral tradition was to become true for many Indian groups who sought refuge amongst the Iroquois after their own destruction by whites during the colonization of eastern North America.

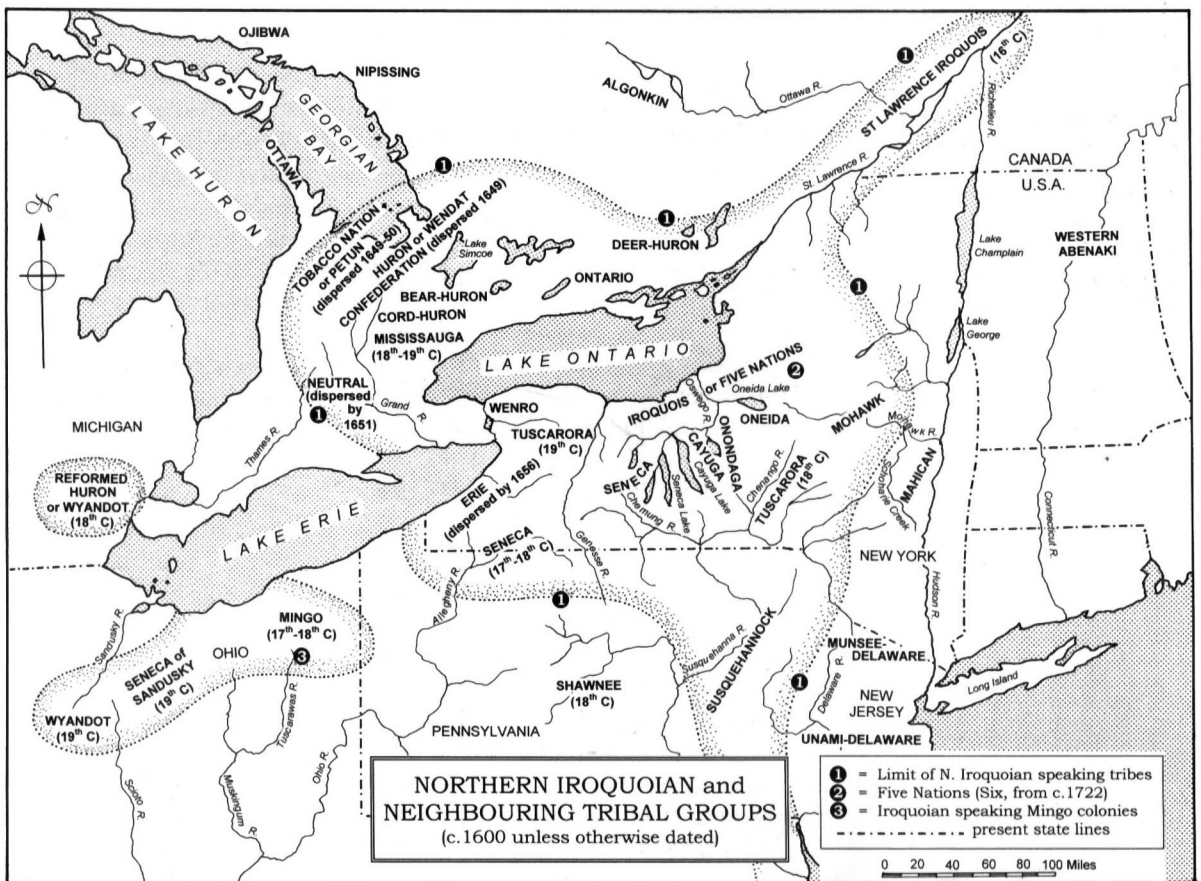
It was, however, a type of "*Pax Iroquoia*" that was offered to those nations who were not part of the original league; and as the Iroquois were drawn into the fur trade during the first half of the 17th century, and expanded into new hunting grounds, it became a question of "those who are not for us are against us." In addition to the Tuscarora, who joined as a near equal member of the Confederacy in the early 18th century, the Iroquois absorbed a large number of Hurons, remnants of the Neutral, Petun and other defeated Iroquoians to the west, and also Delaware, Nanticoke, Mahican (also spelt Mahikan, Mohican) and Tutelo from the east and south. The total Iroquois population probably never exceeded 16,000 people in the early 1600s, a figure kept up by constant adoption of captives – French, English, Irish – and

subsequently by intermarriage with frontier whites, traders, Americans and Canadians. (During recent times the Iroquois population has increased rapidly, but genetically they are hugely mixed, with few if any full bloods remaining.) Their empire in the 17th century was controlled by little more than 3,000 warriors, and they were once dubbed the "Romans of the New World."

THE IROQUOIS TRIBES

Mohawk (pronounced mo-hok)

From the eastern Algonkian, "flesh eaters"; in their own language, *Ganienkeh*, "people of the place of the flint." Originally located along the Mohawk river west of Schoharie Creek. In the 17th century about half the tribe moved to the Catholic missions of French Canada, and in the late 18th century the remainder, who had sided with the British, moved to Ontario with the Loyalists after the American victory in the Revolutionary War. Their reserves in Canada are Six Nations, Tyendinaga and Gibson in Ontario; Oka (Kanehsatake) and Caughnawaga (Kahnawake) in Quebec; St Regis (Akwesasne) at the junction of Quebec, Ontario and New York; and two recently formed communities in New York, Ganienkeh and Kanatsioharee. A few descendants of Mohawk fur traders found their way to Alberta. There



are about 20,000 Mohawk descendants today and of these about 3,000 still speak the Mohawk language.

Oneida (o-nida)

"People of the erect (standing) stone." They lived around Oneida Creek flowing into Oneida Lake. The Oneida sided with the Americans in the Revolution, after which many lived with the Onondagas. They mostly left New York in the 1830s for Wisconsin, and many of the remainder moved to Ontario in the 1840s. Their reserves and reservations today are, in Canada, Six Nations and Oneidatown in Ontario; in Wisconsin, Oneida Reservation at Green Bay; and a small but growing community at Oneida Reservation, New York. Their present population is about 10,000 of whom 7,000 are Wisconsin Oneida, but few remain on their reservation. Today only about 200 people still speak the language, mostly in Canada.

Onondaga (onan-daga)

"People of the hill." They were the firekeepers of the league, charged with the responsibility of convening its council. They lived around Skaneateles and Cazenovia lakes and on Onondaga Creek. Divided by the American Revolution, about one-third moved to Canada with the Loyalists in the late 18th century. The remainder have been on their reservation south of the city of Syracuse since a treaty in 1788. Today there are about 3,000 split between New York and Six Nations, Ontario. Their language is spoken by fewer than 100 people today.

Cayuga (ka-youga)

The name is of unknown origin. This tribe lived between Cayuga and Owasco lakes. They mostly withdrew to Ontario with the British at the close of the American Revolution. The last of the Cayuga lands in New York were sold in 1841. A mixed group of Seneca-Cayuga found their way to Oklahoma. There are today perhaps 7,000 Cayugas, the largest group at Six Nations, Ontario. Cayuga is spoken by approximately 300 people today.

Clothed models representing Iroquois men and women sitting in a longhouse. (Turtle Museum, Niagara Falls, NY; M.G.Johnson photograph, 1990)



Seneca (sen-aka)

A corruption of a Mahican term "place of stone." They lived along the Genesee river to Canandaigua Lake, and were the largest tribe at the foundation of the league and on European contact. Although a number moved to Canada after the Revolution the majority remained upon diminishing lands in western New York State. Today there are 2,000 on Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, and 6,000 in New

York State, where their descendants are at Allegany, Cattaraugus and Tonawanda reservations; and a small group of Seneca-Cayuga in Oklahoma. Today the Senecas have about 300 speakers left.

Tuscarora (tuska-rora)

A term which probably means "hemp shirt wearers." A tribe of North Carolina, but wars with British colonists (1711–1713) forced the majority of them north to join the Confederacy. Most favoured the Americans during the Revolution. Their reservation is near Niagara Falls, with a few at Six Nations, Ontario. Their present numbers are about 3,000, with few native speakers.

Other groups:

Mingo

The Iroquois claimed title to the hunting grounds in the Ohio Valley. A colony of Senecas lived there from the early days, who probably incorporated remnants of Erie and other destroyed tribes in the 17th century. In the early 19th century they became known as "Seneca of Sandusky," but were moved west of the Mississippi and, accompanied by the Cayugas from New York, they finally moved to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. Several hundred descendants remain there.

The Seven Nations of Canada

The Iroquois who were won over to French interests in the 17th century formed a league with Algonkins, Abenakis (Abnaki) and Hurons of Lorette as an adjunct to the Six Nations Confederacy, and were at times in a state of war with their relatives. The seven groups were mission communities at Caughnawaga, Oka, St Francis, Bécancour, Oswegatchie (later abandoned), Lorette and St Regis, collectively known as Onontioaga or "French Indians."

EUROPEAN CONTACT AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The first recorded contact between Europeans and Iroquoians took place in July 1534, when Jacques Cartier met a fishing party of 300 men, women and children who had come down from the St Lawrence river to Gaspé. The following year Cartier pushed upriver for brief visits to Iroquoian villages, one of which on Montreal Island was called Hochelaga. Several Indians were kidnapped and taken to France, never to return. Despite recent attempts to associate these "St Lawrence Iroquoians" with later known tribes of the Iroquois league or the Huron, the fate of these people remains unknown. However, the eastern Iroquois tribes (particularly the Mohawks) were acquiring metal trade goods either by barter or raiding expeditions on the French or Indians in contact with them – mainly the Montagnais at Tadoussac.

In 1608, Samuel de Champlain built a fortified trading post at Quebec, and the following summer he led a military expedition south along the Richelieu river and across the lake which now bears his name. At the southern end of Lake Champlain, on 29 July 1609, the French and their Indian allies defeated a party of Mohawks, killing about

50 and taking 12 prisoners. This encounter, and another in June 1610, sealed the Mohawks distrust of the French, leading to a largely hostile relationship with them and also with the various Indian tribes now engaged in the fur trade with them. Some historians have suggested that these events in the early years of European contact were the reason for the founding of the Iroquois league, thus dating its foundation to the late 16th century.

The fur trade and Iroquois expansion

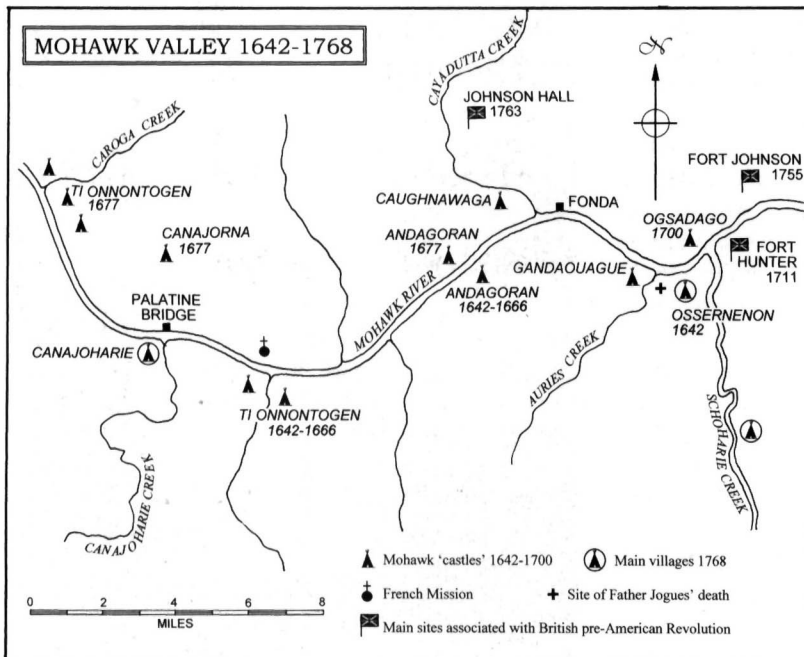
The monstrous effects of the white mans fur trade can hardly be exaggerated. The Iroquois were an agricultural people and good farmers; but white traders did not want corn in exchange for their guns, powder and broadcloth, and demanded furs and skins for the European market. The Iroquois demand for trade goods initiated intensive hunting, and by 1640 scarcely a beaver was to be found between the Hudson and the Genesee. To save themselves from further disaster the Iroquois required new hunting grounds, or to capture the position as middlemen in the trade between themselves and the Dutch at Fort Orange (Albany) or the French in Canada. However, the Iroquois seldom acted as a corporate whole, and on many occasions one or more members of the league made separate alliances with the French, the Dutch, or later the English. In 1644 the Mohawks made a treaty with the Dutch, and remained their allies until the conquest of New Netherlands by England in 1664; thereafter they transferred their allegiance to the English.

The Mohawks began the "Beaver Wars" in the 1630s with attacks on the Canadian Algonkian tribes, and later by attacking the Abenakis. However, their western neighbours were mainly other Iroquoian-speaking horticulturalists like themselves; but their villages had become collection points for furs, and these fortified villages were much more difficult to attack than were the Algonkian camps. By 1642 the Seneca

in particular had begun a series of raids which ultimately led to the destruction of related tribes on their north-western borders, most importantly the Huron.

Drums along the Mohawk: the Beaver Wars

The Dutch were not the first to found a trading post at the future site of Albany and open commerce with the Iroquois; that distinction goes to the French, who in about 1540 planted a trading post and began traffic in its "peltries". The Dutch built Fort Nassau



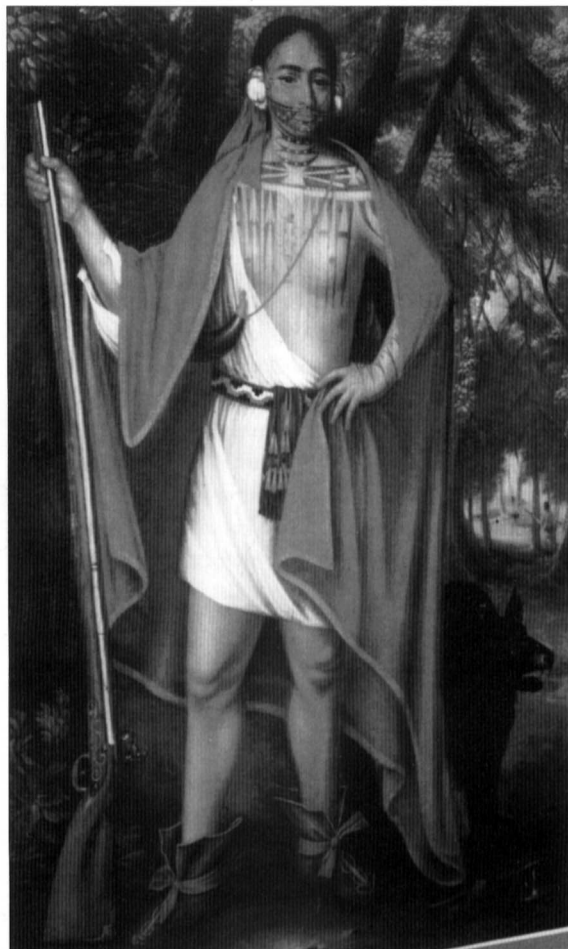
upon the ruins in 1614, and in 1623 Fort Orange was established by Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, who is said to have brought about 30 persons (chiefly Walloons, i.e. Catholic southern Netherlands) with him. By 1630 the patron Van Rensselaer colonized a grant of land about 24 miles long on each side of the Hudson river and including Fort Orange; a substantial Dutch colony was thus established.

