

destroy my Country, so much affrighteth all my people as they dare not visit you. What will it availe you to take that by force you may quickly have by love, or to destroy them that provide you food. What can you get by warre, when we can hide our provisions and fly to the woods? whereby you must famish by wronging us your friends. And why are you thus jealous of our loves seeing us unarmed, and both doe, and are willing still to feede you, with that you cannot get but by our labours? Thinke you I am so simple, not to know it is better to eate good meate, lye well, and sleepe quietly with my women and children, laugh and be merry with you, have copper, hatchets, or what I want being your friend: then be forced to flie from all, to lie cold in the woods, feede upon Acornes, rootes, and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, eate, nor sleepe; but my tyred men must watch, and if a twig but breake, every one cryeth there commeth Captaine Smith: then must I fly I know not whether: and thus with miserable feare, end my miserable life, leaving my pleasures to such youths as you, which through your rash unadvisednesse may quickly as miserably end, for want of that, you never know where to finde. Let this therefore assure you of our loves, and every yeare our friendly trade shall furnish you with Corne; and now also, if you would come in friendly manner to see us, and not thus with your guns and swords as to invade your foes.

A Pequot Looks Back at King Philip's War

When the Pilgrims first landed at Plymouth, the local Wampanoag Indians fed and helped them survive their first winter and the chief, Massasoit, made a treaty of friendship with them. But after two generations of coexistencé, Massasoit's son, Metacomet, known to the English as King Philip, went to war against the English. It was one of the bloodiest conflicts in American history. Fifty-two English towns were attacked, a dozen were destroyed, and many Indian villages were burned. More than 2,500 colonists died, perhaps 30 percent of the English population of New England. At least twice as many Indians died in the fighting and some estimates suggest that the combined effects of war, disease, and starvation killed half the Indian population of New England. King Philip's War, as it became known, left an enduring legacy in its influence on subsequent attitudes and policies toward Indian peoples.

Sometimes, how wars are remembered and written about—even what they are called—can be as important as how they were fought. The

English, not the Indians, wrote about this war and their words shaped the memory and meaning of the conflict for later generations of Americans. The war came to be seen as a vital victory in securing the Anglo-Saxon beachhead in North America and forging a new American identity that forever excluded Indians.¹

For most Puritans, the war was both divine punishment and an ordeal that tested their virtue, courage, and devotion to God; if they brought the war on themselves, it was because of their sinful ways among each other and not because of their treatment of the Indians. But even as the English preached the war as divine punishment for their own erring ways, they regarded Metacomet as the instigator, a treacherous fiend who deserved a traitor's death: when he was killed, the English cut off his head and cut his body into quarters. His wife and nine-year-old son were sent as slaves to the Caribbean.

Although no Indian voices challenged the Puritans' accounts in print at the time, a Pequot Indian did so 160 years later. William Apess (1798–1839) grew up in poverty and a broken home and experienced firsthand the effects of racism in New England. Later in life, he became a Methodist preacher and one of the first Native American authors. In 1836, at a time when Indian peoples in the East were being removed to west of the Mississippi by government policy, Apess delivered a courageous speech in Boston, in which he reviewed the history of Indian relations since the Pilgrims first landed and confronted New Englanders with their own racism and hypocrisy. He portrayed Metacomet as a patriot who, like George Washington, fought to defend his people's rights and freedom against assaults on their land, culture, and sovereignty by colonists whom they had once befriended.

¹ Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998).

WILLIAM APESS

Eulogy on King Philip

1836

Justice and humanity for the remaining few prompt me to vindicate the character of him who yet lives in their hearts and, if possible, melt the prejudice that exists in the hearts of those who are in the possession of his soil, and only by the right of conquest—is the aim of him who proudly tells you, the blood of a denominated savage runs in his veins. . . .

It appears that Philip made the following speech to his chiefs, counselors, and warriors:

Brothers, you see this vast country before us, which the Great Spirit gave to our fathers and us; you see the buffalo and deer that now are our support. Brothers, you see these little ones, our wives and children, who are looking to us for food and raiment; and you now see the foe before you, that they have grown insolent and bold; that all our ancient customs are disregarded; the treaties made by our fathers and us are broken, and all of us insulted; our council fires disregarded, and all the ancient customs of our fathers; our brothers murdered before our eyes, and their spirits cry to us for revenge. Brothers, these people from the unknown world will cut down our groves, spoil our hunting and planting grounds, and drive us and our children from the graves of our fathers, and our council fires, and enslave our women and children.

. . . How deep, then, was the thought of Philip, when he could look from Maine to Georgia, and from the ocean to the lakes, and view with one look all his brethren withering before the more enlightened to come; and how true his prophecy, that the white people would not only cut down their groves but would enslave them. Had the inspiration of Isaiah been there, he could not have been more correct. Our groves and hunting grounds are gone, our dead are dug up, our council fires are put out, and a foundation was laid in the first Legislature to enslave our

Barry O'Connell, ed., *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 277, 295, 306, 307–8.

people, by taking from them all rights, which has been strictly adhered to ever since. Look at the disgraceful laws, disfranchising us as citizens. Look at the treaties made by Congress, all broken. Look at the deep-rooted plans laid, when a territory becomes a state, that after so many years the laws shall be extended over the Indians that live within their boundaries. Yea, every charter that has been given was given with the view of driving the Indians out of the states, or dooming them to become chained under desperate laws, that would make them drag out a miserable life as one chained to the galley; and this is the course that has been pursued for nearly two hundred years. A fire, a canker, created by the Pilgrims from across the Atlantic, to burn and destroy my poor unfortunate brethren, and it cannot be denied. What, then, shall we do? Shall we cease crying and say it is all wrong, or shall we bury the hatchet and those unjust laws and Plymouth Rock together and become friends? . . .

