RED JACKET'S REPLY TO REVEREND CRAM--A CONTRIBUTION TO THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION

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ABSTRACT

RED JACKET'S REPLY TO REVEREND CRAM--
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Previous writers on the subject of American Indian oratory have tended to classify it as colorful, quaint, and accidental in character. It has been a matter of some surprise that the Indian could speak so well, even when measured against European standards. This study contends that the speaking of at least one group of Indians, the Iroquois, was in fact highly structured and the product of a long and consistent tradition.

The study uses Red Jacket's reply to Reverend Cram, delivered in 1805 near Buffalo, as its starting point. An examination of cultural factors underlying this performance shows that Red Jacket achieved prominence solely because of his speaking skill and that he practiced techniques which had been observed for over 150 years in other Iroquois spokesmen. His status, moreover, was derived from the councils whose decisions he articulated. The councils themselves possessed an intricate structure which promoted unity within the Iroquois Confederacy.

The Iroquois councils and their spokesmen used indigenous systems of conflict resolution and persuasion to resist white pressures before the Revolution and to represent the Confederacy as stronger and

more united than it really was. Although their political power was broken after American Independence, their spokesmen were often used to resist assimilation and white encroachment. Even today, certain of the traditional speech forms and practices are employed in maintaining Iroquois separatism.

The study concludes that Red Jacket was merely one practitioner of a complex school of rhetoric which, though different from ours, was used to achieve many of the same ends. It suggests other indigenous schools of rhetoric among "primitive" or non-Western peoples which would be worthy of study. It also suggests that cross-cultural comparisons of rhetorical systems may find constants as well as variables among them.

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Director of Thesis

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CHAPTER I

"HE KEEPS THEM AWAKE"

During the nineteenth century much of this country's significant public speaking took place in that part of New York State extending west from the Finger Lakes to the shores of Lake Erie. Known as the "burned-over district" as a result of C.G. Finney's inflammatory preaching, Central and Western New York served as the laboratory for the development of the revival meeting, the anti-Masonry movement, Temperance, women's suffrage, and the Grange.[1] Here also was much of the popular feeling and oratory on behalf of Abolition.[2] The Free and Wesleyan Methodists, the Mormons, and the Spiritualists began in the region, and in its westernmost part a summer training session for Sunday School teachers became the original Chautauqua.[3] If popular oratory did not always possess the formal elegance cultivated in the colleges,[4]

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[1]Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 152-153 and im passim.

[2]Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, The Antislavery Impulse (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), im passim.

[3]Arthur E. Bestor, "Chautauqua Institution," in John P. Downs and Fenwick Y. Hedley, eds., History of Chautauqua County and Its People (Boston: American Historical Society, Inc., 1921), I, 324.

[4]Marie Hochmuth and Richard Murphy, "Rhetorical and Elocutionary Training in Nineteenth Century Colleges," in Karl R. Wallace, ed., History of Speech Education in America (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), p. 156.

it was nevertheless pervasive throughout the area. Much more than his twentieth-century counterpart, the average citizen of Upstate New York in the nineteenth century had the opportunity to form a rough-and-ready rhetorical system with which to judge the communicative effectiveness of his contemporaries.

When certain New Yorkers applied this system, they concluded the region's most effective speaker to be, not any participant in one of the previously cited movements, but rather an American Indian named Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, or Red Jacket. He was a Seneca, one of the six tribes which made up the Iroquois Confederacy. Demoralized by the Revolutionary War, when they had sided with the British and seen their villages destroyed by General Sullivan, the Senecas had resettled in Western New York by the end of the eighteenth century. Here the tribal chiefs attempted to continue the old ways and protect their people from further encroachments by the whites. Red Jacket was one Seneca chief among many, but he was effectively used as the intermediary between the tribe and the whites who had already penetrated to New York's Niagara Frontier. According to a later historian, "the fame of Red Jacket in the eighteen-twenties resembled that of Clarence Darrow a hundred years later . . . . The reputation of his untutored oratory and the rebukes he administered to missionaries were part of the national folklore."[5] In 1885, when Red Jacket's body was reinterred by the white community in Buffalo's Forest Lawn Cemetery, the principal speaker at the

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[5]Henry S. Manley, "Red Jacket's Last Campaign," in New York History (August 1950). Unpaginated reprint in Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, Buffalo, New York.

ceremony claimed that the Seneca chief had "proved himself the peer of the most adroit and able men with whom he was confronted."[6] Lewis Henry Morgan, the major authority on the Iroquois Indians, believed that the Senecas refused Red Jacket their highest positions because no one else could counteract his persuasive influence in council, and they were afraid to grant any single man so much power.[7] By 1857, when Frank Moore included three of Red Jacket's speeches in his American Eloquence, the Indian orator had been given extended biographical treatments by M'Kenney, Stone, and Clinton,[8] and his addresses had formed the major subject of two of the first books to be published in Western New York.[9] In Sutton's Speech Index, Red Jacket's name is followed by twenty-two entries, more than for any other Indian speaker.[10]

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[6]William Clement Bryant, "Address at Forest Lawn Cemetery," in Red Jacket ("Transactions of the Buffalo Historical Society," Vol. III; Buffalo: 1885), p. 21.

[7]Lewis H. Morgan, League of the Ho-Do-No Sau-Nee or Iroquois (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1901), I, 97-98.

[8]Moore and the three biographers are given complete citations in the bibliography.

[9]See Native Eloquence (Canandaigua, N.Y.: J.D. Bemis, 1811), and Public Speeches Delivered at the Village of Buffalo (Buffalo: S.H. and H.A. Salisbury, 1812).

[10]Sutton's list is restricted to speech anthologies and is thus not complete. Other books containing speeches by Red Jacket are listed in Chapter III of this study. See Roberta Briggs Sutton, Speech Index, 4th ed. (New York: The Scarecrow Press, 1966), p. 646. Red Jacket is challenged by the citations under Logan, whose speech to Lord Dunmore was considered by Thomas Jefferson to be superior to any passage in the speeches of Demosthenes or Cicero. Strictly speaking, however, Logan's remarks were not a speech, since they were delivered in private to a courier. Interestingly, Logan was also an Iroquois. See Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, reprinted in Margaret Mead and Ruth L. Bunzel, eds., The Golden Age of American Anthropology (New York: George Braziller, 1960), pp. 78-79.

Appropriately, then, could his name be translated into English as "He Keeps Them Awake."[11]

Red Jacket did not possess the stoicism, courage, or other qualities associated with the conventional Romantic image of the Noble Red Man. He was an alcoholic and not always trusted by others of his tribe. Though a member of the most warlike of the Iroquois, he ran away from his first battle, and was given the derisive name "Cow Killer" by Joseph Brant, his Mohawk rival.[12] Even the pagan faction of the Senecas, whom he defended in some of his most stirring speeches, ultimately deposed him, and Handsome Lake, the great Iroquois prophet who was also Red Jacket's contemporary, consigned him to the Indian Hell for his supposed land dealings with whites.[13] The Senecas never bestowed on him their highest honor, that of Confederacy sachem, and only unofficially could he represent them in the councils of the Six Nations. Thus it was as a speaker, and for no other reason, that Red Jacket rose to national renown. "I am an orator," he is reported to have told a white man who had asked about his career as a warrior. "I was born an orator."[14]

Described by a man who saw him speak as "a finely built, stout, stocky man, not tall, with a coal-black piercing eye, well set back,"[15]

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[11]William L. Stone, The Life and Times of Red-Jacket, or Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), p. 1.

[12]Ibid., pp. 2-3, 19-20.

[13]Arthur C. Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet," ("New York State Museum Bulletins," No. 163; Albany: 1912), p. 68.

[14]Stone, p. 1.

[15]W. William Hall, letter to the Buffalo Historical Society,

Red Jacket attracted national attention even though he refused to speak in English and was a member of a beaten minority whose effective political and military power had ceased with the American Revolution. Moreover, his speeches were almost exclusively attacks upon basic white beliefs and institutions. Yet these facts were not enough to dull the appreciation of an age which reveled in the colorful use of the arts of persuasion. Asher Wright, a Quaker missionary to the Senecas, aptly summarized Red Jacket's gifts and the source of his persuasive power:

> He was naturally possessed of an active, shrewd, and penetrating mind, which together with the remarkable powers of eloquence with which he was endowed, gave him a great influence among his own nation, which he continued to exert to the end of his life against what he considered the intriques of the whites. So suspicious was he of their designs that he could never be brought to look with favor upon any proposition coming from them for the improvement of the temporal or spiritual condition [of] his people.[16]

Wright then went on to analyze the reasons for Red Jacket's animosity:

> He had no respect for the character of the whites and no confidence in their professions of respect for him. He had seen little in his intercourse with them to excite his admiration of their virtues. Most of his associates among them had been of such a character as to give him very debasing views of their morality and his perfect contempt for their principles led him to regard all the efforts of the benevolent to introduce among his people the improvements of civilized life together with the rich blessings of the gospel, only as a [----] artifice to possess themselves of their lands.[17]

September 2, 1862, in the Society's manuscript collection. The information supplied by Hall purports to be based upon first-hand observation.

[16]Asher Wright papers, Buffalo Historical Society.

[17]Ibid. Dashes within the brackets represent a lacuna in the manuscript.

This hatred of whites extended to all their works, including religion. Red Jacket, the missionary concluded, "could not believe it possible that white men could be actuated by a higher motive than a love for money."[18]

Since Red Jacket's speeches were actuated by his hatred of whites, and since they were primarily attacks on the white man's religion, law, and expansionist behavior, it may seem remarkable that his oratorical gifts should become part of the mainstream of American history, but the fact remains that they did. Like Francis Wright, Frederick Douglass, Emma Goldman, Eugene Debs, and the Black Power advocates who followed him, the Seneca chief is remembered chiefly because he attacked the basic topoi of the American Way of Life. And because Red Jacket rose to prominence directly after the Revolution, he may be said to be the first orator to do so. In an age like ours, when so many traditional values are being questioned, his words may well need re-examination. In addition to his powers of eloquence, his very arguments in defense of a dissenting way of life may deserve an important place in the study of American public address.

Yet despite the interest shown in him by anthropologists and historians, Red Jacket is curiously absent from standard histories of American oratory. He appears in neither the History and Criticism of American Public Address nor Oliver's History of Public Speaking in America. The speech journals have ignored him, and he does not appear in any major way in the few dissertations devoted to Indian speakers,

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[18] Ibid.

speech texts, or rhetorical theory and practice.[19] Red Jacket, therefore, is in the position of being a popular folk figure who has been overlooked by scholars in the very field in which he rose to preeminence. His "eloquence" has been accepted but not examined.

From the standpoint of this study, it is important to know that the writers who have mentioned Red Jacket and others like him believe, for the most part, that they were untutored children of the forest whose oratorical gifts were some happy accident. Partly this belief has been caused because Red Jacket consciously rejected major aspects of Western civilization, but it is also due to the fact that, since his speeches have never been studied from a rhetorical point of view, nor his historical antecedents traced, the rich tradition of which he was a part is not generally known. Yet Red Jacket was only one of a long line of Iroquois orators whose addresses were reported by chroniclers, historians, and the popular press. Even the name "Iroquois," according to one view, was derived from the way the Six Nations greeted the excellent speaker.[20] As this study will point out, the Iroquois had

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[19]These include Nannie Flo Allen, A Study of Rhetorical Style in Selected Messages of Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation Between 1860 and 1880 (MA, Oklahoma, 1949), Edna Bryant, Oratory of the U.S. Indian from 1600 to 1900 (MA, Wayne, 1938), John Edward Coogan, The Eloquence of our American Indian (Ph.D., Fordham 1934), and John Erskine Hawkins, Oratory of the American Indian (MA, South Carolina, 1925). Wynn R. Reynold's A Study of the Persuasive Speaking Techniques of the Iroquois Indians: 1678-1776 (Ph.D., Columbia, 1957) stops at the very threshhold of Red Jacket's career and will be reviewed in Chapter V. Reynold's dissertation presents conclusions about the general nature of Iroquois speaking which are different from those of this study.

[20]The derivation appears to have been popularized by Schoolcraft, who received it from Charlevoix. According to Schoolcraft, the word "Iroquois" is founded" on an exclamation, or response, made by the

highly developed the roles of the conferee and council spokesman.

The Iroquois confederacy was composed of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Mohawks, and, later, the Tuscaroras. They were variously known as the Five Nations, the Six Nations (after the acceptance of the Tuscaroras), the Iroquois, and the Longhouse people. This last term referred both to their dwelling units and to their conception of themselves as belonging to one extensive family that inhabited a metaphorical "longhouse" which was coextensive with the League. Individually weak and occupying a section of New York State that was exposed to the attacks of others, the Iroquois had early developed a conference procedure which enabled them to attain a degree of unity which other Indian tribes north of Mexico were never able to achieve.[21] This conference procedure was already a highly sophisticated method of social control by the time of the first contact with the white man; it helped the numerically inferior Iroquois maintain independence through two centuries of white pressure and extend their influence from Illinois to the Carolinas; and it has enabled them to maintain a high degree of cultural autonomy despite their present closeness to densely populated

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sachems and warriors, on the delivery to them of an address." See Henry R. Schoolcraft, Notes on the Iroquois: or Contributions to American History, Antiquities, and General Ethnology (Albany: Erastus H. Pease & Co., 1847), p. 45.

[21]This assertion will form part of the burden of Chapter V. George T. Hunt is one historian who believes that the Iroquois were not as their orators led others to believe. He suggests that the unity of the Confederacy was largely a fiction successfully maintained by Mohawk spokesmen. Regardless of Hunt's thesis, the point is that their contemporaries were persuaded of the strength of the League. See Chapter V and George T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press), 1940.

Eastern urban centers. Moreover, the Iroquois conference was the necessary stimulus for all of Red Jacket's speeches.

It was in this role of spokesman, an official reporter of the results of the Iroquois conference, that Red Jacket excelled, for in his addresses to white audiences he spoke as the representative of his tribe and when, as sometimes happened, he got carried away by his own eloquence and inserted additional matter, he was corrected by his Indian listeners.[22] Throughout the centuries the Iroquois have held in high esteem those orators who have delivered the results of their consultations, and public address has been viewed as essential to both their religious and secular life.[23] This oratorical tradition was in fact necessary to the very formation of the League of the Iroquois. Father Louis Hennepin, La Salle's Franciscan chaplain and one of the first Europeans to attend an Iroquois council, wrote that "the senators of Venice do not appear with a graver countenance and do not speak with more majesty and solidity than these old Iroquois,"[24] and it was in this same tradition that Red Jacket spoke nearly two hundred years later. Though it has more recently been transformed by the rhetoric of the West, the oratory of Iroquois spokesmen has been one of the few weapons remaining to the six tribes in their resistance to white culture. Now, midway through the twentieth century, it is still true that literally

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[22]Timothy Alden, An Account of Sundry Missions Performed Among the Senecas and Munsees (New York: J. Seymour, 1827), pp. 91-92.

[23]Morgan, I, 101-102.

[24]Quoted in Thomas R. Henry, Wilderness Messiah (New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1955), p. 59.

dozens of otherwise ordinary people on the principal reservations must be skilled at speaking and oral ritual.[25] The belief that Red Jacket was "untutored," therefore, neglects a rich tradition.

These considerations lead us to believe that Red Jacket is worth study if three important questions can be answered. First, is his speaking of sufficient quality, or significant enough effect, to justify his receiving more widespread attention from students of public address? Second, is the speaking tradition of which he is a part novel enough, or highly enough developed, to warrant study by students of rhetoric? Third, is there value to be derived from studying the communication systems of cultures other than our own?

The first two questions will be answered in this study. The third question has already been answered by leaders in our field. Recent writers in speech and communication have indicated the importance of the cultural context in the study of rhetoric and public address.[26]

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[25]On the Alleghany Reservation, for example, De Forrest Abrams, current lay preacher of the Handsome Lake religion, must have memorized his sect's entire code, which takes four days to recite. Henry Red Eye, the previous preacher, never used a prompter in his recitations of the Code, and Abrams seldom needs one. Albert Jones, another Alleghany Seneca, needed a repertoire of a thousand songs to perform his role as ritual singer. In addition, each medicine society, the two moieties, and all eight clans call upon individuals who have memorized complicated rituals or can speak in public. Political life on the reservation requires still more speakers, both for internal and for League affairs.

[26]David K. Berlo, The Process of Communication (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960), pp. 7, 164-166, and Alfred G. Smith, Communication and Culture (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), pp. 1, 7. This idea also forms the underlying premise of Robert T. Oliver's Culture and Communication (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1962). On p. 85 of his book Oliver makes the statement that "every culture has, to some degree, its own rhetoric--often very different from our own."

The 1970 convention theme of the Speech Communication Association was "Intercultural-International Speech Communication,"[27] and an Association resolution asserted that:

> Communication among ethnic, racial, cultural and national groups is of unique importance to the future of all peoples in the world. The Speech Association of American should assign a high priority to further development of its contribution to this communication.[28]

However, in spite of the high priority being given the study of communication in other cultures, few speech scholars have ventured outside the European tradition. As recently as 1968, Dell Hymes could write that "an anthropology of communication does not exist."[29]

This study is being written in the hopes of making a contribution to that anthropology of communication. Red Jacket began his career at that precise point in history when the Iroquois were losing their viability as an independent power on the North American continent. It would not be easy for any later Indian speaker to reject the influence of Western civilization the way he did. Furthermore, there is a great deal of material connected with Red Jacket's career, much of it written by men who were quite conversant with the Iroquois way of life.

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[27]The convention had not yet been held when this chapter was being written. Among many sources, see William S. Howell, "Preview of the Convention--1970," Spectra, VI (October, 1970), 1. Of the many sectional sessions planned, the one which seemed most pertinent to this study was the session on intercultural persuasion.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Dell Hymes, "The Anthropology of Communication," in Frank E.X. Dance, ed., Human Communication Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 1.

Finally, the Iroquois as a people have so interested historians and anthropologists that they have become the most thoroughly investigated of Indian societies.[30] Since "during the expansion of the power of the Iroquois . . . there sprang up among them a class of orators and chiefs unrivalled among the red men for eloquence in council,"[31] and since Red Jacket was foremost among these, he would be a suitable starting point for those who believe an anthropology of communication is possible.

In this study Red Jacket's Reply to Reverend Cram will be used as the focus. A council address delivered to a missionary at Buffalo Creek in the summer of 1805, this short statement is Red Jacket's most anthologized speech, receiving eleven citations in Sutton's bibliography.[32] It has appeared in collections made by Brewer, Depew, Copeland, Hazeltine, Hurd, Jones, and Shoemaker.[33] Although there are problems connected with the authenticity of the text, these are less overwhelming than the difficulties associated with many other early Indian speeches, and there are a number of details associated with its delivery which cast light on Red Jacket's skill as a speaker. Though there are a number of other speeches and speech fragments delivered by the Indian orator, or associated with his name, the Reply is a good

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[30]William N. Fenton, "Problems Arising From the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois," in Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C; Washington: 1940), p. 1959.

[31]Morgan, I, 52.

[32]Sutton, p. 646.

[33]Ibid. This writer has made an attempt to collate all the texts listed by Sutton and compare these with other texts. See Chapter III.

example of his anti-missionary oratory, and it was this subject matter, together with his attacks on the white man's law and greed for land, which called forth the best of Red Jacket's abilities.

The second chapter of this study will be devoted to a detailed analysis of the Reply. The third chapter will concern itself necessarily with problems of translation and authenticity. In the fourth chapter the subject will be the Iroquois council and conference procedure, for the council was the essential base for all of Iroquois speaking, and it was only within this base that Red Jacket would have been allowed to make his speech. Chapter V deals with the rhetoric, that is, the persuasive art, of the council spokesman. Beginning with the broad survey of Iroquois council oratory made by Roberts, the chapter surveys the reported Iroquois tradition which preceded Red Jacket. It breaks with Roberts, however, by attempting to find a native "system" of persuasion underlying this oratory, for Robert's dissertation concludes with the affirmation of the belief that Iroquois speaking is "untutored" and accidental in structure, a position which is denied by the very evidence he has collected. In the final pages of our study we shall examine the Iroquois speaking tradition since Red Jacket's time and generate certain conclusions about the possible shape of an anthropology of communication.

The research for these chapters has already been done in large part by others. This study is essentially a new synthesis of previous investigations--it is only the synthesis which can be claimed as the original work of this writer. Among the documentary sources to be used one of the most basic is the Jesuit Relations, a nearly one hundred

volume account of French and Indian affairs during the Colonial period. The Papers of Sir William Johnson are the records of an acute observer who was also English agent to the Iroquois and perhaps the white man with the greatest influence over them. Less careful observation is found in in the History of the Six Nations by Cadwallader Colden, a former British governor of New York. O'Callaghan's Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York provides a most important source of material because many of the documents from which it drew were later destroyed in the New York State Library fire of 1911. The American State Papers contain official transactions after the Revolution. Interesting material has been collected in the accounts of Quaker and Moravian missionaries who began working with the Iroquois from the middle of the eighteenth century.

For the text of the Reply to Reverend Cram used in the second chapter of this study, the writer has relied on the first published text, that of J.D. Bemis' Native Eloquence. Of the full-length biographies of Red Jacket, those by Hubbard and Parker are largely derivative, and here the best source is William Stone's The Life and Times of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha, or Red Jacket.