As early as 1642 a group of French adventurers and a party of Huron were seized by a war party of Mohawks and escorted to the Mohawk villages west of the Dutch settlement. Among the captives was the missionary priest Isaac Jogues, who was rescued by the Dutch the following year. The French made several attempts to bring missionaries to the Iroquois, and Father Jogues himself subsequently returned; however, he was put to death by the Mohawks in 1646, close to the shrine that has been erected in his memory at Auriesville. The Mohawks were especially accustomed to make frequent raids on the settlements in French Canada, and some captives were adopted by the Mohawk to swell their numbers. The French had greater success in their missionary endeavours amongst the Huron on the shores of Georgian Bay, where Jesuits succeeded the Recollects in 1639, although their venture survived only ten years before the invading Iroquois laid waste to much of Huronia. As a result of this war the Jesuits decided to abandon the missions; they burned them to the ground, and shepherded their companions and some of the Hurons on a perilous journey east, eventually reaching Quebec and safety. Two priests, Brébeuf and Lalemant, were killed at the Sainte Ignace mission; and at present-day Midland, Ontario, there now stands a shrine church dedicated to Brébeuf, Lalemant, Jogues, and the other brave men who lived and died for their faith in the wilderness. By the 1650s the French "black-rob" (villages) of the Mohawk and Onondaga, either killed (with horrible cruelty), held to ransom, or returned to French Canada.

The Iroquois attack on Huronia at the end of the 1640s was only part of the so-called Beaver Wars; they also disposed of the other nations who were trading with the French. In such a manner the Petuns were overthrown in December 1649, the Neutrals in 1650–51, and the Eries after a lengthy struggle by 1656. The Jesuits have left vivid descriptions of Indian life of those times through their *Relations*. Clearly they were astonished that the Iroquois finally managed to establish their dominion for "five hundred leagues around, although their numbers are very small."

War with the Mahicans (Mohicans, to the English), the Hudson river Indians and the Susquehannocks to the south was a different matter. The Mahicans had driven the Mohawks

Sagayengwarhton, "Again its Smoke Disappears" or "Old Smoke," a renowned hereditary Mohawk war chief of the Bear clan (note totemic animal included at bottom right). He was the step-great grandfather of Captain Joseph Brant; this portrait was painted in London in 1710 by J.Verelst. He wears a white cloth tunic and a red trade blanket with a selvedged edge. The belt is probably decorated with moose hair, and a hanging pouch has tin cone "jinglers" with deer hair fringe. The moccasins are of Woodland front seam construction. His extensive tattoos are blue-black. (National Archives of Canada)



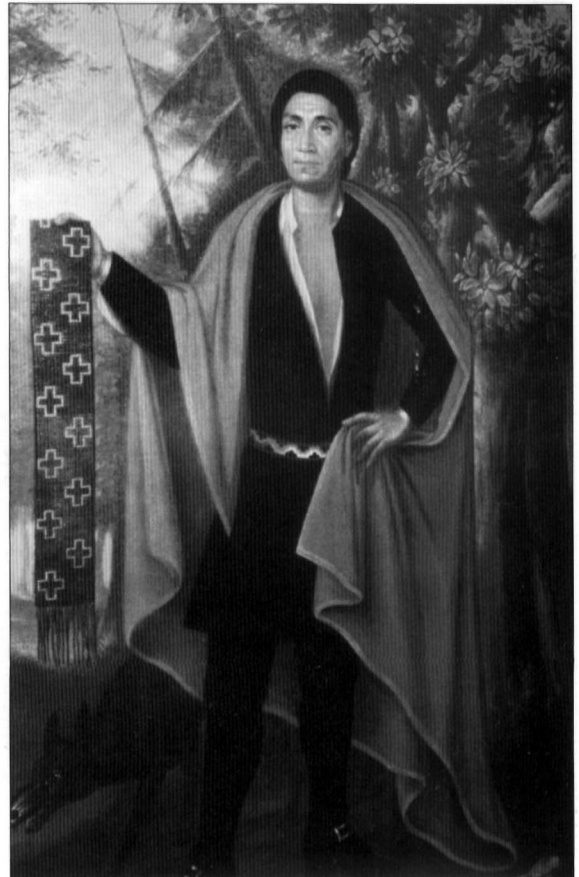
from their Lower Castle – a palisaded village on the Mohawk river east of Schoharie Creek – in 1626. They were not defeated until a great battle in 1669 at Hoffmans Ferry in which the Mohawks were victorious, after which peace was concluded in 1673. The Mahicans now joined the Mohawk alliance for trading purposes. The Senecas attacked the Susquehannocks with some 800 warriors, but were repulsed. With help from the Maryland colonists, Delawares and Shawnees, the main Susquehannock fort on the lower Susquehanna river in Pennsylvania, equipped with bastions mounting artillery, held out until 1674. In that year the Maryland colonists made a separate peace with the Senecas and declared war on their former allies.

In 1666 New France's governor, the Marquis de Tracy, began to fortify the French-Canadian frontier, and these military preparations threatened the Five Nations. As a result the Oneidas, Onondagas and some Cayugas and Senecas made a treaty with the French; the Mohawks, however, refused to participate and remained loyal to their English alliance. The French retaliated by sending a strong force against the Mohawk castles, forcing them to sue for peace. The Mohawk chiefs *sachems* allowed the return of the "black-robcs" to their villages, and in 1677 missions were also established amongst the Oneidas and later the Cayugas. Christianized Indians were encouraged to leave for Canada, where a new Iroquois village was established – New Caughnawaga ("At the Rapids") opposite Montreal – whose warriors were from now on military allies of the French. Expelled from the Confederacy as a consequence, they joined a league with Algonkins, Hurons and Abenakis along the St Lawrence.

In 1687 the fragile peace was finally broken by the Marquis de Denonvilles punitive invasion of the Seneca country, where the French destroyed vast quantities of corn. In reprisal in 1689 the Iroquois warriors penetrated New France as far as Montreal and devastated the country thereabouts, including the so-called "massacre of Lachine." This action was part of a war between the British and French, called in America "King William's War" (1689–97).² An alliance was concluded linking the Iroquois with the New York colonists by a metaphorical "chain"; this so-called Covenant Chain was subsequently extended to include Maryland and Virginia, enhancing the power of the Confederacy and enabling them to absorb formerly hostile tribes into the league. At this time, Iroquois were also raiding Indians in the Ohio valley, particularly Miamis, Illini and Ottawas. There are reports of war parties ranging as far west as the Mississippi and beyond, and against the Catawbias and Cherokees to the south.

After 1690 the tide turned, however. That summer the new governor of New France, the

Teyonhehkwén, "Double Life," otherwise known as King Hendrick, the Mohawk chief of the Wolf clan, painted in London in 1710 by J. Verelst during the visit of the "Four Kings" to the court of Queen Anne. He is shown wearing black from head to foot over a white European shirt; and note the silver shoe buckles. The blanket and belt seem to be identical to those shown in "Old Smoke's" portrait. He holds a wampum belt with outline white crosses on purple. (National Archives of Canada)



Comte de Frontenac, led a strong force of troops and Caughnawaga Indian allies to destroy the English-Dutch village of Schenectady near Albany. In 1693 the French destroyed three Mohawk villages and took 300 captives; and in 1696, 2,200 troops and Indians attacked the Oneidas and Onondagas. The Iroquois were also losing ground in the Ontario peninsula, and suffered many casualties fighting a western coalition of Ojibwas, Ottawas and Potawatomis. In August 1701 the Iroquois finally made peace with the French at a gathering at Montreal; simultaneously they renewed their commitment to the Covenant Chain at a meeting at Albany, and by so doing entered into a new policy of armed neutrality between the two great powers.

18th CENTURY WARS

Sir William Johnson, Baronet: a contemporary engraving, made when he was about 45 years of age. The paramount influence over the Mohawks after his arrival in their homeland in 1738 until his death in 1774, he gained enormous wealth and prestige as a businessman, soldier, empire-builder and British Indian Commissioner.



During much of the first half of the 18th century the neutrality held, despite some scattered acts of partisanship. The Five Nations exerted judicious pressure on their wards, the Delawares and Shawnees, who largely supported French interests during the various phases of “Queen Anne’s War” (1702–13) and “King George’s War” (1744–48), which mirrored the Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Successions in Europe. The Iroquois helped the English colonists keep their frontier intact despite French and Indian raids from Canada. With the French missionaries gone from Iroquoia, pastors of the Dutch Reformed Church and clergy of the Anglican faith made many converts, particularly amongst the

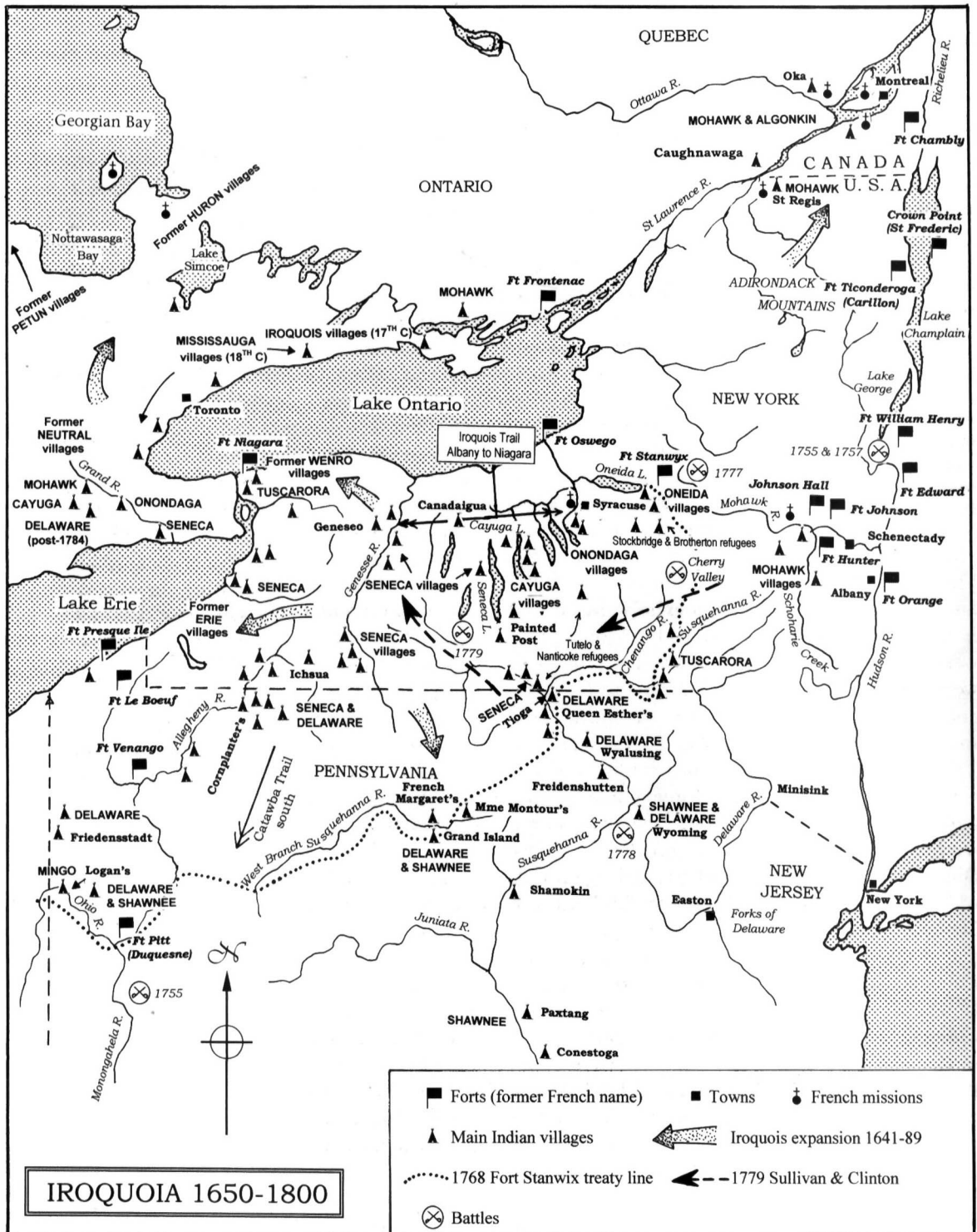
Mohawks who had remained in their old haunts along the Mohawk river. The Anglican missionaries devised a system of writing in the Mohawk language, and provided schooling for children; this further deepened the Mohawk alliance with the English. In 1710 three Iroquois chiefs and a Mahican visited London; they were presented at court, and painted by Jan Verelst. (They were also given sets of silver communion service plate; these are still used today in Mohawk communities in Ontario, by descendants of the remaining New York Mohawks who were forced to leave their valley following the American Revolution.)

Between 1713 and 1722 an Iroquoian-speaking tribe, the Tuscarora from North Carolina, migrated north to join the Confederacy as a sixth nation. They had been involved in a bitter struggle with the colonists and, pressured beyond endurance, they finally took refuge with the Oneidas. The Five Nations had become Six Nations.

Sir William Johnson and the French and Indian War

By about 1725 the European settlers in the Mohawk valley numbered about 1,500 people. The largest settlements were Schenectady, established

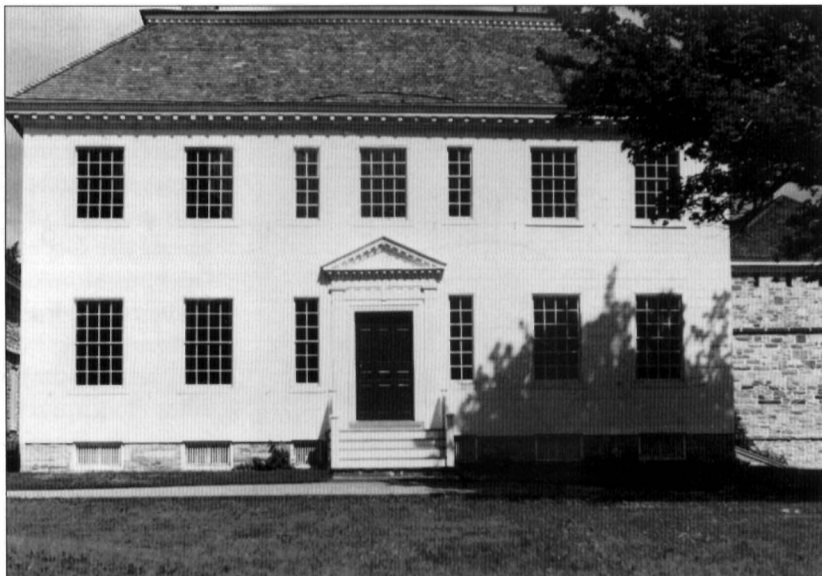
by the Dutch; Fort Hunter, an English mission; and Canajoharie and German Flats, settled by the Palatines – Protestant refugees from the Rhineland. Near all these settlements were dotted Indian villages and cornfields. It was in 1738 that a young Anglo-Irishman, William Johnson,



arrived in the valley; he was subsequently to build a huge commercial empire from the fur trade and land deals. Within three years he had built a fortress-like home, Mount Johnson, and had begun a long association with the Mohawks. His second wife, Caroline, was the niece of old "King Hendrick," who was one of the sachems who had visited London in 1710. After her death he married as his third wife Molly Brant; her younger brother, Joseph Brant, was a great-grandson of another of the leaders

who had travelled to London in 1710, and was destined to become a captain in the British Army during the American Revolution. (By this time converted Mohawks had often been given English names.) In 1745, Johnson was appointed British Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and in 1755, Superintendent of Indian Affairs by Gen Braddock, the newly arrived British military commander.

