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What did the Past Iroquois, the Haudenosaunee, Think, in their Recent and Their Deep History, of their Watery and their Unseen and Unseeable Underwater Realms?

Bruce Rippeteau, Ph.D.

Figure 1: "Into the Unknown"; Painting, ©, by Robert Griffing; Used by permission of Mr. Gerald Seymour, Paramount Press. (For artist Mr. Griffing's narrative, life-like imagery, The press notes say that the Mohawk Nation honorarily adopted him.)

In my winter home office in relatively dry Lincoln, Nebraska, out on the Great Plains and Prairies, I happened to think of all the many, and deep (!), waters back in my natal upstate NYS. With the approach of the 2023 78th Iroquois Conference in Brantford, Ontario, I wondered what the Haudenosaunee, who dwelt in their deep and their recent history, south of Lake Ontario in central NYS, thought of their plentiful natural lakes, and ponds, also being deeper than the Mid-West and West's often shallow and braiding rivers and streams, compared to the Northeast US and SE Canadian waters which could indeed contain volumes of beings that the "mile-wide but inch deep"

Platte River in Nebraska, for example, could not. To add to this context, from my recent reading, I chanced upon these stimulating, literate, sympathetic thoughts:

> "As terrestrial creatures, we tend to think of life on our planet as being essentially life on land. It couldn't be further from the truth."
>
> --Melanie Stiassny, Axelrod Research Curator, American Museum of Natural History; An interview, The Editors, *Natural History* (Magazine) 2003
>
> "A lake is the landscape's most beautiful and expressive feature. It is Earth's eye, looking into which the beholder measures the depth of his own nature."
>
> --Henry David Thoreau, *On Walden Pond*, published in 1854, from his 2 years, 2 months, 2 days there, beginning in 1845. (Thoreau had only some 7 more years to live, dying soon in 1862. Walden, a small pond, is outside Concord, Massachusetts, NW of Boston some 20 miles.)

Therefore, I posed and have tried to answer this experiential question for you, the audience and readers, both professional scholars, and Nation members, which might could be, or has been partially, as I write, answered by Ethnology and the 6 Nations Iroquois yourselves. That is: "What did the (past) Iroquois, the Haudenosaunee, think, in their Recent and Deep History, of their Watery and their Unseen--and as I herein show, largely Unseeable--Underwater realms?

Preliminary Human Context Concerning these Peoples for those unfamiliar with the Iroquois, the Haudenosaunee.

I must say, here at our beginning, that the Iroquois, the Haudenosaunee, coming out of their deep History, into Recent History, until corporate dissolution in 1779 or so directly caused by the "Sullivan Expedition", are a remarkably-well documented—nay, voluminously essayed--North American original people (whom, across our partially wet border, the Canadiens formally call the First Nations) with a volume of History, Theology, Cosmology, Political discourse, and other commentary far beyond most Native American peoples'. And that this body of knowledge fills one with awe.

In the following, we consider only one, although interesting--and apparently not previously elucidated--element of their human pageant. Following this water and underwater entre has led to

discovering, and being told about, numerous cultural aspects and enrichments for my, and I hope our, understanding. This has occurred especially via our Iroquois Conference colleague scholars' generosity in suggesting leads, and whom I thank by name at text's end, below.

For readers not familiar with the Iroquois' place in our Planet's Human Experience, the Haudenosaunee, the People of the Longhouses (as they wish to be called, as we wish to be called Americans), besides the references used in the Literature Cited, I would suggest: Engelbrecht 2002, Shannon 2016, Snow 1996, and Wonderley and Sempowski 2019, as helpful, current, overall introductions, among literally hundreds of relevant publications.

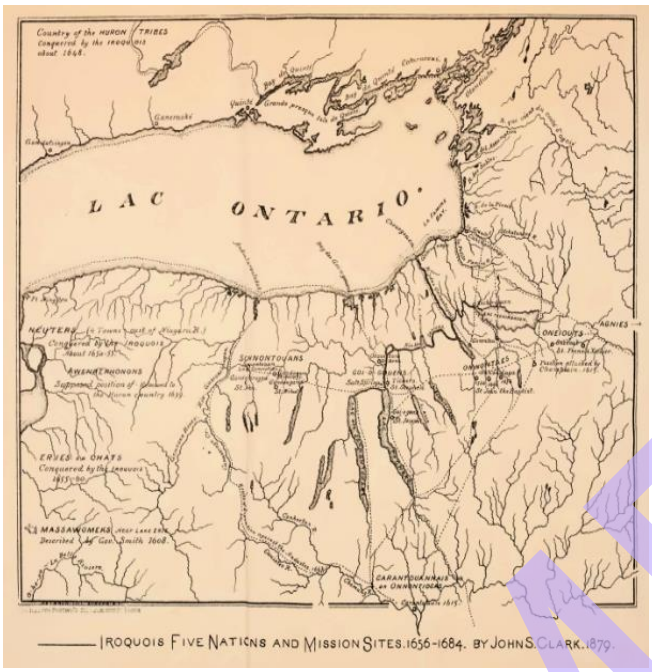
To this monumental body of scholarship and appreciation, I would add the usual Web's search engine's found essays. Also, as a sample of lake history and human archaeology leading up to our modern water shorelines, here on Lake Ontario, near the author's home, are Ford 2018 and Halligan 2011.

And further, the "Recent" part of Iroquois/Haudenosaunee History, say from the "New World" Contact after Columbus, even up to today, saw the Native Peoples of our North America almost immediately experience devastating physical, political, social, and emotional transitions and tragedies. These included driving—by a mass dying--indigenous populations to a tenth of their pre-Contact size and to destroying all or many dimensions of their societies and their living meanings for the survivors.

These hard, hard, terrible experiences occurred as—what we might call "merges"—were forced on them by the developing, expanding nation of the new United States. This period--and its triumphs and tragedies--has elsewhere, recently become major bodies of reporting and essaying. If such painful acculturation is news to the reader, I suggest two recent books, as introductions: Charles Mann's 2005, *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus*, Random House, and Ned Blackhawk's, 2023, *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of US History,* Yale University Press, and as reviewed by Taylor 2023.

Herein below, we generally use the accepted term "Iroquois" and so mean the Haudenosaunee who spoke the Iroquoian languages, and also the actual people living inside the general culture benefits shared more widely over their forest-based horticultural landscape. Iroquoia specifically refers to

these speakers' homelands generally accepted as the original 5 Nations of central NYS (being East to West: the Mohawk, the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga, and the Seneca, Nations), with the later joining sixth, the Tuscarora.



Maps 1 & 2: left, approximately showing the original Five Haudenosaunee Nations in central NYS, And the, later, larger "Iroquoia" of the Six-Nations and various joined allies including well to the west of Lake Ontario, and even Lake Erie.

Over later time, Iroquoia came to also include the farther-away Huron, Wyandot, Cherokee, and other, later-allied Iroquoian speakers and societies seeking alliance and safety. The 5 Nations "occupied" most of NY State, especially the landscapes north, south, and east of Lake Ontario, and into the SE Canadien Province of Ontario just north of Lakes Erie and Ontario. At the current time (Scardera, personal communication, 2023, and per the literature), no single public-use map exists to show the widely agreed boundaries of Iroquoia. It can be hoped, as Scardera suggests, that the Iroquois Conference may assemble such a map.)

Physical Context: Concerning the Iroquoian Waters and Underwaters: Animals and Denizens

Returning to the matter of the Iroquois, the Haudenosaunee, and their waters: As we all, our forebears, dwelt upon the SE Canadien and Northeastern US, North American landscape of what we now, as above, recognize as "Iroquoia", we see that the very, very considerable, post-glacial landscape's distribution of surface waters—some very deep--has profoundly influenced their, and our, lives.

This watery immensity, an inland water-punctuated world, that from an airplane's overhead view literally, tightly glitters with solar reflections, exists amongst our forests and mountains, and is remarkable and special compared to most of the North American continent.

Indeed, as hardly more east of Lake Ontario's eastern shores, than the 2023 Iroquois Conference was west of Hamilton, ON, on its western end, is the large "NYS Adirondack Park". This state (say again "state"!) park officially includes some 3,000 lakes and 30,000 miles of streams and rivers, alone. And, in the Province of Ontario are officially said to be more than 250,000 lakes, alone.