We want trumpets that sound like thunder, and men to act as though they were going at war with those corrupt and degrading principles that robs one of all rights, merely because he is ignorant and of a little different color. Let us have principles that will give everyone his due; and then shall wars cease, and the weary find rest. Give the Indian his rights, and you may be assured war will cease.

But by this time you have been enabled to see that Philip's prophecy has come to pass; therefore, as a man of natural abilities, I shall pronounce him the greatest man that was ever in America; and so it will stand, until he is proved to the contrary, to the everlasting disgrace of the Pilgrims' fathers.

2

Cultural Conflicts, Contests, and Confluences

Since that you are heere strangers and come into our Countrey, you should rather confine yourselves to the Customes of our Countrey, than impose yours upon us.

—Wicomesse Indian to the governor of Maryland, 1633¹

You tell us fine stories, and there is nothing in what you say that may not be true; but that is good for you who come across the seas. Do you not see that, as we inhabit a world so different from yours, there must be another heaven for us, and another road to reach it?

—Huron Indian to Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf, 1635²

We love you more than you love us; for when we take any prisoners from you, we treat them as our own children.

—Delaware Indians to Moravian ambassador
Christian Frederick Post, 1758³

The European invasion of America produced a collision of worldviews. Indians and Europeans endeavored to deal with each other across gulfs of misunderstanding, and Europeans sought to achieve cultural and religious dominance, as well as military, political, and economic control in their “new world.” Missionaries, teachers, and others labored to convert American Indians into “civilized” Christians, but conversion proved to be not a simple task.

Some Indian people embraced the new ways of life that Europeans offered them. Bombarded by lethal new diseases, wrenching changes, and the loss of loved ones to smallpox, alcohol, and violence, many

¹Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York: Scribner's, 1910), 89–90.

²John Gilmeary Shea, ed., *History and General Description of New France*, by P. F. X. Charlevoix, S.J. 6 vols. (New York, 1870), 2:79.

³See page 147.

3

Land, Trade, and Treaties

We know our Lands are now become more valuable. The white People think we do not know their Value; but we are sensible that the Land is everlasting, and the few Goods we receive for it are soon worn out and Gone.

—Canasatego to the governor of Pennsylvania, 1742¹

These wicked Whiskey Sellers, when they have once got the Indians in Liquor, make them sell the very Clothes from their Backs. In short, if this Practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined.

—Oneida sachem Scarouady to Pennsylvania treaty commissioners, 1753²

Frontier diplomacy involved a lot of talk. Indians and colonists met in formal council to discuss issues of concern, make peace, prevent war, and renew friendships. Very often the talks were conducted on equal terms, with Europeans following much of the protocol of Indian diplomacy. In general, however, discussion focused on the two things Europeans wanted most from Indian people: their land and their trade. The issue of land was never far from the surface in negotiations. Europeans used a broad repertoire of devices to obtain land, one of which was to encourage Indians to run up large debts in trade. The tribe's accumulated bill then could be settled only by the cession of territory. Indian leaders sometimes used land sales as a strategy for trying to keep colonists at bay, hoping that this time their land hunger would be satisfied, but the pressure on Indian lands was unrelenting, a constant source of friction.

Indians waged a continuing struggle against fraudulent treaties and trespass. Treaties between government agents and Indian delegates and illegal transactions between land speculators and compliant chiefs

¹*Pennsylvania Colonial Records* 4:559–86.

²Donald H. Kent, ed., *Pennsylvania Indian Treaties, 1737–1756*, in Alden T. Vaughan, gen. ed., *Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607–1789* (Frederick, Md.: University Publications of America, 1984), 2:291.

deprived Native Americans of millions of acres of land. When tensions exploded in open conflict and Indians were defeated, treaties often contained stipulations that they cede yet more land as atonement for their "war guilt." In 1790, the new United States Congress passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, declaring that sales of Indian land were invalid unless they had congressional approval. This did not stop the loss of Indian lands, however. Many modern lawsuits by Indian tribes in the eastern United States hinge on violations of the Trade and Intercourse Act.