As is well known, shortly after the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1755–63), Gen Braddock's column of two British regiments and Virginian provincials was ambushed and almost annihilated by a French and Indian force on the Monogahela river on 9 July 1755. The French had already secured the western flank of Iroquoia and the Six Nations were no longer able, or were unwilling, to control the Delawares, who were now allies of the French. After Braddock's disaster the British and colonists were heartened by a victory won at Lac du St Sacrement by the inexperienced but spirited William Johnson, leading a force of about 2,000 colonial troops with some hundreds of Mohawks and Oneidas in support. Part of Johnson's force made an unsuccessful attempt to ambush a French force of about 1,000 troops with 700 Canadian Indians from Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga), led by the German general Baron Dieskau; Hendrick, who had warned against the attempt, was killed with some 200 others, and Johnson fell back to his camp on Lac du St Sacrement. On 8 September, Dieskau attacked Johnson's improvised defenses, but failed with heavy loss, and he himself was captured. During the fighting several hundred Canadians and Indians were fiercely attacked by the Colonials and their bodies thrown into a small lake, which is still known as "Bloody Pond." Johnson, badly wounded, renamed Lac du St Sacrement as Lake George in honor of King George II, and built Fort William Henry. The Mohawks had suffered heavy losses in this campaign, but found Johnson a brave and reliable new leader, who united the Iroquois behind him. He was rewarded by the crown with a baronetcy and a large cash grant.³



Johnson Hall, Johnstown, NY, completed in 1763 and occupied by Sir William Johnson and his Mohawk wife Molly Brant until his death in 1774. Here he sheltered Indians and entertained other distinguished guests from Albany, New York and London. As many as 60–80 Indians often camped in the grounds, and a dozen black slaves, attired like Indians, lived in wooden cabins across Cayadutta Creek nearby. Johnson was adopted as a war chief of the Canajoharie Mohawks; his nickname was Orihwane, "Big Business." (M.G.Johnson photograph, 1987)

³ For fuller accounts of this and other campaigns of this war, see MAA 48, *Wolfes Army* (Revised edition)



Colonel Guy Johnson, nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson. The background figure may be Karonghyontye (Capt David Hill), a Mohawk leader, or possibly his brother Lt John Hill. Johnson wears a scarlet coat with a robe, leggings, sash and moccasins of native make; he holds what appears to be a black "light infantry" style cap, also with quillwork and feathered decoration. Compare the robe with the Wright painting on page 4. Painting by Benjamin West (1738–1820). (National Gallery of Art, Washington DC)

For several years Sir William exerted himself to keep the Iroquois friendly to Britain's cause, or at least neutral, despite a series of disheartening military failures – at Oswego in 1756, Louisbourg the following year, and worst of all at Fort William Henry in August 1757. The Marquis de Montcalm, with an army of 6,000 troops and 1,700 Indians, forced the fort's surrender by its commander, Col George Monro. Montcalm allowed surviving occupants to leave the fort, but could not stop his Indians killing many of them as they tried to reach Fort Edward. In July 1758, Gen James Abercromby failed to capture Fort Carillon; but the British forces in America had now been greatly reinforced, and that same month the tide turned with Gen Amhersts capture of Louisbourg at a second attempt, giving the British the key to the St Lawrence river.

Fort Frontenac fell to Col Bradstreet in August 1758; and in the west, an expedition led by Gen Forbes found Fort Duquesne (now to be Fort Pitt) deserted and dismantled when they reached it in November. The Iroquois climaxed a campaign of diplomatic pressure by bringing the Delawares and Shawnees to heel at the treaty of Easton in October 1758. The French continued to hold Venango, Le Boeuf and Presque Isle for another year; but in July 1759, Fort Niagara fell to Sir William Johnson

leading regulars and provincials augmented by over 900 Iroquois. General Amherst doggedly captured the lake forts one by one against little opposition; and on 13 September, Gen Wolfe won his decisive victory at Quebec. The defeat of the French in North America was finally ratified in the Peace of Paris in 1763, by which France forfeited everything east of the Mississippi river except for an enclave around New Orleans. The Iroquois had played a major supporting role in their defeat.

Johnson's home was palisaded in 1755, and became known as Fort Johnson; but with the return of peace Sir William was able to build a stately mansion called Johnson Hall, and he moved from his fort into this residence in 1763. He had numerous children: two daughters and a son, John, by his first wife Catharine Weisenburg; by Caroline, two daughters and a son, William of Canajoharie; and by Molly he had eight children in 20 years. Amongst the neighbours and intimate friends of Sir William were the Butler and Croghan families, and the Mohawk families of Peters, Hill and Brant – all to play important roles in the future. In the spring of 1763 a coalition of western Indians led by the remarkable Ottawa chief Pontiac – mainly Ottawas, Ojibwas, Potawatomi, Delawares, Shawnees, Mingos and Wyandots (reformed Hurons in the Ohio country) – attacked and captured Forts Sandusky, Miami, Ouiatenon and Michilimackinac; they were joined by the western Senecas, who captured Forts Venango and Le Boeuf, and together they took Fort Presque Isle (Erie). In all, between May and July eight of 12 British forts in Indian territory were captured, one was abandoned as indefensible, and Forts Pitt

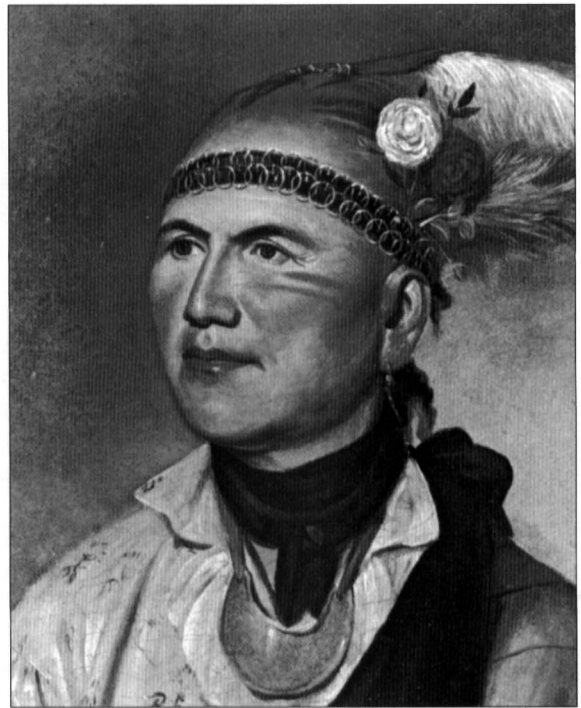
and Detroit were under siege. This Pontiac War or "Conspiracy" was largely caused by the arrogance of Gen Amherst, the British commander-in-chief in North America; instead of treading softly at a time when the loss of their long-time French allies was unsettling the tribes, Amherst seemed almost deliberately to provoke them. Despite the warnings of Sir William Johnson and his agent George Croghan, Amherst ordered the abandonment of the accustomed French practice of giving presents to the Indians, including food in winter and powder and shot for hunting. The camaraderie which the French trappers and *coureurs de bois* (mixed-blood hunters) had enjoyed with the Indians was forbidden by the British.

Fort Pitt was relieved and Detroit reinforced in August 1763, though Pontiac managed to keep most of his warriors around the latter well into October. The following year Col Henri Bouquet took an army west to the Forks of the Muskingum, which brought hostilities to an end. Pontiac and his followers were overawed by this display of force, sued for peace, and finally, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, concluded a treaty in 1766 at Oswego. In 1768 Johnson made a formal treaty with all the Indians at Fort Stanwix, New York, which set out the boundaries between the American colonies and Indian country.

The death of Sir William Johnson occurred at the most critical period of American colonial history. In July 1774 he held his last conference with the Iroquois in the grounds of Johnson Hall, and while the chiefs had adjourned to deliberate he suffered an apoplectic fit and died. His influence with the Mohawks had been unique; and through his many children he has descendants amongst them to this day. In compliance with his request Col Guy Johnson (Sir Williams son-in-law) became Superintendent of the Six Nations, while his son, Sir John, received his father's appointment as Major-General of the Militia.

Joseph Brant and the American Revolution

The eight-year war that broke out when the first shots were fired at Lexington on 19 April 1775 would give birth to the United States of America, but would bring the Iroquois Confederacy to an end as a significant political and military power. Through the offices of Rev Samuel Kirkland, a Congregational missionary to the Oneidas, they, the Tuscaroras and the Stockbridges (a mixed group of Algonkians, mostly Mohicans) pledged to remain neutral, but as the war progressed they gradually moved to support the American Colonists. Meanwhile, John and Guy Johnson were using every endeavor to win over the Mohawks, Senecas and Cayugas to the British cause. Guy Johnson's Mohawks moved to Oswego; later another party of Mohawks were interviewed in Montreal by Gen Sir Frederick Haldimand and Governor-General Sir Guy Carleton, who induced them to take up arms on the side of the crown under the leadership of John Johnson and the Mohawk Joseph



Joseph Brant (1742–1807), the Mohawk leader and supporter of the British during the American Revolution. He visited England twice, and became the most painted Native American of his time. This portrait by Charles Willson Peale was made in 1797. (Independence National Historical Park Collection, Philadelphia)

Brant, with the close support of Col John Butler and his son, Lt Walter Butler, and their Rangers. For a time the Mohawks too remained neutral; but the war engulfed their country and the non-Indian settlements there, and on several occasions Iroquois fought Iroquois.

Joseph Brant or Thayendanegea was born in 1742 or 1743 in the Ohio country, where Iroquois bands often lived and hunted. His Indian name means "Two wagers (sticks) bound together" (side by side), and his parents came from the Mohawk village of Canajoharie in their homeland on the Mohawk river. His natural father died while in the Ohio country; upon her return to Canajoharie his mother married an Indian leader called Brant, whose grandfather "Old Smoke" had been one of the sachems who had visited England in 1710. Henceforward Joseph took his stepfather's surname. His elder stepsister Molly became the third wife of Sir William Johnson, and it was no doubt she who drew her husband's attention to her brother's potential as a future Indian leader. As a youth he was present at the battles of Lake George and Fort Niagara. At the age of 18, Brant was sent by Johnson to Eleazar Wheelocks Indian school in Connecticut to complete his Christian education. In November 1775, Brant accompanied Guy Johnson to London – the first of two visits to England – and King George III conferred upon him the rank of captain.

Upon his return Joseph Brant became the scourge of the American settlements of New York and Pennsylvania; he has been associated with the atrocities which occurred at Wyoming, Kingston, Pennsylvania and Cherry Valley, Otsego County, New York, although he was probably not even present at Wyoming. The Mohawks aided British regular troops at the battles at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany. So destructive were the raids of the pro-British Iroquois and the Loyalists that New York appealed to the Continental Congress for help. In 1779 Gen Washington authorized an invasion of Iroquoia, and two armies under Gens Sullivan and Clinton destroyed all the hostile Indian villages along the Genesee river. They burned huge amounts of food, forcing the Senecas back to Fort Niagara. In the following spring, Brant continued to raid American settlements and burned Oneida and Tuscarora villages in retaliation for their support of the Americans.

As the tide of war turned against the British, Brant visited Quebec in 1779 and obtained assurances that lands in Canada would be found

for the Indians who had remained loyal to the crown. At the close of the war he and his Mohawks moved to the Grand river in Ontario, and in order to obtain help for the destitute Iroquois he made a second visit to England. Thereafter Brant – no doubt modelling himself on Sir William Johnson – lived something of the life of an English squire at his home at Burlington,

Reconstructed stone buildings at Fort Ticonderoga on the shore of Lake Champlain. Built by the French as Fort Carillon in 1755 after Baron Dieskau's defeat at Lake George, this was the base for Montcalm's campaign against Fort William Henry in 1758. Captured by Amherst in 1759 and renamed Ticonderoga, the fort changed hands twice during the American Revolution. During the French and Indian War several skirmishes took place in the surrounding areas between the French and their allies and Maj Robert Rogers Rangers, his Stockbridge scouts and Iroquois warriors. (M.G.Johnson photograph, 1987)

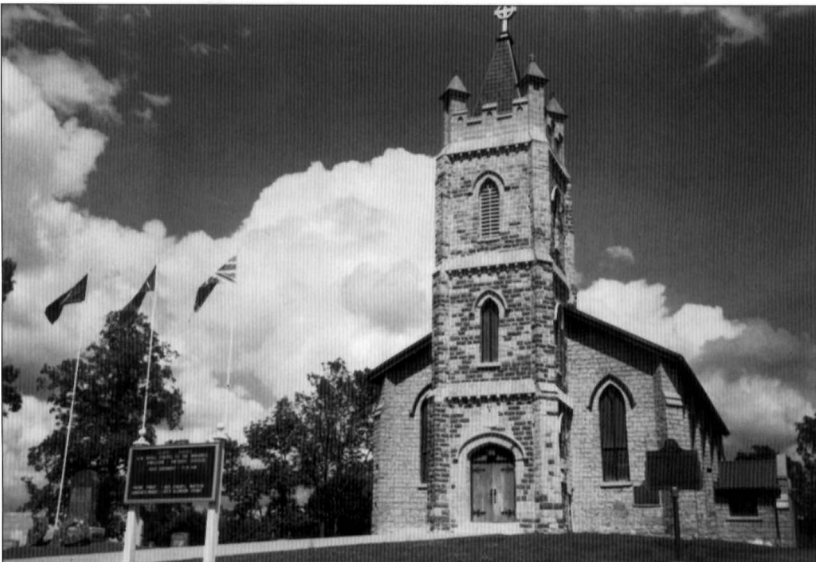


Ontario; but he has been criticized for conveying tracts of land on the Six Nations Reserve to whites. He was in many ways a man of letters, having supervised a new edition of the Prayer Book and Psalms in the Mohawk language, to which he added his own translation of the Gospel of St Mark. He died in 1807, and is buried in the grounds of the Mohawk Chapel (built 1785) close to the city which today bears his name, Brantford.

In 1784 another group of loyal Mohawks under the leadership of John Deserontyon, Aaron and Isaac Hill, who had at first left the Mohawk Valley for Lachine, found a home on the shores of the Bay of Quinte, now the reserve of Tyendinaga. Both the Six Nations (Brantford) and Tyendinaga Mohawks still preserve the silver communion service plate received from Queen Anne in 1710, taken to Canada from their old church at Fort Hunter in the Mohawk Valley.