Thus, a total of the big and small lakes, big and small rivers, very big waterfalls like Niagara and the many smaller falls, and the prevalent water course of all sizes, may reasonably, separately, number to half a million occurrences inside Iroquoia.

From humanity needing it for drinking, food procurement and preparation, hygiene, for transportation of their extensive trade networks from their corn distribution networks, to war, to gardening and farming, and to recognizing boundaries (a nice boundary example is in southern NYS, also showing Iroquois organizational power, by Cobb 2008). The Haudenosaunee may also have had a certain human, emotional attention to this watery "beauty" of their landscapes.

Yet, this all "…is pleasure, flash, and waterfall…." said the poet Richard Wilbur (2004) and is only experienced at--or above--the waters' surfaces, up here, in the very air of our own world, as we speak and read!

So: what of that other portion of Iroquoia: those realms below the surfaces and in these watery volumes?

And, besides our own, extensive humanity up here in the sunlit air, what of our Animal Kin's worlds, down there, in the waters, with our spiritual brothers and sisters, our aunts and uncles, our grandmothers and grandfathers?

And, besides the Grandfather Sorcerers, consider those non-human denizens: those who use both the watery and the airy worlds. Consider our kin, the reptile Snake and the Turtle, the amphibian Frog, the avian diving or hunting Birds, the mammalian Beaver (who greatly populates the waters modifying the geomorphological lay of the land), and the Muskrat, and the Otter?

What of those more distant animal kin who dwell, pretty much-only, below the waters, all the time, and everywhere, like the sessile Clams and the Kingdom of the Fishes?

Consider also the sizes of these inland waters, like the St Lawrence River here pictured from the US towards Canada's Wolfe Island. with only a fourth of the way across its' 10-mile width, in the Thousand Islands beginning River portion.

Figure 2: 2023-02-24, The BIG, open water of the St Lawrence River in the process of surface freezing. Canada's Wolfe Island is in the far distance, here some 3 miles away, looking due North. The photographer, David Docteur, is on this near US shore, at Cape Vincent, NYS. The whitish water out in front visually marks Featherbed Shoals with the floating-channel markers of the "Canadian-US Seaway Shipping Channel" later to be installed beyond to the North, but well short of Canada's Wolfe Island in the distance.

JULY 4TH AMONG THE WISCONSIN ONEIDAS: THEN AND NOW *

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INTRODUCTION

In July, 2020, *Smithsonian Voices* published an online article by Dennis Zotigh, a cultural specialist at the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian and member of the Kiowa Gourd Clan and San Juan Pueblo Winter Clan, entitled, "Do American Indians Celebrate the 4th of July?" In this article, reprinted and updated from an earlier one published in 2013, Zotigh pointed out that the Declaration of Independence accused King George III of exciting "domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions." He then questioned why Native Americans celebrate July 4th despite this horrible depiction of them in it.[1]

One Wisconsin Oneida quoted in the Zotigh article attempted to explain why the date was important to her people. She indicated that it was because "we fought with George Washington and the colonists to help them win their independence."[2] It is true that thirteen Oneidas were commissioned officers in the American Revolution and that Oneida warriors fought bravely at the Battles of Barren Hill, Monmouth Court House, Oriskany and. Saratoga while serving in General Washington's Continental Army; that two of their most famous chiefs, Good Peter and Skenando, were arrested while on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the Patriots and sent to prison for four months at British- held Fort Niagara.; and that Oneidas suffered much during the war and had their villages destroyed by Mohawk war chief Joseph Brant and his warriors sending many fleeing as refugees.[3]

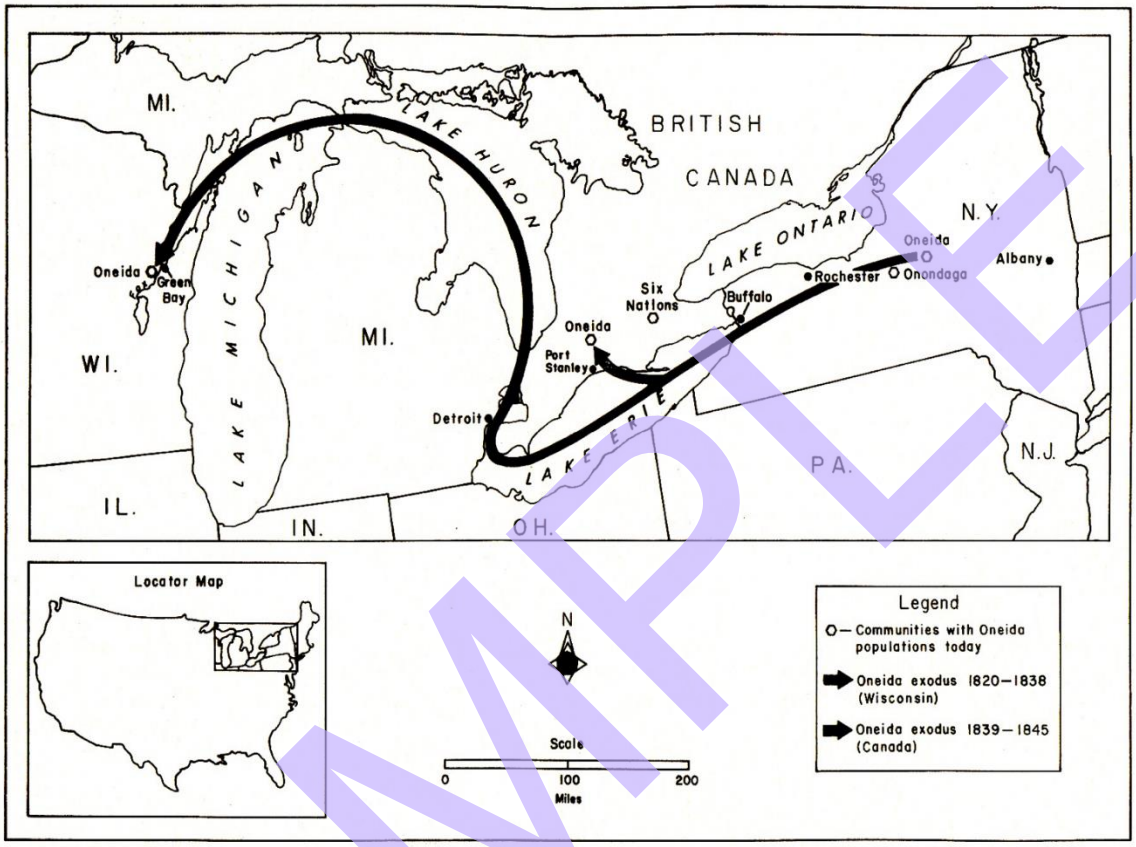
Although Oneidas are patriotic, extremely proud of their military service in the United States Armed Services, there were, nevertheless, other factors that has led them to commemorate Independence Day. They have consciously used the day as part of their survival strategy, namely to unify their

community, fight off local, state, and federal policies that they deem harmful, and educate and win support from their Wisconsin neighbors by displaying with pride their rich culture and that of other Indigenous nations. Importantly, they also make money selling their arts, wares, and foods to these same Midwestern neighbors.

With increasing pressures on them for their lands, Oneidas of the First Christian Party started to leave central New York in the 1820s for Wisconsin, then the western part of Michigan Territory. Many Oneidas saw no future in New York. Washington officials' repeated inability to protect them and their territory on their lands guaranteed from the federal Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1784 onward, led them to the brink and motivated them to leave the Empire State.[4] In the half century between the American Revolution and the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, Albany policymakers saw that acquiring Oneida territory was imperative for New York's State's growth. Unfortunately for the Oneidas, because of their strategic location and their rich resources, - fertile lands quite suitable for farming, heavily wooded forests with plentiful game, extensive fisheries, and access to salt marshes to the west- state officials in collusion with land speculators and turnpike and canal promoters interested in land sales and transportation development, lusted after Oneida lands.[5]

Not accidently, the area Oneidas chose to re-settle in was similar in many ways to their central New York homeland. The Oneida Reservation in Wisconsin is on the 44th parallel, while their central New York homeland was close to it on the 43rd parallel. Both regions had ample and convenient access to food sources--hunting wildlife and fishing-- especially vital to migrants attempting to spend most of their energies carving out a settlement in the wilderness. Indeed, Oneida Lake in central New York was one of the major fisheries of eastern North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, while Lake Michigan and the Fox River and river systems off it, provided the Oneidas with a limitless and diverse supply of fish. Importantly, the Oneida homeland included the short portage between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, the strategic "Oneida Carrying Place." which along with Fish Creek, Oneida Lake, and the Oswego River, was a major passageway to Lake Ontario and the rest of the Great Lakes. In both regions access to water routes also facilitated trade. In Wisconsin, Duck Creek flows into both the Fox River and Lake Michigan; while in the east, the Oneidas had access to the Mohawk River while Fish Creek and Wood Creek flow into Lake Ontario**.** Importantly, in both central New York and what became the Oneidas' new home in the

west in the 1820s, the eastern white pine tree--the Great White Pine Tree of Peace-- was plentiful, undoubtedly a sign to the migrants that their new home was an acceptable one.[6]



MAP 1: THE ONEIDA DIASPORA, 1820-1846. Map by Ben Simpson. Laurence M. Hauptman Collection.