Valuable secondary accounts are the works of anthropologists who have worked extensively with the Iroquois. Still preeminent in the field, and a classic of American social science, is Lewis Henry Morgan's League of the Ho-De-No Sau-Nee or Iroquois. Other books by Morgan develop ideas first explored in these pages, and a number of later anthropologists supplement various of its findings. Anne Marie Shimony's Conservatism at the Six Nations Reserve is the best

examination of the preservation of traditional elements in modern reservation life. More useful material is found in the writings of Hunt, Speck, Goldenweiser, and especially Fenton, dean of all modern Iroquian researchers. Best of all recent books dealing with the Seneca is Anthony F. C. Wallace's The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.

The Iroquois themselves have written works illustrative of their society. David Cusick's Ancient History of the Six Nations is an early legendary history by a Tuscarora Indian. J.N.B. Hewitt and Arthur C. Parker, who were anthropologists as well as Iroquois, should receive high marks for their many scholarly endeavors. Jesse Cornplanter's Legends of the Longhouse can be used as a check on some of Hewitt's translations and on Parker's Seneca Myths and Folk Tales.

Among modern scholarly publications, Ethno-history and the International Journal of American Linguistics have contained articles of value. So have the books and bulletins published by the Buffalo Historical Society, the New York State Museum, and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

In an historical paper on the Iroquois heavy reliance must be placed on publications like the above. In any history, however, the author must in the end rely on his own resources, for other writers, however thorough, leave certain details and connections incomplete. History of the "creative imagination" must never be overdone, but as we come to the second chapter of this study, there are certain pieces of information that we can supply in no other way. As we project ourselves back to that council in 1805, we must imagine the feelings of the young and enthusiastic missionary who with great difficulty has

been given an opportunity to win pagan souls from the Devil and the Quakers. We must see the setting of the council, now the site of a sprawling city, as a place of open hardwood forests, meadows, and unpolluted streams--a place where passenger pigeons still flocked by the millions and whitefish and sturgeon crowded the nearby lake. We must see as the missionary's antagonist, not a naive child of the forest, but a representative of a proud people, a consummate showman, a speaker who is ignorant of Aristotle or Cicero yet who has been bred in a centuries-old tradition for just such events as this. Above all, we must rid ourselves of that ethnocentric bias which always molds others in our own image. Only by such acts of the imagination, in the absence of facts which can be supplied by others, are we able to get close enough to the speech which we shall now begin to examine in detail.

CHAPTER II

RED JACKET'S REPLY

Buffalo Creek Reservation, the site of Red Jacket's Reply to Reverent Cram, was settled by Seneca colonists shortly after they had defeated the Neuter Nation at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[1] Most Senecas, however, remained at their traditional village sites along the valley of the Genesee River in central New York. After the Revolution, the Senecas were evicted from their central New York lands and migrated westward from necessity as well as choice.[2] They and their "sons" the Tuscaroras established numerous settlements along the portage routes and rich bottom lands of the Niagara Frontier. Specifically, they concentrated near the old portage route around Niagara Falls, the Allegheny River, and the valleys of the Buffalo, Tonawanda, and Cattaraugus Creeks.

Of these settlements, the Buffalo Creek Reservation was the most important.[3] First surveyed in 1798 during the mapping of Western New

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[1]Frederick Houghton, "History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation," ("Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society," Vol. XXIV; Buffalo: 1920), p. 44.

[2]The earlier history of the Iroquois, the importance of their orator-spokesmen, and the theories relating to the significance of the Iroquois in Colonial history will be dealt with in Chapters IV and V of this study. Here we are concerned with those time and place factors necessary to an understanding of the speech.

[3]Houghton, p. 109.

York by the Holland Land Company, the Buffalo Creek property was the largest single tract still possessed by Iroquoian peoples.[4] Geographically, the reservation contained fertile lands and the longest growing season in Western New York. It lay at the entrance to the Niagara River and offered a natural gateway through the Upper Lakes to the Northwest Territory. After the Revolution, a homestead was made at Buffalo Creek by Sayenqueraghta, a war chief of the Confederacy,[5] and other important Senecas soon settled there. Only Cornplanter and Handsome Lake, from the Seneca towns along the Allegheny, were to challenge the political dominance of Buffalo Creek in the affairs of the Seneca tribe.[6]

The shape of this most important of Seneca reservations already gave a hint of its future destruction in the great land grabs of the 1820's and 1830's. A tract of two square miles at the mouth of Buffalo Creek had been deeded to the whites even before the boundaries of the reservation had been defined.[7] This two mile area became the future city of Buffalo, and the growth of this natural gateway to the upper Great Lakes was already apparent at the beginning of the nineteenth century. First white settler was Captain William Johnson, who had been

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 71.

[6] Cornplanter, the other Confederacy war chief, was perhaps the most respected Seneca during the period. Handsome Lake, a Confederacy sachem, was the impetus behind the religious reform movement which bore his name.

[7] Wilma Laux, The Village of Buffalo, 1800-1832 (Buffalo: Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, 1960), p. 4.

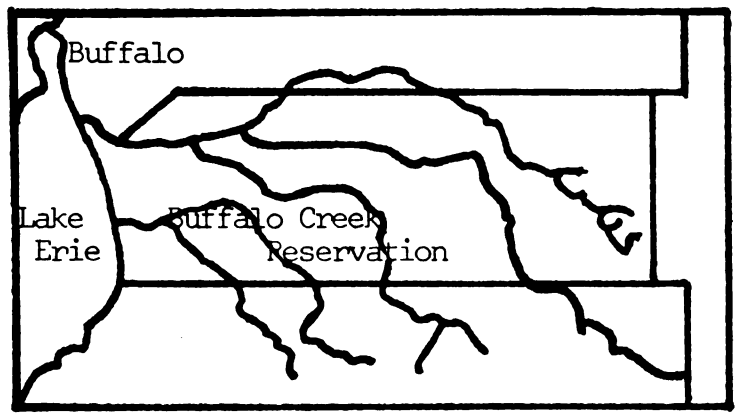

Figure 1. Buffalo Creek Reservation in 1805.[8]

given the land at the mouth of Buffalo Creek by his wife's Seneca relatives.[9] Later arrivals were Joseph Ellicott, a developer for the Holland Land Company, the traders Cornelius Winney and Joseph Hodge, and the cooper Martin Middaugh.[10] By 1805 the village of Buffalo had grown enough to have received its first doctor and postmaster.[11] By 1806 there were sixteen private homes, two stores, two taverns, and a drugstore.[12]

The acculturation of the Senecas in the direction of white ways had proceeded at such a rapid pace during the previous century that this early white community at the mouth of the creek was not much different from the settlements on the neighboring reservation. Here too

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[8]Houghton, p. 110.
[9]Laux, p. 4.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid., p. 6.
[12]Ibid., p. 7.

there was a heavy reliance on trade goods and cottage industry. Skin clothing and bone ornaments had given way to glass beads and woven cloth, as well as any ready-made garments that struck the Seneca fancy.[13] Primitive agricultural implements had given way to iron tools, and the United States government had induced the blacksmith David Reese to settle in the Buffalo area so that these tools could be kept repaired.[14] In 1805 the interpreter Jasper Parrish employed David Eddy to build a sawmill on Cazenovia Creek, within the reservation itself.[15] Partly because of this readily available source of cut timber, partly because of the weakening of traditional clan ties, the Senecas were moving out of their communal longhouses to occupy family sized frame buildings surrounded by individual garden plots.[16]

There was no need for the newly arrived Senecas at Buffalo Creek to make a transition to an agricultural economy because they had always been farmers, relying heavily on such staples as beans, squash, and corn.[17] The area was still wild enough that these basic foods could be supplemented without the necessity of raising domestic animals. Within the reservation itself deer, bear, and squirrels were abundant, and fish

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[13]Houghton, pp. 123-127.

[14]Laux, p. 5.

[15]Frank J. Lankes, The Senecas on Buffalo Creek Reservation (West Seneca, N.Y.: West Seneca Historical Society, 1964), p. 13.

[16]Houghton, pp. 117-119.

[17]Ibid., p. 120. A more thorough analysis of the interrelationships between Iroquois culture and agricultural practice is contained in the fourth chapter of this study.

could be netted in any of the numerous streams. Passenger pigeons were still extremely common and were frequent additions to the Seneca diet.[18]

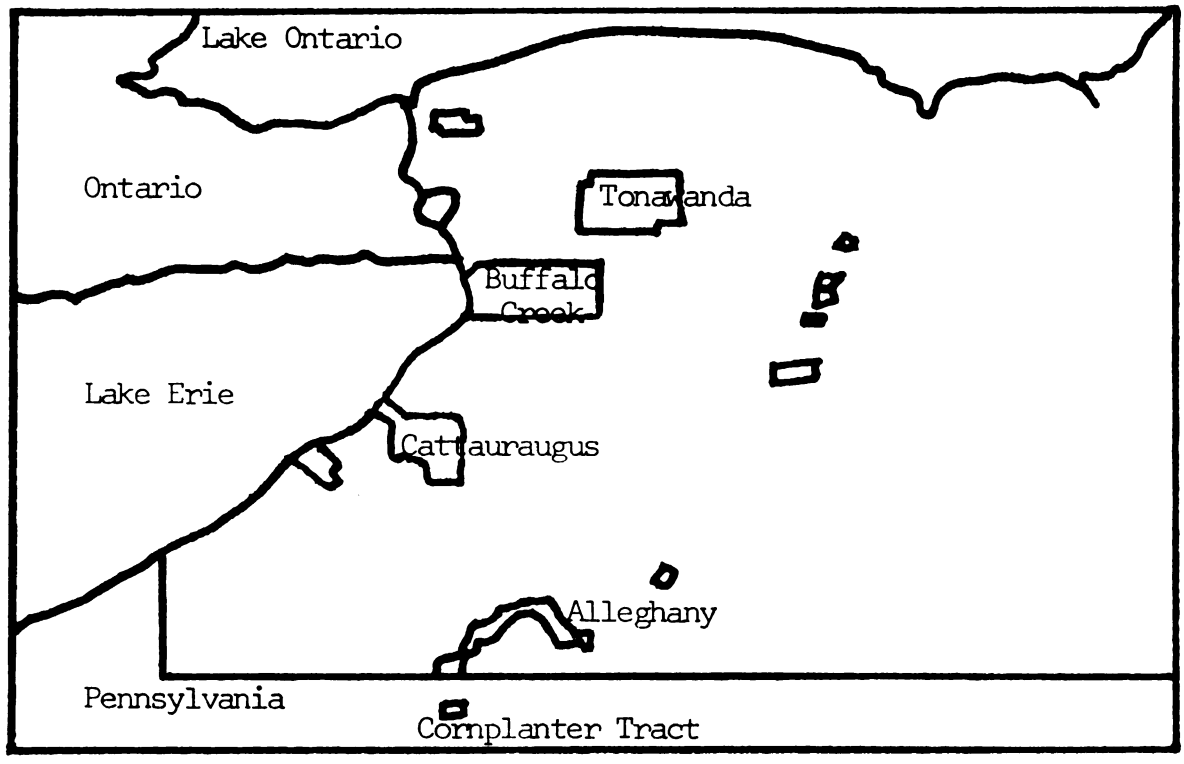

Figure 2. Relationship of Buffalo Creek Reservation to other Seneca Lands at Beginning of Nineteenth Century.[19]

Possessed of a technology the equal of their white neighbors, and surrounded by a readily available food supply, the Senecas of Buffalo Creek were at least as well off as they had been on their traditional lands along the Genesee River. If any change in their way of life could be noted, it was the increasingly common predilection for a frame

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[18] Ibid., pp. 122-123.

[19] Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), from a map preceding the Introduction.

house just large enough for a nuclear family. In spite of this, however, and admitting the fact that little individual clearings were scattered all over the reservation, the Senecas still largely chose to cluster their homes in clan groupings or around the houses of prominent members of the tribe. Of these clusters of homes, Houghton writes, "the most prominent seems to have been that which surrounded the home of Red Jacket."[20]

This physical arrangement of dwellings was more significant than it might first appear, for it was an indication that Seneca society was under severe pressure. The traditional patterns, threatened since the first appearance of the white man, had been greatly strained by the Revolutionary War, when ten percent of the able-bodied Seneca adult males were killed in battle.[21] Equally damaging was the total destruction of Seneca communities during retaliatory raids by American troops during 1779. Led by Sullivan, Van Schaick, and Brodhead, Colonial forces attempted to blunt Iroquois attacks by systematically destroying two dozen Seneca villages, burning over a million bushels of corn, and uprooting all orchards and growing crops.[22] Although these search-and-destroy missions did not stop Indian raids on the border, and may even have encouraged them, the Senecas suffered immeasurably, not so much from immediate loss of life as from subsequent famine and the severe winter of 1779-80.[23] Although the physical condition of the Senecas had

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[20]Houghton, p. 115.

[21]Wallace, p. 194.

[22]Ibid.

improved by the turn of the century, they had been visited by a series of disease epidemics and had lost most of their land holdings.[24] Wallace believes that certain behavior common to Seneca reservations at the beginning of the nineteenth century, specifically alcoholism, violence, fear of witches, and disunity, was clear evidence of the kind of social pathology which accompanies cultural disintegration.[25]

Beset with the effects of war and disease, the Senecas now had to devise policies which would unify them in such a way that they could better resist the inroads of white settlers. Under the divided leadership which arose at the scattered reservations, a number of different responses were made. In general terms, however, two points of view were developed among the Senecas, "one advocating the assimilation of white culture and the other the preservation of Indian ways."[26] These two reactions to white culture would be repeated by tribes throughout the United States.

Although their brother Iroquois tribes tended to opt for a progressive acculturation policy, the Senecas proved to be largely conservative. Partly this tendency was due to the historic isolation of the Senecas as the westernmost Iroquois tribe, but it was also due to certain of their leadership. While Handsome Lake was rallying the Indians at Allegheny Reservation through prophecies reformulating their

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[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., pp. 199-202.

[26] Ibid., p. 202.

ancient religion,[27] Red Jacket was being used by the chiefs at Buffalo Creek to advance a similar point of view. Although their approaches were different, the effect achieved by both men was the advance of conservativism as an effective counterbalance to white culture, including white religion.

Born sometime around 1758 in what is now Seneca County, New York,[28] Red Jacket was by 1805 the natural choice of the Buffalo Creek Senecas when they wished to reply to visiting missionaries.[29] There seems to be no record of his original name, his adult Indian name, Sa-go-ye-wat-ha, having been given him when he assumed the chieftainship of the Wolf clan.[30] Among the whites he was called Red Jacket because, according to the Reverend John Breckenridge, a British officer had once

> presented him with a richly embroidered scarlet jacket which he took great pride in wearing. When this was worn out, he was presented with another; and he continued to wear this peculiar dress until it became a mark of distinction, and gave him the name by which he was afterwards best known.[31]

Later, another red jacket was given him by the American interpreter, Jasper Parrish, in order "to perpetuate the name to which he was so much

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[27] Ibid., im passim. See also Chapter VI of this study.

[28] Dictionary of American Biography (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), XV, 437.

[29] Wallace, p. 204.

[30] DAB, ibid.

[31] John Breckenridge, cited in George S. Conover, The Birthplace of Sa-go-ye-wat-ha (Waterloo, N.Y.: Seneca County New Book and Job Printing House, 1884), p. 11.

attached."[32]

Always a showman, Red Jacket was probably perfectly aware of the visibility such a garment gave him. Also, it was not impossible that he found a certain shock value to be derived from wearing something which his listeners would immediately associate with their recent antagonists during the Revolutionary War. On formal speaking occasions, although he infrequently wore a blue or deer-skin coat cut in the Indian manner, he was most often seen wearing the scarlet jacket.[33] Completing his speaking costume were two other marks of his position--a tomahawk and the large silver medallion, now in the Buffalo Historical Society, which had been given to him personally by George Washington.[34]

On that summer morning in 1805, Red Jacket was probably already preparing his reply before the council had even convened. He knew, for example, that the council was being held so that a missionary could be introduced to the Seneca. He knew that this meeting was important enough to require the presence of the government agent and public interpreter. These men would not have traveled fifty miles overland unless the government felt that important business was going to take place. The principal chiefs of the Seneca would not be called together if they were only to listen to a few remarks from a visiting dignitary. The conclusion could be none other than that the government wanted to plant this missionary permanently on the Buffalo Creek reservation for the

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Conover, ibid.

[34] Ibid.

purpose of converting the Seneca. As spokesman for the conservative faction, Red Jacket would be expected to reply to this request.

Just one account of Red Jacket's speech preparation has been preserved. Although it is a description of an address he delivered thirteen years later, what he was doing was recognizable enough to be commented upon by one of the white observers. We can assume, therefore, that what Red Jacket did on this later occasion was fairly typical of his speech preparation in general. We are probably justified, then, in quoting W. William Hall at some length:

> I was invited by a friend (the late Gen. Brooks of Mount Morris), to take a walk with him, as he saw some Indians not far off. On reaching the spot, we found a large number, mostly lying down in a beautiful grove of plum trees. They were mostly chiefs, Red Jacket being conspicuous, and, with the rest, lying on the grass. My friend, knowing him, pointed him out to me. He appeared to be intently engaged and absorbed, and did not look up or take any account of us. He had before him two piles of little sticks, three or four inches long. He would take up a stick and hold it in his fingers a few moments, and then toss it on the other pile. Presently my friend says: 'we must go away--Red Jacket is studying his speech!--'[35]

Hall's description is valuable for a number of reasons. First, it puts us on the alert when we observe preliterate peoples engaged in the act of formal oral communication. In a later chapter we shall comment on an earlier researcher in the field of Iroquois public address who assumed that, because the Iroquois could not write, they did not really prepare. Yet even though we no longer make much use of the canon of

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[35]W. William Hall, manuscript letter to the Buffalo Historical Society, September 2, 1862.

memory, we should not deny its usefulness to others. In Hall's account, Red Jacket is obviously rehearsing. Second, we should note his use of sticks as mnemonic devices. We can guess that each stick represented a point he wished to remember. Later, we shall see wampum used in this manner. Presumably such a method might affect the actual composition of the speech itself. We might expect such a speech to contain a number of discrete points not necessarily related to each other. In addition, it could very well make use of formula "commonplaces" particularly suited for insertion into a number of different addresses. If these are indeed characteristics of Iroquois public address, and we shall shortly see that they are, then they may be the result of a speech preparation method practiced by Iroquois speakers in general, and not just by Red Jacket.

But if records describing Red Jacket's speech practices are scant, they are virtually non-existent for the other principal speaker at the conference--the Reverend Cram. According to Stone, Reverend Cram was a representative of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Massachusetts.[36] If so, the Society forgot to mention him in its Brief History,[37] and the standard geneological sources have also been unproductive. Even Timothy Alden, founder of Allegheny College and familiar with the entire evangelical movement on the frontier, left no mention of him in his published work or preserved papers. Beyond the fact that the Reverend

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[36]William L. Stone, Life and Times of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha, or Red Jacket (Albany: J. Munsell, 1866), p. 187.

[37]A Brief History of the Evangelical Missionary Society of Massachusetts (Boston: 1819).

Cram was "young,"[38] we have no definite information about him, although Stone goes on to add that "his design was to plant a missionary station among the Senecas, and a council of their chiefs was convoked at Buffalo Creek to hear his propositions."[39]

Only circumstantial evidence ties this missionary to the Reverend John Cram of Exeter, New Hampshire. His ancestor John Cram was one of the village's first settlers.[40] In 1755 his father, Wadly Cram, was listed as a member of the Second Church of Exeter.[41] Sometime around the turn of the century this particular Reverend Cram married Mary Poor, the daughter of Enoch Poor, a brigadier general in the Continental army.[42] After this, the Reverend Cram dropped out of sight, but he was still of the age that he could be described as "young" in the summer of 1805.

We cannot relate the two Reverend Crams with any certainty, however. Fortunately, we are on more solid ground when listing the other white participants at the council. Israel Chapin, government agent for Indian Affairs, was present, as was Jasper Parrish, the government interpreter.[43] Erastus Granger, a Buffalo resident who served as subagent for the Buffalo Creek Reservation, was also probably present.[44]

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[38]Stone, ibid.

[39]Ibid.

[40]Charles Henry Bell, Men and Things of Exeter (Exeter: The News-Letter Press, 1871), p. 24.

[41]Ibid., p. 66.

[42]Ezra S. Stearns, Genealogical and Family History of the State of New Hampshire (New York: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1908), III, 1272-3.

[43]Stone, pp. 187-8.

[44]At least, this is asserted by a marginal notation contained in

The government agent introduced Cram to the assembled Senecas in the following words:

> Brothers of the Six Nations: I rejoice to meet you at this time, and thank the Great Spirit that he has preserved you in health, and given me another opportunity of taking you by the hand.
> Brothers: The person who sits by me is a friend who has come a great distance to hold a talk with you. He will inform you what his business is, and it is my request that you would listen with attention to his words.[45]

In this introduction, Chapin made use of two formulas which we will find common to Iroquois oratory. First he thanks the Great Spirit for allowing the council to be held.[46] Second, he requests the attention of the council. He introduces each section with the expression "Brothers," a device used to indicate the major divisions of an Iroquois speech, much as we use paragraphing in our written communications. In doing so he performs the ritual function of sponsor, for unauthorized persons cannot address the council unless, as in this case, they do it through an intermediary.[47]

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the manuscript box entitled "Indian Speeches," in the collection of the Buffalo Historical Society. The same anonymous writer adds that Chapin arranged the audience with Cram with difficulty and asserts that he was the one who wrote down Red Jacket's speech. For Chapin's relationship with J.D. Bemis, the subsequent printer of the speech, see Chapter III of this study.