DISINTEGRATION AND RENAISSANCE: 1783 TO THE PRESENT DAY

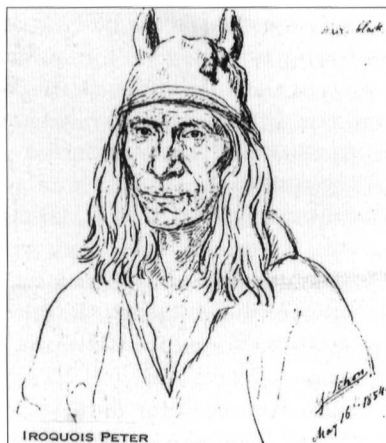
Christ Church (Anglican), Her Majesty's Royal Chapel to the Mohawks, at Tyendinaga Reserve near Deseronto, Ontario. This is the home of the descendants of the last Mohawk Loyalists (to the British crown) to leave their homeland at Fort Hunter in New York State after the Revolution; 15 canoes landed close by to found the reserve in 1784. Note the Mohawk, Canadian and Union flags; to the left is a war memorial to men of the reserve who gave their lives in World War II. (M.G.Johnson photograph, 2000)



At the end of the American Revolution the British and Americans signed the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Although no provisions were made for the Loyalist Iroquois, Haldimand pressured the British government to approve his earlier assurances to Brant that compensatory lands would be found in Canada; consequently, the Six Nations Reserve was formally created along the Grand river on the Ontario peninsula. Here all the six tribes were represented. After centuries of conquest and domination the "People of the Longhouse" who remained within the borders of the new United States were left at the mercy of the new American administration; they were forced to sign a second treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784 and another at Canandaigua in 1794, which deprived the Iroquois of much Seneca land in western New York and Pennsylvania. As the American administration no longer recognized the old 1768 Stanwix Treaty which determined the boundary line between the British and the Ohio valley tribes, settlers and land speculators sought to extinguish Indian land

rights beyond the Ohio river. When a new war broke out in the old Northwest, the Iroquois were persuaded not to join the Miamis, Shawnees and Wyandots in their struggle with the Americans by Cornplanter (Gyantwahia or Giantwaka), also known as John O'Bail. Cornplanter, a half-white who had fought for the British in the Revolution, now became friendly to the Americans; he was generally forward-looking and constructive, and his followers quickly adopted

Iroquois of the West: two Iroquois men, Pierre and Aeneas (Ignace), living amongst the Flathead Indians in Montana when drawn by Gustavus Sohon in 1854. Aeneas' father was hired by David Thompson in Kutenai country in 1811; and a number of Indian people in Montana today are descended from Aeneas.



the white mans lifestyle at his model community in northern Pennsylvania (although he was to die a disillusioned man in 1836).

New York officials under Governor George Clinton continued to pressure the Iroquois to sell more land. The private land companies took



"Indian Chief of the Six Nations," c1860 (photographer unknown). Note the nose ring and the painted moustache. He wears a beaded baldric over a buckskin jacket; his beaded cap has feathers and horsehair attached, and is of a type remembered by the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma until recently. (M.G.Johnson collection)

advantage of Indian factionalism and successfully whittled away the Iroquois domain. Former warriors were forced to take up farming – normally the preserve of their women – and hunting was restricted. The shrinking reservation communities witnessed a consequent loss of morale, with idleness, drunkenness, violence and family instability.

The lands of the Oneidas were reduced to a few acres; many Oneidas, under the influence of the Mohawk minister Eleazar Williams, moved to lands purchased from the Menomini Indians in Wisconsin, or to Ontario (Oneidatown) where they re-established friendship with the revived Confederacy at Six Nations, Ontario. The Cayugas sold almost all their land around Cayuga Lake and went to live with the Senecas and Onondagas. In the 1830s the US government had a policy of forcing all Indians east of the Mississippi to move to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), and two small Iroquois communities in Ohio were ultimately forced to live in Oklahoma as the “Seneca-Cayuga.” In 1838 the Holland Land Company used forgery to negotiate a treaty at Buffalo Creek, thus depriving the Senecas of all their land in western New York. Fortunately, with the help of Quakers and Asher Wright (the Seneca’s missionary), the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations were returned in 1842, and Tonawanda in 1857. These, together with Onondaga, Tuscarora and St Regis established between 1788 and 1799, formed the New York reservations that have existed until the present day – though much reduced in size. However, even as late as the 1950s state and federal governments confiscated areas of their remaining reservations for dams, reservoirs and roads. The Cornplanter grant in Pennsylvania, given to the old chief for his help in keeping the Iroquois out of the wars in the Ohio country in the 1790s, was totally flooded by the Kinzua Dam.

By the 1850s, however, schooling had begun to benefit a new generation of Iroquois men, who were developing business skills, attending colleges and becoming prosperous farmers. A revival of the old native religion, inspired by Cornplanters half-brother Handsome Lake (Ganiodariyo or Skanyadario) after a vision in May 1799, had spread to a number of the reservation communities. This “Good Message” which he received in visions gave instructions from the Creator for moral and social reform, with a strong stance against alcohol abuse and witchcraft; it contained elements of both traditional and Christian values. Codified in their Longhouse Religion it became, and still remains, a force for the maintenance of Iroquois identity and unity.



The Oneida chief John Danford, Oneidatown, Ontario, c1890. He wears typical chief's dress of the late 19th century, with straight-up feather headdress, beaded coat, leggings, moccasins and pouch, and holds a bow, arrows and tomahawk.



Charles Johnson, Seneca, at Tonawanda Reservation, NY, c1900. He wears Iroquois leggings, moccasins and sashes. (Written Heritage Collection, Louisiana)

Those descendants of the Iroquois won over to the French interest in the 17th century, who had settled at the Catholic missions at St Regis, Caughnawaga and Oka, gradually re-established contact with the New York and Six Nations Iroquois who had once expelled them. These Catholic Iroquois, many of them descended from great warriors, had naturally enough sided with the French during the long period of the intercolonial wars. When the American Revolution broke out they had refused to take up arms against the American colonists alongside Joseph Brants Mohawks; although urged to do so by Sir Guy Carleton, they maintained their neutrality. Some actually joined the Colonial army, such as Louis Cook (Atiatonharonkwen), a St Regis Mohawk who rose to the rank of captain. During the War of 1812 the St Regis settlements were disturbed by incursions of both American and British troops. The Catholic Iroquois of later generations began to share in some of the prosperity and progress of both the US and Canada, supporting themselves by means of agriculture and in the 19th century by the manufacture of baskets, sleds, boats, moccasins, snowshoes and articles ornamented with beadwork. In the late 18th century and early 19th century a number of Iroquois men and a few women from Caughnawaga, Oka and St Regis joined the North West and Hudsons Bay fur companies as voyageurs and trappers; a group called Michels Band settled near Edmonton, Alberta, and others joined the Flatheads in Montana.

The Mohawks of Caughnawaga were noted for being especially brave and skilled raftsmen and river pilots; one Jean Baptiste was a famous excursion steamer pilot along the St Lawrence during the 19th century. When the British government was fitting out the "Gordon relief expedition" for Khartoum in the Sudan in 1884, an invitation was extended to the Caughnawaga raftsmen to join it. About 100 of them did so, and dextrously carried British troops through the cataracts (rapids) of the Upper Nile. On their return to England they were thanked by Queen Victoria in person for their services to the empire before recrossing the ocean to Caughnawaga, well pleased with their venture into foreign lands.

During the 19th century a significant number of Iroquois from St Regis, Caughnawaga and Oka were converted to Protestantism, but in the 20th century a number embraced the revised Longhouse Religion that is still active at Grand River and at various places in New York.

In 1886, when a bridge was being erected across the St Lawrence, Iroquois men from Caughnawaga (now Kahnawake) were hired to help in the construction work. So adept did these workers prove that they have become renowned as steelwork erectors throughout America and Canada, and many skyscrapers have been erected by Iroquois steelmen.

Today about 50,000 Iroquois descendants are still living on the US reservations, Canadian reserves, or in the cities of the northeast; they may be college graduates, steelworkers, artists, blue- or white-collar workers, but they are still Iroquois, Haudenosaunee, "People of the Longhouse." It is probably true, however, that there are few if any persons of full Iroquois descent living today, which is not surprising after nearly five centuries of European contact, adoption and intermarriage with whites and other Indian groups.

IROQUOIS CULTURE

Social organization

The basic Iroquois unit was the extended family; people related by blood and marriage were grouped into clans tracing descent through the female line (matrilineal clans). Marriage was forbidden between members of the same clan. Each clan comprised a headwoman, known as a matron, her immediate male and female descendants, and the issue through the female line. The average extended family numbered between 50 and 200 persons grouped into individual "firesides" of husband, wife and immediate children. The tribe was made up of a number of clans, with names derived from animals. The clans of the tribe were divided between two halves, technically termed "moieties," which carried out various ritualistic or social functions.

The council which administered the affairs of the Confederacy was composed of 50 chiefs or sachems in accordance with the tradition of the first Grand Council assembled by Deganawidah. These sachems were elected to the Council from prescribed clan segments within the moieties of each of the five original tribes, again in accordance with the number of chiefs from each tribe at the original Grand Council. Each chief took the name of one of the original sachems, somewhat like taking an hereditary aristocratic title.

Although some variations have been reported, the moiety groupings of the clans are believed to have been as follows:

Mohawk (three clans):

Moiety (A) Clans: Wolf, Bear

Moiety (B) Clan: Turtle

Oneida (three clans):

Moiety (A) Clan: Wolf

Moiety (B) Clans: Turtle, Bear

Onondaga (nine clans):

Moiety (A) Clans: Wolf, Tortoise, Snipe, Eagle, Beaver

Moiety (B) Clans: Deer, Bear, Hawk, Eel

Seneca (nine clans):

Moiety (A) Clans: Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Heron

Moiety (B) Clans: Snipe, Deer, Hawk, Eel

Cayuga (ten clans):

Moiety (A) Clans: Heron, Wolf, Plover, Hawk, Snipe

Moiety (B) Clans: Deer, Ball, Turtle, Bear (x 2 clans)

Tuscarora (seven clans):

Moiety (A) Clans: Wolf, Bear

Moiety (B) Clans: Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Eel, Snipe

Sometimes in Council, *Moiety (A)* was called the Wolf *Moiety* and *(B)* the Turtle or Deer *Moiety*, from their leading clans. The centrally located Onondaga became responsible for calling the Grand or "Federal" Councils of the five tribes who had confirmed the Great Peace or Great Law.

Iroquois crafts (left to right): elm bark rattle, snow snake, False Face mask, turtle rattle, and ash splint basket - all 20th century. (M.G.Johnson collection)



By tradition the 50 chiefs or sachems were made up of nine Mohawk, nine Oneida, 14 Onondaga, eight Seneca and ten Cayuga chiefs. After they were adopted as the sixth nation the affairs of the Tuscarora were the responsibility of the Oneidas, their original sponsors.

Tadodaho, the Onondaga chief who according to tradition initially opposed the formation of the league, became its leading chief, but his position was "first amongst equals." Before any action could be taken all chiefs had to agree, so that each had a veto. Deganawidah held no position; and Hiawatha's was (and continues to be) the second Turtle sachem of the Mohawks. The Grand Council was also a forum for deciding action via two groups within the council: the Elder Brothers (Mohawk, Onondagas and Senecas), and the Younger Brothers (Oneidas and Cayugas).

In addition to these hereditary council chiefs there were assistants called "Pinetree Chiefs" and "War Chiefs," advisors who were not voting members. In ancient times these men acted as ambassadors, speakers, messengers and war captains. Today, after four and a half centuries, this traditional form of government still survives in both Canada and New York. It is often at odds with conventionally elected reservation councils, and is probably in the twilight of its existence. Few nations can claim such a long period of political, social and religious cohesion.

Upon the death of a sachem or Confederacy Chief, his title at first passed to his clan-mother, who notified the Great Council to convene a Condolence Council. Today, since the league is split between New York State and Canada, such councils may be held at Onondaga or Six Nations. The Council meets to "raise up" a successor to the vacant position; the surviving federal chiefs, with matrons and war chiefs, "requicken" the people by installing a successor to the office. During a ceremony, the chiefs carried to the bereaved longhouse a Condolence Cane which had mnemonic carved designs preserving the Roll Call eulogy chant, and listing in totemic form the names of the original titles of the Federal Chiefs. This Roll Call was chanted, the Laws of the Confederacy were recounted, and the non-mourning

moiety delivered the Requickening Address to restore minds depressed by grief. Smaller condolence ceremonies were given at funerals of other leaders who were not federal chiefs, such as War or Pinetree chiefs, and Faithkeepers (deacons) of the Longhouse Religion; these were (and still are) called "Little Condolences."

Religion and ceremonial life

Iroquois religious and ceremonial life centered on the belief that all

Huron longhouse and village reconstructed at the Huron Indian Village, Midland, Ontario. The longhouse, palisades, and platforms of the Iroquois villages of around 1650 would have looked very similar. (M.G.Johnson photograph, 2000)



beings, animals, plant foods and objects were imbued with power or spirit-force *otennota, orenda*, that flowed through all nature. Analysis of prayers shows an Iroquois pantheon of three spirit orders: spirit forces on earth; a middle level of spirits above the earth; and an upper pantheon of forces controlling the universe. Prayers and thanksgiving songs addressed to the spirit world run through these deities upward to the Creator, "He who Holds the Sky" (Hawenniyo) – perhaps an influence of the early Catholic missionaries. Some rites are addressed to the Creator, others to the spirit of cultivated plants, and a number to earth-bound animals by the medicine societies. The principal religious festivals conform to the calendrical agricultural cycle:

Midwinter or New Year Festival In late January, traditionally held when the Pleiades are on the meridian at dusk or when game begin to rut. The festival's function was to renew the ceremonial associations, give thanks to the Creator and to all spirit forces on earth, above and universal. The medicine societies were active to cure ailments and to hear dream revelations.

Maple Festival In March, to give thanks to the maple spirits after the sap is collected.

Sun Shooting In spring, to give thanks to the sun – to dislodge from the sun a frog which retards the onset of spring.

Planting Festival or Seed Dance In May, to ask the Creator to bless seeds before planting.

Strawberry Festival In June, to give thanks for the ripening of the first fruits.

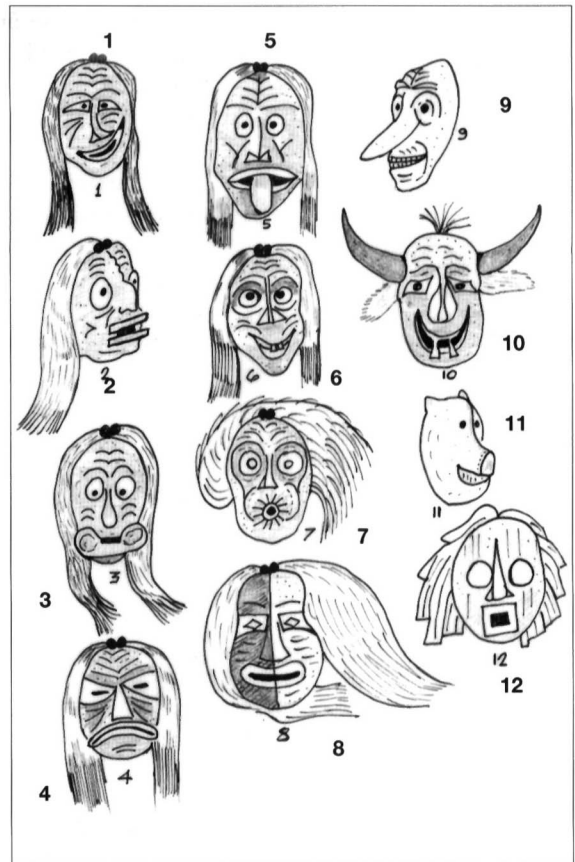
Thunder Ceremony To bring rain.

Green Bean Festival In August, to celebrate the ripening of the first cultivated crop.

Green Corn Festival In late August, to give thanks for all crops which have matured; this repeats many of the rituals of the Midwinter Festival.

Harvest Festival In October, to celebrate the storing of crops for the winter, thus completing the agricultural cycle.

In earlier times 17 festivals have been reported, but today five or six are usually observed. The Midwinter and Green Corn solstice ceremonies are the major festivals, at which the four sacred rituals are performed that return thanks to the Creator for the "Three Sisters, our life supporters": maize (Indian corn), beans and squash. These rites are the Great Feather Dance, Thanksgiving Dance, Personal Chant and Bowl Game. Their functions are given below, together with some of the medicine societies and other rites.