Within the first decade of their arrival in Michigan Territory, the Oneidas started commemorating their Revolutionary War service. The first fully described July 4th festival was held at Oneida Wisconsin in 1849, long before the United States made that date an official national holiday in 1870.[7] The July 4th celebration at Oneida evolved in separate stages from a festival in the mid nineteenth century to the present annual powwow. In each stage, the Wisconsin Oneidas have proudly pointed out their significance as American allies. They consciously used this fact in their efforts to promote their survival, culturally and economically.

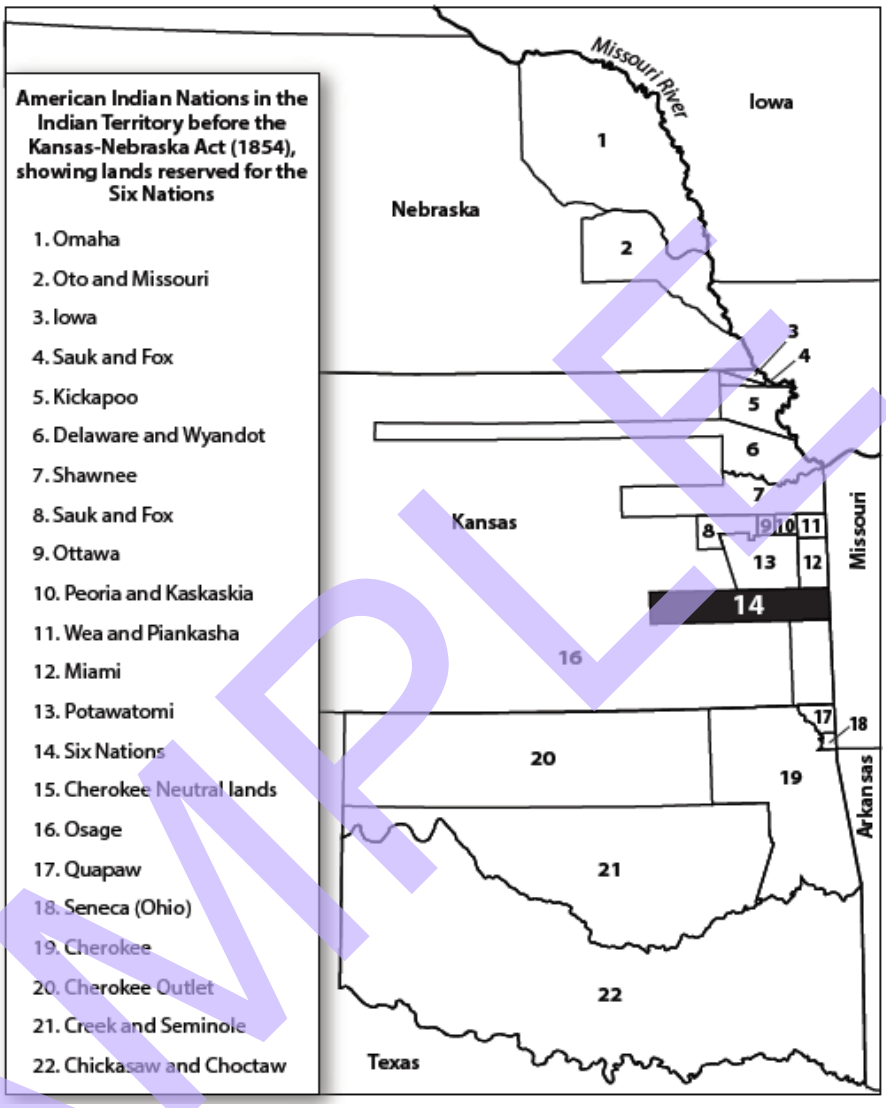
First, the Oneidas, who had been forced out of central New York to Michigan Territory (Wisconsin) starting in the early 1820s, had to fend off another threat of removal to the Indian Territory.

Secondly, after the Civil War, their community had to face the increased threats that included allotment policies that culminated in the passage of the Dawes Act of 1887 and in subsequent congressional legislation. Finally, after World War II, the Oneidas transformed their festival into a homecoming powwow to honor veterans and to encourage the return of numerous tribal members who had left the reservation for greater employment opportunities in Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee and Minneapolis. It was also partially motivated because Oneidas were then fearful of federal termination policies that called for an end to federal treaty commitments.

Although the threat of termination has passed, Native Americans from different nations on the powwow circuit still bring news about what is happening in Indian Country. While the size of the Oneida powwow has expanded and its commercial importance to the Wisconsin Oneidas has increased substantially since its founding, it remains today *the* homecoming weekend for tribal members.

ANOTHER REMOVAL?

After their resettlement in what is now Wisconsin, the Oneidas continued to face threats of removal to lands set aside for the Six Nations in the Indian Territory. It should be pointed out that as late as the 1870s, the Ho-Chunks were removed from the state! In 1845, both the territorial governor and federal officials



MAP 2 OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY IN THE MID 1840S.
#14: The federal government considered placing all of the Six Nations there.
Map by Joseph Stoll. Laurence M. Hauptman Collection.

urged this move. The federal sub-agent at Green Bay wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs: "The Oneida Indians, residing near Green Bay, are more a civilized than a savage people… The policy of the United States in purchasing the remaining lands of these Indians is the true one; and their removal southwest of the Missouri River will secure them a permanent home."[8] Eight years later, Oneida Chief Elijah Scanandoah wrote to Luke Lea, the commissioner of Indian affairs, describing the efforts of some white neighbors who were working in collusion with certain tribal

members, pushing for the dividing up of the reservation in severalty, a policy contrary to the wishes of a majority of his people. He feared it would "open the door to the settlement of certain white people among us "that would contribute to our decline…."[9]

Daniel Bread (1800-1873), the Oneidas greatest chief of the nineteenth century, was to react to these pressures, but in a traditional Iroquoian manner. He was to firmly establish the July 4th festivities. Bread saw the July 4th celebration as a way to form bonds with his immediate non-Indian neighbors, which he considered essential for Oneida survival in place in Wisconsin. In the Haudenosaunee metaphor, he was "extending the chain." When seeking help from the Office of Indian Affairs, the chief would frequently point out that the Oneidas were the Patriots' allies at the most critical time of the American Revolution.[10]

The format of the initial July 4th festivals was right out of Iroquoian tradition, making use of the Condolence Council ritual. This ceremony is primarily for mourning dead chiefs, lifting up the minds of bereaved relatives, and installing their successors. However, it had other functions in the past. Diplomatically, it was also a council of equals that was employed by Confederacy sachems to reduce tensions and disagreements that arose and threatened harmony within the Six Nations, with other tribes, and between the Haudenosaunee and Euroamericans. The Condolence Council ritual consists of rites known as the Roll Call of the Founders, the Welcome at the Woods' Edge, the Recitation of Laws, the Requickening Address, the Six Songs of Requiem, and the Charge to the New Chief. Invited guests gathered at the "Woods' Edge" and were welcomed into the village where the chief read the "Roll Call of the Founders," recounting the sacrifices of past leaders. Deceased chiefs are recognized for their service to the nation, mourned, and their successors raised and validated, thus insuring their legacies, their titles, and their lasting commitment to the people.[11]

To Chief Bread, what better way was there to win over non-Indian neighbors than having a festival on the reservation on July 4th, one that would educate them about the greatness of his Oneida people's history, especially their past heroic service in the Continental Army. Through the seriousness and religiosity of the traditional Condolence Council, Bread attempted to manipulate the foreboding white world to his peoples' advantage. To the Haudenosaunee, strangers at the wood's edge, were often seen as dangerous [in this particular case the non-Indians living adjacent to the

Traitors or Peacemakers? Han Yost Schuyler and the Siege of Fort Stanwix

Paul Gorgen

Since the early 19th Century, historians have told an intriguing tale about the 1777 British siege of Fort Stanwix in upstate New York. In that story, a group of scouts from the American side convinced the British that a large American relief force was about to attack, sowing discord in the ranks and causing a British retreat that saved the fort and its defenders. In fact, the relief force was far away and far smaller than they claimed. That ruse really did occur, and was pivotal in history – it ended British Gen. Barry St. Leger's advance through the Mohawk Valley, which helped American forces win the Battle of Saratoga and gain an upper hand in the Revolutionary War. But the heroes of this operation have gotten little credit from historians. Their leader is usually dismissed as a traitor acting only to save his own skin, or his brother's, and often called demented, a madman or simpleton. Those characterizations do not fit well however with details about his life before and afterwards, the complexity of the operation, and other evidence. This seems a good time to revisit the story and key questions about the men and their mission, how they succeeded, and whose side they were really on.