[45]Stone, p. 188.

[46]That it really is a formula seems obvious when we stop to think how incongruous a reference to the Great Spirit is in the introduction of a Christian missionary. Note how this formula is changed when used next by Cram and after that by Red Jacket.

[47]Red Jacket himself frequently served as sponsor or spokesman for the warriors and women. See the diagram of communication flow in council meetings, after Shimony, in Chapter IV of this study. Although the political structure of the Seneca Nation is considerably different at the present time, the custom still obtains at ceremonial occasions. At the Midwinter Festival at Allegheny this year, a number of women,

After Chapin's introduction, Cram stated his business:

> My friends: I am thankful for the opportunity afforded us of uniting together at this time. I had a great desire to see you, and inquire into your state and welfare. For this purpose I have travelled a great distance, being sent by your old friends, the Boston Missionary Society. You will recollect they formerly sent missionaries among you, to instruct you in religion, and labor for your good. Although they have not heard from you for a long time, yet they have not forgotten their brothers, the Six Nations, and are still anxious to do you good.
> Brothers: I have not come to get your lands or your money, but to enlighten your minds, and to instruct you how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind and will, and to preach to you the gospel of his son Jesus Christ. There is but one religion, and but one way to serve God, and if you do not embrace the right way you cannot be happy hereafter. You have never worshipped the Great Spirit in a manner acceptable to him; but have all your lives been in great errors and darkness. To endeavor to remove these errors, and open your eyes, so that you might see clearly, is my business with you.
> Brothers: I wish to talk with you as one friend talks with another; and if you have any objections to receive the religion which I preach, I wish you to state them; and I will endeavor to satisfy your minds and remove the objections.
> Brothers: I want you to speak your minds freely: for I wish to reason with you on the subject, and, if possible, remove all doubts, if there be any on your minds. The subject is an important one, and it is of consequence that you give it an early attention while the offer is made you. Your friends the Boston Missionary Society will continue to send you good and faithful ministers, to instruct and strengthen you in religion, if, on your part, you are willing to receive them.
> Brothers: Since I have been in this part of the country, I have visited some of your small villages, and talked with your people. They appear willing to receive instruction, but as they look up to you as their older brothers in council, they want first to know your opinion on the subject. You have now heard what I have to propose at

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particularly clan mothers, had business to present to the group. However, they never spoke directly. Instead they whispered the information to a male, who then presented it aloud.

> present. I hope you will take it into consideration, and give me an answer before we part.[48]

Before we pass on to a brief analysis of Cram's remarks, it should be noted that he was not the first to urge the Senecas to adopt the blessings of the Christian religion. French missionaries had had a limited success in converting other Iroquois tribes 150 years previously.[49] In 1789, Secretary of War Henry Knox made it a cornerstone of Federal policy to include missionaries as part of the government's "civilization" process on the reservations.[50] Short of its own funds for the purpose of meeting treaty commitments with the Iroquois, the government turned to missionaries from expediency as well as choice.[51]

Except for the soft-sell tactics of the Society of Friends, however,[52] the efforts of the missionaries were not particularly successful. A major reason for this was that the Iroquois were generating new religious responses of their own to cope with the problems caused by the disintegration of their traditional society. In the fall of 1798, a young Mohawk on the Grand River Reservation in Canada fell into a trance and spoke with the Great Spirit. Awakening, he renewed the old white-dog ritual, which had fallen into disuse.[53] The revival of the ceremony spread to many other Iroquois reservations and was widely celebrated even by apostates from the Christian faith.[54] Three years later,

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[48] Stone, pp. 18809.

[49] See Chapter III for some of their accounts.

[50] Wallace, p. 218.

[51] Ibid., pp. 219-20.

[52] Stone, p. 185.

[53] Wallace, p. 207.

[54] Ibid., p. 208.

a Seneca council at Buffalo Creek granted almost dictatorial powers in matters of religion to the Allegheny Reservation prophet, Handsome Lake.[55] In religion, at least, "a true renaissance occurred on many of the reservations in the years between 1799 and 1815."[56] Any missionary who discounted the force of paganism during this period would be making a mistake.

The Reverend Cram, it seems, made precisely this kind of mistake. "There is but one religion, and but one way to serve God," he tells the council, "and if you do not embrace the right way, you cannot be happy hereafter. You have never worshipped the Great Spirit in a manner acceptable to him; but have all your lives, been in great errors and darkness." Such words were anything but conciliatory and cannot have set well with the Senecas, especially in the wake of the new pagan revival. Nor did the words deal adequately with the thrust of the new paganism. Handsome Lake was telling his people that they could not worship the same as the white men because they were so different from the white men. Over and over again, this argument appeared in the speeches of Red Jacket. According to Stone,

> his language was, that the Great Spirit had formed the red and white men distinct--that there was no more reason why the two races should profess the same religious creed, than that they should be the same color. The Indians, he held, could not be civilized; and he had now become anxious not only to resist all farther innovations upon their manners, but that their ancient customs should be restored.[57]

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[55] Ibid., pp. 259-60.

[56] Ibid., p. 303.

[57] Stone, p. 185.

As Red Jacket was later to say to the Reverend Alexander from the New York Missionary Society, "We believe that forms of worship are indifferent to the Great Spirit--it is the offering of a sincere heart that pleases him."[58] And, as we shall see later when we examine his speech, Red Jacket was convinced that the white man could never be sincere.

Along with the mistake he made regarding the strength and direction of the Seneca religion, the Reverend Cram also gave evidence in his speech of the commission of an impropriety. He had already tried to preach at Buffalo Creek before receiving permission from the council. "I have visited some of your small villages, and talked with your people," he says. Yet he has been rebuffed--"as they look up to you as their older brothers in council, they want first to know your opinion on the subject." It seems, then, that the ordinary Seneca was not going to listen without Cram's receiving permission from their chiefs, and perhaps by not receiving this permission in the first place, he had alienated certain council members. Certainly, if we can believe Stone's anonymous informant, this earlier preaching had done no good:

> It has been asserted of Mr. Cram that his first, or at least an early sermon to the Indians, was exactly such as a wise man would never have preached to such a congregation. Instead of being a simple discourse, brought down to the level of their . . . minds, presenting to them the elementary principles of Christianity in their simplest and most winning forms, the missionary, according to tradition, gave them a long argumentative sermon upon the doctrine of divine

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[58] Bemis, "Speech of Red Jacket in Answer to a Speech of the Rev. Mr. Alexander . . ." ibid.

> decrees, and the deep mysteries of fore-knowledge and predestination.[59]

If this recollection is accurate, concludes Stone, then

> a more repulsive theme, even for many enlightened congregations reared in the bosom of the church, could have hardly have been selected; but that it was chosen as the ground-work of an introductory discourse to these simple children of the forest, argues a want of common sense almost too great for human credulity.[60]

One must also wonder about Cram's invitation to debate the merits of the Christian faith. It is a bit of folk wisdom which suggests that politics and religion are not debatable. Luther did not have much success with the same strategy, nor did the Jesuit Desideri, who had tried the same ploy with the Tibetans during the eighteenth century. In any case, the Iroquois council was no place to engage in debate on any issue.[61] Red Jacket, in his reply to Cram, would issue a final statement, not an invitation to argument.

After Chapin's opening speech and Chapin's rehearsal of his reasons for asking the council to be called together, it was Red jacket's turn to answer for the Senecas. "After about two hours consultation among themselves,"[62] the chiefs permitted him to speak. The text of that speech occupies the next pages of this study. It is printed in two forms: first, a reproduction of the Bemis text of the speech; and

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[59]This informant was "a distinguished gentlemen, of high character and intelligence, then a resident of the Seneca country." Stone, p. 195.

[60]Ibid.

[61]In fact, the council had many constraints built into it whose purpose was to minimize debate. See Chapter IV of this study.

[62]Bemis.

second, a chronological substance outline of that text.[63] The remainder of this chapter will then be devoted to an analysis of the speech.

Bemis Text of Red Jacket's Reply to Reverend Cram

Friend and Brother; it was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and has given us a fine day for our Council. He has taken His garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly; our ears are unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken. For all these favors we thank the Great Spirit; and Him only.

Brother; this council fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. We have listened with attention to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy; for we now consider that we stand up right before you, and can speak what we think. All have heard your voice, and all speak to you now as one man. Our minds are agreed.

Brother; you say you want an answer to your talk before you leave this place. It is right you should have one, as you are a great distance from home, and we do not wish to detain you. But we will first look back a little, and tell you what our fathers have told us, and what we have heard from the white people.

Brother; listen to what we say.

There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. He had made the bear and the beaver. Their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this He had done for His red children, because He loved them. If we had some disputes about our hunting ground, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood. But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water, and landed on this island. Their numbers were small. They found friends and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them, granted their request; and they sat down amongst us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return.

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[63] The next chapter of this study explains why this is the best available version of the speech.

The white people had now found our country. Tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us. Yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends. They called us brothers. We believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor amongst us. It was strong and powerful, and has slain thousands.

Brother; our seats were once large and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied; you want to force your religion upon us.

Brother; continue to listen.

You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind, and, if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book. If it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given to us, and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers, the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

Brother; you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there is but one religion; why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agreed, as you can all read the book?

Brother; we do not understand these things.

We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We also had a religion, which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all the favors we receive; to love each other, and to be united. We never quarrel about religion.

Brother; the Great Spirit has made us all, but He has made a great difference between his white and red children. He has given us different complexions and different customs. To you He has given the arts. To these He has not opened our eyes. We know these things to be true. Since He has made so great a difference between us in other things; why may we not conclude that He has given us a different religion according to our understanding? The Great Spirit does right. He knows what is best for his children; we are satisfied.

Brother; we do not wish to destroy your religion, or take it from you. We only want to enjoy our own.

Brother; we are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbors. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while, and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest, and less disposed to cheat Indians; we will then consider again of what you have said.

Brother; you have now heard our answer to your talk, and this is all we have to say at present.

As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends.

Chronological Substance Outline of the Reply[64]

Introduction

A. Friend and Brother:	1
I. It was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day.	2
II. He orders all things and has given us a fine day for our Council.	3
a. He has taken his garment from before the sun, and caused it to shine with brightness upon us.	4
b. Our eyes are opened, that we see clearly;	5
c. our ears are unstopped, that we have been able to hear distinctly the words you have spoken.	6

[64]This chronological substance outline is a rewriting of the Bemis text in such a way that its organization becomes more obvious. In the analysis which follows, various phrases will be referred to according to the numbers in the right hand column.

III. For all these favors we thank the Great Spirit; and HIM only. 7

B. Brother;

I. this council fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. 8

II. We have listened with attention to what you have said. 9

III. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy; 10

a. for we now consider that we stand up right before you, 11

b. and can speak what we think. 12

IV. All have heard your voice, 13

a. and all speak to you now as one man. 14

b. Our minds are agreed. 15

C. Brother; 16

I. you say you want an answer to your talk before you 17

II. It is right you should have one, 18

a. as you are a great distance from home, 19

b. and we do not wish to detain you. 20

III. But we will first look back a little Transition 21

a. and tell you what our fathers have told us, 22

b. and what we have heard from the white people. 23

Body

I. Brother; listen to what we say. 24

A. There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. 25

1. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. 26

a. He had created the buffalo, the deer, and other animals for food. 27

b. He had made the bear and the beaver. 28

I. Their skins served us for clothing. 29

II. He had scattered them over the country, and taught us how to take them. 30

c. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. 31

d. All this He had done for his red children, because He loved them. 32

2. If we had some disputes about our hunting ground, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood. 33

B. But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water, and landed on this island. 34

1. Their numbers were small. 35

2. They found friends and not enemies. 36

3. They told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. 37

4. They asked for a small seat. 38

5. We took pity on them, granted their request; and they sat down amongst us. 39

6. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return. 40

C. The white people had now found our country. 41

1. Tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us. 42

2. Yet we did not fear them. 43

a. We took them to be friends. 44

b. They called us brothers. 45

c. We believed them, and gave them a larger seat. 46

3. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted our country. 47

D. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. 48

1. Wars took place. 49

a. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, 50

b. and many of our people were destroyed. 51

2. They also brought strong liquor amongst us. 52

a. It was strong and powerful, 53

b. and has slain thousands. 54

E. Brother; 55

1. our seats were once large and yours were small. Internal Summary 56

2. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place to spread our blankets. 57

3. You have got our country, but are not satisfied; Transition 58

4. you want to force your religion upon us. 59

II. Brother; continue to listen. 60

A. You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeably to his mind, 61

B. and, if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. 62

1. You say that you are right and we are lost. 63

2. How do we know this to be true? 64

C. We understand that your religion is written in a book. 65

1. If it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given 66

a. to us, 67

b. and not only to us, but why did he not give to our forefathers, 68

the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly?

2. We only know what you tell us about it. 69

3. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people? 70

D. Brother; 71

1. you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. 72

2. If there is but one religion; why do you white people differ so much about it? 73

3. Why not all agreed, as you can all read the book? 74

E. Brother; we do not understand these things. 75

F. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. 76

1. We also had a religion, 77

a. which was given to our forefathers, 78

b. and has been handed down to us their children. 79

2. We worship in that way. 80

3. It teaches us 81

a. to be thankful for all the favors we receive; 82

b. to love each other, 83

c. and to be united. 84

4. We never quarrel about religion. 85

G. Brother; 86

1. the Great Spirit has made us all, 87

a. but He has made a great difference between his white and red children. 88

b. He has given us different complexions and different customs. 89

I. To you he has given the arts. 90

II. To these he has not opened our eyes. 91

c. We know these things to be true. 92

2. Since He has made so great a difference between us in other things, why may we not conclude that He has given us a different religion according to our understanding? Internal Summary 93

3. The Great Spirit does right. 94

a. He knows what is best for is children; 95

b. we are satisfied. 96

II. Brother; 97

1. we do not wish to destroy your religion, or take it from you. Purpose Sentences 98

2. We only want to enjoy our own. 99

Conclusion

A. Brother; 100

I. We are told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. 101

a. These people are our neighbors. 102

b. We are acquainted with them. 103

II. We will wait a little while, and see what effect your preaching has upon them. 104

III. If we find it does them good, 105

a. makes them honest 106

b. and less disposed to cheat Indians; 107

we will consider again of what you have said. 108

B. Brother; 109

I. you have now heard our answer to your talk, 110

II. and this is all we have to say at present. 111

III. As we are going to part, we will 112

a. come and take you by the hand, 113

b. and hope the Great Spirit will 114

1. protect you on your journey, 115

2. and return you safe to your friends. 116

Analysis

Red Jacket's Reply to Reverend Cram contains parts which could have been prepared in advance. We shall see later that certain passages are formulas which may have been used with only minor variations in nearly every speaking situation. Other sections, however, must have required considerable discussion in the two-hour council which preceded the speech. To see why, we should look briefly at the history of Christian missionary activity among the Senecas.

As the westernmost Iroquois tribe, the Senecas were not exposed to as much missionary influence as the other members of the Confederacy. French Jesuits were the first to reach them. In 1657 Father Chaumonot was assigned to their territory but spent most of his time among the Hurons and Wenroes whom the Senecas had captured.[65] Two other Jesuits lived among them briefly but were expelled in 1684.[66] From this point

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[65] Houghton, p. 132.

[66] Ibid.

on French influence was at an end.

English-speaking, Protestant missionaries arrived much later. In 1788 the Reverend Samuel Kirkland was flatly refused permission to preach by Seneca leaders.[67] In the fall of 1800 Elkanah Holmes made a more concerted effort, and he actually was sponsored by Red Jacket in his first sermon before a large group of Senecas at Buffalo Creek.[68] At first glance, Holmes would have seemed to have had every opportunity for success, because the Indians were still reeling from the pressures of war, deportation, famine, sickness, and social disintegration, and presumably they would have been attracted to a redemptive, integrating religious belief. By 1803, however, when Holmes established his permanent missionary station in Western New York, he placed it on the Tuscarora reservation instead of at Buffalo Creek.[69] Most of the Senecas were no longer willing to listen to him. Two reasons can be advanced for this change in policy.

First, most members of the tribe were incapable of separating the white man from the white man's religion. When Holmes first visited Buffalo Creek, he was confronted at a public meeting by Farmer's Brother, at that time the most influential chief on the reservation. At the close of the meeting, Farmer's Brother

> made a long speech in which he spoke in a very discouraging manner of the attempts which had been

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid., p. 141. This did not mean, however, that Red Jacket was originally inclined toward Christianity. He was performing a function, not stating a conviction.

[69] Ibid., p. 142.

> made to educate his grandson after the white man's fashion. The boy had been sent to Philadelphia where he was to have remained for five years, learning the ways of white men. His grandfather visited him there at the end of two years when the boy was about thirteen years old, and he was shocked to find him gambling there in a tavern in company with lewd women. He considered this an example of what might be expected should the Senecas decide to receive missionaries.[70]

But the Senecas of course had more evidence than that provided by Farmer's Brother's precocious grandson. Government policy seemed so intertwined with missionaries that Cram himself had to tell the Council of 1805 that he had not come for their lands or their money. Buffalo Creek residents, however, remained largely unconvinced. It was the white men and not the Senecas, they felt, who needed salvation. As Red Jacket later remarked to Dr. Breckenridge,

> if you white men murdered the Son of the Great Spirit, we Indians had nothing to do with it, and it is none of our affair. If he had come among us, we would not have killed him; we would have treated him well; and the white people who killed him ought to be damned for doing it. You must make amends for that crime yourselves.[71]

If Red Jacket missed the point of Christ's suffering, he and other Senecas were essentially correct in viewing Christianity as something that would corrode Indian patterns of living. Time and again, missionaries were the first step in a sequence which led to increasing factionalism, a breakdown in unified tribal policy, and eventual land grabs.[72]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Stone, p. 197.

[72] Among others see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "Protestants, Pagans,

Eventually this same sequence would reach the Senecas, when converted tribal members voted against the others to sell Buffalo Creek.[73]

Equally important as a block to missionary success was the spreading of the Good News by Handsome Lake. Possessed of the most prestigious name in the Seneca tribe,[74] Handsome Lake was nevertheless a ne'er-do-well who suffered from both chronic alcoholism and a wasting disease which was probably tuberculosis. In 1800 he died, but in preparing his body for burial one of his relatives noticed that he was not yet cold. During the next twenty-four hours this warmth gradually spread throughout his whole body, and he awoke to tell his auditors of a vision involving four messengers, sent from the Great Spirit, who saved his life so that he could tell all Indians how they should order their lives.[75] Though it met pockets of resistance, the Good News preached by Handsome Lake spread like wildfire among the Iroquois. It gave them a means to re-order their society and a doctrine which could serve as a viable alternative to Christianity and white culture. Today half the Iroquois are still adherents of Handsome Lake.

In his reply to Reverend Cram, Red Jacket reflects both mistrust of white religion and pride in a separate Indian religious practice.[76]

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and Sequences Among the North American Indians, 1760-1860," Ethnohistory, X (Summer, 1963), 201-232.

[73]Houghton, p. 149.

[74]Ibid., p. 134.

[75]Arthur C. Parker's translation of the Code of Handsome Lake is printed in New York State Museum Bulletin No. 163, previously cited in this study. Also cited have been two full length treatments of Handsome Lake: Thomas R. Henry's Wilderness Messiah and Anthony F.C. Wallace's The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.

[76]Once again, however, remember he is a spokesman, reflecting the

Handsome Lake's reforms over the previous five years had revitalized the old beliefs. It was from within this framework that Red Jacket spoke. The Good News is implied not only in the ideas expressed, but in the very structure of the speech.

Cram probably recognized that Red Jacket's introduction and conclusion were old formulas, or commonplaces, in which the speaker invoked the Great Spirit, thanked Him for allowing the participants to meet in council, and asked for the protection of the participants on their return home. The religious system which Red Jacket defended, in other words, was implicit in the very structure of the speech. Earlier, when Chapin had introduced Cram to the council, he had made use of this same formula. Cram, however, had not--instead of invoking a diety he had merely expressed gratitude at being present at the meeting. Since Cram did not use the obligatory opening, and Red Jacket persisted in doing so, the missionary was probably aware from the very beginning that his requests were going to be rejected.

Prayers of gratitude were deeply ingrained in the Seneca. In every day life they greeted each other with an expression meaning, "I thank the Great Spirit I see you alive and in health," and every meeting began and ended with prayer.[77] In the context of Red Jacket's reply use of these commonplaces took on added meaning. The debate which Cram had wanted would be fruitless because the two speakers were operating with two entirely different sets of premises. Anyone who invoked the Indian

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consensus of the council.

[77]Houghton, pp. 129-130.

God could hardly be expected to admit later that he did not exist.

The other formula appearing in Red Jacket's Reply was the use of the word "Brother." This served two purposes: first, it established the degree of social distance desired between speaker and audience;[78] and second, it signified the important divisions in the speech itself. Red Jacket uses it to point out the three major sections of the introduction: (1) the formula thanking the Great Spirit, lines 1 through 7; (2) the reason why the council was convened, lines 8 through 15; and (3) the type of answer which should be expected, lines 16 through 23. "Brother" is used nine more times in the course of the speech, in each instance to indicate a major thought division. As function words are used in language to indicate the uses to which other words are put, so does "Brother" serve as a rhetorical marker. It points out to the auditor that a major transition or new idea is about to occur.