The principal forms of Iroquois wooden masks as classified by Dr W.N.Fenton. Many masks used in rituals have tin plate eyes, white horse hair, and tobacco tied into the hair. (1) The Old Crooked Face, Doctor mask, rim of the world figure "Hadui"; many are from Grand River Reserve, Canada. (2) Doctor mask with straight lips. (3) Spoon-lipped mask, sometimes with tongue; Doctor mask, and often used as Doorkeepers mask; many are Seneca. (4) Hanging mouth mask; sometimes Doctor masks. (5) Protruding tongue mask, often used by Beggars and Common Faces. (6) Smiling mask, often used by Beggars. (7) Whistling mask, with puckered lips and wrinkles; Doctor mask. (8) Divided mask, sometimes called Wind or Delaware masks; used by Idos Medicine Society; half-black, half-red. (9) Longnose mask, usually made of cloth or buckskin, occasionally of wood. (10) Horned or Buffalo mask, used by Idos Medicine Society. (11) Animal mask (various species), used by Idos Medicine Society. (12) Blind mask, without eyes, used by Idos Medicine Society.

Great Feather Dance	Thanks to the Creator
Thanksgiving Dance	Thanks to the Creator
Individual (Personal) Chants (men)	Thanks to the Creator
Bowl Game	Thanks to the Creator
Ashes Stirring	Dream fulfilment
Striking-the-Stick (Pole) Dance	To cure, and to bring rain
False Face Society	To exorcise (cure) disease
Husk Face Society	Messengers of the food spirits
Medicine Society	Curing
(Society of Medicine Men, Idos)	
Buffalo Dance	Curing, and dream fulfilment
(Company of Mystic Animals)	
Women Planters	Thanks to the vegetables
Womens' Shuffle Dances	Thanks to the food spirits
(Harvest Dances)	
Hand-in-Hand Dance	Now a social dance
(Bean Dance)	
Corn Dance	Now a social dance
Stomp Dance	Now a social dance

The medicine societies may sometimes meet three or four times a year. Of these the Society of False Faces is the most famous (curing), followed by the Husk Face Society (agricultural spirits) and the secret Society of Medicine Men. Other societies, e.g. Little Water, Little People, and the Company of Mystic Animals, are in reality orders of the Society of Medicine Men.

Those thanksgiving ceremonies which continue today are basically the same as reported in the 1850s by Lewis Henry Morgan, the first man to study Iroquois culture in depth. However, the religion is that influenced by the reformation inspired by Handsome Lake at the beginning of the 19th century. That teacher did not challenge all the old faith, respecting the pantheon of the spirit forces and annual calendrical festivals, but he revitalized the old system by adding a strict moral code which he devised from Quaker influences, being preoccupied by confession and the elimination of witchcraft and alcohol abuse. The emphasis of many rites changed from success in the hunt and in warfare to a curative content; but there remains an attention to dreams and a concern for abundant crops, as reported in the Jesuit *Relations* of the 17th century. The code of Handsome Lake (The Good Word) is preached in shortened form at the Midwinter and Green Corn festivals, but the entire code is recited (today by professional speakers) in the autumn of alternating years at various longhouses.

The name "longhouse" refers to the original long elm bark Iroquois lodge, which in ancient times was the physical home to a number of

(continued on page 33)

Iroquois couple pounding corn with pestle and mortar; probably photographed on the Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, c1890. (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, England)





FOUNDING OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY
(FIVE NATIONS), 16th CENTURY

- 1: Deganawida or Peacemaker
- 2: Tadodaho
- 3: Ayouhwatha or Hiawatha
- 4: Wampum strings



RITUAL

- 1: Indian corn (maize)
- 2: False Face mask ritualist, c1830
- 3: Husk Face Society ritualist, c1820
- 4: Matron oiling a mask, c1845
- 5: Small elm bark longhouse, c1760

THE INVASION OF HURONIA, MID-17th CENTURY

1: Warrior painted and tattooed

2: Winter scout

3: Warrior stripped for battle





VISITORS AT JOHNSON HALL, MID-18th CENTURY

1: Joseph Brant or Thayendanegea 2: Ottawa chief 3: Huron chief 4: Wyandot chief 5: Fox (Mesquakie) chief 6: Fox (Mesquakie) chief

19th CENTURY

- 1: Jimmy Johnson or Shosheowa
- 2: Fishcarrier, c1880
- 3: Koostata, (1856-1942)
- 4: BrigGen Ely S. Parker, (1828-1895)
- 5: Caroline Parker, c1850



1

WOMEN'S TRADITIONAL DRESS

1: Mohawk woman, c1890

2: Mohawk woman with cradle board, c1890

3: Pestle and mortar

4: Woman wearing hood,
mid-19th century

5: Child with corn
husk doll, late
19th century

4

2

5

3





MEN'S TRADITIONAL DRESS

- 1: Red Jacket or Sagoyewatha, c1828
- 2: Youth with lacrosse racquet, c1900
- 3: Warrior, mid-18th century
- 4: Young man with snow snakes, c1890



20th CENTURY

- 1: Modern shawi dancer, Onondaga
- 2: Man's ceremonial dress, c1900
- 3: Modern Tadohaho
- 4: Iroquois steel erector



Wooden war club, Eastern Great Lakes area, 18th century. Many clubs were of maple, and often carved with an animal on the ball head – here, a bear. (Museum of Mankind, London, courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

families. By the late 18th century these dwellings were superseded by log houses of the American frontier type; but the term has survived in a number of major Iroquois communities since the early 19th century to describe the large community buildings used for traditional Iroquois social, political and religious meetings. These long rectangular buildings, made of logs and nowadays covered with clapperboard shingles, have two stoves (equivalent to hearths in bark lodges) near each end, and rows of benches line each side where one (of two) moieties sit. In the central open area dances and ritual events take place around a central bench occupied by singers and drummers. Seating arrangements for either the Wolf or Deer (Turtle) moieties differ depending upon the ceremony. Each longhouse has appropriate *wampum* (see below), as a charter for each congregation. A number of longhouses survive: at Steamburg (Allegany), Newtown (Cattaraugus), Tonawanda (Tonawanda), Onondaga (Onondaga), St Regis Mohawk (St Regis), all in New York State; in Ontario, at Sour Springs, Seneca, Onondaga and Lower Cayuga (all on Six Nations Reserve), and Oneida (Oneidatown); in Quebec Province, at Caughnawaga (or Kahnawake); and a longhouse amongst the Seneca-Cayuga in Oklahoma also hosts some Confederacy functions.

MATERIAL CULTURE

The Iroquois were a village people with semi-permanent settlements, which were moved only when supplies of firewood, food and game gave out, or the soil around the village no longer produced sufficient corn (maize). Early villages were established on level raised areas or hills, secured by log palisades and sometimes flanked by a ditch. The whole enclosure might be some 30 feet high, with fighting platforms. Villages might range from as few as five or six dwellings to as many as 120.

Longhouses ranged from structures as short as 15 feet to as long as 150 feet, between 25 and 15 feet in breadth. They were constructed from layers of elm bark on a frame of uprights and rafters; both curved and pitched roofs were known, with smoke holes at intervals. Longhouses were occupied by anything between two and 20 families, in compartments on each side of a long corridor, with fires burning in shallow bowl-shaped hearths. Sleeping platforms were raised about two feet off the floor, and drying foods hung from the rafters. At each end of the lodge was a shed-like vestibule used for storing firewood. Towards the end of the 18th century the traditional dwellings were replaced by single-family cabins of squared logs, a few of which are still in use today.

The homeland of “Iroquoia” had a varied topography and ecology: it embraced the coniferous forests of the Adirondack mountains, the beech and birch forests in Oneida and Onondaga territory, the elm bottoms and hemlock swamps of Cayuga land, and the basswood pine and oak of Seneca country. Consequently, Iroquois peoples made a wide variety of utensils from the bark of elm, hickory, oak and birch trees. Canoes were usually of elm or birch bark, or dug-outs burnt or hollowed out of heavy logs, but these seem to have largely disappeared by the 1700s and no full size Iroquois canoe seems to have survived. Skilfully fashioned wooden articles, both plain and decorated, domestic and ceremonial, included storage barrels, pails, quivers, bowls, traps,

toboggans, rattles, drums, pestles and mortars, spoons and cradles. The introduction of metal tools from Europe often refined the artistic decoration of such articles. Snowshoes and lacrosse racquets are still made today. Iroquois industries in wood, bark, bone and antlers were rich and varied. Bone and antler provided awls, hunting and fishing equipment; clay was the raw material for pottery with collared rims, sometimes with incised linear designs, and also for smoking pipes. Although the crafts origins may be European, the Iroquois also made huge numbers of ash splint containers for sale to white farmers and tourists.

Masks

Among the Iroquois three distinct medicine societies employ masks. The first are the False Face Company (Hondowitshera), who wear their masks in public or private to perform their rituals at Midwinter and Green Corn festivals, for the exorcism of disease. Some members are Doctors, others Common Faces and Beggars, who help Doctors to cure. The Society of Faces are the people who have been cured by a masked company, either in the longhouse or the homes of patients. The second society is the Husk Faces or Bushy-Heads, with membership gained by a dream or curing dance. The third is the Idos or Secret Medicine Society.

Although there was local diversity in the ritual and practices in Iroquois communities, wooden False Face masks represent earth-bound supernatural forest beings who agree not to molest humans provided they are given offerings of tobacco and corn mush. In return they give curing powers to society dreamers who crave their likeness. Through the mouths of these masks hot ashes from the Doctors hands are blown (as a spiritual force) onto the patient, without noticeable burning. Husk Faces represent another clan of earth-bound supernatural beings who formed a pact with mankind and taught them the arts of hunting and agriculture; their masks are therefore made of braided corn husks. Doctor William Fenton, the leading authority on False Face masks, has classified 12 types of wooden masks – see page 23 – based upon their characteristic mouth shapes (not their functions):

(A) *False Face Society:*

1. The crooked face mask, facially disfigured with a twisted mouth
2. Masks with straight lips running the width of the mouth
3. Spoon-lipped masks
4. Hanging-mouth masks
5. Protruding tongue masks
6. Smiling masks
7. Whistling masks

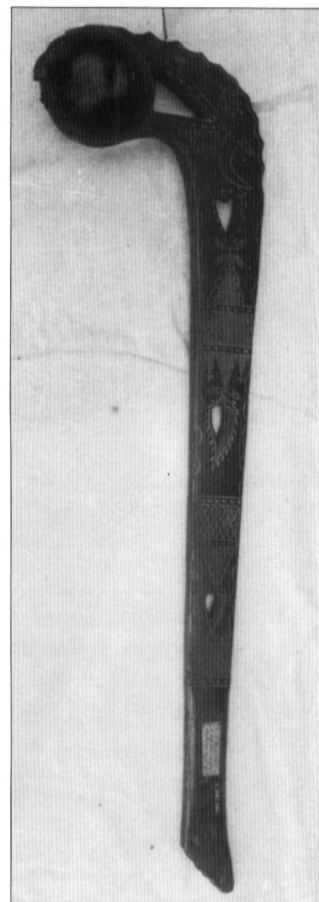
(B) *Husk Face Society:*

Braided corn husk masks, sometimes copying wooden masks

(C) *Idos or Secret Society of Medicine Men, and Company of Mystic Animals:*

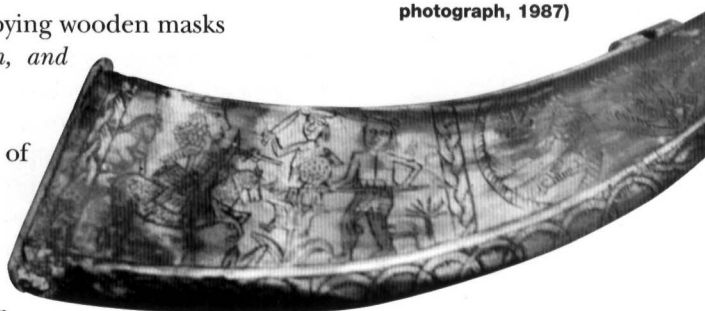
8. Divided masks, half red, half black
9. Long nose masks, sometimes made of cloth or buckskin
10. Horn or Buffalo masks
11. Animal masks – pigs, bears or birds
12. Blind masks, without eyes

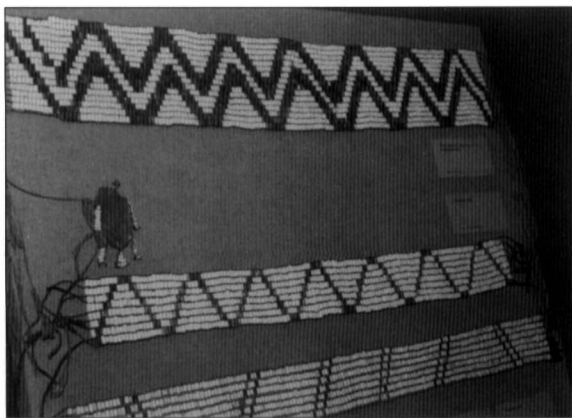
Most masks are carved of bass wood or



War club, Eastern Great Lakes area, c1800. The ball head is carved with a face, and the highly decorated handle has cutouts. (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, England)

Powder horn, 18th century; a flattened cow horn with incised designs, figures and images which may be of Indian or Colonial American origin. On display at Fort Ticonderoga, NY. (M.G.Johnson photograph, 1987)





18th century Iroquois wampum belts; purple designs on white. (Thunderbird and Lightning Exhibition, Museum of Mankind, London, 1982)

willow, sometimes directly into the living tree; and many have tin plate eyes, and hair (horse hair) with tobacco tied into it. Generally types 1, 2 and 7 are Doctors masks, recalling the mythological Great Doctor or "being" whose face was distorted after a fight with his twin brother. The remainder are Common Faces and Beggars. Masked dancers often carry turtle shell rattles and long staffs. Sometimes miniature masks were made as personal guardian masks. Masks 1; 2, 3, and 5 are associated with doctoring; masks 1 and 5 are popular at Onondaga longhouses; masks 2 and 3 are often Doorkeepers at Seneca longhouses while Doctors do their healing work. Masks 9 and 10 may be called in to act as Doctors.

Food and medicine

Corn (maize) was always the staple food of the Iroquois, together with beans and squash, sometimes called "the Three Sisters"; thanksgiving to the Creator for these gifts was central to Iroquois religious life. The entire process of harvesting and preparing of foods was in the hands of the women; and at harvest time Iroquois women used the husks from corn to make rope, hats, dolls and some forms of moccasins. The Iroquois also ate pumpkin, artichokes, leeks, cucumbers and turnips, and a huge variety of berries (black, blue, choke, elder, goose) and nuts, though there is little evidence that these were cultivated. Apples, peaches, pears and cherries, later adopted by the Iroquois, were introduced from Europe. Hominy and soups prepared from corn were boiled in well-made pots of distinctive shapes, which were quickly discarded after the arrival of white traders brought sought-after brass and copper kettles.

The Iroquois were also hunters, and the bones of bison, deer, elk, bear, porcupine, raccoon, martin and other animals have been recovered from archaeological sites. After about 1620, pigs, geese and chickens were introduced by the white man. Horses were in common use after 1700. Hunting was undertaken by family groups between harvest time and midwinter, when the villages were largely abandoned for hunting camps in the forest. Deadfalls, nooses, snares and nets were used for trapping. Fishing was done with nets of vegetable fiber weighted with notched pebbles.

The Iroquois used many plants known to have had medicinal properties, employing them for curing the ailments which resulted from their way of life. Alternating periods of feasting and famine introduced digestive disorders, rheumatism and pneumonia, and years of living in smoke-filled longhouses brought on conjunctivitis with advancing years. As late as the 1930s Senecas were selling Indian herbal medicines to whites living near the Allegany Reservation in New York. Iroquois also adopted European remedies for diseases when their own had no effect.