The lead scout that day was called Han Yost Schuyler, and he was feigning an escape from the American army when he burst into the British camp, spreading the false alarm – historians generally agree on that. They also agree that he wore a coat shot through with bullet holes to dramatize his feigned escape. Beyond that, accounts and views vary. Many see Han Yost as a half-wit, a condemned prisoner, a captured deserter spared from the gallows and sent on his risky mission by the American officer who led the relief expedition. But key points in that tale are shaky. Was Han Yost really sentenced to hang? Was he truly witless, or a true Loyalist? Or was he instead a clever spy with a good cover story, a double agent acting for more than one side?

New clues to the story can be found in contemporary journals and letters, military dispatches and records, and an important part of Han Yost's life that rarely considered – his strong connection to the Haudenosaunee people, especially the Mohawks and Oneidas with whom he grew up and lived. Natives who knew him said that he spoke their languages fluently. He served with them

in war, lived with them in peacetime and earned their confidence as his father and grandfathers had before him. At the heart of their 1777 operation at Ft. Stanwix, Han Yost and his companions persuaded the Haudenosaunee who accompanied St. Leger to withdraw from the siege, despite intense questioning – not likely because the leader was raving and witless, but because he was gifted and persuasive, a fluent speaker whom the native leaders knew and trusted.

St. Leger's campaign had led Haudenosaunee forces to battle against each other at Oriskany just days before, perhaps for the first time since the formation of their Confederacy. After heavy losses and sensing the British had betrayed them, the native leaders had good reason to disengage. If for only a time, Han Yost Schuyler's mission effectively stopped some of that infighting. One can argue that his team succeeded in peacemaking and disengagement by the Haudenosaunee, a coup done under the very noses of the British leaders who were there.

Early Versions of the Story

Historical accounts of Han Yost Schuyler's feat began to appear in print in the 1840's, several decades after his death. Most accounts downplayed his role in the events, most also deriding his intelligence or his sanity. His native confidantes fared no better. Starting with Henry Schoolcraft in 1846, Schuyler was depicted as shiftless, witless or mad, with his success attributed to naiveite and credulity by supposedly superstitious natives. Recent historians largely still hold to those early views. Schuyler is called a "village simpleton" in *Bloody Mohawk* (2010), one who prevailed because "[t]he Indians knew he was touched and set apart by God."[1] Similar views pervade most 20th Century accounts, such as *The Wilderness War,* (1978) where Schuyler is presented as "a slack-jawed, loutish young man," "a retarded-looking individual" with "an almost-constant idiotic smile," "too simple-minded even to realize that what he had done was wrong." He was said to influence the Haudenosaunee allies of the British through demented ravings, thanks to a "superstitious aura" which they accepted without question from one "touched and set apart by God."[2] Or, as James Flexner put it in 1953: "Han Yost ran into the firelight, screaming with the madness that showed him in close contact with the Great Spirit."[3] These current descriptions all hew closely to Schoolcraft's original 1846 text: "though regarded as a simpleton by the whites, the Indians had a peculiar respect for him, from the

superstitious feeling with which they regard all lunatics and persons supposed to have a gift."[4] After almost two centuries, this interpretation of events needs serious reexamination. The idea that Haudenosaunee leaders were easily duped by ravings, based on supposedly naive beliefs, is at best condescending in modern work and it promotes a racist stereotype long due for correction. In fact, as evidence in original eighteenth century source documents shows, the Haudenosaunee could very rationally believe Han Yost Schuyler, not because he was touched or insane, but because they knew him, and his parents and grandparents before him, and had learned to trust his family as reliable friends and allies who respected and supported them.

In addition to claiming that Schuyler was witless or insane, most historians also assert that he was compelled to enter the enemy camp and tell a convincing tale because the American forces held his brother hostage.[5] According to Schoolcraft, Han Yost had been sentenced to death for desertion and, after his family's pleas for mercy, was reprieved on the condition that he undertake his perilous mission into the British camp, with a hostage to hang in his place if he failed. Schoolcraft also says that Han Yost's mother begged to be that hostage, finally yielding to her youngest son instead. Over time, this death threat/hostage story appears more and more romanticized – and, like Han Yost's coat, full of holes. For one: the general who sent Han Yost was a renowned tactician and battlefield leader. Would he have staked the success (or very survival) of his relief force on the slight chance that a freed prisoner could go back and rout the enemy with a false tale about troop size – one that could easily be checked and exposed? His failure would likely have led to a crushing counterattack on the outnumbered Americans. And while holding his brother hostage might spur the messenger to be convincing, what use was that hostage to the Americans if the plan failed? Schuyler's brother made a poor hostage – he meant nothing to the British, and was in fact an active soldier in the American militia, so his execution would have been illegal, and worse for morale. All the more so if, as the original court martial document shows, Han Yost Schuyler was never really sentenced to die. And, Schuyler was sure to be interrogated by the British, as indeed he was; could a lunatic have been expected to conceal his true mission, whatever the stakes? Equally debatable is the tale of Han Yost's background – do the local records from that era show him to be truly obscure, impoverished and witless, or was he just the opposite? Many accounts also say that Han Yost fled to live in Canada with the British after his mission, but local records show that he remained in the Mohawk Valley and probably never left. New facts emerge when we look at Schuyler's personal and family history,

the events of the days in question, and evidence on his life after the war. Key sources include colonial documents, military records and letters from 1777, a post-war account about Han Yost in 1798, and direct testimony by native people who knew Han Yost and his family well.

Schuylers and Herkimers in the Mohawk Valley - Han Yost Herkimer, David and Peter Schuyler and their families

To understand Han Yost Schuyler, we should start with his personal history. His mother, Barbara Herkimer, was the eldest daughter of Johan Jost Hirchemer and Catherina Petrie, who were born in Germany and emigrated to New York's Mohawk Valley in 1712 in a wave of immigrants from the Palatinate region known as the Palatine Germans.[6] Their family name was anglicized to Herkimer, and Johan Jost's given names were shortened to the common German nickname *Han Yost*. Han Yost Herkimer, the immigrant, bought land from the Mohawk people in 1722; by then, he had also earned a Mohawk nickname, *Okoari* (The Bear) for the great strength he showed in helping them move logs to build canoes. During wars against the French, Han Yost Herkimer served as a leader of the Palatine Germans and a Lieutenant in the Albany County Militia, fighting alongside Mohawk allies. Lieutenant Herkimer built a fort at his homestead where he gave Mohawk families shelter during French attacks, and they named it in his honor, as Fort Koari.

The Herkimer's daughter Barbara (1726-1800) married into the Schuyler family, a leading Dutch family of the region. (See the Appendix for their Herkimer-Schuyler family tree.) Her husband, Peter David Schuyler (1723-1761) was the eldest son and heir to fur trader David Schuyler of Albany. Peter Schuyler and Barbara Herkimer were married June 9, 1743 at the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany. Based on the local Dutch and Schuyler family custom of naming the firstborn son after the mother's father, their son Han Yost Schuyler, the future spy, was most likely born in 1744.[7] His name often appears later in English records as John or John Joseph.

Peter and Barbara Herkimer Schuyler made their home near their parents and close to the native villages of the Mohawk Valley. Local records show that Han Yost's father Peter and his grandfather David Schuyler had ties to the Mohawk people that were just as close as his grandfather Herkimer's were or closer.