The body of Red Jacket's speech is in two major sections, each followed by an internal summary. In the first, extending from line 24 through line 54, he traces the historical relationships between Indians and whites. Here he points out that the country was originally intended by the Great Spirit "for the use of Indians."[79] But because they were

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[78]"Brother" implies a social equal. In council the Iroquois moieties and tribes were divided into "elder" and "younger" brothers. Client tribes often addressed the Iroquois in council as "uncle." A more thorough discussion of ritual use of kinship terms is contained in Chapter IV of this study.

[79]Cram tries to anticipate this argument, but it is virtually impossible to disassociate the land from a discussion of religion. The Indians who follow Handsome Lake believe the Earth is our mother as strongly as Christians believe Christ died for our sins. When Robert Moses or the Army Corps of Engineers takes a piece of reservation

unselfish and trusting, Indians shared their land with the whites, who turned out to be selfish and devious. The whites have stolen the land. In return for food, they have given the Indians liquor, which has "slain thousands." In the second section (lines 60 through 92) Red Jacket answers Cram's specific claims. Since white men have proven they cannot be trusted, he argues, how can Cram be believed when he says there is but one way to worship God? Further, the Great Spirit would have provided this religion to the Indians had they needed it, just as He has provided everything else. Finally, even white men disagree about religion, even though they have received it from the same book. In contrast, Indian religion, which teaches thankfulness and love, does not cause disagreement. The Great Spirit has provided a different religion for white men and Indians, just as he has made differences in other things. Since the Great Spirit "knows what is best for his children," we should be satisfied with what he has done.

In his conclusion Red Jacket tells Cram that the Senecas will wait to see what kind of impression the missionary's words have on the white people who surround the reservation. If the white people show any improvement, then the Indians will listen again to what the missionary has to say. At the very end of the speech (lines 109 through 116) Red Jacket reverts to the traditional closing formula and asks the Great Spirit to protect Cram on his journey home.

Throughout his speech Red Jacket advanced five major claims of his own and sought to refute the one major claim earlier presented by Cram.

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property, it is viewed quite literally as rape. Monetary compensation for the property, obviously, cannot assuage this feeling.

In order of their appearance, they are:

First claim: it was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day.

Second claim: you have asked us to speak our minds freely.

Third claim: this island was given to the Indians by the Great Spirit.

Fourth claim: the whites unjustly took the land from the Indians.

Fifth claim: Cram's claim that there is but one true religion is incorrect.

Sixth claim: it is best for Indians to maintain their own religion.

Leaving aside the fifth claim for the moment, we find that Red Jacket's arguments fall into two major classes: (1) those which presume from the very beginning that the Indian cause is just, and (2) those which advance this cause.

The first class includes the first and second claims. By assuming that the council could only be held under the auspices of the Great Spirit, and that the Indians did not have to conciliate, but only speak what they really felt, Red Jacket won for himself the right to uphold the Seneca position by a direct attack on the credibility of white speakers and the white religious system. In other words, the ground of argument was already possessed by the Indians, and any defense of their position was really unnecessary.[80]

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[80]By using terms like presumption and ground of argument the writer does not mean to suggest that Red Jacket had read Bishop Whately, who in fact did not publish until years later. The terms are used here to describe what Red Jacket did and not to describe how he felt about what he was doing.

The claims of the second class derive during the course of Red Jacket's speech from his historical review, and illustrate his contention that both the land and their present religious system were gifts to the Indians from the Great Spirit. The Indian was happy when he possessed both of these gifts. Then the Great Spirit's goodness is contrasted with the whites. Not only have they stolen the first of these gifts, but now they are trying to steal the second.

Red Jacket's major refutation of Cram does not occur until his development of the fifth claim in the middle of the address. This is sensible since Cram's arguments can best be attacked after the general untrustworthiness of the whites has been established. If this is ad hominum argument, Red Jacket can use it with impunity because only white actions, not white testimony, can demonstrate the validity of the Christian religion. Then, although Red Jacket has already asserted the benefits of the Indian religion, he goes on to attach three qualifiers to Cram's claim about the truth of Christianity. First, Christianity is not true just because a white man says it is true. Second, Christianity is not true just because it is in a book, or if true for that reason, it cannot be applicable to those who have not been given the art of literacy. Third, Christianity cannot be true if those who profess it cannot agree on what it is.

In light of these arguments, it is interesting to see Red Jacket's use of personal proof in his speech. Recall those two factors which would diminish his ethos--his rumored cowardice and his occasional public drunkenness. Although Red Jacket's bravery is not a factor here, his drinking habits certainly are, because throughout his Reply he is

contrasting Indian purity with white depravity. Twice during his remarks, therefore, he shifts the blame by referring to drunkenness as the result of what happens when Indians fall under white influence. Beyond this one issue, there is no personal reference to himself in the speech. There are many indirect uses of personal proof, however, and these involve his position as spokesman for the council. Devices of this nature include the stress on the concensus reached in council, the references to himself in the plural, utilization of traditional formulas, and emphasis on the reasonableness of the position taken by the council and himself.

The reasonableness of the Indian position was remarked upon throughout the speech. The Indians had listened attentively to what the missionary had said, just as he had requested. They had carefully considered their response to his words. In the past they had believed other white men. They could not believe Cram now, because of earlier white perfidy, but if his words had a demonstrable effect on the whites who surrounded them, then they would reconsider. Thus, argues Red Jacket, the Indian position is flexible, and requires only good faith and a change of behavior on the part of the whites.

Red Jacket's use of the materials of experience can be correctly evaluated if we accurately identify his primary audience. The notion that he was speaking chiefly to Cram can be dispelled if we consider that in this case a simple refusal was all that was necessary and that the speech was anything but conciliatory. Further, neither the warrants which led to the claims advanced by the speaker nor his personal proof were calculated to be acceptable to a white missionary. We seem

justified, therefore, in looking elsewhere for our primary audience.

If instead of Cram we choose the other Indians at the council as the principal auditors, the direction of Red Jacket's address becomes plain. Making even the occasion of his speech a pathetic appeal to religious authority, Red Jacket segregates his audience into two opposing groups by the end of his introduction. During the rest of his speech he points out the goodness of Indians, or if they are not, how it is the white man's fault. By the close of the speech Cram is identified with these other white men.

In following this particular strategy, Red Jacket directs his materials of experience toward his fellow Senecas and against the missionary. He appeals to the traditional Indian beliefs and plays upon their sense of pride. He tries to dispel any sense of inferiority by showing the Indian as the more moral agent in previous encounters with the whites. Conversely, the whites cannot be trusted and, since they had lied before, can be expected to lie again. This can be expected because present white neighbors are no better than whites have ever been, and Cram's brand of religion gives no evidence of improving them. Cram is demonstrably ineffective, Red Jacket tells his listeners, and is probably lying like the others; moreover his authority is a book the Indians cannot read and about which the non-Indians cannot agree.

Twice Red Jacket refers to the forefathers who had lived moral lives and had passed the religion they had received from the Great Spirit on to Indians of the present day. These ancestors deserve to be believed more than Cram and his book. In addition there is the added testimony of the goodness of the Great Spirit to be found in the nature He had

created expressly for the use of Indians. Finally, there is the undisputable fact that the Indians are different from whites. These appeals can only strengthen the impression that Indian ways are best.

By the end of the speech Red Jacket's apparent reasonableness and friendliness have been completely overshadowed by his adamant refusal to listen to anything more that the missionary has to say. The missionary was anything but pleased with this result to his arduous journey. Red Jacket ends his speech by saying, "As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safe to your friends." What an ironic close, to invoke the Indian God to take care of the Christian missionary as he returns defeated from his mission. The Bemis text of Red Jacket's Reply goes on to say,

> As the Indians began to approach the missionary, he rose hastily from his seat and replied, that he could not take them by the hand; that there was no fellowship between the religion of God and the works of the devil. This being interpreted to the Indians, they smiled, and retired in a peaceable manner.[81]

Thus the Indians had plainly won, since at the end they could be seen to behave better than the man who sought to convert them. Cram later saw that he had been put into this position.

> It afterwards being suggested to the missionary that his reply to the Indians was rather indiscreet; he observed, that he supposed the ceremony of shaking hands would be received by them as a token that he assented to what they had said. Being otherwise informed, he said he was sorry for the expressions.[82]

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[81] Bemis, "Reply to Reverend Cram."

[82] Ibid.

Regardless, the pagan cause on the Buffalo Creek reservation had plainly triumphed. Although Red Jacket had changed no attitudes, he had clearly and forcibly expressed the views of the council. He had demonstrated that the Senecas had rational grounds for their rejection of Christianity. He had given a certain intellectual respectability to the adherents of the Handsome Lake religion. And he had pointed out to whites that in the future they would be able to win converts only by practicing themselves what they preached. We now turn to examine how accurate are the words he is supposed to have said.

CHAPTER III

TEXT AND INTERPRETER

The analysis of the previous chapter would be fairly complete were it not for the fact that the speech is a translation which first appeared in book form six years after its supposed delivery. We are certainly justified in asking a number of questions concerning the authenticity of the text. The necessity for doing so becomes apparent when we remember that accurate reporting of public speeches has been difficult even in modern times. Thonssen and Baird tell us that "reporters of speech were not provided space in the House of Commons until 1834, and nothing approaching accurate reporting was authorized in the United States Congress until 1873."[1] Elsewhere they make the statement that "even the great speeches of the eighteenth century--models upon which we rely heavily--are without doubt inaccurate, incomplete, and, occasionally, misleading."[2] If these statements hold true of deliberative oratory in the most important legislative bodies of England and the United States during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, then a speech delivered in an obscure language on the

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[1]Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 299.

[2]Ibid., p. 298.

American frontier must be examined closely.

The wisdom of examining authenticity becomes even more apparent when we turn to some of the things which have happened in the field of Iroquois studies. Perhaps the worst example of textual inaccuracy is the celebrated address by Hiawatha at the formation of the League of the Iroquois. This "speech" was excerpted and reworded by Longfellow, who had taken it from Schoolcraft, who had copied it from J.V.H. Clark, who had made up every word.[3] Even the great eighteenth century translator Joseph Nicholson once interpreted "Buffalo Creek" as "Beaver Creek" on an important land treaty.[4] Roberts, who has written the only major thesis on the subject of Iroquois oratory, may have been led astray when he took some of his texts from Cadwallader Colden, a former governor of Colonial New York. Colden, it seems, may have modeled his style on Thucydides and Clarendon. He may very well have followed the classical tradition of making up suitably dramatic speeches to insert at appropriate places in his history of the Iroquois.

It is important, then, that we ask three questions concerning the Reply to Reverend Cram. First, is the text upon which we have based our analysis the best available? Second, are the circumstances attending the publication of the text such that we can expect it to be a responsible attempt to record accurately an actual event? Third, is the translator

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[3]William M. Beauchamp, A History of the New York Iroquois (Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, 1962), p. 31.

[4]William Ketchum, An Authentic and Comprehensive History of Buffalo (Buffalo: Rockwell, Baker, & Hill, 1865), I, 409.

of the speech a person who would be apt to give an accurate rendition of the Seneca original? The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to answering these three questions.

Is the Text the Best Available?

The version being used in this study is from Native Eloquence, published by J.D. Bemis in Canandaigua, New York, in 1811. The book is an anthology of speeches which the publisher claims were made by the Seneca chiefs Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket. Arguments that the Native Eloquence text is an authentic reproduction of an actual speech event will be given later in this chapter, but first there is the possibility that another version exists which has similar or better claims to authenticity. Before we go on, therefore, we must choose between two hypotheses: (1) that Native Eloquence contains the best available text; (2) that there is an equal or superior version. There are three reasons for choosing the first of these.

1. A fairly extensive search has failed to locate an earlier printed copy.[5] The version of the speech contained in Native Eloquence remains the earliest of those examined and thus has priority as the basic text.

2. The histories of those churches carrying on missionary activities in the area between 1800 and 1820 have been examined and

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[5]Bemis himself may have printed the speech in his newspaper, The Ontario Repository, before it appeared in book form. If so, the particular newspaper is no longer available. Jasper Parrish's papers in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California, may contain leads, but they have not been examined by the author. See bibliography.

have revealed no information about the speech. Indeed it would seem unlikely that a denomination would wish to print remarks so detrimental to its interests. The government records contain nothing about the event, either because the reports were burned with so many Indian papers during the War of 1812 or because the visit did not technically involve government business. Red Jacket, of course, was illiterate, and could hardly have made a copy of the speech himself. Since neither the churches, the government, nor the Indians have left other records, it seems fair to assume that the version in Native Eloquence, as prepared "under the revision of the public interpreter," is the only one available.[6]

3. The differences which appear in the later versions of the speech are so minor that they can all be traced without difficulty to the Native Eloquence text. Here our procedure will involve listing the printed texts, examining the differences among them, and establishing the source for each.

The texts to be examined here, in their order of publication, are the following:

J.D. Bemis, Native Eloquence, 1811
Samuel Gardner Drake, Book of the Indians, 1834
B.B. Thatcher, Indian Biography, 1837
Philip Tome, Indian Life, 1854
Frank Moore, American Eloquence, 1857
William L. Stone, Life and Times of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha or Red Jacket, 1866

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[6]It would also be logical to entertain the possibility that, in the absence of any independent verification, the Reply is as much a forgery as some of the other "speeches" we have mentioned. This issue will be dealt with toward the end of the chapter.

Chauncey Depew, The Library of Oratory, 1902
William Jennings Bryan, The World's Famous Orations, 1906
David J. Brewer, The World's Best Orations, 1923
Henry Beston, American Memory, 1937
Lewis Copeland, The World's Great Speeches, 1942
Ann G. Shoemaker, The Red Man Speaks, 1947
Lewis Copeland, The World's Great Speeches, 1949
Lewis Copeland, The World's Great Speeches, 2nd rev. ed., 1958
Charles Hurd, A Treasury of Great American Speeches, 1959
Lewis Thomas Jones, Aboriginal American Oratory, 1965
Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca, 1970[7]

In some instances, the authors or editors of these books give the source of their text; in most cases they do not. Bemis asserts that he received the text "from a gentleman who was present when it was delivered, and wrote it sentence by sentence, as translated at the time by the interpreter." On the frontispiece of the same book, Bemis asserts that the edition was prepared "under the revision of the public interpreter." In none of the other books does an author claim to receive his text from a person present at the event. Stone indicates three sources for his text--Bemis, Thatcher, and Drake--but lists Bemis as "the first edition." Brewer gives Moore as his source, Beston cites Bemis, Jones cites Stone, and Shoemaker cites Tome.

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[7]Complete citations for these books are given in the bibliography. All books cited in Sutton's Speech Index (New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1966) are listed with the exception of two secondary, twentieth century anthologies by Hazeltine, which could not be found in the libraries where research was being done. In addition, eight other texts, not listed in Sutton, are included. Two manuscript versions, one in the Buffalo Historical Society library and the other in the Library of Congress, have not been included here. The first follows the Bemis text, except for certain punctuation details and the ungrammatical expression, ". . . your religion is wrote in a book." The other manuscript, by Hodson, is dated 1921 and follows Thatcher.

These external indications give us some grounds for believing the Bemis version to be the basic text. He is the only person to claim receiving the speech from eye witnesses. Second, the careful biographer Stone believes the Bemis text to be the first. Third, as we shall see, no other writer cites a version of the Reply that cannot be traced through the Bemis text.

This third point can be made clear only if we go on to examine internal variations in the different printed versions. Doing so, we find the texts varying in five ways:

1. In the introduction to the Reply, some texts emphasize "only" to indicate that Red Jacket is thanking the Great Spirit, not the Christian God, for allowing the meeting to take place.
2. Some texts capitalize pronouns referring to the Great Spirit.
3. Some texts capitalize "a Book" when referring to the Bible.
4. Some texts indent the paragraph beginning with "But an evil day came upon us."
5. Some texts include a paragraph beginning with "Brother, you say you have not come to get our land . . . ."

If we compare the texts on the basis of these five characteristics, the relationships among the various books become more apparent. The following tables list each internal characteristic and indicate which books contain it and which do not.

Relationships Among Texts--Internal Characteristics

Characteristic	Present in	Absent in
1. Emphasis on Him only	Bemis Stone Jones	Drake Thatcher Tome Moore Depew Bryan Brewer Beston Copeland Shoemaker Hurd
	- - - - -	
2. Capitalization of pronouns referring to the Great Spirit	Bemis Moore Stone Bryan Copeland Hurd	Drake Thatcher Tome Brewer Beston Shoemaker Jones Wallace[8]
	- - - - -	
3. Capitalization of "a Book," alluding to the Bible	Bryan Copeland Hurd	Bemis Drake Thatcher Tome Moore Stone Depew Brewer Beston Shoemaker Jones Wallace

[8]Wallace uses just part of the speech. His excerpt does not include those passages which would have indicated characteristics 1 and 4. He cites Drake as his source.

4. Indentation of paragraph beginning with "But an evil day came upon us."	Bryan Copeland Hurd	Bemis Drake Thatcher Tome Moore Stone Depew Brewer Beston Shoemaker Jones

- - - - -

5. Contents of following paragraph: "Brother, you say you have not come to get our land or our money, but to enlighten our minds. I will now tell you that I have been at your meetings, and saw you collect money at your meeting. I cannot tell what this money was intended for your minister, and if we should conform to your way of thinking, perhaps you may want some from us."	Drake Thatcher Tome Moore Stone[9] Depew Bryan Brewer Copeland Shoemaker Wallace	Bemis Beston Hurd[10] Jones[10]

As we look at the preceding list, we see that, in general, Copeland, Bryan, and Hurd are closely related in those characteristics which they do or do not include. So are the following:

Depew and Brewer
Drake, Thatcher, Moore, Tome, and Shoemaker
Bemus and Stone
Beston and Jones

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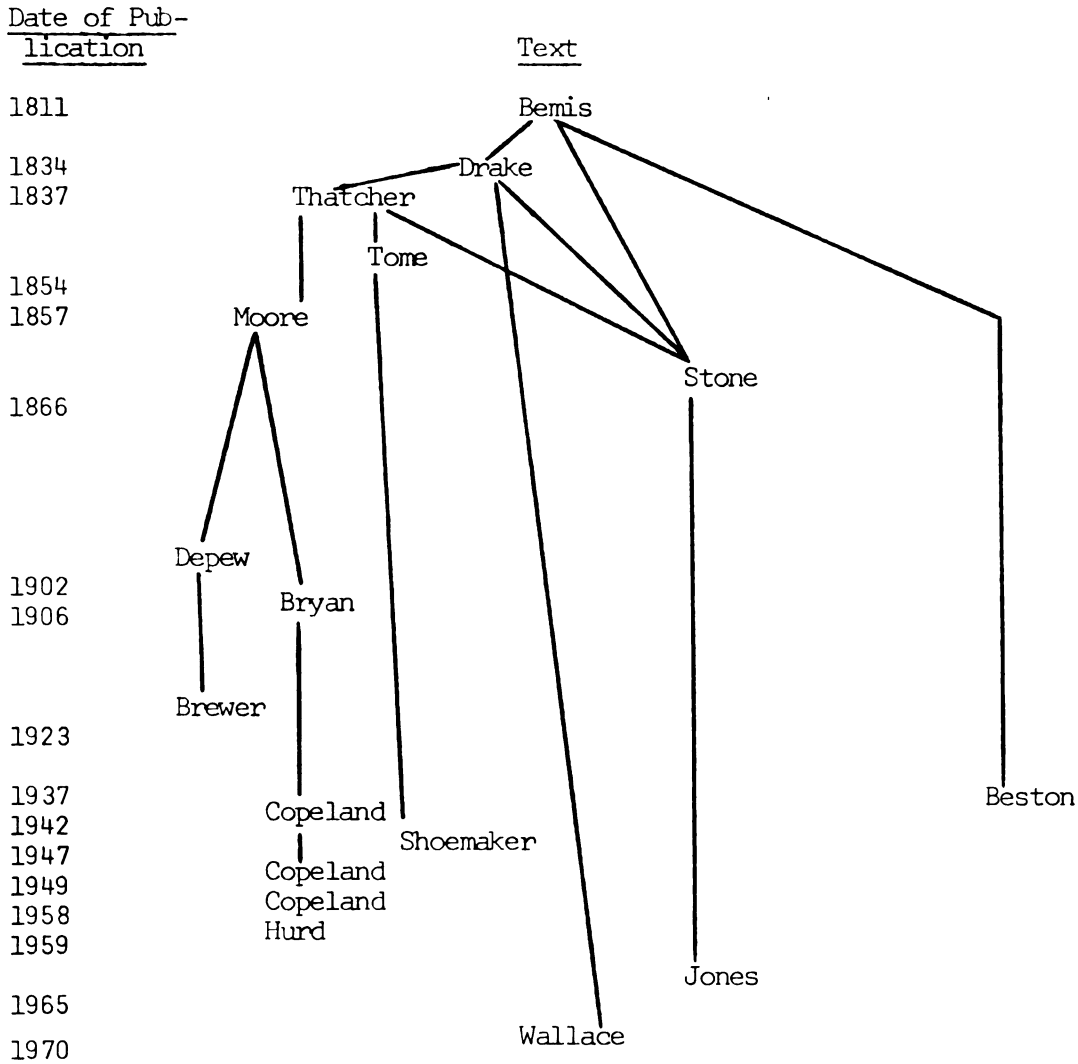
[9]While including this paragraph, however, Stone writes that he believes it to be an interpolation.

[10]These are both condensed versions of the speech, and their exclusion of this paragraph may reflect merely the editorial choice of their particular editors.