Trade was often a key ingredient in establishing political and military alliances. In Indian societies, trade traditionally took the form of ritual exchanges that cemented relationships. But with the coming of the European fur and deerskin trades, Indian people became increasingly dependent on European trade to provide the necessities of life. Many Indians became commercial hunters, exchanging animal pelts for new merchandise, especially firearms. Indians armed with guns raided unarmed neighbors for slaves. Europeans competed for Indian trade and Indians sometimes played the competitors against each other. Dekanissore, or Decanesora, an Onondaga orator who took a prominent role in negotiations with the French and English around 1700, threatened to "speake no more of praying or Christianity." French and British trade goods were too expensive; he would, he said, listen to the religion of whoever offered the best trade.³

European trade goods and European alcohol contributed to the destabilization of Indian societies. Each created its own form of dependency and undermined the ability of Indian communities to resist encroachment on their lands. Indian leaders, seeing the devastating impact of alcohol on their people and concerned about their declining economic independence, complained about the effects of trade with Europeans even as they realized that they could no longer do without it. "My people . . . cannot . . . live independent of the English," said Skiagunsta, head warrior of the Lower Cherokees. "The clothes we wear we cannot make ourselves. They are made for us. We use their ammunition with which to kill deer. We cannot make our guns. Every necessary of life we must have from the white people."⁴

Whether they traded lands or furs, Indian people found they were exchanging a nonreplenishable resource for the merchandise of Europe

³E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887), 4:893.

⁴David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 14.

and a future of increasing dependency. With their lands and game gone, Indians often were reduced to taking jobs in the colonial economy or pursuing a precarious subsistence on the margins of colonial society. The inequitable nature of their dealings with Europeans did not escape Indians. The records of early America are full of complaints by Indian people that they have been cheated out of their lands and furs.

Submission to "Old England"

As their numbers dwindled and their independence diminished before their eyes, Native Americans often felt their best chance of survival lay in accepting the inevitable and putting themselves under the protection of colonial powers. The following "act of submission," however, illustrates Native American statecraft, not Native American impotence.

The Narragansett Indians of Rhode Island acted as allies to the English in the destruction of the Pequots in 1637. The Narragansett sachem Miantonomi had played an important role in the Pequot War, but in 1642 he called for drastic and united action on the part of the Indians before it was too late to stop the English from ruining the Indian world. "You know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkies, and our coves full of fish and fowl," he reminded the Montauk Indians of Long Island. "But these English have gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks, and we shall all be starved."¹ The next year, war broke out between the Narragansetts and the Mohegan Indians of Connecticut. Miantonomi was captured and executed by Mohegans, who were urged on by the English.

The Narragansetts were still a power in the region, but they sensed their growing isolation as other tribes were decimated by war and disease and the Puritan English increased in strength. They therefore placed themselves under English protection in a "voluntary and free submission" in 1644. But notice that the Narragansetts make their submission to King Charles I and the government of "Old England," not to the Puritan authorities in New England. The Puritans regarded the Narragansetts as "going over their heads" to a higher authority, but the Narragansetts

¹Miantonomi's speech is in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd ser. (1833), 3:154.

astutely asserted their equality with the New England Puritans; they and the colonists were both subjects of the king. The Narragansetts looked to Old England, not to New England, for justice and protection.²

19

NARRAGANSETT INDIANS

Act of Submission

1644

The Act and Deed of the voluntary and free submission of the chiefe Sachem, and the rest of the Princes, with the whole people of the Nanhigansets, unto the Government and protection of that Honorable State of Old-England; set downe, here, verbatim.

Know all Men, Colonies, Peoples, and Nations, unto whom the fame hereof shall come; that wee, the chiefe Sachems, Princes or Governours of the Nanhigansets (in that part of America, now called New-England), together with the joynt and unanimous consent of all our people and subjects, inhabitants thereof, do upon serious consideration, mature and deliberate advise and counsell, great and weighty grounds and reasons moving us thereunto, whereof one most effectual unto us, is, that noble fame we have heard of that Great and mighty Prince, Charles,³ King of Great Britaine, in that honorable and princely care he hath of all his servants, and true and loyall subjects, the consideration whereof moveth and bendeth our hearts with one consent, freely, voluntarily, and most humbly to submit, subject, and give over ourselves, peoples, lands, rights, inheritances, and possessions whatsoever, in ourselves and our heires successively for ever, unto the protection, care and government of that worthy and royal Prince, Charles, King of Great Britaine and Ireland,

²Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

³King Charles I, who was executed in 1649 during the English Civil War.

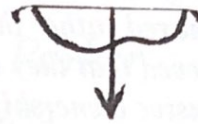
his heires and successors forever, to be ruled and governed according to the ancient and honorable lawes and customes, established in that so renowned realme and kingdome of Old England; we do, therefore, by these presents, confesse, and most willingly and submissively acknowledge ourselves to be the humble, loving and obedient servants and subjects of his Majestie; to be ruled, ordered, and disposed of, in ourselves and ours, according to his princely wisdom, counsell and lawes of that honorable State of Old England; *upon condition of His Majesties' royal protection*, and wrighting us of what wrong is, or may be done unto us, according to his honorable lawes and customes, exercised amongst his subjects, in their preservation and safety, and in the defeating and overthrow of his, and their enemies; not that we find ourselves necessitated hereunto, in respect of our relation, or occasion we have, or may have, with any of the natives in these parts, knowing ourselves sufficient defence, and able to judge in any matter or cause in that respect; but have just cause of jealousy and suspicion of some of His Majesty's pretended subjects. Therefore our desire is, to have our matters and causes heard and tried according to his just and equall lawes, in that way and order His Highness shall please to appoint: *Nor can we yield over ourselves unto any, that are subjects themselves in any case*; having ourselves been the chief Sachems, or Princes successively, of the country, time out of mind; and for our present and lawfull enacting hereof, being so farre remote from His Majestie, wee have, by joynt consent, made choice of foure of his loyall and loving subjects, our trusty and well-beloved friends, Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Houlden and John Warner,⁴ whom we have deputed, and made our lawfull Attornies or Commissioners, not only for the acting and performing of this our Deed, in the behalfe of his Highnesse, but also for the safe custody, carefull conveyance, and declaration hereof unto his grace: being done upon the lands of the Nanhigansett, at a Court or Generall Assembly called and assembled together, of purpose, for the publick enacting, and manifestation hereof.