David Schuyler (1688-1762) moved from Albany to the Mohawk Valley in the 1720's, obtaining land from the Mohawks and living there near Canajoharie, "one Mile and a quarter below the Indian Castle."[8] David Schuyler's family was renowned for diplomacy and for their fluency as Mohawk language speakers. His cousin Peter (Quider) and his uncle Abraham Schuyler had led and translated for the Mohawk chiefs who famously went to London in 1710 to strengthen their alliance with Queen Anne.[9] David Schuyler was also held in high regard by the Mohawks, as shown by their words and actions when he was imprisoned for debt. On April 1732, eight Mohawk chiefs from Canajoharie appeared before the Commission of Indian Affairs in Albany and demanded his release from debtor's prison:

> *Answer us, without Concealing any thing from us; That is that David Schuyler Sitts now in Goal … for we are come with a full Resolution of our Castle to have him out of Gaol forasmuch that he is Incorporated among us as one of our Children, We have given him a tract of Land and he is one of us. We desire you to Let him Loose."*
> *(whereupon they layed down three strings of wampum to open the Gaol door).* [10]

The commissioners noted that a fourth string of wampum was also given by a Mohawk girl whom David Schuyler had sponsored as his goddaughter in the Dutch church. To the chiefs' demand for Schuyler's release, the commissioners replied that he must first pay a large outstanding debt. After arguing the absurdity of the sentence ("In Gaol, he cannot Hunt, do but Enlarge [release] him and then he will be able to Pay his debts"), the Mohawks increased their offer, giving a tract of land to pay the debt but stipulating that the offer was good for one month only, to hasten his release.[11]

After his time in jail David Schuyler returned to the Mohawk Valley, living near the friends who had freed him. He recovered financially, and in 1755 bought land from them in the hills south of the Mohawk River, bordering Canadarago Lake. David Schuyler held the land in partnership with

his eldest son Peter, the husband of Barbara Herkimer, who was also close friends with the Mohawks. Like his father-in-law Han Yost Herkimer, Peter Schuyler was a militia officer who fought beside the Mohawks and protected their families against the French. During the Seven Years War, native leaders asked that the British troops in a fort near Canajoharie be replaced because they were not allowing the Mohawks safety within it during French raids. In a 1756 meeting, the Bear Clan leader Kayenkowaneko told Sir William Johnson that the Mohawk community was "very desirous of having Peter Schuyler the officer of the Militia to be posted in the Fort as soon as the Regulars were withdrawn."[12]

In a separate letter to William Johnson pressing this request, Mohawk chiefs Paulus Peters, Nickus Peters, and Brant Kanakaratunkwa spelled out their esteem for Peter David Schuyler:

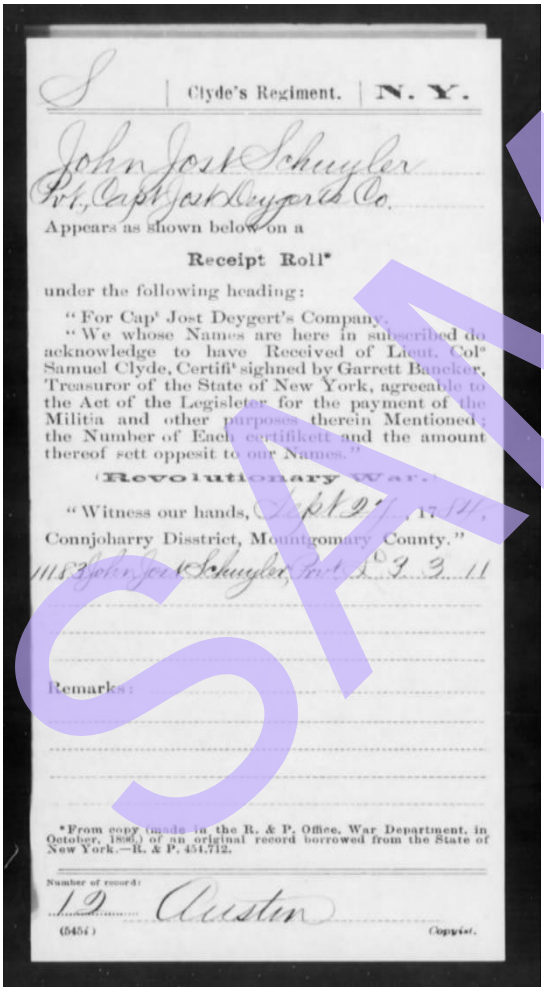
> *Brother, let us have men enough to assist us. Because you say we have men enough now, Brother we desire you to take care of our fort where Peter D Schuyler is in. We hope you will acquaint the Lord Louden of it that may assist us with one hundred men or more but not of the regulars we want of our Brothers of this country which (are) good men. And if we do not get them we will all go off into the woods out of the way. Therefor we send you this string of wampum.* [13]

Like his father David, Peter Schuyler was held in high regard and called a brother by the Mohawks. His son Han Yost was 12 years old at the time and growing up among them. Peter Schuyler owned about 4000 acres of land at his death five years later in 1761, and Han Yost at age 17 stood to inherit the family holdings, as the eldest son of an eldest son. The wars with France were over; he and his family were secure by then, living in the midst of their friends and allies. They were not the destitute, homeless family that Schoolcraft painted them to be.[14]

Aside from his father's and grandfather's wills, most contemporary records about Han Yost are from his service in the Revolutionary War and the immediate post-war era. The records show that Han Yost was a member of the local militia like his father; that he was on the scene and instrumental in the liberation of Fort Stanwix; that he was paid US military wages when the war ended, and he was married there in the Mohawk Valley soon afterwards. More about him can also be learned from later accounts, which confirm that he was a fluent speaker of the Mohawk and Oneida languages and was close to his native neighbors, living among them and after the

war and adopting their dress and customs. By some accounts he may himself have been adopted, and he had clearly native relatives.

Han Yost Schuyler was in his mid-thirties when the Revolutionary War began. He was not a boy or a clueless youth as Schoolcraft and other historians portrayed him. Records from the war show that Han Yost was enrolled in the Tryon County Militia, in Captain Jost Dygert's company. He mustered out at the end of the war on September 27, 1784, with back wages paid on that date (Figure 1). His receipt of back pay at war's end belies the story that Han Yost was a deserter who served with the British after Oriskany and Fort Stanwix. It also proves that at war's end he was living in the Mohawk Valley, not in Canada with Loyalists who'd fled the region.



Clyde's Regiment. N. Y.

John Jost Schuyler
Pvt., Capt. Jost Deygert's Co.

Appears as shown below on a

Receipt Roll*

under the following heading:

"For Cap[t] Jost Deygert's Company.
"We whose Names are here in subscribed do acknowledge to have Received of Lieut. Col[o] Samuel Clyde, Certifi[t] sighned by Garrett Bancker, Treasuror of the State of New York, agreeable to the Act of the Legisleter for the payment of the Militia and other purposes therein Mentioned; the Number of Each certifikett and the amount thereof sett oppesit to our Names."

(Revolutionary War.)

"Witness our hands, Sept 27 1784.

Connjoharry Disstrict, Mountgomary County."

John Jost Schuyler, Pvt. 2 3 11

Remarks:

*From copy made in the R. & P. Office, War Department, in October, 1896,) of an original record borrowed from the State of New York.—R. & P. 454.712.

Number of record: 12 Austen

(5454) Copyist.