Combining this information with external information concerning sources, provided by certain of the authors, we obtain the table as shown below:

Reconstruction of Text Variation



This table cannot be fully accepted, however, without some additional discussion. To begin with, notice that Drake appears to be the source of the fifth characteristic, the paragraph which Stone

includes but believes to be an interpolation. Drake adds this paragraph without any indication as to source. Thatcher and Moore pick up the paragraph, and all subsequent speech anthologies include it (with the exception of Hurd, who prints the speech, however, in a very condensed version). It seems quite natural that the speech anthologies have gathered their materials from earlier speech collections instead of books in an anthropological or historical tradition.

Within the group of speech anthologies which derive from Moore, and through him from Drake, there are two subclasses: (1) those which possess the second, third, and fourth characteristics and (2) those which do not. Bryan, Copeland, and Hurd belong to the first subclass, while Depew and Brewer belong to the second. These characteristics could be purely the result of printer's conventions, but there is also a striking similarity in the use of punctuation within each group. Unlike Brewer, Bryan does not follow Depew in these three areas, perhaps because the compilers of the Bryan anthology did not want to follow too slavishly the conventions of a major speech collection published only four years previously. Approximately half a century later, however, neither Copeland nor Hurd felt the same compunctions about taking these characteristics from Bryan. And Bryan, by retaining without question the first and fifth characteristics, demonstrated his connection with the Drake--Thatcher--Moore tradition.

In the same way that the books derived from Moore are unaware of the books in the historical or anthropological tradition, so also, in their elimination of that fifth characteristic which is the one really substantive change in the Reply, do Beston and Jones demonstrate their

reliance on Stone or Bemis instead of on the speech anthologies. The close similarities among the texts of these four books substantiates the claim by Jones that his version is based upon Stone, and the claims by Stone and Beston that theirs are based upon Bemis. Our exception here is Wallace, who chooses Drake as his source.

To summarize, the Reply to Reverend Cram shows only one major change in its textual history. This is the addition of a paragraph concerning the practice of taking collections in church. It occurs first in the text provided by the antiquarian Drake and subsequently in those texts presumably derived from him. Drake himself makes a special point of providing a correct version, "as some omissions and errors were contained in it as published at the time."[11] Perhaps Drake specifically means this particular paragraph, because the expression, "as published at the time," probably refers to Bemis, but there is nothing more than this one line to indicate that Drake has another source. At any rate, Drake implies that he has inside information never before published. If he had not made this claim of greater accuracy, it would be easy to dismiss the paragraph, since the books in the historical and anthropological tradition do not contain it, and since the Bemis text is the earliest available. As it is, Drake's comment does not damage our reconstruction of the printed textual history. Later we shall come back to the question he raises about textual accuracy.

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[11]Samuel G. Drake, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, 3rd ed. (Boston: O.L. Perkins and Hillard, Gray & Co., 1834), bk. v, p. 78.

Two final difficulties lie with our proposed reconstruction. First, Hurd's text may be derived directly from Bryan instead of descending through Copeland. Both anthologies were almost certainly known to him. Second, Brewer may be derived directly from Moore instead of descending through Depew. In either case, however, the fundamental structure of the reconstruction is not seriously challenged. It is clear that all versions, even Drake, have directly or indirectly stemmed from Bemis. Further, it is clear that the speech anthologists have relied upon earlier anthologies and historians have relied on earlier histories. Finally, it is clear that the text has been passed on with only a few minor variations to the present day. Just one paragraph, whose content does not really affect the rest of the speech, creates any real trouble. That paragraph needs to be returned to, but it does not disturb the conclusions we have drawn so far.

We are justified, then, in going on to ask a second major question. We know that the Bemis text has been passed down rather faithfully through a succession of later histories and speech anthologies. We must now find out how accurate that Bemis text really is.

To What Extent Is the Bemis Text a Faithful Record?

Since Bemis claims to have received his speech from one of the actual participants at the council, and then to have checked the speech with the public interpreter, we should find out two things. First, is Bemis considered a trustworthy, reliable printer? Second, would those first-hand sources he writes about be readily available to him? If we can answer both of these questions affirmatively, then his statements

can probably be taken as truth, and we shall be able to accept the authenticity of the speech in so far as its initial publication is concerned.

Beginning, then, with the problem of Bemis' reputation, we discover that his contemporaries regarded the printer quite highly. The first man of his profession in Western New York, he ran a thriving business and retired over forty years later as the oldest editor in the region.[12] Not only was he toasted by his colleagues at the Printers' Festival of 1847 as "the father of the Press in Western New York,"[13] but he was asked by his community to serve in a number of trusted capacities. At various times he was a director of the Ontario Bank, first president of the Auburn and Rochester Railroad, treasurer of the Ontario Agricultural Society, trustee of the Ontario Female Seminary, and president of the village of Canandaigua.[14]

Bemis appeared to value the trust his contemporaries placed in him. "My weakness," he was later to write, "was I did not value money. I did value the reputation of an honest and independent editor."[15] Such a man, it would seem, would not willingly damage this reputation by fictionalizing about events well known to his readership. In fact, Bemis was to find an enduring place in printing circles because of his

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[12]Madeline Stern, "James D. Bemis: Country Printer," New York History, XXIX (October, 1948), 424.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Ibid., p. 409.

[15]Thomas Draper, The Bemis History and Geneology (San Francisco: Stanley Taylor Company, 1900), p. 135.

interest in authentic Indian materials. He was the first publisher of The Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison, and was influential in arranging the interviews which led to its compilation.[16] Thus Bemis, who had used the speeches of Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket to form Western New York's first book, was also responsible, in his publication of the life of Mary Jemison, for one of the most important pieces of Americana ever to have come from the region.

No matter how trustworthy and reliable the printer was, however, it was still necessary for him to have access to reliable witnesses to Red Jacket's speech. Fortunately, he did not have to go very far to find them. Canandaigua, the village in which he lived, was also the home of Israel Chapin and Jasper Parrish, the government agent and public interpreter mentioned in the previous chapter.[17] Since both were permanent residents of the community, it would be surprising indeed had the enterprising editor not availed himself of their services. Chapin and Parrish were the very men needed to check the manuscript before Native Eloquence went into print; indeed they were probably the sources for the materials in the first place. At the very least, no publisher who valued his reputation as Bemis did would have printed such a book without consulting the neighbors who were first-hand witnesses to the speech.

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[16] Stern, p. 421.

[17] Of the many records placing the two men in Canandaigua during the first decade of the century, see especially U.S. National Archives: U.S. Census Population Schedules, Oneida and Ontario Counties, New York (Lansing: Michigan State Microfilm Collection, Microcopy no. M252, Roll no. 33).

There is also some evidence that Bemis and Chapin were more than just neighbors. When Bemis first passed through the town of Canandaigua, the Chapins were among the people who encouraged him to set up business there, and indeed the first building he rented belonged to one of the Chapins.[18] Later, some time before the 1810 census was compiled, Bemis bought a corner of Israel Chapin's garden and erected a two storey building for use as his home and book bindery.[19] Thus the two men were next door neighbors, and a short walk across the lot would bring Bemis fact to face with the man who could provide him with transcriptions of Red Jacket's speeches, transcriptions which he could later verify with the man responsible for their translation. Bemis' claims as to the authenticity of his materials thus seem validated.

One final issue remains to be examined. We have already seen why Native Eloquence should be regarded as the best available text. We have demonstrated that Bemis had a high reputation as a printer and an easy access to materials. We must now ascertain how accurate those materials really were.

Is the Translator of the Speech a Person Who Would Be Apt To Give an Accurate Rendition of the Seneca Original?

We have already referred to the fact that Red Jacket did not speak English; indeed, he refused to do so. Since translation from the Seneca was therefore essential, we should examine Jasper Parrish's credentials as a public interpreter.

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[18] Stern, p. 406.

[19] Draper, p. 134.

It might be necessary at this point to digress long enough to illustrate the kinds of problems Europeans had generally with the Iroquoian language family, because lack of understanding frequently went beyond language to the very concepts embodied in those languages. In this connection, McKenney's old story about the missionary and his interpreter is not out of place:

> 'What have you said to them?' inquired a missionary once, of the interpreter who had been expounding his sermon. 'I told them you have a message to them from the Great Spirit,' was the reply. 'I said no such thing,' cried the missionary. 'Tell them I have come to speak to them of the only living and true God, and of the life there is to be hereafter:- Well, what have you said?' 'That you will tell them about Manito, and the land of spirits.' 'Worse and worse,' exclaimed the embarrassed preacher; and such is doubtless the history of many sermons that have been delivered to the bewildered heathen.[20]

Let us look briefly, then, at the problem of translation as it was coped with by the French, the British, and the Americans.

The French Jesuit missionaries were the first European recorders of Iroquois speech materials, and they made a concerted effort to overcome both language and conceptual barriers. By as early as the second decade of the seventeenth century, Jesuit scholars were intensively studying the Indian languages,[21] and by 1635 they had established a college for the instruction of the Hurons, who were speakers of an Iroquoian language.[22] Commencing in this period, the intimate contact

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[20]Stone, p. 196

[21]Thomas Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1917), II, 231-2.

[22]Ibid., pp. 234-6.

between the Jesuits and the Hurons provided an entry by means of which the former could learn the languages of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The progress made by the Jesuits was at first quite slow. Perhaps no account is more touching than Paul le Jeune's Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1634, in which he described his efforts to learn the language of the Montagnais, an Algonquian group. Understandably applying what he knew from the study of French, Latin, and Greek, le Jeune found that

> when you know all the parts of speech of the languages of our Europe, and know how to combine them, you know the languages, but it is not so concerning the tongue of our Savages. Stock your memory with all the words that stand for each particular thing, and you are still only an ignoramus; with that you can indeed make yourself understood by the Savages, although not always, but you will not be able to understand them.[23]

One day when his hosts had a feast, le Jeune went on to report,

> the guests made me a sign that I should make them a speech in their language, as they wanted to laugh; for I pronounce the Savage as a German pronounces French.[24]

By hard application, however, le Jeune felt that he would some day master Montagnais speech. "I talk a jargon," he commented, "and, by dint of shouting, can make myself understood."[23]

Jean de Brebeuf, writing the next year from the land of the Hurons, reported greater progress in learning that Iroquoian language. He found that it was "very complete and very regular, contrary to the

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[23]Edna Kenton, ed., Black Gown and Redskins (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), p. 72.

[24]Ibid., p. 84.

[25]Ibid., p. 74.

opinion of many,"[26] and "that this language is common to some Twelve other Nations, all settled and numerous. The Hurons are friends of all these people, except the Sonontoerrhonons, Ontontaerrhonons, Quioenrhonons, Onoiochrhonons, and Agnierrhonons, all of whom we comprise under the name Hiroquois."[27] Though the Iroquoian languages were not as similar to one another as de Brebeuf thought, Huron did prove to be close enough to the Confederacy languages so that a knowledge of the one unlocked the mystery of the other. As Father Sebastien Rasles was to write later:

> The Huron language is the chief language of the Savages, and, when a person is master of that, he can in less than three months make himself understood by the five Iroquois tribes.[28]

The Jesuits had three other advantages in learning the Confederacy languages. First, those Iroquois who converted to Christianity were removed to French Canada. Second, Jesuit missionaries began to take up long residences within the Iroquois heartland. Last, many Hurons became bilingual as captives of Iroquois tribes. When Father Simon le Moyne journeyed to the principal village of the Onondaga nation, he was not only conversant with Onondaga speech but had converted himself into an accomplished orator in the Iroquois tradition.[29] The account of le Moyne,

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[26] Ibid., p. 111.

[27] Ibid. The tribes listed by de Brebeuf are the Huron names for the five tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy.

[28] Bernard G. Hoffman, "Iroquois Linguistics Classification From Historical Materials," Ethnohistory, VI (Spring, 1959), 165.

[29] This account, because it is the first example we have of a white man attempting to speak in the Indian manner, is very valuable. Le Moyne and the Onondaga chiefs were each fascinated by the other's

together with other documents in the Jesuit Relations, substantiates the claim that at least some French were fluent in the Iroquois languages by the 1650's. Because the Confederacy was an obstacle to Jesuit missionary activity and French political advancement in the New World, it is not surprising that fluency in Iroquois tongues was given high priority.

Early English and American accounts of Iroquois oratory do not seem to be as even in quality as those of the French. In an address delivered to the New York Historical Society in 1811, De Witt Clinton discussed both poor translation and the reasons for its existence:

> Considering the interpreters who have undertaken to give the meaning of Indian speeches, it is not a little surprising that some of them should approach so near to perfection. The major part of the interpreters were illiterate persons, sent among them to conciliate their favor, by making useful or ornamental implements; or they were prisoners who learnt the Indian language during their captivity. The Reverend Mr. Kirkland, a missionary among the Oneidas, and sometimes a public interpreter, was indeed a man of liberal education; but those who have seen him officiate at public treaties must recollect how incompetent he was to infuse the fire of Indian oratory into his expressions; how he labored for words, and how feeble and inelegant his language.[30]

Clinton then went on to point out that a good translation is sometimes difficult even for a person familiar with the language:

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histrionic and oratorical exploits, according to the account. Le Moyne will be cited again in the fifth chapter of this study, but for a full description see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1899), XLI, 109-121.

[30]De Witt Clinton, Address Delivered Before the New York Historical Society, December 6, 1811, in William W. Campbell, ed., The Life and Writings of De Witt Clinton (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), pp. 238-9.

> Oral is more difficult than written interpretation or translation. In the latter case, there is no pressure of time, and we have ample opportunity to weigh the most suitable words, to select the most elegant expressions, and to fathom the sense of the author; but in the former case, we are called upon to act immediately; no time for deliberation is allowed; and the first ideas that occur must be pressed into the service of the interpreter.[31]

In spite of the difficulties involved in the translation of oral materials, however, the fact remains that there were some highly qualified interpreters available who could accurately render the sense, if not all the verbal fancies, of Iroquois oratory. To give one example, the principal British agent to the Iroquois during the major part of the eighteenth century, Sir William Johnson, immersed himself in their culture to the extent of "going native." There were other examples of men, both white and Indian, who had this bilingual proficiency. Considering the importance of the Iroquois to the managers of Colonial affairs, it was necessary to the British, and later the Americans, to have accurate descriptions of Iroquois council proceedings.

Let us illustrate this by turning specifically to the qualifications of Jasper Parrish. In his history of the early settlers of Western New York, Turner writes that

> soon after the Massacre of Wyoming, when only eleven years old, he was taken captive by a party of Delawares, and carried by them from his home. During the seven years of his captivity, he was often transferred from one tribe to another among the Six Nations, and exposed to all the hardships and privations of Indian life . . . . He learned and became familiar with the language of five different nations, and he could speak them all with fluence and correctness . . . . He was appointed Indian Interpreter, and afterwards a subagent of Indian affairs, by the government of the United States. He discharged the duties of these offices in a manner entirely satisfactory to his own government and the Indians for more

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[31] Ibid., p. 239.

than thirty years.[32]

Parrish not only possessed the necessary knowledge about the Seneca language and way of life, but also had in Farmer's Brother and Red Jacket two men who were extremely anxious to hear their words translated well. According to Stone's report of a conversation between Parrish and General Erastus Root,

> the General inquired of him whether it was not the habit of the interpreters to embellish the speeches of the Indian orators. His reply was an exclamation of surprise at the suggestion. So far from it, Mr. Parish [sic.] averred that it was altogether impossible for him to impart to the translations anything like the force and beauty of the originals.[33]

But despite his disclaimer of the quality of his own translations,

> he also stated that on great occasions, the Indian orators, Red-Jacket and Farmer's Brother in particular, not only studied their speeches, and conned them well, but would send for him for rehearsals, in order that they might be assured that he understood them fully, and could translate them with accuracy. They were alike vain and ambitious of appearing well in the reports of their speeches.[34]

Since both Senecas knew English, their use of a translator thus seems only a special kind of motive appeal, a way of appearing more "Indian" in the presence of their auditors. For although they were not literate, and perhaps did not have a complete grasp of the white man's language, they did appear to know enough to make sure the translation was delivered to their satisfaction.

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[32] O. Turner, Pioneer History of the Holland Purchase of Western New York (Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas & Co., 1849), p. 292.

[33] Stone, p. 372.

[34] Ibid.

As early as 1794, Parrish had been used as Red Jacket's interpreter.[35] Later government records would show that his services were constantly in demand.[36] The available evidence shows that the Senecas were pleased with his services. Stone calls him their favorite interpreter,[37] and the Senecas transferred to him a valuable piece of land near the opening of the Niagara River in recognition of his services on their behalf.[38] The American State Papers record his translations of Red Jacket's speeches at the Buffalo Creek Reservation in 1802[39] and in Washington in 1810.[40] It would be hard to imagine a man better qualified for his position than this former captive who spent such a large portion of his life in the Indian's world.

To summarize, Stone writes that the government agent and public interpreter were present at the delivery of the Reply. Israel Chapin and Jasper Parrish were these men. Bemis, a respected editor, asserts that he received the speech from a gentleman who was present at the event and had his book checked by the public interpreter. Again, Chapin and Parrish must have been those men. Since Parrish appears to have been well qualified in his role as interpreter as Bemis in his role as

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[35]U.S. Congress, American State Papers, Class II: Indian Affairs, Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832), II, 479.

[36]Letter of T.J. Morgan, Commissioner Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, to the Honorable Charles Baker, Rochester, New York, June 9, 1891.

[37]Stone, ibid.

[38]Among other sources, see Native Eloquence.

[39]American State Papers, I, 664.

[40]Ibid., II, 804.

printer, we can be certain that the text of the Reply is an actual record of an actual event. There are few if any other Indian records which we can approach with this degree of certitude. Indeed, there may be few white records, from the same time period, to which we can get so close.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPORTANCE OF CONFERENCE

In the previous two chapters we have concentrated upon Red Jacket and his speech. Remarkable as that man and speech might be, however, we would miss an important element of Iroquois rhetoric were we not to go on to examine the conference which occurred between Cram's request and Red Jacket's reply. As we shall see, that conference must be considered as part and parcel of the total speech occasion.

The importance of conference will become clearer as this chapter progresses. It rests upon the distinction between the Western advocate and the Iroquois spokesman. In our own culture we maintain the position that the speaker should be the source of the message he delivers to his audience, and we go to considerable lengths to hide the identity of coaches, ghost writers, and others involved in message preparation. By contrast, the Iroquois speaker was not expected to be an original stylist, and the group was the source of the message he delivered. Only in matters of delivery could he be considered the creator of a message, and even here he followed a traditional pattern set by previous spokesmen. Thus Ketchum notes that Red Jacket's position among the Iroquois

> was rather that of a fluent speaker; the utterer of the opinions of others, or the mind of his nation. Other than that, his influence among his own people was not great, and the importance which he ultimately attained, grew out of the

> fact of his usefulness in communicating with the whites.[1]

Red Jacket, in other words, shared what we consider the duties of the speaker with the council that advised him. He was an "actor,"[2] improvising only slightly from a script prepared by others. As actors occasionally do, he sometimes exceeded the script and was corrected. At a meeting during June, 1818, for example,

> Red Jacket was appointed to reply to the United States' commissioner. The orator, with his accustomed acumen, acted well his part, with the exception, that he exceeded the limits of his commission. In the warmth of his eloquence . . . he took the liberty, which had not been delegated to him, to announce that they would have nothing to do with ministers of the gospel, schoolmasters, quakers, nor any white people, and that they would no more suffer them to reside on their lands. Some time after the delivery of Red Jacket's speech, which will not soon be forgotten, so much did it abound with genius and wit, the chiefs requested that what he had said about the gospels and schools might not be sent to their father, the President of the U.S., as he had uttered more than he was authorized by them to do.[3]

As long as he was felt able to perform his duties as spokesman, Red Jacket held his status among the Senecas. After he was removed, however, the other chiefs carefully pointed out to the United States government that he was no longer "our agent" and, instead of representing the tribe, spoke only as "a private man and a very bad one

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[1]William Ketchum, An Authentic and Comprehensive History of Buffalo (Buffalo: Rockwell, Baker & Hill), II, 31.

[2]Henry S. Manley, "Red Jacket's Last Campaign," New York History (August 1950). Unpaginated reprint in Buffalo Public Library, Buffalo, New York.

[3]Timothy Alden, An Account of Sundry Missions Performed Among the Senecas and Munsees (New York: J. Seymour, 1827), pp. 91-2.

too."[4]

The Iroquois council spokesman, then, derived both his materials and his position from the council group whom he represented. True in Red Jacket's time, this condition existed even more strongly before the Revolution, when Iroquois society had not yet begun to lose its coherence. For this reason, it becomes important that we look more closely at Iroquois conference procedures and the relationship between the spokesman and the council which gave him his instructions. In this chapter we shall examine those factors which gave rise to the Iroquois conference, the structure of the Iroquois council, and the restraints it imposed upon those individual communicators, like Red Jacket, who participated within its conventions.

The Factors Giving Rise to Iroquois Conference

The rarity of confederations among North American Indian tribes, and the contrasting permanence of the League of the Iroquois, make us suspect that there were special conditions which led to its establishment and to the conference procedure which was the mechanism by which the League, from the clan to the inter-tribal level, communicated with its members.

Traditional accounts made by the Iroquois themselves[5] state that the League was the creation of two individuals, Dekanawida and Hiawatha,

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[4]Letter of J. Jimeson to Jasper Parrish, February 27, 1828. Parrish papers (Hungtington MSS 180428) in Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California. From a copy made by William Fenton in the Collection of M.H. Deardorff, Warren, Pennsylvania.