And for the further confirmation, and establishing of this our Act and Deed, wee, the abovesaid Sachems or Princes, have, according to that commendable custome of Englishmen, subscribed our names and sett our seals hereunto, as so many testimonies of our fayth and truth, our love and loyalty to that our dread Soveraighne, and that according to the

⁴Samuel Gorton of Warwick, Rhode Island, was a religious radical frequently at odds with the Puritan authorities. He and his associates had settled on Narragansett land with Miantonomi's permission.

Englishmen's account. Dated the nineteenth day of April, one thousand six hundred and forty-four.

Pessicus, his marke, Chief Sachem,
and successor of that late deceased
Miantonomy.



The marke of that ancient Canonicus,
Protector of that late deceased
Miantonomy, during the time of his
nonage⁵



The marke of Mixan, son and heire of
that abovesaid Conanicus.



Witnessed by two of the chiefe counsellors to Sachem Pessicus.

Indians.	{	Awashoosse, his marke,	
		Tomanick, his marke.	

Sealed and delivered, in the presence of these persons:

English.	{	Christopher Helme,
		Robert Potter, Richard Carder.

⁵The Narragansett sachems Pessicus and Canonicus were brother and uncle of Miantonomi, respectively.

Two Land Deeds from Maine

Deeds in which Indian people agreed to sell lands are common in colonial records. Some are no doubt forgeries; some were written, if not dictated, by the colonists. Often the latter documents were executed under dubious

circumstances, with Indians acting under threat of violence, the influence of alcohol, or misapprehension about just what they were signing away. Different concepts of land tenure complicated the issue. Viewing land as a resource to be shared rather than as a commodity to be bought and sold, Indians often believed that they were conveying only the right to occupy the land, not exclusive ownership. Abenaki sachem Nanuddemance, in his deed to John Parker of lands on the Kennebec River, specifically reserved to himself the right to hunt and fish on those lands.

However, not all land sales were fraudulent; some were legitimate transactions between parties who understood the terms of the agreements and the implications of their actions. Land deeds can therefore shed light on native patterns of land tenure and tribal boundaries: Land was held in common by the entire tribe, but it seems clear that some members of the tribe had more rights to some lands than others. It also seems clear that Native Americans quite quickly came to grasp English notions of property and to understand the pitfalls in what one historian has called "the deed game." Deeds suggest some of the motives Indian people had for selling: They may have needed less land in the wake of population loss to new diseases, they may have needed to obtain money to buy goods or pay debts in the wake of the disruption of their traditional economy, or they may have believed they were not losing much since they specifically retained hunting and fishing rights. Deeds also provide the actual names of Indian people who might otherwise remain anonymous. The intriguingly named Robin (or Robert) Hood, also known as Rawandagon or Rawmegin, was an influential sachem who signed seventeen deeds between 1639 and 1675. We know little or nothing about Uphannu, alias "Jane the Indian of Scarborough," but the fact that she sold a tract of land at Blue Point with her mother and brother in 1659 reveals something about the role of women in seventeenth-century Abenaki society.

Many deeds are long and detailed; the two reprinted here are short, but they are nonetheless valuable records of cross-cultural encounters. It was not uncommon for land grantees to wait several years before recording their deeds, doing so only when they themselves were preparing to sell their lands.

NANUDDEMANCE

*Deed to John Parker**June 14, 1659*

This Instrument Witnesseth this 14th of June 1659 : that I Nanuddemance Proprietor of these Lands hereafter mentioned, have lett sett & sould all my right title of the sayd Lands & Tymber, with the appurtenances of Marsh, & Upland Meddow, unto John Parker now dwelling upon the sd Land. unto him his heyres executors & administrators for ever, for one beaver skine received, & the yearly rent of one bushell of Corne, & a quart of Lyquor to bee payd unto the sd Nanuddemance & his heyres for ever at or before every five & Twentieth day of Decembr being Christmas day at the dwelling house of the sd Parker, reserveing out of the aforesd Land, Lyberty unto mee my heyres to fish fowle & hunt, alsoe to sett otter Trapps with out Molestation/ The aforesd Land being bounded as followeth/

Begining at the first high head. upon the South West side of Sagadahoe River. & soe running up the sd River unto Winnigans Cricke being by estimation six Miles. or there abouts. & all that Tract of Land South Westward unto the Eastern part of Cascoe Bay/ To confirme the treuth hereof, I have hereunto sett my hand the day & yeare above written/

Witnesses/

Henery Jocelyn/

Richard Foxwell/

Roger Spencer/

The Marke

of Nanuddemance

The marke of
Mr Robert Hoode Sagamore/

A true Coppy of this grant or deed above written, transcribed out of the originall & their with compared this 22nd day of May : 1667 : p Edw: Rishworth Re : Cor :

4

In a World of Warfare: Indians and the Wars for Empire

You both tell us to be Christians, you both make us madd we know not what side to choose.