Figure 1. Han Yost Schuyler's 1784 military pay record. (US National Archives)

The Battle of Oriskany

In the summer of 1777, British forces embarked on a three-pronged attack to conquer New York from north, south and west. From the west, Gen. Barry St. Leger led an army into the Mohawk Valley from Ontario, driving east with a plan to meet the forces of Generals Burgoyne and Howe and complete their conquest at Albany. Where his path met the Mohawk River, St. Leger was blocked by an American garrison in Fort Stanwix, at today's Rome NY. Loath to leave the garrisoned fort in his rear, St. Leger stopped to besiege it but lacked the artillery to defeat it. A hastily gathered force of local militia under Gen. Nicholas Herkimer (Barbara Herkimer's brother, and Han Yost Schuyler's uncle) with a company of Oneida fighters under Hon Yerry Doxtator marched to break the siege. They were caught in an ambush by St. Leger with his Mohawk and Seneca allies in the battle at Oriskany on August 6, 1777. Despite enormous losses, the two sides fought to a draw. General Herkimer was badly wounded in the battle and died afterward. A Seneca veteran of that battle, Thewonyas (Chainbreaker) described the battle in his memoirs as close hand-to-hand fighting with tomahawks and bayonets, ending in a loss of 30 Seneca killed including five chiefs.[15]

After the battle, Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler dispatched his second-in-command, General Arnold, from his headquarters in Saratoga in a second attempt to free the fort. At the same time, British officer John Johnson sent a local Loyalist leader, Walter Butler, from the siege camp into nearby towns to try to recruit locals to the British side. That must have been a fool's errand, so soon after the bloody battle at Oriskany, and Butler and 28 companions were arrested at a local tavern where they met on August 12.[16] Someone informed the American forces in advance that Butler and his cohorts would be meeting at Shoemaker's Tavern in German Flatts that night. It is possible the informer was Han Yost Schuyler. He was with Butler, and he may have been posing as a Loyalist while bringing Butler in for capture.[17] If so, Schuyler maintained his cover and was taken prisoner along with Butler, staying available for further espionage.

Wendat Tourism in the Nineteenth Century

Elizabeth Ann-Berton Reilly, M.Ed., Ph.D.

Tourism in the eastern United States and Canada began in the 1700s.[1] However, it was not until after the Revolutionary War that it took hold in the northeastern United States and Canada.[2] By then, reservations were being set up, and middle-class Euro-Americans and Euro-Canadians began seeking items from the 'vanishing Indians.' Also, by then, these middle-class people had disposable income to use in buying native goods. This, coupled with getting out of the city and into a natural environment, created for them an ideal escape.

By 1825, when the Erie Canal was opened, tourism in eastern Canada and the United States began flourishing. This opening gave tourists more accessible access to Niagara Falls.[3] With tourism also came more settlers who encroached upon indigenous lands, which made it more difficult for them to survive. These changes forced them to adapt and to give the tourists what they wanted—handmade trinkets, curiosities, and other souvenir items.

One such Indigenous community that had to adapt was the Wendat people in Lorette (later named Wendake), located in Canada about six hundred miles north of Niagara Falls. Although they were far from Niagara Falls, this paper will demonstrate that Wendat people in Lorette, Quebec, were profoundly altered by the tourism trade in Niagara Falls from the eighteenth century through the twentieth century. I will discuss the importance of the floral motif used in the wares sold by the Wendat and the controversy surrounding its origins. I will then present three prominent Wendat artists (Marguerite Lawinonkié Vincent, Zacharie Tehariolin Vincent, and Caroline Gros-Louis)

along with entrepreneur Grand Chief Maurice Agniohlen Bastien, and how these people tied into the tourist trade. Finally, I will address objects they made and how Wendat crafts were transformed for the tourist trade, such as moccasins, slippers, and snowshoes. I will conclude with the Wendat tourism trade today.

A Brief History of the Wendat

The Wendat Nation (also known as the Huron by the French and later, the Wyandot) are a northeastern Iroquoian confederacy of people originally from along Lake Ontario's north shore. The Wendat viewed themselves as being in the center of an island in Lake Ontario, near Lake Simcoe and Midland, Ontario.[4] The name Wendat means "Dwellers on a Peninsula" or simply "Islanders."[5] Some think this term was based on the fact that large bodies of water surrounded them from three sides.[6]

The Wendat confederacy consisted of four tribes: Attignaouantan (Bear), Attingneenongnahac (Cord), Arendaronnon (Rock), and the Tahontaenrat (Deer);[7] all totaling about thirty thousand people before European diseases decimated them.[8] Due to wars and European invasion, the Wendat were forced to flee to several areas: Lorette (Wendake), Quebec; Amherstburg, Ontario (Anderdon); Upper Sandusky, Ohio; Kansas City, Kansas; Detroit, Michigan; and finally, Wyandotte, Oklahoma. When they dispersed into Ontario and Michigan, they became known as the Wyandot. This paper will address the Wendat in Wendake, Quebec, known today as the Huron-Wendat.

During the seventeenth century in Quebec, as part of the Christianization process, the French established religious orders, and the nuns trained the Wendat girls on how to do European-style embroidery—specifically floral.[9] Some of the Wendat adopted both the religion and the embroidery

techniques. By the eighteenth century, these techniques were thoroughly combined with the use of moosehair.

Eighteenth-Century Wendat Souvenir Work

By the eighteenth century, the Wendat settled in Lorette, Quebec, as Christian refugees from Iroquois and European wars.[10] While living in Lorette, the Wendat continued their trade relationship with French fur trappers and the French military.[11] However, the primary income derived was through souvenir work sold to French soldiers and European visitors.[12] Among the Wendat, the men hunted, traded, and made souvenirs like moccasins. In contrast, the women would make other souvenir items like delicate Victorian pin cushions. One reason for their commercial success was that indigenous art was considered a commodity by this time because it was technically refined and represented a kind of "Indianness."[13] As a result, indigenous artists had to continuously reinvent their works to fit into what Europeans deemed "Indian."[14]

Also, during the 1700s, the Wendat women were embroidering souvenir objects using dyed moosehair instead of European thread. The most common colors of the dyed moosehair were dark green, red, white, and blue.[15] The Wendat used European supplies such as wool trade cloth, silk, satin, ribbons, glass supplies, and velvet. They combined these with the local stores of traditional supplies like moosehair, porcupine quillwork, hides, and birchbark. Along with selling small curiosities, the Wendat women were also highly skilled at tanning and would successfully sell hides along with souvenir moosehair embroidery.[16] By this time period, British officers and their wives would go to Lorette, Quebec, to see the Wendat perform ceremonial dances.[17] While visiting, they

would often purchase souvenirs to memorialize the occasion. Both the performances and the tourist items set the stage for more and more tourism.

Nineteenth Century

Making money through tourism became more of a necessity by the nineteenth century. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, settlers began to severely encroach upon Wendat land, and expanding their souvenir market was a matter of survival.[18] This also brought about ". . . increasingly severe conditions as settlers encroached on Wendat territory. Building the market for their embroidered goods was a crucial option, with expanded sales of housewares, craft and souvenirs."[19]

The further encroachment of settlers also caused the loss of traditional Wendat ways.[20] This included the Wendat being forced to hunt and fish even further from their homes. Additionally, some settlers created hunting and fishing clubs during this time, removing the Wendat game. In addition, the crops that the Wendat grew were usually not enough to feed their families.[21]This infringement also meant a loss of land and resources, and the demand for furs was beginning to diminish by then.[22] For instance, although fur demands were diminishing, tourist items made from fur did not. Adding to this, there was an influx of visitors to Quebec, a lot of whom were ". . . British military and administrative personnel and their wives and families in the late 1830s . . ."[23] This led to significantly more contracts with the British government. In fact, "In 1837, the community filled a contract with the government for over 1,300 pairs of snowshoe moccasins and over 700 pairs of snowshoes."[24] This economic necessity in handicrafts also helped create sophisticated marketing networks, in which the

Wendat would also distribute their wares in Niagara Falls.[25] Because of this, the Wendat supplemented their economy by manufacturing even more souvenirs.[26]

In addition to settler encroachment, values in the region began to change. By the early nineteenth century, the Victorian movement and all its ideals were in full swing. These ideals included collecting items that were hunting related. For instance, Victorian men often had a room (such as a parlor) or a section dedicated to hunting objects, such as animal heads and decorated weapons.[27]

Most notably made by the Wendat was a wall pocket, a decorated bag hung on the wall, usually near the front door of a home, where a man would place his pocket watch. The Wendat made such wall pockets from the tanned skin of a moose or elk's lower leg and decorated them with a sewed-on black dyed skin.[28] The black skin was then decorated with moosehair embroidery. One such item is in the Victoria and Albert Museum and was made between 1800 and 1875. In other words, fitting in with Victorian ideals, this object had no practical use; it was simply there to show the hunting motif created by an indigenous person.[29] It also demonstrated how the Wendat people were adapting out of financial necessity by producing such objects.