[5]Two versions collected by Arthur C. Parker have been reprinted in Fenton, William N., ed., Parker on the Iroquois (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1968).

who conceived a need to bind the Iroquoian tribes together in a lasting peace. According to the accounts, the Iroquois had originally been one people who had split apart after arriving in what is now New York State. After years of fighting one another, they eagerly adopted the League structure offered by the two founders and reunited.

First white contact with Iroquoian peoples was established by Cartier when he encountered one of their fishing parties on the lower St. Lawrence in the summer of 1524.[6] This group soon dispersed, and whether or not any of these Laurentian Iroquois became part of the Iroquois League has not been established. By the beginning of the 1600's, however, Algonquin peoples had taken over the St. Lawrence river valley, and the five tribes that were to be the members of the League had already confederated and were established in central New York State. Whether they migrated from other regions or were a climax culture of groups who had always lived in the area,[7] the Iroquois spread their villages out along the lake plain. To the west they extended as far as the Genesee River; to the east they penetrated the Mohawk River valley. Morgan, relying on native traditions, dated the formation of their league to between 1400 and 1450 A.D.[8] Wallace dates the formation at

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[6]William N. Fenton, "Problems Arising from the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois," in Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C Washington, D.C.: 1940), 159.

[7]James A. Tuck, "The Iroquois Confederacy," Scientific American, CCXXIV (February, 1971), 32.

[8]Lewis H. Morgan, Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 26.

1451 because of references to a solar eclipse.[9] Other anthropologists, relying mainly on recent anthropological evidence, have decided that the League may have been founded as late as the 1590's, because the Iroquois settlements in the Mohawk River valley indicate a relatively recent occupation.[10]

The League members were not the only Iroquoian peoples in the general area, nor were they the only tribes to confederate. The Hurons, Eries, Neutrals, and the Tobacco Nation inhabited Western New York and Ontario. There were other Iroquoian peoples in Pennsylvania, and still further south were Iroquoian speaking tribes such as the Tuscarora and Cherokee. Some of these tribes formed temporary alliances, as did many of the Algonquin tribes in the area. The League of the Iroquois, however, was stronger and more permanent. Since the League was essentially a communication system designed to resolve conflict among the tribes, and since the conference format it used was employed on all levels of League society, it becomes imperative that we examine those factors which allowed it to succeed while other conferation attempts failed.

At least part of the League's success is due to certain environmental factors. At first glance the physical environment of central New York does not seem much different from other parts of the Northeast, because "the territory south of Lake Ontario is one vegetational as well as physiographic unit with the country just north of Lake Ontario,

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[9]Paul A.W. Wallace, "The Return of Hiawatha," New York History, XXIX (1948), 400.

[10]Fenton, p. 199.

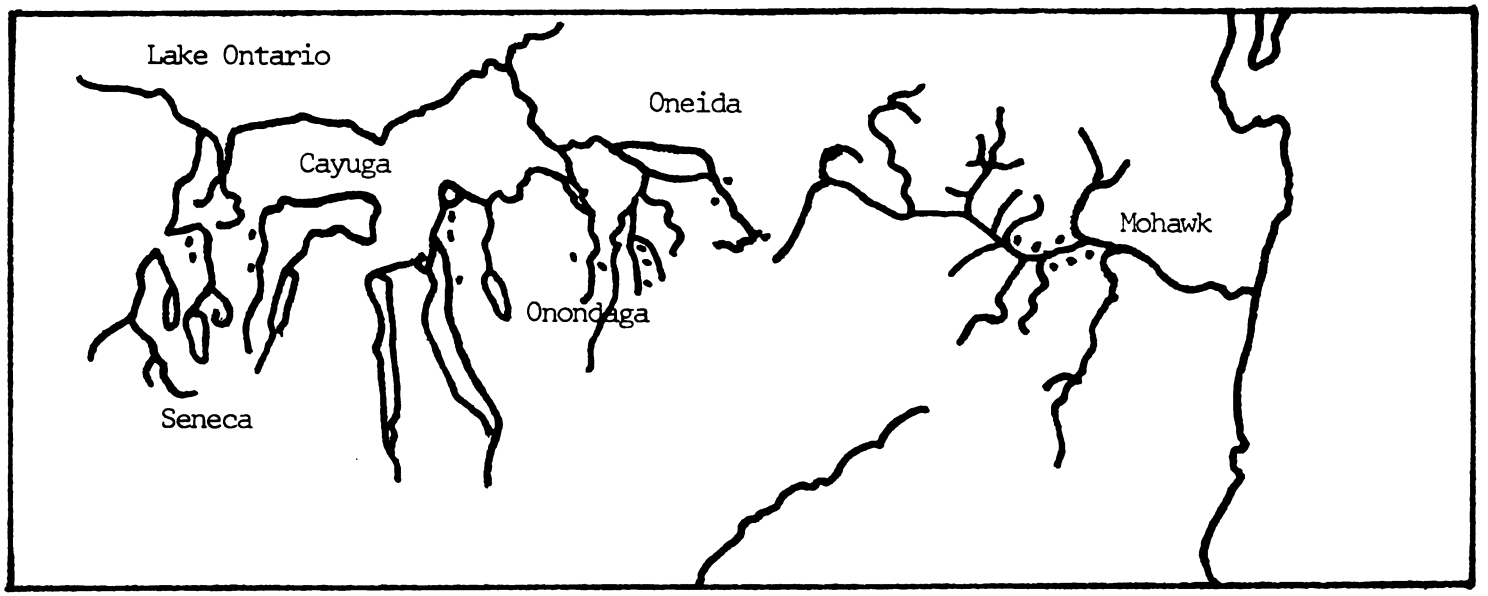

Figure 3. Location of Iroquois Towns: 1600-1687.
Based on Fenton, William N., "Problems Arising From the Historic Northeastern Position of the Iroquois," in Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America ("Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections," Vol. C [Washington, D.C., 1940]), 202.

Lake Erie, and southeast of Lake Huron,"[11] and Iroquoian peoples in these other areas felt no compulsion to confederate. In spite of these similarities, however, the central New York area possesses three geographical characteristics which would have made alliance desirable: (1) a set of waterways brought the five tribes into close proximity; (2) the tribes all inhabited a continuous plain; (3) the area was vulnerable to attack from all directions and had few easily defensible sites. Let us examine each of these geographical characteristics in more detail.

First, the natural climax birch-beech-maple forest which covered the area was made easier to penetrate by a series of lakes and rivers which extended across the whole of the League territory from Schoharie Creek on the East to the Genesee River of the West. These waterways, which later were to form the basis of the Erie Canal system, made it possible to traverse the whole area with a minimum of portaging. Any tribes along these bodies of water would inevitably have come into contact with one another, and it thus became only a matter of what form that contact would take. If such contiguous tribes had not established an alliance, they would have raided each other instead.

The continuity established by the waterways was heightened by the fact that the area was relatively flat, especially along the shores of Lake Ontario but even to some degree as far as the Hudson. This characteristic added to the ease of travel. One feature of the Ontario plain, the escarpment which marked the shoreline of the lake in early

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[11] Ibid.

post-Glacial times, made landmarks unnecessary in overland travel. Once again, the tribes were joined even closer by the characteristics of the land.

If the tribes did not confederate for these reasons, there was still a third geographical characteristic of the terrain which would have made that move desirable. The Iroquois were open to invasion from the North through either Lake Ontario or the Lake Champlain valley, home of their traditional enemies. Lake Ontario also connected to the West through the Niagara River and the Great Lakes chain. To the East ran the Hudson River. To the South, short portages would reach the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Allegheny. These rivers entered not only Pennsylvania, but opened up the whole Mississippi watershed. The New York Iroquois could either remain separate and open to attack, or else confederate and turn this geographical vulnerability into an advantage.

A reason for confederation that was just as compelling as these geographical factors was the low population of the five tribes. Given the style of Indian warfare, the only way to improve one's fighting force would be to increase the available manpower, yet with the possible exception of the Senecas the number of warriors possessed by the Iroquois tribes was relatively few. Since the Senecas were kept busy with hostile groups to the West, the remaining Iroquois tribes would have been picked off one by one had they not united. By joining each other instead, they added greatly to their strength.

Although it was sometimes necessary that the League be able to field this unified fighting force, there were many instances when the necessity for League unanimity in Council made it impossible for them

to do so. Yet in their council oratory the very existence of the League enabled Iroquois speakers to convince their enemies that the united might of the Confederation was behind them, and in these cases their plausible fictions were as powerful as the actual truth. When they did combine forces, the Iroquois demonstrated the amazing mobility Lake Ontario and the rivers gave them. By 1675 they had entered New England and were sending raiding parties into Ontario, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.[12] Later they would penetrate even further to the west and south.[13] By straddling the Great Lakes, they would come to monopolize the fur trade during the Colonial period. "It was this 'league of ragged villages,'" writes Fenton, "that for two centuries held off two great empires of Europe."[14]

Another way that the Iroquois could add to their fighting strength was through adoption. According to Snyderman, "it is generally conceded that adoption was the crucial social practice which particularly characterized Iroquois society and initiated many social changes."[15] He notes that adoption is deeply enough engrained among the Iroquois to be incorporated into many of their folk tales. He goes on to say that

> by the time the white man arrived on the scene, the policy of adoption of prisoners had already been extended from the individual to the group--and remnants of whole nations were being swallowed up in the Iroquois 'melting pot.' It is quite possible that a primary motive for adopting sizeable groups

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[12]Fenton, p. 26.

[13]Tuck, p. 32.

[14]Fenton, p. 200.

[15]George S. Snyderman, Behind the Tree of Peace (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1948), p. 13.

Estimates of the Total Number of Warriors Available
to the Iroquois Confederacy

Year	Estimator	Total number	Mohawk	Oneida	Onondaga	Cayuga	Seneca
1250?	Cusick	23,000	5000	3500	4000	4500	6000
1642-43	Vimont	---	300	---	---	---	---
1659-60	Lalemant	2,200	500	100	300	300	1000
1660-61	Lalemant	2,000	---	---	---	---	---
1664-65	La Mercier	---	---	---	---	300	1200
1664-65	?	1,940	140	---	300	300	1200
1669	Galinee	---	---	---	---	---	1500
1677	Col. Coursey	2,150	300	200	350	300	1000
1677	Wentworth Greenhalgh	2,150	300	200	350	300	1000
1683	La Hontan	7,500	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
1685	French memoir	2,100	250	150	300	200	1200
1689	Census?	2,500	270	180	500	300	1300
1694	Col. Fletcher	1,300	---	---	---	---	---
1697	Census	1,230	110	70	250	200	600
1699	Bellemont	1,110	---	---	---	---	---
1710	Rev. Barclay	2,000	50	---	---	---	1000
1721	P. Dudley	1,330	160	200	250	130	700
1736	Joncaire	1,100	80	100	200	120	350
1746-49	Weiser	1,750	100	100	200	500	700
1754	Shirley	16,000	---	---	---	---	---
1763	Wm. Johnson	1,950	160	250	200	200	1050

Based on Snyderman, George S. Behind the Tree of Peace. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Dissertation in Anthropology, 1948.

> was not only the 'replacement of a dead person' but also the strengthening of the nation . . . . It is also quite possible that another motive for adoption was one of defense. Unquestionably, some of the conquered people were settled in strategic spots to function as "buffers" against would-be attackers.[16]

Besides the sources cited by Snyderman, there were other writers who saw adoption as a means of strengthening the League. In the middle of the eighteenth century, John Bartram wrote that "they very politically strive to strengthen themselves not only by alliances with their neighbors, but the prisoners they take."[17]

This consideration of Iroquois population during the Colonial period leads not only to a further reason for confederation among the five tribes, but also to a need for the unification of the disparate elements within each tribe, because wholesale adoption made strangers of many individuals on the community level. Unity was necessary, therefore, on all levels of society, and it was the council that provided this unity. There is another factor we must examine before we analyze that conference procedure, however. This factor involves the interrelationships among the land, the population, and the type of agriculture practices by the Iroquois.

In spite of the wholesale adoption practices just mentioned, the Iroquois were always thinly scattered over their territory.

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[16] Ibid., p. 14.

[17] John Bartram, Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals, and Other Matters Worthy of Notice (London: J. Whiston and B. White, 1751), p. 78.

Their population density per 100 kilometers was 7.49 while the Southern Great Lakes area as a whole had a density of 9.61.[18] Ordinarily this low population density would not have required a highly developed agriculture, but we must remember that if the Iroquois had spread themselves evenly over the land they would have become even more highly vulnerable to attack. By historic times, then, the customary mode of Iroquois life involved the organization of the population into a dozen large villages, while "the greater part of their domain was devoid of habitation."[19] That these "enclaves" were established for defensive purposes becomes evident if we look closely at the Onondaga village attacked by Champlain in 1615, long before the Iroquois building practices could have been seriously affected by Western influences.

Covering about six acres in area, the village bordered a small pond and was surrounded on three sides by water. In his account Champlain wrote that their

> village was enclosed with strong quadruple palisades of large timber, thirty feet high, interlocked the one with the other, with an interval of not more than half a foot between them, with galleries in the form of parapets, defended with double pieces of timber, proof against our arquebuses, and on one side they had a pond with a never-failing supply of water, from which proceeded a number of gutters which they had laid along the intermediate space, throwing the water without, and rendering it effectual inside for the purpose of extinguishing the fire. Such was their mode of fortification and defense, which was much stronger than the villages

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[18] A.L. Kroeber, Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939), pp. 140, 142.

[19] Fenton, p. 199.

> of the Attigouatuans (Hurons) and others.[20]

These concentrated, defensive villages made it impossible for the Iroquois to subsist without an agriculture which could fully exploit the countryside within easy walking distance. They would further find it to their advantage to have an easily stored food supply. These advantages were received when the Iroquois, somehow, adopted maize culture from the Southeast. It was now possible for an Indian to raise with primitive methods between 15 to 20 bushels of corn on an acre of ground.[21]

There were two ways in which the introduction of maize influenced the manpower available to the Iroquois. According to Eggan,

> given maize agriculture, which they may have brought with them or received by diffusion, a greater concentration of population would result. Greater emphasis on agriculture in favorable environment might well lead to the further organization of women for agricultural co-operation.[22]

In other words, the agricultural practices of the Iroquois enabled them to concentrate their population in easily defensible positions and free their men for warfare. In spite of their weakness in numbers, they were able to rather efficiently deploy their human resources. Parker concludes that "the Iroquois by dividing the labors necessary to sustain life in the manner in which they did contributed much to the strength

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[20]Morgan, pp. 130-3.

[21]Kroeber, p. 146.

[22]Fred R. Eggan, "The Ethnological Cultures and their Archeological Backgrounds," in James B. Griffin, Archeology of Eastern United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), p. 43.

of their nation and its arms."[23]

However, maize agriculture is possible only under a given set of conditions. The length of the growing season, the acidity and friability of the soil, and the slope of the land are all factors which enter into its culture. Maize requires a 120 day growing season;[24] if the soil dries out slowly in the spring, the season must be even longer in order to avoid rotting of the seed. If the soil is heavy clay, even the traditional hill planting culture of the Indians becomes tedious, especially when we consider that the planting was done by women, who used nothing more than pointed sticks. Finally, if the land is too sloping, the soil will wear out very quickly.

The Iroquois were fortunate in occupying level lands which in some sections were sandy and in others were not particularly hard to work. There was lime in the soil, and this was augmented by the practice of burning off the hardwood forest to make suitable clearings. The growing season was more than sufficient, even if one allowed for the drying up of excess water in the spring.[25] Thus women could provide for the needs of the whole community, and "the fact that women took care both of subsistence activities and the home made it possible for the men to keep going off to war."[26] Further, the concentration of large

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[23]Arthur C. Parker, "Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants," in Fenton, Parker on the Iroquois, p. 22.

[24]Kroeber, p. 211.

[25]Martin G. Cline, Soils and Soil Associations of New York ("Cornell Extension Bulletins," no. 930 (Ithaca, 1955), 7 and im passim.

[26]Morris Freilich, "Cultural Persistence Among the Modern Iroquois," Anthropos, LIII (1958), 475.

numbers of people in fortified villages required effective means of conflict resolution when differences arose among them.

These factors of physical location, population, and agricultural practice, then, created the conditions for confederation, conditions largely absent from the other Northeastern tribes. Other factors, such as mutual suspicion, tribal size, and linguistic differences, worked against unity. It was the structure of Iroquois conference which took advantage of the drives toward unity and minimized the forces that would otherwise separate the tribes.

The Structure of the Iroquois Council

The council was an extremely important institution in Iroquois life. According to Morgan,

> it is a singular fact, resulting from the structure of Indian institutions, that nearly every transaction, whether social or political, originated or terminated in a council. This universal and favorite mode of doing business became interwoven with all the affairs of public and private life. In council, public transactions of every name and character were planned, scrutinized, and adopted. The succession of their rulers, their athletic games, dances, religious festivals, and their social intercourse, were all alike identified with councils.[27]

These councils took three major forms: civil, mourning, and religious.[28] Civil councils were used to handle the internal business and external diplomacy of the Iroquois. The mourning councils "raised up"

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[27]Lewis H. Morgan, League of the Ho-De-No Sau-Nee or Iroquois (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1901), I, 102.

[28]Ibid. The remainder of the paragraph is also drawn from the same source, which has been accepted by later historians and anthropologists with little if any qualification.

chiefs to replace those who had died or for some other reason had to be replaced. Religious councils, as the name indicates, involved group ceremonial and religious rites. In actual practice the functions of the councils overlapped, because civil councils were permeated with religious sanctions, mourning councils "raised up" those who would then serve on civil councils, and religious councils made use of many practices used in the other two, while serving as a training ground for those Iroquois who would later assume positions enabling them to transact important secular business.

Councils, of whatever sort, were modeled upon the family. Among themselves, the Iroquois referred to each other as "brother." This was an extension by analogy of the idea that each of the five confederated tribes was a member of the same extended family, that the League itself was a metaphorical longhouse, with the Mohawks and Senecas guarding its doors and the Onondagas its fire keepers. Pyrlaeus, a missionary among the Mohawks from 1740 to 1760, wrote in his notes that the name for the League meant "one house, one family."[29] In Seneca, Iroquois means literally "house builders."[30] According to Morgan,

> the several nations of the Iroquois, united constituted one Family, dwelling together in one Long House; and these ties of family relationship were carried throughout their civil and social system, from individuals to tribes, from tribes

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[29]John Heckewelder, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations ("Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. XII Philadelphia, 1876), 96.

[30]Wallace L. Chafe, Handbook of the Seneca Language ("New York State Museum and Science Service Bulletins," No. 388 Albany, 1963), 56.

> to nations, and from the nations to the League itself, and bound them together in one common, indissoluble brotherhood.[31]

Within the family all were brothers, although the Senecas, Onondagas, and Mohawks were considered "older" than the two smaller tribes, the Oneidas and Cayugas.[32] This slight distinction, however, apparently had little effect on the decision-making process. All tribes, as ritual brothers, had an equal voice in deciding issues, and the votes of all were essential. Morgan and others note that

> all the sachems of the League, in whom originally was vested the entire civil power, were required to be of 'one mind,' to give efficacy to their legislation. Unanimity was a fundamental law.[33]

Although this need to speak with "one mind" has been thought by some as a weakness in the League, it may be only ethnocentrism which looks upon unanimity as a cumbersome or inefficient mechanism in the communication process. Often, as in the Society of Friends, unanimity may have two valuable features: extremely subtle forms of persuasion are adopted during the deliberation, and a rare feeling of unity emerges after the members have reached a decision. The council of the League, therefore, was a means by which participants and observers could develop rhetorical skills, and, during at least the Colonial period, councils led to high group integration. Nor can unanimity as practiced among the Iroquois be considered particularly unusual. F.G. Bailey has

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[31]Morgan, League, pp. 56-7.

[32]Fenton, p. 199

[33]Morgan, ibid., p. 106.

generalized from his observations of councils in Britain and India that

> councils lean toward consensus when they have one of the following characteristics: (1) an administrative function, especially when they lack sanctions, or (2) an elite position in opposition to their public, or (3) concern with external relationships.[34]

Since, as we shall see, the Iroquois council possessed all three of these features in some degree or another, unanimity does not seem foreign to its nature.

The communication pattern leading to that consensus can be traced by examining Shimony's description of the workings of the civil council at Grand River Reserve.[35] Her material agrees with the earlier findings of Beauchamp,[36] Parker,[37] and Goldenweiser,[38] and can serve as a model from which we can generalize certain conclusions about earlier Iroquois council practice. As will be shown later, a further justification for the extension of Shimony's model to the historical Iroquois rests on the kinds of restraints it places upon its participants.

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[34]F. G. Bailey, "Decisions by Consensus in Councils and Committees," in Political Systems and the Distribution of Power ("Monographs of the Association of Social Anthropologists," No. 2 [1963]), 13.

[35]Annemarie Anrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve ("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 65 [New Haven, 1961]), 122.

[36]William N. Beauchamp, Civil, Religious and Mourning Councils and Ceremonies of the New York Indians ("New York State Museum Bulletins," No. 113 [Albany, 1906]), 423.

[37]Parker, Parker on the Iroquois, im passim.

[38]Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilization (New York: F.S. Crofts and Co., 1935), p. 76.

At Grand River the sachems of the various tribes take their places according to a certain prescribed pattern. The Mohawks and Senecas sit together facing the Oneidas and Cayugas. The Onondaga sachems sit between the two groups.