—Iroquois sachem Dekanissore to the governors
of Canada and New York, 1701¹

It is plain that you white people are the cause of this war; why do not you and the French fight in the old country, and on the sea? Why do you come to fight on our land? This makes every body believe, you want to take the land from us by force, and settle it.

—Delaware Indians to Christian Frederick Post, 1758²

The contest for North America was not simply a battle between Indians and Europeans. Various European powers—England, France, Spain, Holland, Sweden, and even Russia on the northwest coast—had imperial ambitions on the continent and competed with one another at the same time as they endeavored to establish a hold on the lands of the Indians. By the late seventeenth century, the contest in eastern North America had boiled down to a struggle for empire among the French in Canada and the upper Ohio Valley, the English on the eastern seaboard, and the Spaniards in Florida and the lower Mississippi Valley. Competition among the European nations required that they compete in turn for the allegiance of different Indian nations. Indian nations thus had to pursue diplomatic negotiations with different English colonies as well as different European nations, and Indian people became entangled in European colonial wars fought in North America at the same time as they were fighting to keep their lands clear of European settlers.

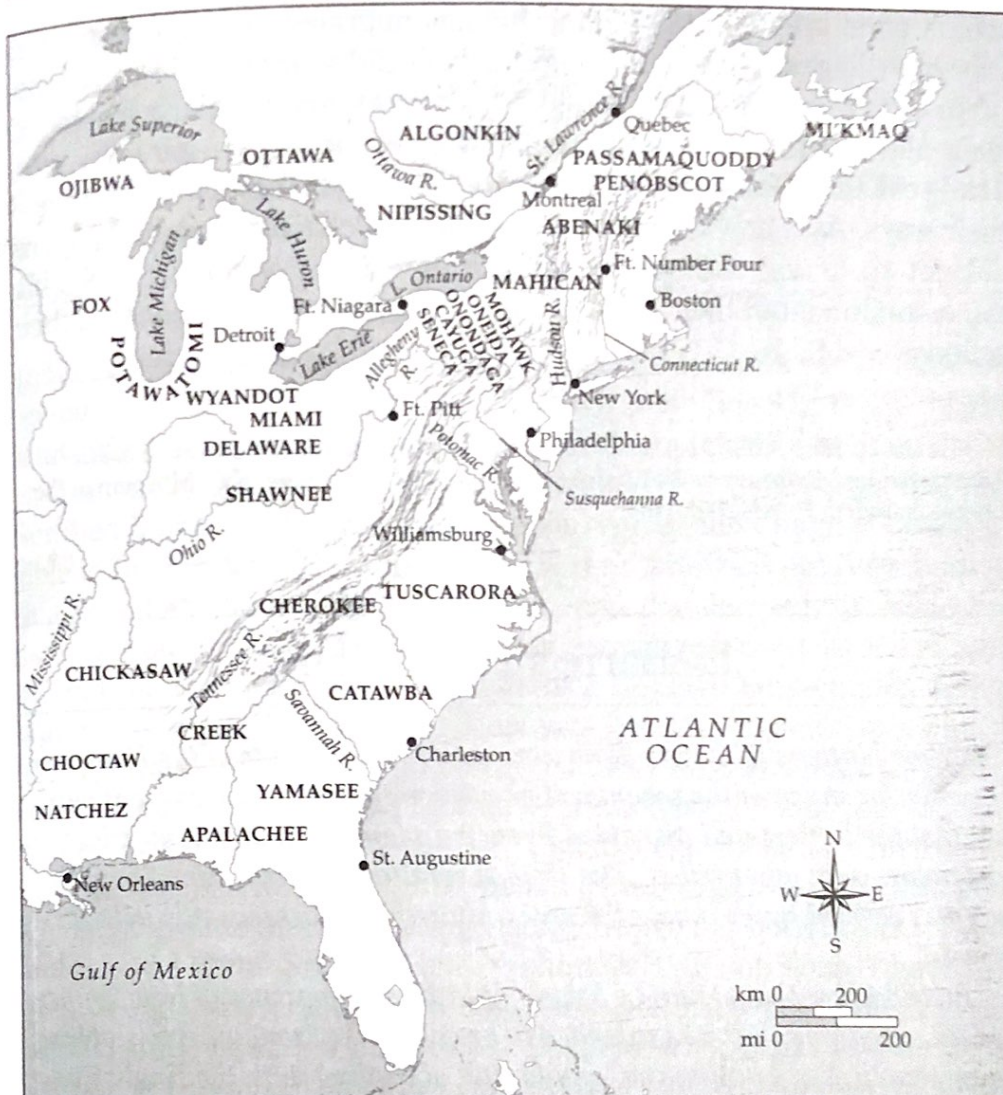
¹E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1853–1887), 4:893.

²Reuben G. Thwaites, ed. *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904), 1:214–16.