Weapons and warfare

Weapons in early times comprised the bow and arrows with triangular shaped flint tips. Quivers were made of woven corn husks, bark or skin

and sometimes decorated in quillwork. Wooden shields were made of rods fastened together with hide thongs. The war club was a heavy weapon about two feet long, with a globular head about six inches in diameter. The head was sometimes carved with a human face or an animal or reptile holding the "ball" in its mouth; sometimes the shaft or handle was also carved. Metal hatchets and knives were introduced by white traders, including the iron or steel tomahawks combining a blade with a pipe – the pipe-tomahawk.

War chiefs stood apart from civil sachems, recruiting war parties from among the young men. Before taking to the field warriors ritually purified themselves, feasted, danced, and struck a war pole symbolically painted red. Scalps and prisoners were sought, the latter usually being atrociously tortured before being burned at the stake (such was the fate of a number of Jesuit missionaries).

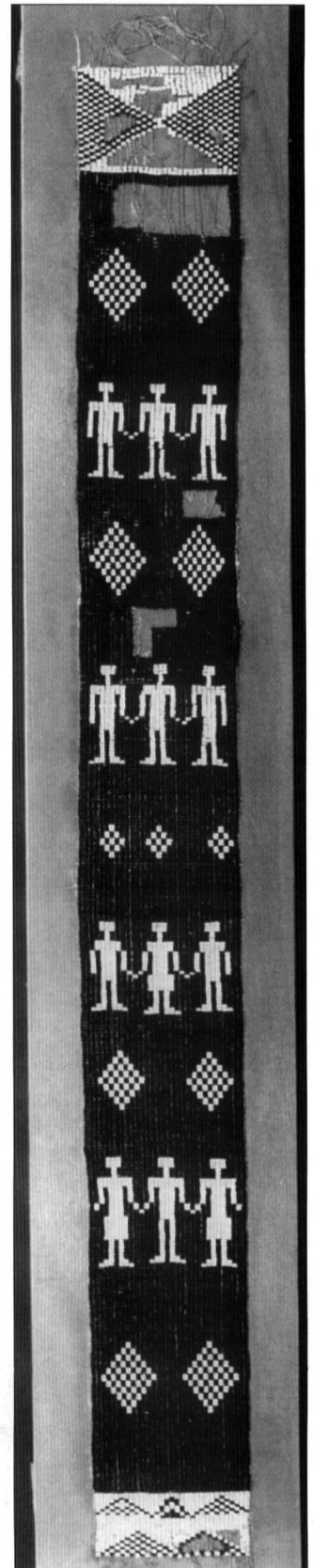
Wampum

Wampum (Kayonhwaoten) is quarter-inch-long cylindrical beads made from the quahog or round clam shell, found along the Atlantic coast. Originally it was largely produced by the Algonkian Indians of Long Island Sound and traded inland by the Narragansett tribe in exchange for furs. Wampum was of two colors, white and purple, and was strung on threads of twisted elm bark. Strings were used for personal decoration as well as trading purposes. Originally Indians drilled wampum with native implements; later iron drills were substituted, and in the 18th century white people also became wampum makers. According to Iroquois tradition, wampum was first introduced to the Iroquois by Hiawatha (Ayouhwatha), and was used to console the founding chiefs in mourning for their losses in war and for requickening, *orenda*; hence wampum has been used in the Condolence Ceremony to this day when raising up a new Confederacy Chief. Strings of wampum were used as credentials or certificates of authority, for recording the Great Law, and identifying chiefs and matrons. Belts of woven wampum were given and received at treaty ceremonies as seals of friendship or as records, and might contain designs which symbolised the event. White wampum signified peace and purity, purple wampum meant affairs of a civic nature; painted red, it was a war belt. During the 19th and early 20th century many wampum belts were sold to museums and collectors, but recently a number have been returned to the Iroquois. The early adoption of European trade beads may have had religious overtones in addition to their ornamental qualities, since the Woodland tribes believed in the supernatural powers of quartz crystals.

The production and decoration of bone, antler and stone work for use as knife blades, awls, combs, spoons and mortars required the use of stone adzes, axes and native copper tools. Such objects have been found in great numbers in the old Iroquois archaeological sites.

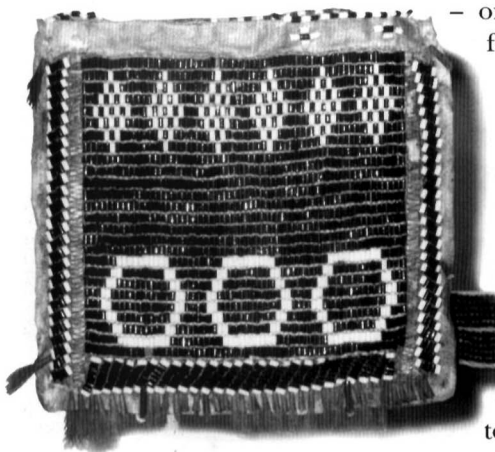
Clothing and personal adornment

We do not have good records of Iroquois clothing at the time of contact with Europeans. Rapid changes took place during the fur trade era, when scissors and needles became available which allowed clothing to be cut and fitted. However, it seems that both men and women wore little in the summer. Women seem to have worn a wrap-around buckskin



OPPOSITE Wampum belt, Iroquoian type, c1780, woven in French glass imitation wampum beads. The design shows human figures holding hands, which usually indicated friendship or alliance, although the dark color of the background beads suggests alliance in war. Collected by Arent Schuyler De Peyster, British commandant at Michilimackinac 1774–79, and later at Detroit, during the American Revolution. (National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool, England)

Pouch, probably Iroquois, 18th century. Of buckskin construction, it is decorated with a panel of glass imitation wampum in white on black; the lower edge and upper corners have tin cone “jingers” tasseled with red deer hair. (Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)



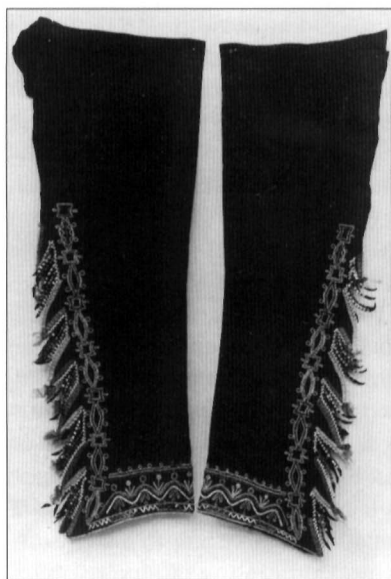
skirt overlapping on the left hand side (as did later cloth skirts), and in colder weather an additional cape-like upper garment with a slit for the head. There is also a possibility that the women wore complete buckskin dresses of skins laced or sewn together, as made by the Algonkians to the north and west.

During the 18th century red and blue trade cloth replaced buckskin for clothing. Cloth skirts were patterned on old skin forms, the bottom edge and overlap decorated with beadwork and edged with ribbon. The upper garment was replaced with traded blouses and shirts which were often decorated with silver brooches. Cloth leggings were tied above the knee with the seam at the front, and left partly open to fit over the moccasins; these leggings were beautifully decorated with beadwork. By the end of the 18th century Iroquois women began to wear long, loose-fitting, knee-length calico or muslin overdresses with ruffled yokes or collars. Unwed women wore their hair in braids on each side of the head; married women wore their hair in a single braid at the back with combs of bone, antler or later silver. Older women allowed their hair to hang loose.

Warriors wore leggings, short kilts and moccasins, and sometimes hide robes with elaborate painted designs. Alternatively buckskin breechcloths were worn between the legs, draped over a belt front and back. Leggings were made with their seams at the front or side and tied to a belt at the waist; again, the front seams were left partly open above the moccasins. In early times these items were of buckskin and perhaps decorated with porcupine quill work; skin-tight leggings were tied below the knees with garters. Later these items were made of broadcloth. Men were often heavily tattooed on their bodies and faces with elaborate geometric designs, and their ears and noses were ornamented with rings of silver or wampum shell beads. Later loose-fitting cloth or calico shirts were traded from whites, and open-fronted buckskin coats were modeled on the European cut. The Mohawks also wore buckskin or cloth capes with beaded decoration. Men plucked or shaved their hair, leaving a tuft or roach on top, which was decorated with feathers. Warriors painted their faces half-red, half-black. Iroquois men also have a tradition of Confederacy Chiefs wearing deer antler headdresses, and various other headdresses of wolf, bear and panther skin were worn by medicine society members. Another traditional headgear was known as the *Gus-to-weh*, a cap of buckskin or cloth sewn to a foundation of wood splints, covered with bunches of feathers and topped with eagle feathers – one feather (Seneca), two feathers (Onondaga) and three feathers (Mohawk) – which were free-spinning uprights.

In the 18th century warriors carried buckskin ammunition pouches slung on a strap over the shoulder, and belts or sashes to support a powder horn and/or tomahawk. Other popular items included silver trade gorgets, armbands, and quilled knife cases carried around the neck. Moccasins of buckskin for both men and women were of the Eastern Woodland centre seam construction with square cuffs or flaps; later, during the 19th century, moccasins with instep vamps became popular.

By the 1820s most Iroquois people were wearing white mens clothes. Today, however, many make concerted efforts to produce traditional dress for gala days.



Decorative arts

The Iroquois used a wide variety of materials and designs which developed at different periods of their history. Clay pipes, bowls and pottery from the 16th and 17th centuries show geometrical, human and animal imagery. Some of the earliest objects to survive in museums are tumplines or burden straps of woven vegetable fibers (bark or nettle cord), sometimes decorated with dyed moose hair from the mane, cheeks and rump of the moose. However, the Iroquois do not seem to have produced quantities of moose hair embroidery on bark, which is long associated with the Huron descendants at Lorette, Quebec. Iroquois made superb porcupine quillwork sewn onto clothing, bags and moccasins, often on black-dyed buckskin objects during the 18th century; this usually showed geometrical forms in red, blue and yellow colors, sometimes in realistic designs, e.g. the mythical turtle on which the Earth was built, circular, semi-circular “skydome,” wavy or double curve designs. Sashes worn across the chest by men were finger-woven in native fibers or later in traded wool, with interspaced white beads.

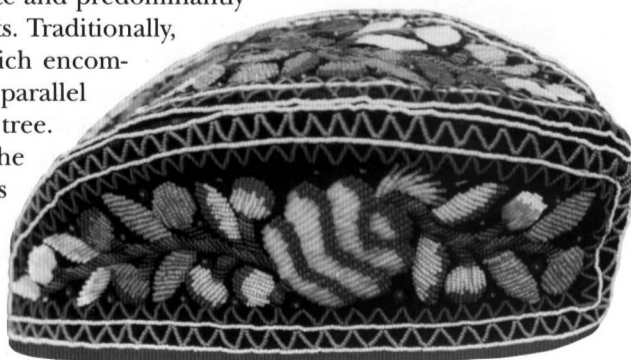
Beads and cloth were introduced to the Iroquois by Europeans probably during the early 17th century, and small seed beads were available in huge quantities after about 1750. The Iroquois developed their own style of beadwork in distinctive embroidery, using scroll or half-circle and double curved designs in elaborate and predominantly white line work for borders on leggings and skirts. Traditionally, the semi-circles represented the “skydome” (which encompassed the natural and supernatural forces), parallel lines the earth, and curved lines the celestial tree.

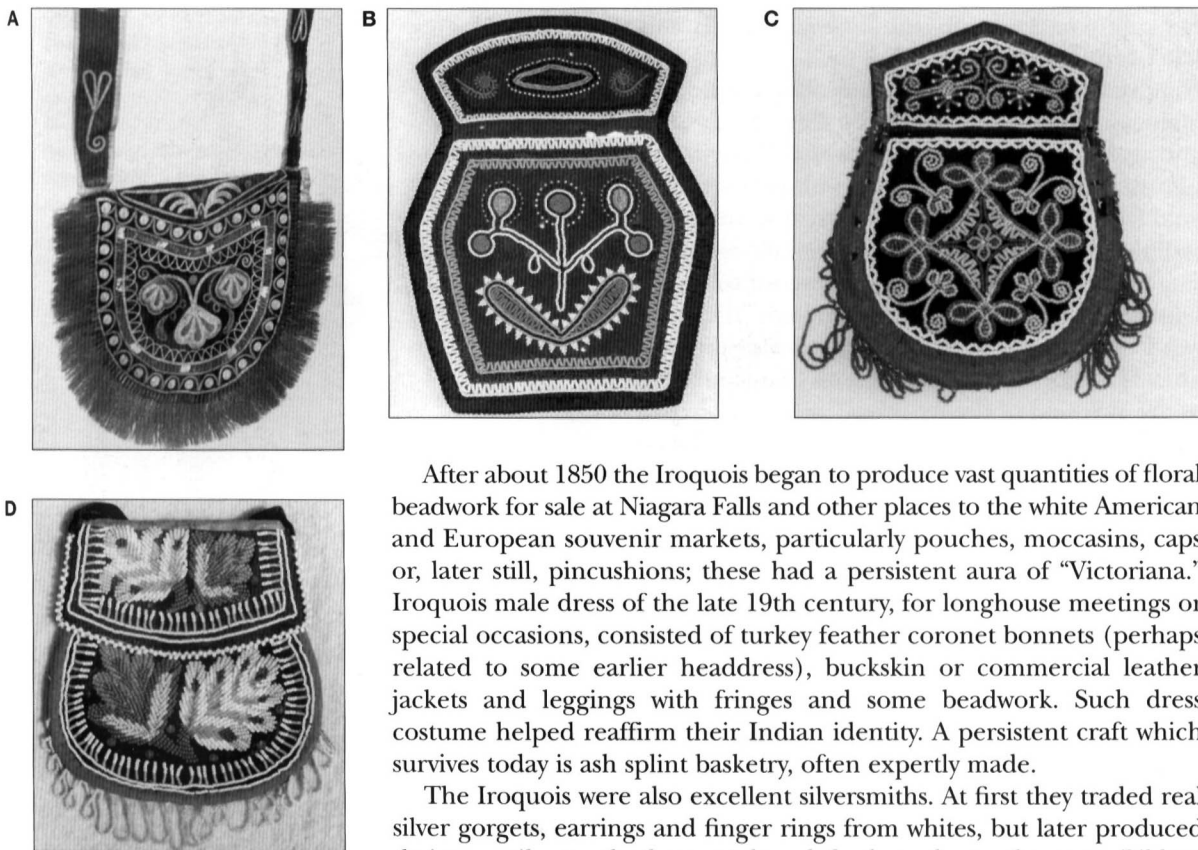
Although floral designs had been introduced to the Iroquois by European nuns at French missions probably as early as 1639, truly realistic floral motifs were not used by the Iroquois elsewhere until gradually combined with their old designs for use on cloth bags, pouches, moccasins and ceremonial dress from about 1800.

LEFT Buckskin leggings for a man, Iroquois, c1820. They are decorated with porcupine quillwork, edge beading and ribbon edging. (National Museum of the American Indian, NY)

CENTRE Iroquois sash, c1800, of red and yellow braided wool with interspaced white beads; and trade silver brooches, hat- and arm band. (Iroquois Museum, Howes Cave, NY)

RIGHT Bandolier bag, Iroquois type, c1830–50. Dark cloth decorated with beadwork – predominantly light blue and white – with double curve motifs. (Horniman Museum, London, England)





Decorated pouches.