Later in Victorian times, the focus shifted from men's "tribal" curiosities to a sense of everything in its place and everything needed to look elegant. The Victorians began to have a need for delicate items to be displayed in their homes—items such as calling card trays and little boxes.[30] These little containers would often be made with birchbark and embroidered with dyed moosehair. Currently, the McCord Museum in Montreal, Quebec, holds several of these items. These objects were considered both "familiar" to Euro-Canadians (from the floral imagery) to "exotic" (i.e., on birch bark and the use of moosehair), thereby appealing to Euro-Canadians and Americans.[31]

These ideals fit in nicely with the wares the Wendat women were selling. These women shrewdly were able to anticipate what the tourists wanted. For instance, in addition to floral motifs, Wendat artists would depict idealized native scenes in their work by the mid-nineteenth century. Before this, the scenes would show Wendat men and women scantily clothed and carrying items like tomahawks.[32] However, this began to change. By the 1850s, embroidered scenes would show the Wendat dressed in traditional attire and the women carrying baskets.[33] The basket-carrying motif was of particular interest, because also by then, the Wendat, along with other Northeast Woodlands peoples, began to make and sell baskets to the tourists. The newer scenes would, in essence, be similar to a photograph that a tourist could take home and show their friends—demonstrating that this was what it looked like visiting the Wendat in Lorette.

Dogs as a Symbol of Enculturation

During the Victorian era, dogs were being bred for specific traits and kept more as pets than working animals.[34] This practice influenced Wendat tourist items, such as dog leashes. Harriet Ritvo discussed another aspect of this and stated, "Thus the fact of careful discrimination became more important than what was being discriminated, as dog fancying allowed enthusiasts to express, in a partially concealed way, their opinions, hopes, and fears about issues like social and occupational status, and the need for distinctions between classes."[35]

These "opinions, hopes, and fears" that the Victorians had bled into how they viewed native people, and the Wendat knew this. In fact, the Wendat women often used the dog motif in their art, such as

dogs wearing dog leashes, which in turn, symbolized domestication and taming.[36] This imagery extended to civilizing the Huron-Wendat people.[37]

The image of a dog on a leash could also indicate to the Victorian people that the Wendat were civilized. In other words, the motifs the Wendat used were becoming less exotic and more likely to depict actual Victorian life. Despite the Wendat's adaptations to Victorian morays, by the end of the nineteenth century, there were still negative views about them, some considering them savages. For instance, in Douglas Sladen's 1895 book, *On the Cars and Off: Being the Journal of a Pilgrimage Along the Queen's Highway to the East, from Halifax in Nova Scotia to Victoria in Vancouver's Island*, he discusses his visit to Lorette and has this to say:

> On the way we took in the Indian village of Lorette—painfully civilized. The chief of the Hurons, a tribe so powerful once as almost to amount to our idea of a nation, lives in a cottage, in seedy European clothes like a retired gardener's, and only puts on his native dress on great occasions, such as a Good Templar's picnic, or when he has to go through the fiction of transacting tribal business. But he makes a very good living by selling shilling birchbark canoes, and shilling deer-skin knife cases embroidered with beads and moccasins up to a couple of dollars.[38]

Also, part of this Victorian movement was the notion of the "vanishing Indian"—that Indigenous people and their ways of life were disappearing rapidly, so by purchasing a souvenir, they would be memorialized.[39] This was a kind of salvage anthropology, whereby " . . . the sentimentalism with which Victorian observers characteristically sublimated their responses to the economic hardship endured by Northeastern Indians, a sentimentalism grounded in the frequently expressed view that the struggles of Aboriginal people to survive were a sad foreshadowing of their imminent disappearance-in the notion, that is, of the souvenir as memorial."[40]

Another aspect of Victorian ideals is that they viewed indigenous people as having their proper place (not unlike objects). They saw them no longer as the "noble savage" but instead considered them as productive workers.[41] They believed that the role of these indigenous people was to supply settlers with wares. By then, the Wendat were starting up factories as well as demonstrating to tourists how they made their souvenir art. In the factories, they tanned leather, dyed cloth, and created moccasins.

Floral Motif Controversy: Who Came Up with It?

With the arrival of the Ursuline nuns in the seventeenth century, which brought European products and embroidery designs, those designs were combined with the Wendat women's materials. Throughout the tourist trade in the Northeast, floral moosehair embroidery on black-dyed skins was one thing that set the Wendat apart from other indigenous peoples.[42] The Wendat would make and sell moccasins designed this way. These were different than the traditional Wendat moccasins in that, traditionally, Wendat moccasins would have a stripe down the middle made with quillwork.[43] However, the black-dyed moccasins (made in the 1840s) included moosehair embroidery and ribbons, giving these shoes an almost European look.[44]

There is controversy about the origins of these floral designs. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Ursuline nuns taught many Wendat women and girls floral embroidery.[45] In fact, according to Ruth Bliss Phillips and Dale Idiens in "'A Casket of Savage Curiosities' Eighteenth-Century Objects from North-Eastern North America in the Farquharson Collection," by 1714, the Ursuline nuns were the ones who originally produced these floral objects using moosehair onto birchbark objects, and the Wendat women allegedly followed suit.[46]

The History and Archaeology of the Iroquois Du Nord

Edited by Robert von Bitter and Ronald Williamson

Reviewed by Ken Knapp

Upon learning of this volume, the interest was immediate for a variety of reasons. Not the least of which is a geographical connection to the area anchoring the eastern end of the Iroquois Du Nord (IDN), and the Sulpician Mission at Kente. Kingston is less than 20km from this reviewer on the US shores of the St. Lawrence. This proved a worthy volume to read and own, revealing a larger vision and understanding of the IDN than anticipated. Based around an all-day session at the 2019 Ontario Archaeological Society Annual Symposium, the book achieves much of the goal found in the introduction: Compiling a cogent volume of the known puzzle pieces of late 17th century Ontario Iroquois-Haudenosaunee-European history of the North shores of Lake Ontario into a single resource. Creating a single-source baseline resource for the IDN their occupations data and more, stitched nicely to the landscape. The editors-authors followed up the book with a well-received post-publication presentation at the 2023 Iroquois Conference.

Outside of the Ontario or Canadian archeological world, the IDN are generally an enigma. For many, (with exceptions) the IDN occupations are often viewed as peripheral to the NYS-centric Haudenosaunee history. Understandable as it was a brief time period, in a cultural and geographic overlapping landscape. As Williamson points out in his introduction, the historic and archaeological record of late 17th century for the North Shore of Ontario to the Upper St. Lawrence, was not well represented in the literature. Prior to this volume, a broad connective perspective of the IDN, the Sulpician interactions, locational data, or relevant contextual information was not readily available. A handicap that has now been dissuaded by this volume.

The related subject of the Sulpicians is better illuminated after reading the volume. Given the dominating text references of the Jesuit Relations and their Haudenosaunee interactions within the archaeological literature on the US side, the Sulpicians are not often reflected upon. The localized histories in Eastern Lake Ontario tell only of early Jesuits in the Thousand Islands-Lake Ontario region. Mentioning a passing Father Dablon and Father Chaumonoit, missionaries traveling to the

Onondaga[1] in 1655. The volume gives a source filling missing piece(s) of Sulpician data as well as the IDN presence in the East. Local US histories can now reflect a more accurate version of the second half of the 17th century. The volume is already successful; as a pioneering single-source supply for needed information on the IDN and Sulpicians, tying them, as close as can be achieved at publication, to specific location(s) in the landscape. Employing the lens of cultural landscape archaeology in clarifying the understanding of the IDN, as well as their interplay with Sulpicians, providing the known and likeliest location(s). Without placement in the landscape, the IDN nor Sulpician information can be inter-connectedly quantified. Landscape placement and the data give a viewpoint of the cultural landscape, allowing fitting of the archeological puzzle pieces together now and in the future, much like doing the edges of a jigsaw puzzle first. A great leap in fitting those pieces is found within these pages.

The History of the Iroquois Du Nord

Chapter 1, 2. Williamson's[2] introduction to the volume (1), is an extensive overview of the historical context for the era giving a contextual background for the IDN and Sulpicians providing the broader who, what, and where, as it were. The introduction shows the IDN arising through the lens of the crushing onslaught of the Haudenosaunee wars upon the Ontario Iroquois and dispersal. Clarities are brought to this portion of the background leading to the IDN.

The introduction is followed by an equally vigorous history chapter by author Kurt Jordan[3], further illuminating the historical context from the Haudenosaunee perspective, with an in-depth piece, balancing the contextual fabric of the Ontario Iroquois - Haudenosaunee historic narrative of the volume. Jordan gives the Haudenosaunee aspects of the events of the late 17th century in an in-depth piece, introducing necessary cultural landscape and contextual background, key for further exploring the IDN within the volume. Both these historic background chapters leave the reader ready for the next section encompassing settlement locations and investigations.