Indian peoples living on the northern frontiers of Spain's American empire, from Florida to California, fought recurrent wars of resistance against the Iberian invaders. In 1680, for example, Pueblo Indians on the Rio Grande launched a synchronized assault on the Spaniards that won them a dozen years of freedom. In the eastern woodlands, Indians fought to preserve their lands from the growing threat of English settlers, but their struggle for independence was complicated and undermined by the fact that this area of the continent was also a cockpit of international rivalry. Several times, France and England went head to head in open warfare: King William's War (1689–1697), Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), and King George's War (1744–1748). Their struggle culminated in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), a conflict that the English and later American historians often referred to as the French and Indian War. Fought in Europe, India, Africa, and the West Indies as well as on the American mainland and drawing in Spain, Prussia, and other European powers, the Seven Years' War has been called the first world war. It certainly became a world war in Indian America as the tribes became caught up in the fighting, with even the Mohawks and Senecas breaking away from the policy of neutrality adopted by the Iroquois league.

Native Americans fought in these wars and in wars of their own, both against European invaders and against other Indian nations. As in the American Revolution that followed, much of the fighting was done in the frontier "backcountry," which usually meant on Indian lands. Indian warriors went on campaigns, leaving their villages vulnerable to enemy attack and their families to bear the burden of feeding themselves. Warriors assumed unprecedented importance in Indian societies as French and British allies cultivated their friendship and bolstered their power base with supplies of gifts and guns. The wars disrupted cycles of planting, hunting, and gathering and the rituals that accompanied them. British and French armies burned Indian villages and cornfields.

By 1763, France was defeated and its New World empire lay in ruins. Those Indians who had fought for King Louis now had to come to terms with King George and his redcoats. Flushed with victory but drained by the expense of winning it, the British felt little need to conciliate the allies of their defeated foe with lavish gifts. British officers ignored longstanding traditions of respectful dealings with Indian nations, and British garrisons occupied posts formerly held by the French. Tensions exploded in Pontiac's War in 1763 when the Ottawa war chief led a multiracial assault on the British. The British worked to divide the tribes and quelled the revolt.



Map 4. *Indian America in the French and Indian Wars, 1689–1763*

Confronted with almost endemic warfare, Indian peoples pursued a variety of strategies. They formed alliances with European powers who could supply the guns and trade goods they needed to survive in time of conflict. Some, like the Iroquois and Choctaw, also played off belligerent nations and kept some of their options open. Henry Timberlake, a British officer who served as a peace emissary to the Cherokees, commented that their alliance with the French was “equal . . . to our masterly strokes of policy; and yet we cannot be surprised at it, when we consider that merit alone creates their ministers, and not the prejudices of party,

which often create ours.”³ Some Indians migrated or sought refuge in mission villages. Those who fought usually did so for their own reasons, often took the opportunity to settle old scores, and regularly frustrated their allies by their independent behavior. Some were inspired by powerful revitalization movements that preached rejection of Europeans and their ways. As many of the documents in this chapter illustrate, Indians did not go to war without questioning the causes of conflict, weighing the commitment of their allies, or considering the consequences of their actions.

³Duane H. King, ed., *The Memoirs of Lt. Henry Timberlake: The Story of a Soldier, Adventurer, and Emissary to the Cherokees, 1756–1765* (Cherokee, N.C.: Museum of the Cherokee Indian Press, 2007), 37.

La Barre's Failed Bluff

The Five Nations of the Iroquois were a thorn in the side of the French in Canada for much of the seventeenth century. They waged recurrent war against the settlers and disrupted French diplomatic and commercial endeavors with other tribes. The French retaliated by invading Iroquois country several times in what is now upstate New York, usually with little effect.

In 1684, Joseph-Antoine Le Febvre de la Barre, governor of New France, led an expedition that was intended to browbeat the Iroquois into stopping their practices of hunting in Canada and of trading with the English at Albany. Hunger and disease thinned the ranks of La Barre's army long before he reached Iroquois country, and he resorted to arranging a conference on the south shore of Lake Ontario in the hope that he could bluff the Iroquois into making concessions.

The Onondaga orator Otreouti also known as La Grand Gueule or Garangula, listened quietly, puffing on his pipe, while the Frenchman made his threats. When La Barre's speech was over, Garangula got up, walked around the assembled French and Indians for several minutes in apparent deep thought, and then delivered a humiliating rebuke to the French. He not only ridiculed the governor for his transparent bluff but also made it clear that the Iroquois were dependent on neither the French governor (Onontio or, here, Yonnondio) nor the English. La Barre was recalled to France the year after his humiliation by the Iroquois.

GARANGULA

Speech to New France Governor La Barre
1684

Yonnondio, I Honour you, and the Warriors that are with me all likewise honour you. Your Interpreter has finished your Speech; I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your Ears, hearken to them.