(A) Black buckskin pouch with shoulder strap, decorated with multicolored quillwork and edged with tin cones and deer hair tassels; Iroquois or Huron, c1800. (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter, England)
 (B) Red cloth pouch with celestial beaded designs; Iroquois, c1840.

(C) Dark cloth pouch with double curved motifs in multicolored beadwork; Iroquois, c1850.
 (D) Dark cloth pouch with floral beadwork of a type made in large numbers for the souvenir markets; Iroquois, c1885.

OPPOSITE A typical Iroquois "glengarry" bonnet of dark cloth with multicolored beadwork, c1880. By now these were a direct adaptation of the undress headgear which became universal for British infantry from 1868. (Frank Bergevin collection)

After about 1850 the Iroquois began to produce vast quantities of floral beadwork for sale at Niagara Falls and other places to the white American and European souvenir markets, particularly pouches, moccasins, caps or, later still, pincushions; these had a persistent aura of "Victoriana." Iroquois male dress of the late 19th century, for longhouse meetings or special occasions, consisted of turkey feather coronet bonnets (perhaps related to some earlier headdress), buckskin or commercial leather jackets and leggings with fringes and some beadwork. Such dress costume helped reaffirm their Indian identity. A persistent craft which survives today is ash splint basketry, often expertly made.

The Iroquois were also excellent silversmiths. At first they traded real silver gorgets, earrings and finger rings from whites, but later produced their own silver and other metal work for brooches and crosses. Ribbon work was restricted to edging and secondary infill, in contrast to the wide cut-and-fold work associated with the southern Great Lakes peoples.

FAMOUS IROQUOIS

French Margaret A daughter or niece of Madam Montour (see below), born about 1705. She married a Mohawk chief, Peter Quebec, and lived in the Ohio country, but after 1745 at Lycoming Creek (Williamsport). During the French and Indian War she moved to Assinissink (Painted Post), and helped English prisoners escape.

Guyasuta A Seneca, born c1720, and uncle of Cornplanter. For many years he was "half king" (see Shickellamy, below) on the Allegheny-Ohio. He tried to prevent Pontiacs War, and may have been present at Bushy Run when Col Henri Bouquet fought his way through to Fort Pitt in 1763; he was present at the conference that ended hostilities in 1764. After the Revolution he worked with Cornplanter for better relations with the United States. He died in 1794 at Cornplanters house in the Cornplanter Grant, Warren County, Pennsylvania.

Handsome Lake (Ganiodariyo or Skanyadario) A Seneca of the Turtle clan. In 1799 and 1800, during a long illness, he had a series of visions of messengers from the Creator who transmitted to him the Good Word *Gaiwio*. He initiated his "New Religion" with practical solutions to the problem of alcohol abuse. Most of his ministry was at Cornplanters Town, Cold Spring and Tonawanda, but he died at Onondaga in 1815.

He is first on the Roll Call of Seneca chiefs and 43rd on the Confederacy Roll Call.

Hendrick (Teyonhehkwén) A Mohawk but part Mahican, born c1680. He visited England in 1710 and again in 1740, when King George II presented him with a “green coat set off with Brussels and gold lace, and a cocked hat.” A great warrior and skilful diplomat, he was always friendly with the English. Aged about 80 years, he was killed at the battle of Lake George on 8 September 1755 at the head of a chosen body of Iroquois warriors. He was a member of the Mohawk Wolf Clan, and fifth in the Roll Call of Confederacy Chiefs.

Pauline Johnson A daughter of the Mohawk George Martin Johnson, a sachem on the Six Nations Reserve, of a wealthy mixed-blood family. She was born at Chiefswood, a large house on the edge of the reserve in 1861. Here she met Queen Victoria’s son Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, who was adopted as an honorary chief in 1869 – one of very few white men made Chief of the Six Nations. She became Canada’s foremost poetess, made two tours of England, and died in Vancouver in 1913.

Kateri Tekakwitha “The Lily of the Mohawks” – Mohawk, but half Algonkian, her mother being a captive Christian. She was born in the Indian town of Ossernenon (Auriesville, New York) in 1656. During a break in the hostilities between England and France she moved to the Catholic missions near Montreal, with several other Mohawks. She died in 1680 at the aged of 24 at which time her face, which had been disfigured with smallpox, apparently cleared. She is buried at the Church of St François Xavier au Sault at the Indian village of Caughnawaga. Beatified in 1980, she may become North America’s first Indian saint.

Madam Montour A woman of mixed French and Huron(?) descent, reputed to be the daughter of a governor of Canada, taken captive when about ten years old by Iroquois warriors, probably at Three Rivers. She married a Seneca, and later an Oneida chief. She served as an interpreter at Albany in 1711 and Philadelphia in 1727. She lived on the west branch of the Susquehanna river at Otstonwakin (Montoursville), but died in the Ohio country in 1752. Later members of the Montour family settled at Grand River with the Brants, as “Montures.”

Ely Samuel Parker A Seneca from Tonawanda Reservation, and grandson of Red Jacket, he was born in 1828. Well educated, he met and collaborated with Lewis Henry Morgan to publish the first major study



Another engraved image of Hendrick, published in London by Thomas Jefferys in 1756 a year after the old chiefs death. Again, the sunburst-shaped tattoo is evident, as is a silver peace medal.

OPPOSITE "King Hendrick," Sachem of the Mohawks – an idealised image by an unknown artist, but showing the sunburst-shaped tattoo by his left ear; this may have represented a *calumet*, a religious wand of feathers.



Clinton Rickard, Tuscarora, c1950, wearing pan-Indian dress but holding a wampum belt. A founding member of the Indian Defense League of America in 1927, this veteran of the Spanish-American War was invited to attend the League of Nations to seek justice for the Six Nations.

of the Iroquois in 1851. Parker studied both law and engineering; when the American Civil War broke out he joined the Union Army, and became Gen Ulysses S. Grant's military secretary, ultimately rising to the rank of brigadier-general. In April 1865 it was Parker who wrote the document of surrender for the Army of Northern Virginia signed by Robert E. Lee at Appomattox Court House, effectively ending the Civil War. He died in 1895.

Queen Esther Probably the daughter of French Margaret, she married a Munsee Delaware chief, Eghohowin, and after his death took charge of his refugees at what became known as Queen Esther's Town near Tioga Point. She protected settlers at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, but later was implicated in killing prisoners taken at Wyoming – probably an unjust accusation. Later she moved north to Cayuga Lake, and eventually joined the Montures at Six Nations.

Red Jacket A Seneca of the Wolf clan, born c1756. He fought for the British during the American Revolution; but refused to stand and fight with Cornplanter at Canandaigua when Sullivan invaded Iroquoia in 1779, and was accused by some of cowardice. The British gave him scarlet jackets to wear, hence his name. Later he became a skilled orator for his people in their dealings with the Americans, championing the cause of their religion and institutions and striving to prevent the sale of the lands of his people. He died in 1830 within the limits of the old Buffalo Creek Reservation, New York.

Shickellamy A Cayuga, but probably part French, and taken captive by the Oneidas when about two years old; he was recognized at maturity to be a man of strong character and vision. He was sent in about 1728 by the Iroquois Confederacy to the Forks of the Susquehanna to be the "half king" to the Delawares and Shawnees; the title identified a sort of overlord appointed by the Iroquois to supervise Indians living on the lands the Iroquois claimed by right of conquest. For many years he was the Pennsylvanian's principal channel of negotiation with the Confederacy, and a close friend of Governor James Logan and Conrad Weiser. He died at Shamokin in 1748, and was on the Roll Call of Iroquois Chiefs.

John Shickellamy (or Logan) A Cayuga and, like his father (above), a friend of the English; he helped Pennsylvania make the Albany Purchase of 1754. Many members of his family were murdered at Conestoga in 1763, and in 1774 at Yellow Creek on the Ohio. He joined the Shawnees in the war against Virginians in 1774 ("Lord Dunmore's War"), and is said to have taken 13 scalps. John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary to the Delawares, called him "a man ... of deep melancholy." He was killed about 1786, and his statue stands at Auburn, New York.

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THE PLATES

A: FOUNDING OF THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY (FIVE NATIONS), 16th CENTURY

A1: Deganawida or Peacemaker

Traditionally considered the architect of the Confederacy and possibly a Huron by birth, he became a Mohawk by adoption and, with Hiawatha, began to promote peace among the Five Nations. No successor was ever appointed to his position, and therefore it does not appear on the Roll Call of Chiefs. He is depicted here holding the wampum belt depicting the confederated Five Nations; detail **A4** shows the 50 wampum strings symbolizing each of the hereditary Iroquois federal sachems.

A2: Tadodaho

An Onondaga chief and shaman who was fiercely opposed to the founding of the league or Great Peace, yet finally agreed and became the Confederacy's leading sachem. His hereditary position as the first Onondaga sachem remains the 19th of the Confederacy. According to the traditional story, only after Hiawatha had metaphorically "combed out the snakes" living in his hair did Tadodaho agree to the peace plan to form the Confederacy. Integration into Iroquois society was marked by combing the hair, and the number of combs found at archaeological sites confirms their importance.

A3: Ayouhwatha or Hiawatha

Traditional co-founder with Deganawida of the Confederacy, possibly organized before European contact, or perhaps in the late 16th century. An Onondaga by birth but Mohawk by adoption, his hereditary position as second on the Roll Call of 50 sachems continues to the present time. He is



Iroquois False Face mask, with a "spoon-lipped" mouth; see page 34, item 3. (Thunderbird and Lightning Exhibition, Museum of Mankind, London, 1982)

seen here holding five bound arrows, symbolizing the strength of the united Five Nations of the league. With wampum beads, which tradition claims were introduced to the Iroquois by Hiawatha, Deganawida consoled and erased the despair caused by the violent death of Hiawatha's daughters.

B: RITUAL

B1: Indian corn (maize)

Maize, beans and squashes were the staff of Iroquois life, and furnished a large portion of Iroquois food supply. The women of each village were organized into companies to plant and harvest the grain; men cleared the land but seldom worked in the fields. During the 19th century many Iroquois turned to a Euro-American farming economy similar to their white neighbors.

B2: False Face mask ritualist, c1830

Member of the Society of Faces, a medicine society devoted to curing the sick with appropriate ritual, which remains active today during the Midwinter and Green Corn festivals and in the houses of the sick. A doorkeeper with a mask with straight distended lips, as here, guarded the entrance to the longhouse while rituals took place. Wooden masks are carved in the likeness of strange quasi-human spirits or dreamed forms who agree not to molest humans provided they are given offerings of tobacco and corn mush. Most wooden masks have long hair and tin plate eyes. False Face ritualists and Great Feather Dance singers also used snapping turtle shell rattles about 12–14ins long, with head and neck stretched and held by stick splints on the handle.

B3: Husk Face Society ritualist, c1820

The Husk Faces or Bushy-Heads used masks made from braided, coiled or woven corn husks. They represent spirit messengers from the other side of the world where the seasons are reversed, and they appear toward the end of the Midwinter Festival. These spirit forces taught humans the arts of hunting and agriculture. This dancer holds a water drum and beater, and wears a bandolier and moccasins decorated with porcupine quillwork.

B4: Matron oiling a mask, c1845

Clan mothers would sometimes oil masks before the Company of False Faces set out through a village or entered the homes of the sick. The masks were regularly treated with sunflower oil to prevent cracking, and after every ritual masks were cleaned and washed and the hair groomed.

B5: Small elm bark longhouse, c1760

The pre- and early European contact elm bark longhouses were frequently over 150 feet in length and accommodated many families. Later, during Colonial times, they became shorter, until by the Revolutionary War period most Iroquois houses were single-family cabins of bark, logs and stone.

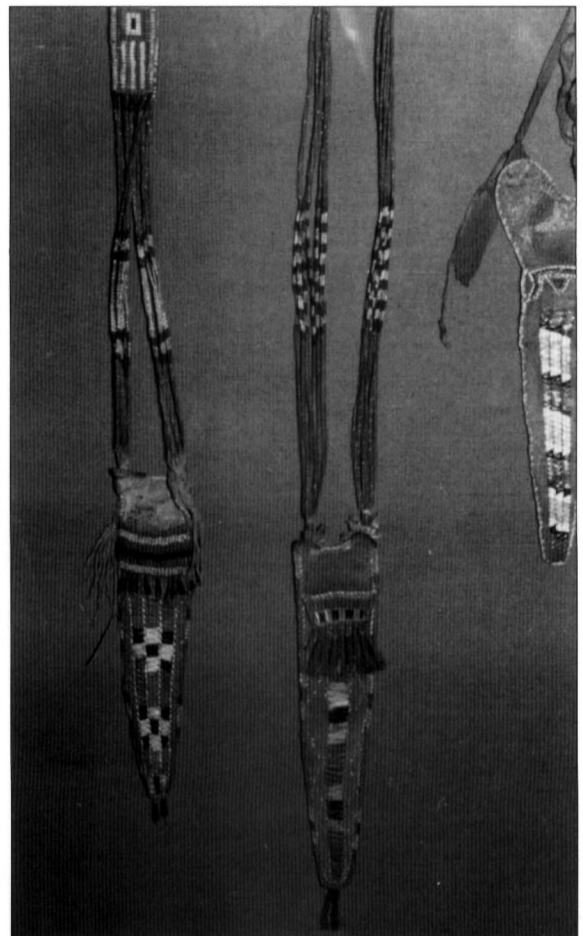
C: THE INVASION OF HURONIA, MID-17th CENTURY

C1: Warrior painted and tattooed, armed with a matchlock musket

C2: Winter scout, wearing snowshoes

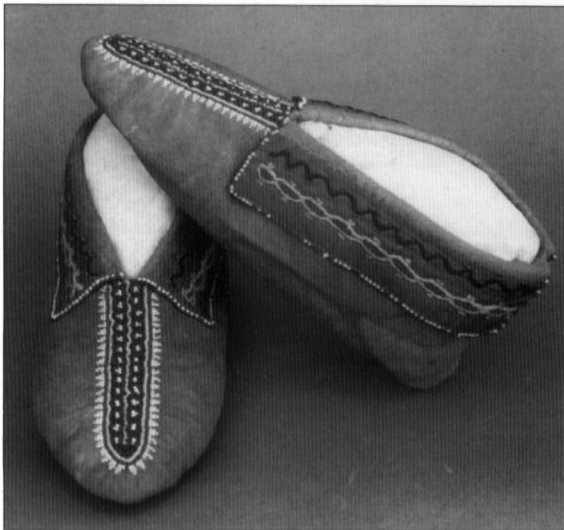
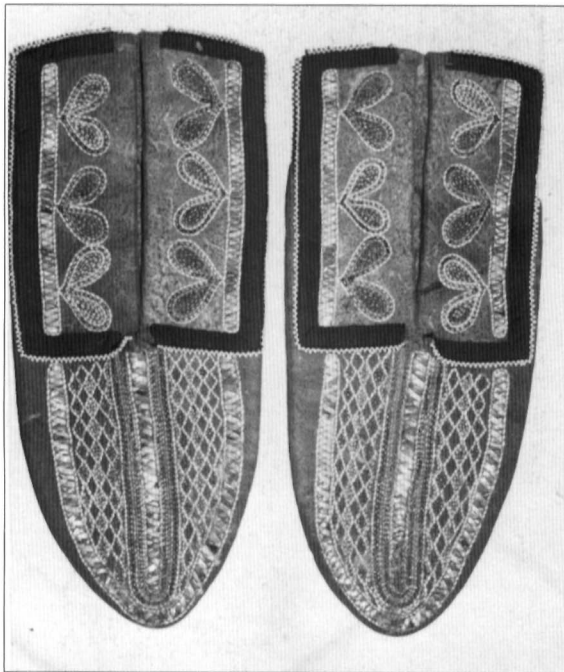
C3: Warrior stripped for battle, with bow and arrows

Every young Iroquois male was expected to be a warrior, and war captains tested their bravery. The departure of a war party was usually preceded by feasting and dancing on a



Knife cases, Eastern Great Lakes area, 18th century. These are of the type worn hanging around the neck; they are of buckskin, decorated with porcupine quillwork and tin cone "jinglers." (Thunderbird and Lightning Exhibition, Museum of Mankind, London, 1982)

"dance ground" around a red-painted post, which the warriors struck with their weapons. Iroquois did not usually wage war in wintertime when the leaves were off the trees and it was difficult to find cover. Before iron arrowheads, metal tomahawks and guns arrived in Indian hands, warriors used a kind of body armor made from wooden strips laced together, and extra protection was provided by huge shields. The principal weapons were the bow and the war club. Warriors on the trail carried a bag of roasted cornmeal. Iroquois braves were heavily tattooed and many painted their faces half-red and half-black. Scalps were taken from the fallen; and prisoners were brought back to the villages. These captives were sometimes adopted by females, thus replacing the casualties of warfare; but more often they were tortured for several days, burned alive, scalped, beheaded and disembowelled. Such was the traditional nature of the wars that intermittently raged between the Iroquois and the four tribes that formed the Huron confederacy. The French control of the fur trade throughout the Great Lakes via Huron middlemen, and the depletion of their own hunting grounds,



TOP Iroquois moccasins, c1830; buckskin with porcupine quillwork and cuffs edged with blue ribbon.