[1] *Dablon is later celebrated locally by the naming of Dablon Point, Cape Vincent on the Lake Ontario shoreline.*
[2] *Introduction Chapter 1: Ronald F. Williamson*
[3] *Chapter 2, "Departing and retuning: Haudenosaunee homeland. Contexts for the IDN Villages" Kurt A. Jordan*

Mary Druke Becker

Tribute offered by Christine Hanks

The Iroquois Indian Museum grieves over the passing of a dear friend. Mary died of a heart attack on July 26, 2006, in Munich, Germany, while on a trip with her husband, Dr. Charles Becker.

Dr. Mary Druke Becker joined the Iroquois Indian Museum Board of Trustees in 1990. She served on the Board until 1996, when she and her family moved out of the state. They returned to Schenectady in 2001 and Mary rejoined the board in 2002. Mary served on the Anthropology, Law & Ethics, and Development Committees of the Museum's board and was a key member of the Museum's fundraising task force. Deeply committed to the Museum's mission, Mary played important roles in the Museum's long-term planning process. Her vision for the future has shaped the growth of the institution and will influence it for years to come.

At the University of Chicago, she wrote her doctoral thesis in anthropology on Mohawk and Oneida leadership in the 18th century and did field work at Akwesasne, establishing friendships that she maintained until her death. She worked with William Fenton and Francis Jennings to create *Iroquois Indians: A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and Their League* and was instrumental in arranging to have the original copies of the documents donated to the Museum by the Newberry Library. Throughout her career she believed in meticulous research on original materials.

As one of the Museum's two Research Associates, she spent years creating a collection of copies of the existing primary documents, such as deeds, that deal with the lands of the Schoharie Mohawk. Her research produced the "Calendar of Documents Pertaining to Native American Occupation of the Schoharie River Valley," which is to be published by Heritage Press. She also worked on the Museum's biographical Native Americans names file, generously sharing her own research. Her goal

in all these endeavors was to encourage others to use the materials she collected to do quality studies and to publish.

Mary wrote and received a number of grants for the Museum, most recently a New York State Library Conservation grant to assess the Museum's photographic and print collection.

Several years ago Mary took on the leadership of the Annual Conference on Iroquois Research. The Museum has sponsored the meetings and will make sure that the Conference goes on this year in her honor.

Mary managed all these vital contributions and still had time for family, extensive community service, and her own very busy and productive scholarly life.

We will long remember her dedication, her generous willingness to help others, and her cheerful optimism that moved mountains.

Photo Credit: Adrian Becker, late 1980s-early 1990s

Dr. Bruce Estes Rippeteau
10/10/1945 – 8/21/2024

Photo credit: Sandy Rippeteau, Brant Museum, 2023

A Tribute by Ken Knapp

We often mark the passing of time by triumph or loss. Sadly, this last summer it was the loss of our colleague and friend, Dr. Bruce Rippeteau. A devotee of Conferences since his retirement, one would be hard pressed to find a more enthusiastic participant. Bruce and his wonderful wife Sandra were fixtures at past conferences, this presence will be so greatly missed by many.

Few of us, when we pass on, could ever imagine being given praise filled tributes given across this continent, let alone just here in the land of Iroquoia. For Bruce, deserving tributes flow not just from his birthplace of New York or Iroquoia, but from across the Great Plains to the Southwest and to the Ohio, from high upon the Rocky Mountains to South Carolina's Piedmont or its Atlantic shores. Bruce's lasting impacts on those regions evokes individual tributes worthy of eloquent words well beyond these pages. Be it in any one of his many roles in archaeology, from student to teacher to pioneering researcher, if you crossed paths with this man, you are no doubt the better for it. To note a few milestones; Bruce began his career as an associate professor in the Archaeology Department at the State University of New York, during the mid-1970s, Bruce became the first State Archaeologist of Colorado, where he collaborated with the Colorado Historical Society to protect

and document key and important archaeological sites. He also founded the National Association of State Archaeologists and served as Secretary of the Society for American Archaeology.

In 1984, Bruce relocated to Columbia, South Carolina, where he served as the Director of the University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology until 2002. As the South Carolina State Archaeologist, he led pioneering archeological projects, including the conservation of the H.L. Hunley Historic Confederate Submarine, the Spanish Colonial Capitol of Santa Elena research effort as well as setting up the Cooper River Underwater Heritage trail. In his roles in South Carolina, we also get a glimpse of Bruce's underwater side, blending a love for archeology and SCUBA diving, to further the quest for science, education and preservation. In his long career Bruce published several articles, papers, and books, including "Testing Contemporaneity and Averaging Radiocarbon Dates" and "A Colorado Book of the Dead". Bruce's education and his career path covered quite an incredible dichotomy of landscapes and skillsets both as the terrestrial archaeologist and as a underwater archaeologist. In his retirement, when not enjoying his Northern New York summer residence, he put great deal of effort and time into supporting the University of Nebraska Department of Anthropology. This licensed pilot and Ham radio operator, along with his loving wife Sandra even endowed a prize for Great Plains Archaeology and Paleontology. In an outstanding achievement, he also received the inaugural Distinguished Alumni Award from UNL, an amazing testament to his contributions. It should be noted, in light of all this, that this incredibly gracious legend of an archeologist devoted his last major paper specifically for the Conference on Iroquois Research and the Iroquoia publication. Producing a profound paper that connects the Iroquoian terrestrial world with the underwater world, posing insightful questions by opening up avenues of enquiries not considered, yet ones deeply impacting the Iroquois cultures of the time.

This continent-spanning archaeologist was forever drawn back to his roots, in the heart of Iroquoia. His homeland is the Thousand Island Region, the place where Lake Ontario sends its waters to the St. Lawrence River, flowing among the glittering islands on the journey to the sea. While wintering in Nebraska, the Rippeteau's summer home was in Cape Vincent, not far from where he was born and raised. This watery landscape was at the heart of one of the great pre-European realms of Iroquoia, and in many ways, it was at the heart of our colleague Bruce. Here, amidst his roots is where he could delve into his passion of exploring beneath the waters, as well as above, illustrated in many ways by this final paper produced for the Conference.

Bruce's unending passionate enthusiasm for the quest to reveal the past, was something to be deeply admired by all. An enthusiasm that extended to this Conference; with the 2024 conference marked on the Rippeteau's calendar this was one of the first subjects he eagerly discussed during his annual "archeology luncheon" hosted at his summer home in Cape Vincent, NY, interspaced with discussing future plans, such as organizing "boat archeology" explorations or the likelihood of locating dugouts in the River. Bruce also occasionally advised informally on local archeological projects, from underwater shipwreck to the full range of terrestrial time period, keenly interested in all things Iroquois There is no doubt that many of his Conference colleagues can attest to Bruce's typical first question when communicating or crossing paths: are you doing a presentation or submitting a paper for the Conference? If not answered in a resounding yes, then quickly followed by "You Should!!" This enthusiastic, gracious fountain of wisdom will be sorely missed by all. As displayed by his passion for this Conference and even his simple luncheons, Bruce saw the bringing together of people or a meeting of the minds, this sharing of our individual knowledge and perceptions, as key to hashing out the unbiased story of the past, as well as a path to understanding for the future. Let us now pick up this mantle of unbridled enthusiasm that Bruce carried for this Conference, with gusto.

The author was privileged to have Bruce as a summer neighbor, a colleague and friend, as such, obligated to express this final thought regarding the Conference, based on the many summer luncheon discussions, the countless phone calls and email communications I will cherish for life. His perspective could be encapsulated in the idea that this Conference, in many ways, represents a metaphorical Longhouse, a notion we often bantered about. Presenting a sort of home, where we can come together, share perspectives, a hearth and our wisdom, all in this grand effort to seek enlightenment for the story of Iroquoia. It is true that in that sense, with losing Bruce, this Longhouse no longer has one of its great posts growing with life, yet this post stands now as a monument, reminding and inspiring us forward. Bruce leaves us a central post for this Conference's Longhouse, painted with details of a life and career beyond what most ever achieve, one that any of us would aspire to. Let us dedicate ourselves to one thought Bruce had recently expressed, to paraphrase; working to open wide the doors and welcome more young people and new hearths into this Longhouse he cared so deeply for, the Conference on Iroquois Research.

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