Yonnondio, You must have believed when you left Quebeck, that the Sun had burnt up all the Forests which render our Country Unaccessible to the French, Or that the Lakes had so far overflown their Banks, that they had surrounded our Castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have thought so, and the Curiosity of seeing so great a Country burnt up, or under Water, has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since that I and my Warriors are come to assure you that the Sennekas, Cayugas, Onnondagas, Oneydoes and Mohawks are all alive. I thank you, in their Name, for bringing back into their Country the Calumet which your Predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that Murdering Hatchet which has been so often dyed in the Blood of the French. Hear Yonnondio, I do not Sleep, I have my eyes Open, and the Sun which enlightens me discovers to me a great Captain at the head of a Company of Soldiers, who speaks as if he were Dreaming. He says that he only came to the Lake to smoke on the great Calumet with the Onnondagas. But Garangula says, that he sees the Contrary, that it was to knock them on the head, if Sickness had not weakned the Arms of the French.

I see Yonnondio Raving in a Camp of sick men, who's Lives the great Spirit has saved, by Inflicting this Sickness on them. Hear Yonnondio, Our Women had taken their Clubs, our Children and Old Men had carried their Bows and Arrows into the heart of your Camp, if our Warriors had not disarmed them, and retained them when your Messenger, Ohquesse appeared in our Castle. It is done, and I have said it.

Cadwallader Colden, *History of the Five Indian Nations*, pt. 1 (London, 1727), 53–55.

Hear Yonnondio, we plundered none of the French, but those that carried Guns, Powder and Ball to the Twihtwies and Chictaghicks, because those Arms might have cost us our Lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits, who stave all the Barrels of Rum brought to our Castle, lest the Drunken Indians should knock them on the Head. Our Warriors have not Bevers enough to pay for all those Arms that they have taken, and our Old Men are not afraid of the War. *This Belt preserves my Words.*

We carried the English into our Lakes, to traffick there with the Utawawas and Quatoghies, as the Adirondacks² brought the French to our Castles, to carry on a Trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free, We neither depend upon Yonnondio nor Corlaer.³

We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your Allies be your Slaves, use them as such, Command them to receive no other but your People. *This Belt Preserves my Words.*

We knockt the Twihtwies and Chictaghiks on the head, because they had cut down the Trees of Peace,⁴ which were the Limits of our Country. They have hunted Bevers on our Lands: They have acted contrary to the Custom of all Indians; for they left none of the Bevers alive, they kill'd both Male and Female. They brought the Satanas⁵ into their Country, to take part with them, and Arm'd them, after they had concerted ill Designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French, that have usurp'd the Lands of so many Indian Nations, and chased them from their own Country. *This Belt Preserves my Words.*

Hear Yonondio, What I say is the Voice of all the Five Nations. Hear what they Answer, Open your Ears to what they Speak. The Sennekas, Cayugas, Onnondagas, Oneydoes and Mohawks say, That when they buried the Hatchet at Cadarackui⁶ (in the presence of your Predecessor) in the middle of the Fort, they planted the Tree of Peace, in the same place, to be there carefully preserved, that, in place of a Retreat for Soldiers, that Fort might be a Rendevouze of Merchants; that in place of Arms and Munitions of War, Bevers and Merchandize should only enter there.

¹The Miami and Illinois Indians, respectively.

²The Ottawa, Huron, and Algonquian Indians, respectively.

³Corlaer (or Corlear) was the Iroquois title for the governor of New York.

⁴A metaphor for bringing war into Iroquois country.

⁵The Shawnees.

⁶Cadarackui or Cadaraqui refers to Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario, present-day Kingston, Ontario.

Hear, Yonondio, Take care for the future, that so great a Number of Soldiers as appear here do not choak the Tree of Peace planted in so small a Fort. It will be a great Loss, if after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth, and prevent its covering your Country and ours with its Branches. I assure you, in the Name of the Five Nations, That our Warriors shall dance to the Calumet of Peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their Mats, and shall never dig up the Hatchet till their Brethren, Yonondio or Corlaer shall either joyntly or seperately endeavour to attack the Country which the great Spirit has given to our Ancestors. *This Belt preserves my Words, and this other, the Authority which the Five Nations have given me.*