ABOVE Iroquois moccasins, c1840; buckskin decorated with beadwork and ribbonwork, the cuffs faced with light green cloth. (Frank Bergevin collection)

was the prime reason for the Iroquois invasion of Huron territory in the spring of 1649. Jesuit priests who had already established missions amongst the Hurons wrote yearly reports to their Paris headquarters (published as *The Relations*); these recorded Huron culture, and the series of defeats due to which the Jesuits position became untenable. Many Hurons perished at the hands of the Iroquois; some took refuge amongst neighboring tribes; some were adopted by the Iroquois, particularly by the Seneca; some accom-

panied their French missionaries to Quebec; and the remainder joined the Petun (now called Tionontati) and moved to the Detroit and Ohio country, where they became known as Wyandot (Wendat).

D: VISITORS AT JOHNSON HALL, MID-18th CENTURY

D1: Joseph Brant or Thayendanegea (1742–1807)

As described in the text, this protégé of Sir William Johnson was fiercely loyal to the British during the American Revolution, visiting Great Britain twice and receiving King Georges commission as a captain in the British Army. He was influential in obtaining lands in Upper Canada for the loyal Iroquois after the British defeat in 1783, and spent his later years at Burlington, Ontario, close to the city which bears his name – Brantford. He is buried with his son John near Six Nations Reserve, although his grave was desecrated by medical students in 1879. At least four paintings by white artists of this most famous “Pinetree Chief” survive.

D2: Clan matron

The position of matron or clan mother was usually held by the eldest woman of rank in a clan; with her sisterhood she selected the new *sachem* or chief upon the death of their clan’s Confederacy representative. They also organized the Condoling Council during which the new chief was “raised up” in place of the deceased. Membership of a clan was reckoned through the female line, and women had their own councils, associations owning their longhouses and the land they farmed. The clan matron is illustrated wearing a



Red Jacket, c1756–1830 – for notes on this Seneca chief see text on page 41.

blouse of trade cloth decorated with the silver brooches which became popular during the 18th century.

D3: Ottawa chief

The Ottawa or Odawa were an Algonkian people who lived on the French river on Georgian Bay when first known to the French; they moved west after the Iroquois invasion of Huronia in the late 1640s, and were subsequently associated with Manitoulin Island, Mackinac, Michigan and the Detroit area. They were represented at the peace conference at Montreal in 1701; and after Pontiac's war of 1763 that great Ottawa chief submitted to Sir William Johnson at Oswego, NY, in 1766.

D4: Huron chief

After the Iroquois invasion of their homeland in the mid-17th century, part of the Hurons settled near Quebec under the influence of French missionaries. They fought for the French until the British victory at Montreal in 1760. The visiting chief shown here wears a headdress of the late 18th century similar to the one preserved in the McCord Museum, Montreal; his coat is French.

D5: Wyandot chief

Some Hurons and Petuns fled west, moving to Mackinac, the Ohio Country and the Detroit area. Renamed Wyandot or Wedat by the British, they were represented at the peace conference at Montreal in 1701, and the British councils at Fort Pitt (1760), Detroit (1761), Johnson Hall (1766) and Fort Stanwix (1768).

D6: Fox (Mesquakie) chief

An Algonkian people of present day Wisconsin, but driven south by the French. They were represented at the council at Montreal in 1701, and later leaders visited Johnson Hall. A number of the Mesquakie lived with the Delawares on the Allegheny river in about 1750, and a few with the Seneca on the Genesee river.

E: 19th CENTURY

E1: Jimmy Johnson or Shosheowa

A Seneca, grandson of Handsome Lake, who in 1826 was asked by the "faith-keepers" at Tonawanda to recall and codify the teachings of his grandfather – known today as the Code of Handsome Lake or "the Good Message." The teachings annually recited in the longhouses encouraged the continuance of the thanksgiving ceremonies. This ritualist holds a water drum, usually a pail with a base and covered by a taut skin; a small quantity of water inside keeps the tone soft and vibrant. The beaters are elaborately carved. He wears a *Gustoweh* headdress, a buckskin coat, a pouch decorated with porcupine quillwork, leggings and moccasins in the style of the first half of the 19th century.

E2: Fishcarrier, c1880

A Cayuga chief and one of the last of his people to give up his land near Cayuga Lake, NY, before moving to Grand River, Canada. He wears a coat decorated with floral beaded cuffs and collar in the style of the mid- to late 19th century, and holds a traded metal pipe-tomahawk. The name "Fishcarrier" is a Cayuga hereditary warrior chief's title: one bearer of the name had fought for the British during the Revolutionary War.

E3: Koostata (1856–1942)

This distinguished chief was the son or grandson of an Iroquois fur trader and member of a small group who settled amongst the Flathead, Kutenai and Kalispel Indians of



Back surface of a Mohawk cradle board, c1840, carved and painted with flowers and birds; see Plate F2 commentary. (Courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum)

western Montana, and married into these tribes. Koostata is shown wearing the dress of his father's adopted people; the beaded vest (waistcoat) is owned today by the Four Winds Trading Post of St Ignatius, Montana.

E4: BrigGen Ely S.Parker (1828–1895)

This Seneca from the Tonawanda Reservation bore the surname of an English captive ancestor. He was educated in white schools, later studying law and becoming a civil engineer. He was employed on a government building project when he met and became friends with Ulysses S. Grant. This association led to his service in the Union Army during the Civil War as Gen Grant's military secretary, and post-war advancement to the rank of brevet brigadier-general – in the uniform of which rank he is illustrated. The Parker family also collaborated with Lewis Henry Morgan of Rochester, NY, who wrote the first ethnography of an American Indian tribal group – *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, first published in 1851. He became the US government's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1869–1871, but later suffered financial hardships before retirement at Tonawanda.



Womens cloth leggings with beadwork, and woollen sash with interspaced beads; Iroquois, 1830. (National Museum of the American Indian, NY)



Iroquois doll, c1800; probably a ritualistic doll used during an Idos rite, it is dressed in costume decorated with glass and native wampum. (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology, England)

E5: Caroline Parker, c1850

The sister of Ely, wearing articles of clothing made by herself and obtained from the family by Lewis Henry Morgan, part of a huge collection of Iroquois crafts which passed to the New York State Museum at Albany. The building was largely destroyed by fire in 1911, and many objects of Iroquois arts and crafts were destroyed – though curiously, few actual religious items were lost.

F: WOMEN'S TRADITIONAL DRESS

F1: Mohawk woman, c1890

A young woman from the St Regis Reservation (or Caughnawaga Reserve, near Montreal) wearing a cloth dress with deer and floral designs. The debate over the origins of floral designs in beadwork, and other decorative media in North America, is continuous. Most authorities believe truly realistic floral designs were introduced by French missions as early as the 1600s, but curvilinear designs were probably indigenous. In the 19th century many styles of floral beadwork were developed across the

continent; Iroquois work of this period is characterized by an embossed "Victorian" style of beadwork, usually on cloth.

F2: Mohawk woman with baby on cradle board, c1890

An Iroquois mother holding a carved corn soup paddle or maple sugar stirrer, with a baby on a cradle board. The cradle board consists of three principal parts: the board, the bow, and the foot board, all of which were usually decorated or carved. The bow, which gave protection to the baby's head, was attached to the main board by means of a crosspiece. The child was usually held in place on the board by cloth wrapping embroidered with beadwork and silver ornaments, and by buckskin thongs. From about 1840 the St Regis and Caughnawaga Mohawks began to carve and paint the backs of cradle boards with birds and elaborate floral designs.

F3: Pestle and mortar

Mortars were fashioned from hard woods, hollowed out by fire and chisel. Pestles were made of hard maple staves, about 4 feet in length, dumbbell-shaped and made to be

grasped with two hands. They were used to pound the corn into flour used as mush, combined with meat dressed with oil, or baked as unleavened bread.

F4: Woman wearing hood, mid-19th century

Few hoods have been collected from the Iroquois; perhaps only one from the Seneca survives, and this rare example is represented here, in cloth decorated with bead and ribbon work. Occasionally the Seneca also made braided or twined corn husk moccasins, as worn by this woman.

F5: Child with corn husk doll, late 19th century

Originally dolls were often ritual objects of the Idos Medicine Society. Corn husk dolls with hair of corn silk were popular with children, sometimes with facial features; some were unclothed, others dressed with skin or with textiles obtained from white traders. The little girl wears a beaded cap, dress, and front-seam cloth leggings.

G: MEN'S TRADITIONAL DRESS

G1: Red Jacket or Sagoyewatha, c1828

Both George Catlin and Robert Weir painted this famous warrior chief wearing a large silver peace medal and a caped coat with sash, leggings and moccasins.

G2: Youth with lacrosse racquet, c1900

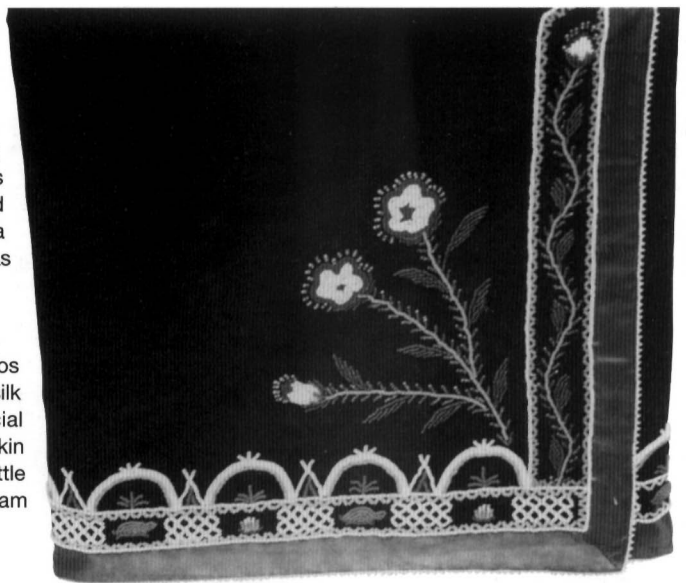
Lacrosse developed the spirit of competition. There is some evidence to suggest that war itself was thought of in terms of an athletic contest or game. Inter-tribal lacrosse games were called "little wars," and throughout the Eastern Woodlands the rituals connected with Indian warfare and lacrosse were similar – even the shape of the racquet resembles an old war club. The assertion that the name derives from a resemblance to a bishop's crosier (cross or crook) is probably erroneous. Iroquois lacrosse was played between two teams of six to eight men on a field close to the village. Each player had one racquet, usually of hickory with "babiche" rawhide webbing. The object of each team was to drive the ball (deerskin stuffed with hair) into the opponent's goal; two goals were originally set up several hundred yards apart, but more recently about 60 yards apart. Iroquois lacrosse teams have visited England in both the 19th and 20th centuries.

G3: Warrior, mid-18th century

Warrior dress at the time of the French and Indian War (1755–63) often consisted of a European fabric shirt or smock, black buckskin leggings with garters below the knee, breechclout, and moccasins. The body was usually painted or tattooed, and the hair shaven except for a tuft at the crown which had braided locks and feathers attached. Warriors often wore traded silver European officer's gorgets, in conjunction with quill-decorated knife sheaths and bandoliers worn around the neck and shoulders respectively. Face paint was usually black and red. Note the deliberate mutilation of the ears, and the heavy silver jewellery and armbands.

G4: Young man with snow snakes, c1890

"Snow snake" is still a popular winter game of the Iroquois; it is played on a snow track over 100 yards long, with a trough about 12ins deep. The "snakes" are smooth rods of highly polished maple or hickory, between 3ft and 8ft long and 1in in diameter at the head, which today is tipped with



Recently made womens cloth skirt, decorated in beadwork and edged with ribbon in the 19th century style. (Iroquois Museum, Howes Cave, NY)

lead or other metal. Contestants throw the snakes along the trough, the player or team sending four or more the greatest distance being the winners.

H: 20th CENTURY

H1: Modern shawl dancer, Onondaga

Towards the end of the 20th century, some Iroquois adopted the regalia of Western tribes for social or show dancing, including women's dress of shawls, beaded capes, leggings and moccasins of a non-Iroquois style. Several Iroquois groups present pow-wows of the pan-Indian type today.

H2: Iroquois man in ceremonial dress, c1900

By the late 19th century and early 20th century, Iroquois native dress had fallen into disuse except for special occasions. Straight-up feather crowns were sometimes worn by men, or feather bonnets copied from Western Indians (however, the feather crown probably had its origin amongst the Eastern Indians). Coats, leggings and pouches were decorated with floral beadwork, giving the wearer an ethnic identity.

H3: Modern Tadodaho

From 1976 to 1996 the position of Tadodaho (see explanation under Plate A) was held by Chief Leon Shenandoah, as custodian of "the fire that never dies." His dress here shows the recent revival of traditional clothes amongst the Iroquois descendants. The present Tadodaho (Sid Hill) addressed the United Nations in May 2002.

H4: Iroquois steel erector

In the background, a small reminder of the fact that, beginning in the 1880s, Iroquois (mainly Mohawk) men have made a reputation in the construction industry as particularly safe and skilled workers on the "high steel." Skyscrapers and bridges across the USA and Canada have been erected by men from St Regis and Caughnawaga, and a community of Iroquois steelworkers and their families live today in New York City.

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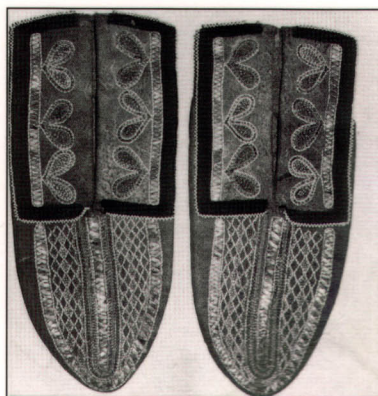
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