Females	Males	
	Mohawk-Seneca	
stove	stove	Onondaga
	Oneida-Cayuga	

According to Shimony, an issue before the Confederacy sachems involved the consensus of two subdivisions within the League.[39] These subdivisions whispered within their own group but spoke out loud to the other group. After the sachems of the Onondaga tribe had presented the issue to the council, it was discussed among themselves by the Seneca - Mohawk or "elder brother" division, who then announced their group decision to the Oneida - Cayuga, or "younger brothers." If this second group consented, their decision was announced to the "elder brothers." They in turn relayed the combined decision back to the Onondaga, who either delivered the consensus to the outsiders or chose a speaker to do this task for them. Where unanimity could not be reached, the consultative process either continued until the opposition was worn down or the issue ended in impasse.

This description of Iroquois conference permits us to chart the direction of consensus in the following form:

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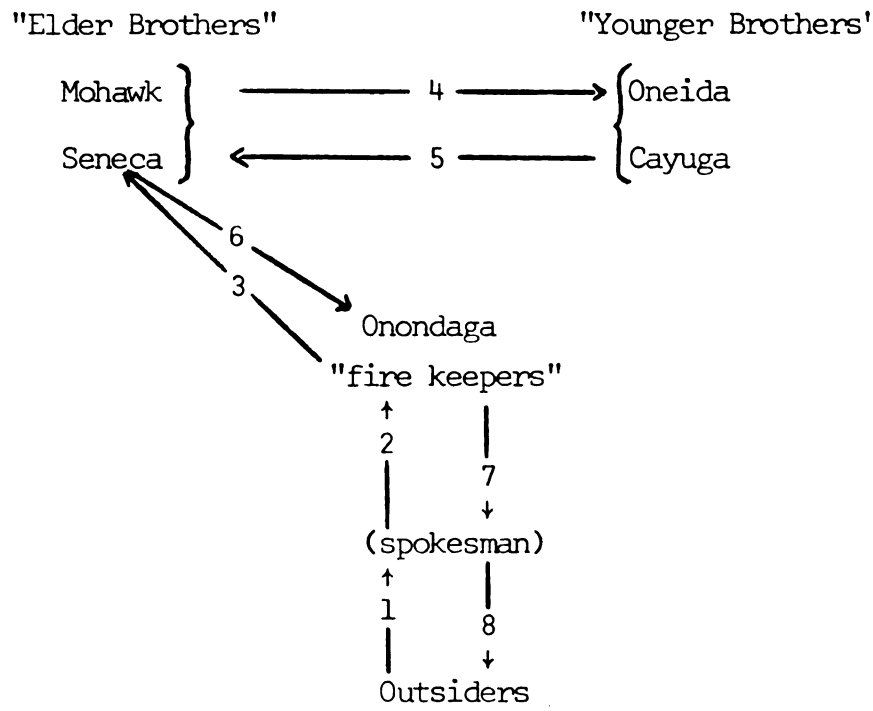
[39]Shimony, pp. 120-2.



The spokesman himself did not participate in the decision-making process unless he was also a Confederacy sachem. A member of either the Mohawk, Seneca, or Onondaga tribe, he served in his capacity for only one day, after which he had to be reappointed or else another speaker appointed in his place.[40] His function was to serve as a go-between to those outside the council.[41] The Onondagas, if they wished, could take over this function for themselves.

Shimony's model of the civil council applies to other kinds of councils on the tribal and inter-tribal level. At the Allegheny Reservation during the Midwinter Festival this year, the ceremonies were held in a brand-new Longhouse built by the Federal government

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[40] Parker, p. 33.

[41] Ibid.

because the old one had been flooded by the Kinzua dam. Yet the new building retained the same shape as the old, and its benches and stoves were the same. Because the ceremony only involved the Senecas, there were no divisions along tribal lines. The same pattern emerged, however, in the arrangement by clan membership. The women were separated from the men, as in Shimony's model, but participated actively in the ceremonials. When they had business of their own to bring before the group, one of the clan mothers went to the other side and whispered instructions. Speaking was done through designated spokesmen, never women or outsiders. In fact, the two societies who were most prominent during the ceremonies, the False Faces and Husk Faces, were composed of beings who could not talk at all. When the Husk Faces wished to address the group, they abducted one of the men, took him outside, and somehow conveyed to him what they wanted him to say when he returned.

Certain behavior observed at this council--ceremonial seemed to contradict the idea that only mature males holding a specified rank could participate in the meeting. Babies and young children were very much in evidence. Obviously, the Midwinter festival and other ceremonies like it must serve as a training ground in conference procedure. Also, the clan mothers, though they never spoke out loud, must have had a profound influence, for in virtually every part of the ceremony that improvised from the set, traditional formulas they could be seen consulting with the male speakers in advance. Many writers have remarked upon the fact that the Iroquois Confederacy is an economic matriarchate. As we have already pointed out, women have been in control of the food

supply since the introduction of maize culture. On marriage, the male enters the clan of the wife. The clan mother is the one who appoints the chiefs. The division of the Longhouse into male and female sides, then, does not imply an economic or political subordination of women, but rather a division of labor.

Remembering, therefore, that all ages and both sexes are present at Iroquois councils, and remembering also that these non-speaking groups may have an effect on council deliberations, let us return to Shimony's model. Doing so, we notice that it has a number of interesting features. First of all, the whispering which occurs within each group allows the Mohawk-Seneca or the Oneida-Cayuga "side" to work out disagreements without bringing them to the attention of the others. Unanimity, or at least the outward face of unanimity, can be preserved because disagreements cannot be brought out in the open or passed along the communication chain. Because there were fifty sachems in the traditional civil council, secret deliberations would have been difficult for purely structural reasons, but by dividing the council into two conference groups of seventeen (the number of Mohawk and Seneca sachems) and nineteen (the number of Oneida and Cayuga sachems) and placing the fourteen Onondaga chiefs as a separate, mediating body, conference size was brought down to manageable limits and the chances for more private deliberation and small group interaction increased. Whispering also enabled each side to maintain a certain amount of "family" solidarity with respect to those outside the group and allowed discussion to be handled on a freer basis.

Second, the division into Mohawk-Seneca and Oneida-Cayuga cut across a number of natural divisions among the five tribes. Hickerson[42] and Hoffman[43] have pointed out that there have been three historically separate speech communities within the Confederacy. Applying a test which required modern-day Iroquois to translate materials from other speech communities, Hickerson, Turner, and Hickerson proposed six languages within the Iroquoian family. Three of these were represented by the League members. According to the authors of the study,

> Senecas and Cayugas understood all or almost all of the Seneca and approximately one-half of the Onondaga; this was reciprocal with the Onondagas; Mohawks and Oneidas in general (but not all) claimed better understanding of Onondaga.[44]

In other words, modern Senecas and Cayugas, and modern Mohawks and Oneidas, are mutually intelligible. The Onondagas occupy an intermediate position--their language is intermediate between the other two speech communities. Putting this information into schematic form,

Seneca		Mohawk
	Onondaga	
Cayuga		Oneida

we see a pattern emerging which is remarkably similar to the structure of the Iroquois council,

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[42]Harold Hickerson, Glen D. Turner, and Nancy P. Hickerson, "Testing Procedures for Evaluating Transfer of Information Among Iroquois Dialects and Languages," International Journal of American Linguistics, XVIII (January, 1952).

[43]Bernard G. Hoffman, "Iroquois Linguistic Classification From Historical Materials," Ethnohistory, VI (Spring, 1959).

[44]Hickerson, pp. 6-7.

Mohawk		Oneida
	Onondaga	
Seneca		Cayuga

but with one important difference. In the council situation the two languages with the least in common (Mohawk-Oneida and Seneca-Cayuga) have been split and, though the tribes which speak the same language are face to face with one another, they are on opposite sides of the fire. Disputes or differences which might arise from linguistic separation are kept within each whispering "side." The Onondagas, whose language occupies a middle position between Seneca-Cayuga and Mohawk-Oneida, are the mediators between the two "sides." The structure of the League council, whether on purpose or not, serves to minimize linguistic differences.

These linguistic differences were always with the Confederacy, though not to the same extent as today. Generally speaking, the differences between two languages with a common ancestor are related to their degree of geographical separation and the number of years since the separation has taken place. Thus the languages with which we are concerned were closer together a hundred or two hundred years ago. Further, the fact that there were three languages in the Iroquois Confederacy does not mean that they are as far apart, say, as English is from Dutch or German. Chafe points out a common retention of basic vocabulary between Seneca and Oneida of 65 percent.[45] Since lexical change occurs the most readily, we may suppose the two languages to be

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[45]Wallace L. Chafe, "Seneca Morphology I: Introduction," International Journal of American Linguistics, XXVI (January, 1960), 11.

even more closely related in the areas of phonemics, morphology, and syntax; and if the relationships between Seneca and Oneida are this close, the inter-relationships between Seneca and Onondaga, or between Onondaga and Oneida, are closer still. In earlier times, of course, the languages would have been even nearer to each other. Hoffman, in his study of early historical records, found an 80 to 90 percent relationship between the words of each Confederacy language that were cognate with the words of the others.[46] With the existence of certain non-linguistic factors, such as elaborate gesture, the highly structured context of the council, and a common ideology, the language barriers in the league councils were not insurmountable. It would also not be outrageous to the existence of a number of bilingual or even polylingual individuals within the Confederacy. There are a number of such people today, and the existence of inter-marriage among the tribes, their physical continguity, and the high degree of cooperation they manifested would almost dictate that this was the condition in the past. The linguistic differences, where they did remain, were mitigated by council structure.

Other differences which might have caused dissension among the tribes were also at least partly alleviated by the council arrangement. The tribes who were the farthest separated, in terms of actual physical distance, were placed on the same "side," opposite the two interior tribes. Thus the Mohawks and Senecas found their natural allies, the Oneidas and Cayugas respectively, on the other side of the fire, and

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[46]Hoffman, p. 174.

the two real powers of the League were forced to resolve their differences in whispering sessions between themselves. At least to the outsider, the facade of League unity could be preserved even when real differences existed. Most important, divisions which might have arisen from the possession of different amounts of power were nullified. The two numerically weakest tribes (the Oneida and Cayuga) were given equal dicision-making status with the two most powerful tribes, because each side had to give its assent to proposals before they could become legislation. Of course, the two sides were not equal in ceremonial position, for the "elder brothers (Mohawk, Onondaga, Seneca) are addressed as 'my father's kinsmen' by the younger brothers (Oneida and Cayuga), who are 'sons' to the former."[47] In spite of this formal distinction, however, the tripartite council rendered all five tribes equal in terms of real power.

To summarize the effect of council structure on the five member tribes, we can see the unconscious application of Max Gluckman's notion that "conflicting loyalties and divisions of allegiance tend to inhibit the development of open quarreling."[48] Linguistic and territorial differences which might have divided the tribes were cut across in the council. While numerical strength was not thus divided, it was nullified by the requirement for unanimity and by the placing of tribes with equal

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[47]William N. Fenton, "The Iroquois Confederacy in the Twentieth Century: A Case Study of the Theory of Lewis H. Morgan in 'Ancient Society,'" Ethnology, IV (July, 1965), 258-9.

[48]Max Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 25.

strength in mutual relation and ritual obligation to each other. The two tribes with the fewest common concerns and the most differences--the Mohawk and the Seneca--were placed together in their own whispering conference and found themselves in structural opposition to their natural allies, their "brothers across the fire." The natural causes for division among the tribes, then, were not paralleled by a "natural" Council arrangement. Instead, the balancing of various differences argues strongly for the theory that the structure was deliberately designed. Thus, Wallace's view that the Iroquois Confederacy is an artificial institutionalization of prohibition against inter-tribal blood feud seems plausible, even though he has based his opinion on the myth surrounding the formation of the Confederacy, and not on Confederacy structure.[49] Certain other writers, who argue that the League is a set of formal restraints on Iroquois male competitiveness,[50] are also supported by the evidence which suggests a deliberate structuring of the League.

The Individual in the Iroquois Council

To see the full extent of the structural restraints on the individual, however, we must trace the obligations and responsibilities of the sachems from the League council back to their extended households.

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[49]Anthony F.C. Wallace, "The Dekanawideh Myth Analyzed as the Record of a Revitalization Movement," Ethnohistory, V (Spring, 1958) 124.

[50]Cf. Morris Frielich, p. 475, and Margaret Mead, ed., Co-operation and Competition Among Primitve Peoples (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), p. 477.

As we have already indicated, "the League was established upon the principles, and was designed to be but an elaboration, of the Family Relationships."[51] Linton felt this extension of family relationships to be essential to the League:

> The patterns of confederate governments are, almost without exception, projections of those of the tribal governments with which their members are familiar. While these patterns always have to be somewhat modified to meet the new conditions, there is a clearly recognizable continuity. Thus the Iroquois has a single basic pattern of formal control which extended from the household through clan, village, and tribe to the League itself. They themselves recognized this continuity, referring to the League as the Long House and emphasizing its similarity to a household.[52]

To phrase it another way, the individual sachem in Council was in ritual relation to the other sachems in the same way that he was in actual relation to the members of his extended family.

This extended family was the basic building block in Iroquois society. Descent was traced through the females and, around the head mother of each family, there were connected a large number of individuals representing many generations. Men, when they married, entered their wives' families. Property that was not owned by the whole tribe decended through the female line.[53]

Because the Iroquois were matrilineal, sachemships did not automatically pass down from father to son, but were instead the property

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[51]Morgan, League, p. 56.

[52]Ralph Linton, The Study of Man (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1936), p. 242.

[53]Goldenweiser, p. 74.

Clan and Tribal Affiliations of Iroquois Sachems

Clan \ Tribe	Mohawk	Seneca	Onondaga	Oneida	Cayuga	Total chiefs in clan
Turtle	3	2	4	3	2	14
Wolf	3	1	1	3		8
Bear	3	1	3	3	2	12
Snipe		3	1		2	6
Deer			3		1	4
Heron					2	2
Hawk		1				1
Unidentified			2		1	3
Total of clans in tribes	9	8	14	9	10	

Based on Morgan, Lewis H. League of the Ho-De-No Sau-Nee or Iroquois. 2 vols. New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1901.

of the wife's extended family, or lineage. A number of lineages were combined into exogamous clans, and these clans were in turn represented, usually, in a number of the five tribes. The son, therefore, was never a member of the same clan as his father. Yet at the same time he might be related by clan affiliation to other Iroquois from different tribes. Tracing one League sachem, we find him representing a lineage containing his mother, mother's brothers, sisters, and brothers. He is also "brother" to members of other lineages within his clan. He is linked to a second clan (across moiety lines in the tribes where they exist) by means of his father. Sitting in council, the sachem is joined by other members of his clan who come from other villages and other tribes.

These clans cut across the tripartite arrangement of the Council. Then this tripartite arrangement forms yet another set of relationships, for the sachem is "brother" to all the other sachems on his side of the fire and either "son" or "father's kin" to those on the other side.

Morgan's classification of the clan relationships, shown on the preceding page, allows us to see the full complexity of these interlocking kinship groupings. Only the sachems of the Hawk and Heron clans did not have clan brothers on the other side of the fire. The two most well-represented clans (the Bear and Turtle) had members in all five tribes. The Onondagas, as mediating tribe, had clan affiliations with all but three or four of the sachems from other tribes. The clan affiliations, therefore, cut across tribal lines, and sachems separated on one level were united on the other. To the extent that clan affiliations had psychological reality for the individual, his membership in that clan restricted his behavior, for he possessed a commonality of interest with certain other council participants and owed them a number of obligations.

The extended household of the League sachem was important in another way. The names of the original chiefs of the Confederacy had been preserved in the oral tradition, and when an old chief died another person from the same lineage assumed both his role and his name. Thus, not only were the sachems members of one "family" sitting around the fire of a symbolic Long House which was co-extensive with the League, but they were members of a "family" whose original members had never died. Upon the death of any sachem, the League Condolence Council raised him from the dead in the person of his successor.

At the Condolence Council, the tribes arranged themselves, not in the tripartite arrangement of conference, but in a dual or moiety arrangement, with the Onondagas joining the other elder brother tribes. The ceremony was an installation, not an election,[54] for the chief had already been chosen by his lineage and ratified by his clan and tribe. After the mourning for the old chief, the new sachem was given his name and his place in council. While we must be careful how far we draw implications from the Condolence Council, the induction ceremony must have had a profound effect on the newly installed sachem, for sanctions of both a religious and traditional nature were applied. These are succinctly noted by Goldenweiser:

> This was a great intertribal festival which was attended by all the chiefs of the League who were able to be present, and to which all the people were invited. Prayers were recited, the names of the chiefs enumerated; the duties of chieftainship were once more called to the minds of the people, and a new chief entered the League.[55]

Even today, these sanctions retain their power on the newly installed sachem.[56]

One feature of the sachem's office that demonstrated his new status and indicated his membership in a cooperative group was the fact that he was denied participation in war. Wright indicated that the women whose lineage they represented had to remove their "horns" of office if they went to war and re-install them after the termination of

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[54]Beauchamp, p. 344.

[55]Goldenweiser, p. 78.

[56]M.H. Deardorff. Private conversation with the author, September 6, 1969.

hostilities.[57] War chiefs had no part in Council business and no sachem could also be war chief;[58] somehow, there was felt to be inherent in the office of sachem an inability to pursue this most competitive of Iroquois activities. In this respect, the ordination ceremony marked the setting apart of a man from the others in his tribe.

This feature leads us to infer that it was the Condolence Ceremony, the very act of becoming a sachem, which led to a conscious adoption by the Council members of a different pattern of behavior.[59] To Wallace, the Condolence ritual was the "strategic innovation" which activated the myth of the Great Tree of Peace and brought the Leage together in cooperative activity.[60] The operation of the myth may very well have required "new" men, individuals who had been reborn in such a way that they were more peace-loving and cooperative. In those cases where an individual possessed too much personal influence or persuasive

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[57]Asher Wright, "Seneca Indians," reprinted by Fenton, William N., ed., "Documents; Seneca Indians by Asher Wright," Ethnohistory, IV (Summer, 1957), 311-2.

[58]Parker, pp. 41, 54.

[59]The sachem quite literally might have become a different person. For example, at a ceremony attended by the author, a Seneca was asked how one became a member of the Bear Society, which was dancing at the moment. One does not join, he was told; one just is a bear. The Bears were still human beings, of course, but they were either once bears or had their destiny controlled by the bears. They were no longer strictly themselves. Asked if this conformed to the old idea of being "called" to a particular vocation, the informant said this was close to the idea, but that actually there were no words in English which could explain the concept. The Bears, of course, are not elected, but join when they perceive this identification themselves.

[60]Wallace, p. 124.

power, as in the cases of Joseph Brant and Red Jacket,[61] he was denied the office of sachem (though not necessarily that of lesser chief) because this delicate cooperative balance would have been disturbed.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how the five Iroquois tribes banded together out of common needs and made use of religious and traditional sanctions to ensure cooperation in the conduct of League affairs. In place of natural divisions arising out of language, area of residence, and numberical strength, the League substituted a new division which cut across the natural ones and which was modeled on the pattern of the extended family. The new sachem, taking on the name of one of the founders of the League, had restraints placed upon his individual behavior because of the obligations he owed to his lineage, his clan, his village and tribe, the brothers on his side of the fire, and the League as a whole. Perhaps like certain religious figures of the East, he also felt reborn as a new person when he took the name of a founder. At any rate, every individual in council had his communicative behavior shaped by these restraints. The extended family on the one hand and the League structure on the other represented the two extremes of a continuum along which all the other councils so prevalent in Iroquois life could be placed.

This model for communicative behavior, and the set of restraints it embodied, was intricate, and it was also fragile. After the Revolution the introduction of Christianity and the loss of tradition

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[61] Morgan, p. 97.

seriously weakened League sanctions. The reservation system and the elimination of war as an outlet for competitive activity forced basic realignments in the conduct of affairs. Differing rates of acculturation also introduced new problems. If Nicholas is correct in seeing current factions as being entirely different from the old divisions of language, territory, and military power,[62] then the delicate balance achieved by the old League in nullifying these distinctions is no longer valid when applied to present Iroquois allignments. If Fenton is correct in viewing the old League as peace-keeping machinery rather than civil administration,[63] the League loses much of its current relevance, even though it continues to persist. Applying material drawn from Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, Nicholas reasons that factions in a society like the Iroquois are controlled when there is "an equilibrium between a number of segments, spatially juxtaposed and structurally equivalent, which are defined in local and lineage, and not in administrative terms."[64] These conditions were met in early post-Contact Iroquois society, but the coming of the white man brought new problems and made competition, not cooperation, the rule in Iroquois politics after the Revolution. In turn, this process could only have occurred with the erosion of the interlocking obligations which bound the sachems of the League and the lineages they represented. And once these restraints

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[62]Ralph W. Nicholas, Iroquois Factions, A Case of Segmentary Opposition, preliminary version of Master of Arts research paper (University of Chicago, November 24, 1958), passim.

[63]Fenton, pp. 258-63.