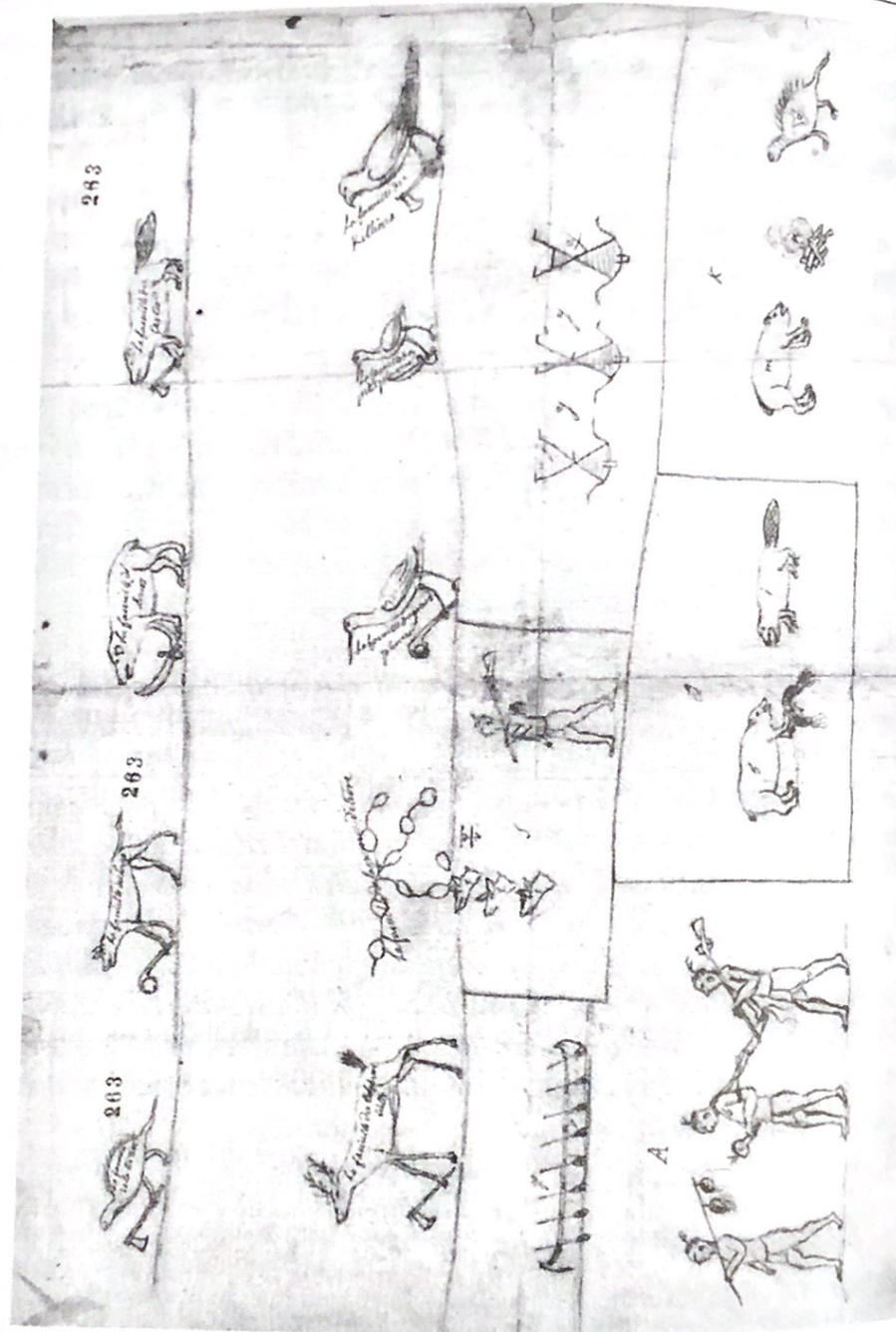
A Native War Record

Indian people inscribed pictographs and symbols on bark, trees, and rocks to convey messages, provide information, and record events. In this French composite of drawings (the figure is side-turned), from a document dated around 1666, each member of a war party drew the totem of his clan (top two rows, left to right: Turtle, Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Deer, Wild Potato, Large Snipe, Small Snipe, and Hawk). The number of paddles in the canoe represents the size of the war party; the center panel depicts a hunter carrying a gun and backpack, returning with three deer after an absence of two days (indicated by bars marked v); the three inverted figures at the right indicate the number of enemies killed (one woman—indicated by a skirt—and two men). The panels at the bottom center and right show war councils between the Bear (holding a wampum belt) and Beaver clans and between the Bear and Turtle clans. The drawing at the bottom left is a French depiction of warriors returning with two scalps on a pole and a male captive bound by his neck and arms who is holding a gourd rattle.¹ Such captive-taking scenes increased dramatically during the escalating conflicts of the late seventeenth century as warriors raided for slaves, torture victims to appease the spirits of slain kinsfolk, and adoptees to offset population losses.

¹William N. Fenton, "Northern Iroquoian Culture Patterns," in Bruce G. Trigger, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, *Northeast* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 299.

*Drawings Made on a Tree by an
Iroquois War Party*

ca. 1666



Iroquois Loyalty Turns to Disenchantment

The Iroquois suffered their first losses at the hands of the French in 1609 when Samuel de Champlain and his companions shot down several Mohawk chiefs on the shores of the lake that bears his name. Tied to the English at Albany by their need for trade and guns, the Iroquois generally sided with them against the French as Anglo-French imperial rivalry gathered momentum in the late seventeenth century. The Iroquois paid a heavy price for their involvement, however.

In 1692, the English met with the Five Nations at Albany and accused them of not prosecuting the war with sufficient vigor. In their response, given by an Oneida sachem named Cheda, the Iroquois promised to uphold the Covenant Chain, the metaphor of their allegiance to the English, but they showed increasing resentment at bearing such a heavy proportion of the fighting.

By 1700, the Iroquois had suffered devastating losses from their involvement in European conflicts. Some estimates say their population had been halved. In an attempt to halt the downward spiral, they decided to opt out of involvement in the Europeans' wars, declaring a policy of formal neutrality and leaving the French and English to fight their own battles. They sent ambassadors to meet with distant Indian nations, with the French in Montreal, and with the English in Albany to inform them of the new policy. Their new strategy enabled the Iroquois to recover some of the power and population they had lost in the endemic warfare of the seventeenth century, but their neutral stance would be finally and irrevocably shattered in the American Revolution.¹

¹Timothy J. Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009).