[64]Nicholas, p. 3.

were weakened, the factionalism more natural to the Iroquois and American Indians generally could replace the ritually imposed cooperative behavior of the League Council.[65]

In describing the effect of the Council on Iroquois affairs during the Colonial period, Wallce concludes that

> a true steady state of Iroquoian culture is not, of course, achieved, if for not (sic) other reason than that the arrival of Europeans created new stresses and distortions.[66]

But, he goes on to say, the elimination of the competition that would have otherwise existed within and among the five tribes gave the Iroquois

> a sufficient degree of unity (in spite of the League's essentially non-military character) to promote the efficiency of external war, to permit the peaceful joint use of large hunting territories . . ., to allow an extremely effective policy of admitting 'dependent' tribes to settle on their territory, and to facilitate the development of a fairly well-coordinated policy of playing off contending European powers against each other for nearly a century.[67]

At the time of the Revolution, the League Council was losing this effectiveness, and it was no longer a sufficiently powerful restraint on individual behavior. Designed to keep the peace within the Confederacy, it was not equipped to handle the situation when its members fought on both sides of the Revoltuion and Indians as individuals were adopting the ways of white men. As Linton reminds us, "under conditions of rapid cultural change, the patterns which limit individual achievement always

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[65]For a general description of Indian factionalism, see Linton, p. 229.

[66]Wallace, p. 124.

[67]Ibid.

tend to break down."[68] By the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was the individual faction leader, and not the Council as a whole, who was directing the course of Iroquois policy. Red Jacket could rise to prominence because traditional structures had weakened, but he still had to operate within their conventions.

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[68]Linton, p. 202.

CHAPTER V

THE ORATORICAL TRADITION

The orator-spokesmen used by the councils of the Iroquois to express their views had abundant opportunity to practice their craft, and to have their craft recorded by whites, in the two hundred year period before Red Jacket's reply to Reverend Cram. They considered themselves to be "the mouths of the Iroquois."[1] They claimed to speak for a united nation.[2] They engaged in a clever balancing act between the competing European powers on this continent. As we shall see in this chapter, their speeches were important instruments in the articulation of Iroquois policy. Above all, they succeeded in flim-flamming not only their contemporaries but generations of future historians as well.

According to Hunt, who appears to be outraged over previous theories of Iroquois "supremacy," no previous explanation of the Iroquois phenomenon is really satisfactory. The first of these "is the theory that they were possessed of an 'insensate fury' and 'homicidal frency.'"[3] The second is "that a superior political organization, the League of the Iroquois, produced by a superior Iroquois intellect,

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[1]George T. Hunt, The Wars of the Iroquois (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1940), p. 8.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., p. 6.

rendered the Five Nations invincible."[4] The third is "that a great supply of firearms . . . gave rein to a natural passion for conquest and butchery, which they indulged at random but with unimaginable enthusiasm."[5]

Hunt finds none of these answers "in the least convincing."[6] In his examination of the first he points out that neighboring and related tribes did not possess any "innate fury," so ethnic and racial explanations do not seem to hold; moreover, the blood of the Iroquois was anything but pure.[7] As to the second theory, Hunt believes the Confederacy was no more effective as a political organization than a number of neighboring Indian alliances. To prove this, he cites instances when the League failed to unite in matters of defense and aggressive war. "Despite the bluster of Mohawk orators," he writes, "there is not a single recorded instance of unanimous or anywhere near unanimous action by the League prior to 1653, and none save in peace treaties thereafter."[8] As to the third theory, Hunt offers evidence to prove that the Iroquois were no better armed than their neighbors. Even had they possessed the weapons, they would have been unable to use them

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 7.

[6] Ibid., p. 6.

[7] Ibid., p. 7.

[8] Ibid., pp. 7-8. The date of 1653 is meaningless, of course, because there are virtually no "recorded" instances of Iroquois activity before that date. Hunt does not seem to realize that the League was only peace-keeping machinery in the first place, Confederacy sachems being denied the right to wage war. In this section Hunt faults Lewis Henry Morgan because he is "not a historian." In this specific instance Hunt proves he is not an anthropologist.

effectively because of their limited numbers. Surveying the same literature twenty years after Hunt did, the historian Allen Trelease reaches the same conclusion. He believes that "the tremendous military power of the Iroquois and the widespread influence which resulted from it were out of all proportion to the league's population."[9] Because these theories do not explain the influence of the Iroquois in Colonial times, Hunt and Trelease offer their own.

Their thesis is this. The Iroquois, through an accident of geography, lay across the major trade routes to the interior and between the colonizing major powers. Because of their favorable position, the Iroquois could stop other tribes from participating in the fur trade and control it for themselves. According to Hunt,

> it follows that unless the Iroquois were themselves peculiar, it must have some connection with geography and climate; and when it is recalled that the rise of the Iroquois to power coincided with the spread of the white trade throughout their region and the regions beyond them, a second inference follows, namely that some peculiarity of the Iroquois position and the spread of the white trade may well have combined to produce a motivation sufficiently powerful to drive the Iroquois through a half century of inter-tribal conflict with their brother tribesmen, the closely related peoples that almost surrounded them. The inference gains in strength when it is recalled that throughout the wars there runs ceaselessly the theme of trade and commercial arrangement, and that even the merciless Indian oratory, punctuated by gifts made in frank expectation of counter-gifts, is wound tightly about a core of commercial negotiation--of proposal and counter-proposal.[10]

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[9]Allen W. Trelease, Indian Affairs in Colonial New York (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 16.

[10]Hunt, pp. 10-11.

This theory is attractive, and it is well documented by Hunt and Trelease, but to this writer at least it is subject to the same kind of error as the previous explanations. The geographical position of the Iroquois could as easily have led to extinction as to conquest. We have remarked in the last chapter that lakes and river systems are open to two-way traffic--one can be invaded as well as invade. Had Hunt waited a few months before publishing his book he would have discovered, in the cases of Poland and Belgium, that mere geographical placement between great powers does not guarantee survival or influence. The Stockbridge Indians, the Mohegans, and the Hurons also lay between the European powers and the sources of fur, yet they were annihilated. No other Eastern tribes made geographical accident or the economics of the fur trade work to their advantage. No other Eastern tribes, with the exception of scattered bands of Seminoles who took refuge in the inaccessible swamps of Florida, managed to resist extermination, absorption, or forced deportation to the West. Economics and geography, in other words, are still only partial answers to the Iroquois question.

For the moment, then, let us look beyond the various theories to the men who made them. What is it that led Parkman and other historians to believe that the Iroquois were possessed by an innate blood lust? Why did Morgan and others believe that they were governed by a superior political organization? What factors caused chroniclers to grossly overestimate their firepower and fighting force? We have seen that the topoi developed in the Iroquois council involved much more than "commercial negotiation." Then why does Hunt believe that economics is their major motivation? The answer lies in something Hunt

says in another connection shortly after he first proposes his economic thesis. "What is true is never so important historically," he says, "as what people think is true."[11] If we ponder this statement to any extent at all, we find a common thread running through our questions and an answer to them. It is here that we find the true importance of Iroquois orator-spokesmen. It was they who told others that only with the greatest difficulty were warriors being kept off the warpath, they who spoke of the combined force of a united League, they who gave the numbers of guns and fighting men. It was they who, with "merciless . . . oratory" made "proposal and counter-proposal" to the Eastern traders. It was their duty to interpret the League to outsiders. If they presented the Five Nations as vindictive towards its enemies, united and strong, canny in trading relations, we can hardly expect them to have done otherwise. Regardless of what the facts were, outsiders would know little about their forest "empire" beyond what the orator-spokesmen told them. It is a measure of their success that their contemporaries, and future historians, believed them.

Since we are mounting here still another theory to explain the effectiveness of the Iroquois, let us consider a few examples. First, explore the "do one thing but tell something else to the anthropologist" syndrome. The Code of Handsome Lake is not written down, some writers maintain, because to do so would be un-Indian. Yet the Code has been passed down with remarkable consistency through the generations. Handsome Lake preachers must recite the whole Code from memory, to us a prodigious feat. You are led to believe that they can do this because

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[11] Ibid.

they have received a special gift from the Great Spirit. Yet before his death Merle Deardorff told this writer that he once found a well-worn copy of New York State Museum Bulletin No. 163 by the bedside of a Handsome Lake preacher. Or consider Red Jacket himself, who tells the Reverend Cram, "We never quarrel about religion." Or the old confederacy sachem who describes to Lewis Henry Morgan a great League dedicated to the furtherance of peace. Or the orators who tell those French writers who are Parkman's principal sources about the large numbers of ferocious warriors back home who must be placated to end a war.[12] Surely those of us who have lived through the U-2 incident, the Bay of Pigs, and the Gulf of Tonkin must be familiar with the process taking place. It is called "the art of finding in every given case the available means of persuasion." It is the ability to make the probable appear to be the truth itself. It is rhetoric.

This is not to say that the explanations offered by Hunt and the others are incorrect. Indeed, we may never know the truth about these explanations if fabrications prove skillful enough to hide the true state of affairs. Yet to them we can add a fifth theory, involving a group of skillful speakers whose deliberate policy was the diplomatic lie. The rest of this chapter will seek to demonstrate that such speakers existed, orators so capable that they could compete on at least equal terms with those on the other side of the council fire.

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[12]Someone must explain to this writer why there was always one Frenchman left to return to his companions and describe the unspeakable atrocities visited on the rest of his party by the Iroquois. Once again, was this the result of a deliberate policy?

Before we do so, however, we must dispose of an assumption contained in a previous dissertation on Iroquois oratory.

Wynn Reynolds maintains in his Persuasive Speaking of the Iroquois Indians at Treaty Councils: 1678-1776 that Confederacy spokesmen were frequently very good, but he argues that this result came about by accident, not through any purposeful behavior on their part:

> A critical analysis of the official transcripts discloses that several of the orators gained a reputation for eloquence, vocal quality, and the use of appropriate gestures. With but one exception, however, none of the speakers expressed an awareness of the need to employ rhetorical techniques, although it is apparent from the widespread and continuous utilization of acceptable techniques, and from the deliberate misuse of them, that individual speakers, observing what techniques had been effective in previous speaking situations, had constructed certain rhetorical formulas on the basis of trial and error, and on the basis of their knowledge of human nature.[13]

Notice the extensive use of qualifiers here. Reynolds believes that Iroquois speakers constructed "certain rhetorical formulas"; he sees "widespread and continuous utilization of acceptable techniques"; but he will not draw the conclusion which these facts point to. "What is not apparent," he continues, "is the existence of a comprehensive body of rhetorical knowledge common to all speakers."[14]

This conclusion puts us in a quandary. We cannot claim that Iroquois speakers over a two hundred year period could persuade Europeans to believe what they wanted them to believe, we cannot claim that

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[13]Wynn Robert Reynolds, Persuasive Speaking of the Iroquois Indians at Treaty Councils: 1678-1776; a Study of Techniques as Evidenced in the Official Transcripts of the Interpreters' Translations, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Columbia University, 1957), abstract.

[14]Ibid.

orator-spokesmen continuously served as effective instruments of Iroquois policy, if the skill they displayed was accidental. True, a single communicator may arise who, without training of any kind, may be able to display effective methods of persuasion, but to expect a large number of such people, from a limited population base, would be to stretch credulity too far. Either a great many Iroquois knew exactly what they were doing when they rose to speak for their councils, or they did not. Either we are wrong, or Reynolds is. It thus is necessary to go back and examine the speech events themselves in order to prove whether or not our theory can be maintained.

In the next pages of this Chapter IV such speech events will be examined. They have been selected because (1) they are witnessed by competent white observers, (2) they cover the entire time span between first white Contact and the Revolution, (3) they are relatively detailed, and (4) they are addressed to a variety of audiences.[15] The first speech was delivered by Kiotsaeton, a Mohawk speaker, in the presence of Vimont, the Jesuit Superior General of Canada, on July 12, 1645. The second speech was delivered by a combined Iroquois delegation on September 3, 1700, and was witnessed by two French linguists who had extensive experience with the Five Nations. The third speech is extracted from the journals of Brother Canmerhoff and David Zeisberger,

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[15]Ideally, we should examine all Iroquois speech events in this period, however fragmentary. To do so, however, would take us away from the major thrust of this paper. And as there are a large number of such speeches, we would be overwhelmed by just the problem of determining textual authenticity. This writer believes the four speeches chosen constitute a fairly representative sample, at least enough of one to test our theory.

two Moravian missionaries who toured the Central New York area in the company of some Indian converts during 1750. The last speech was delivered to Sir William Johnson, the famous English agent to the Iroquois, on March 6, 1768. Our procedure will be to present a detailed description of each speech event and then describe the rhetorical techniques employed. At the end of the chapter, we shall return to our basic contention in this chapter, and see if in fact there was an Iroquois rhetorical tradition of which Red Jacket was the heir.

I. July 12, 1645--Kiotsaeton's Speech to Montagny and Vimont

Our first example of Iroquois oratory was delivered by Kiotsaeton to the Chevalier de Montagny, Viceroy of New France, at Three Rivers, Quebec. Reported by Father Barthelemy Vimont in the Jesuit Relation of 1644-1645,[16] it is the earliest extensive description of Confederacy speaking practice. Attending the council with Montagny and Vimont was Father Isaac Jogues, former missionary to the Mohawks.[17] The account follows:[18]

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[16]Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Vol. XXVII (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers, 1898), pp. 247-273.

[17]Montagny may have understood the Mohawk language. If he did not, it was in his interests to have a skilled interpreter, since the occasion involved matters that could have plunged the whole southern border of New France into war. Vimont and Jogues knew Mohawk, and many Hurons, allies of France, were also present at the proceedings and could follow Kiotsaeton's speech without much difficulty. Vimont and Jogues also had extensive education in rhetorical principles. See Robert Lang, "The Teaching of Rhetoric in French Jesuit Colleges," Speech Monographs, XIX (November, 1952), passim.

[18]To conserve space we are using the excellent digest of Vimont's original account which appears in Francois De Creux, The History of Canada or New France, II (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1951), 408-

The envoy set out in the end of May and returned in the beginning of July accompanied by two other ambassadors from the Annierronons (Mohawks), who come to discuss peace with Montagny. They were accompanied by Guillaume Couture, who, as we have narrated already, having been captured along with Isaac Jo ues, had suffered cruelly at their hands. When he appeared all the French rushed to embrace him and to congratulate him on his return, receiving him as if he had risen from the dead. They learned from him that peace envoys had been sent, and, while the news was being forwarded to Montagny at Quebec, Champfleur, the commandant of the fort at Three Rivers, treated the envoys with every attention and permitted the two prisoners, who had not yet been granted their liberty, to go where they liked with them. An amusing incident took place when Champfleur, speaking through an interpreter, kept telling the envoys to make themselves at home, that the lodge was theirs. In reply, Kiotsaeton, the chief envoy, told the interpreter to say to Champfleur that he was a good liar, at any rate his words were far from the truth; then, leaving his audience in suspense for a few moments, Kiotsaeton remarked: 'He tells me that this is like being in my own country; there is no honour or elegance there. He says this is just like my own lodge; far from it; when I am at home I have only frugal fare, but here there is one unending feast.'

Meantime Montagny arrived from Quebec, and invited the chiefs to a conference on July 12. The heat was intense and the Governor caused a canopy composed of large sails to be set up, which excluded the burning rays of the sun. The enclosure within the fort had been selected for the occasion, which was to be marked by some ceremony. Montagny, accompanied by Barthelemy Vimont, the Superior of the Jesuits in Canada, was the first to take his seat; the garrison ranged themselves around him; the envoys disposed themselves at his feet, where some bark had been spread upon which they squatted in the fashion of their tribe. Opposite the envoys were placed the Algonquins, the Montagnais, and the Attikamegues; while the remaining sides of the square were occupied by mingled groups of Hurons and French. In the centre of the unoccupied space two poles had been set up upon which the Annierronons suspended the presents that they had brought, consisting of seventeen wampum belts. As soon as there was silence Kiotsaeton, who was a tall man, stood up, raised his eyes to the sun, and then surveyed the spectators. Taking one

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413. This book was an attempt to write an official Jesuit history of New France during the lifetimes of the men who participated in the original events. The digest may be compared by the reader with the original version in Thwaites, previously cited.

of the wampum belts in his hands he concluded with these words: 'Listen, Onontio; I speak for all my tribe; when you hear me, you hear all the Annierronons. In my country we have many war-songs; we sing them no more; we sing only songs of happiness.' At this point Kiotsaeton began to sing, while the other Annierronons replied, and the leader wandered about over the open space as if it had been a stage; he would look up at the sky, gaze at the sun, press his arms and his wrists with his fingers as if to expel from them all their natural vigour. When the song was over he addressed Montagny again; taking one of the presents in his hands he declared that this present was because Montagny, the previous autumn, had rescued his countryman Tokhrahenehiaron from the teeth of the Algonquins after they had doomed him to the stake; this was the name of the Iroquois prisoner who had been sent back to his own country by the Governor, as we have related. Kiotsaeton at the same time made a protest, which was quite reasonable; the prisoner had been sent back alone. 'What would have happened if his canoe had been upset by the wind and he had been drowned?' he said. 'Would you not have had to wait a long time for his return? You would have blamed us for what was your fault.' Placing this belt in the place indicated, and comparing his way with the French way, he bound a second belt to the arm of Guillaume Couture with the words: 'This belt gives you back this prisoner. In our country I would not say to him, "Go, my nephew, take your canoe and return to Quebec." If I had done that my mind would have had no rest; I should have been tormented by the thought, 'Has he perished?' Had I done so I should have lacked sense; the man you sent back had many difficulties on the trail.' And at this point he made a pantomime of these difficulties, turning with great agility in all directions, quite like an actor; he advanced, he receded, he halted, he worked his arms as if he were paddling, he became exhausted, he recovered. 'This was not my way,' he added, 'I said to my friend here, "Let us go, my nephew, I have made up my mind even at the risk of my life to restore you to your people."'

The third belt was to show that the Annierronons had added to the presents which the French had given to Tokhrahen-ehiaron to be distributed among the other Iroquois tribes; this had now been done and the hatchet was buried. The fourth belt indicated that the Annierronons had abandoned all thought of avenging those of their countrymen slain by the Algonquins the previous spring. 'On may way here,' said Kiotsaeton, 'I passed the spot where the fight took place and where the two prisoners were captured. I went by as fast as I could, so as not to see the blood of my countrymen, whose bodies are still unburied, and averted my eyes to prevent my anger overcoming me; nay I listened to the words of my ancestors who had been slain by the Algonquins; for when they saw me too anxious for revenge, they called to me with gentle voices, full of love.

"Be good, my son, be good," they said; "give not way to madness. It is vain to try to bring us back; think of the living; your thoughts must be of them; save their throats from the knife and their bodies from the flames; life and breath are better than death." I agreed with this, and I have come down to you to bring freedom to those who are still in your hands.' The fifth belt was to open the river, and to banish enemy canoes; the sixth was to smooth the rapids; which the traveller encounters on his way to the Iroquois country; the seventh was to calm Lake St. Louis, which has to be crossed; the eighth was to smooth all the trail so that the smoke from the lodges of the Annierronons could be seen in Quebec; the ninth indicated that as often as the French and their allies the Algonquins and the Montagnais should come to the Annierronons, a fire would be ready for them, for which they would not have to collect wood, for it would not go out night or day; the tenth belt, which was much more beautiful and costly than the rest, bound the French the Algonquins and the Annierronons together. In order to represent this Kiotsaeton grasped one of the French by one arm and an Algonquin by the other and drew them closely to him to show that he would never let them go. The eleventh belt was an invitation to feast with him. 'We have,' he said, 'much fish and game; our woods are full of deer and moose and beaver; say good-bye to these foul swine that run about your streets; they live on filth; you will dine on choicer food in our country; the trail is open; fear no danger.' The twelfth belt he lifted up to scatter the clouds, that they might be able to see in all directions, and that the sun and the light of truth might illumine the world, that is to remove the mutual suspicion of the tribes; the thirteenth told the Hurons to remember their resolution to make peace with the Annierronons. 'Five days ago (that is five years ago, according to the writer of the Relation) you had a bag full of wampum and other presents to make peace; why, alas, did you change your minds? There will be no bag, no presents; they will be crushed and scattered, and you will be in despair.' The fourteenth urged the Hurons to speak quickly, not to be kept back by womanly shame, but to go to the Annierronons; with the fifteenth the speaker did his best to try to persuade his hearers that the Annierronons had always intended to restore Isaac Joges and Joseph Bressani to the French; they had been prevented from doing so because Jogues had been taken out of their hands, and because they had surrendered Bressani of their own accord to the Dutch in compliance with his earnest wish; the speaker said that he was sorry that they had done so, not because they grudged him his freedom, but because he did not know what had become of him, and perhaps while he was yet speaking Bressani had been drowned or had perished in some other way; the Annierronons at least

had never intended to kill him. Fortunately Jogues was present; after spending a few months in France, and giving his account in person to his superiors and bearing about with him wherever he went in his mutilated fingers, the traces of his suffering--I saw those fingers myself at Angouleme--he had returned to New France during the month of May in the preceding year in company with Le Jeune, who during the captivity of Jogues had crossed to France on business. On the arrival of the envoys of the Annierronons Jogues had been summoned from Montreal to Three Rivers, and at this remark of Kiotsaeton he smiled. 'Yes,' he remarked, 'the fire was all ready for me; had not the Lord God been with me, they would have taken my life many times; but let the envoy say what he likes.' The sixteenth belt was to provide a good reception for the Annierronons whenever they visited the French, and to protect them from the tomahawks of the Algonquins. 'Some years ago,' said the envoy, 'we came down to surrender our prisoners to you; we came on a friendly errand and we thought that you would treat us as friends; we were mistaken; as we approached bullets and even cannon-balls whistled about our ears; this we did not expect; we were frightened and we withdrew; we have plenty of courage, and of course we decided to take the warpath in the spring; we did so; we came armed; we captured your Jogues and some of the Hurons.' The seventeenth belt was specially connected with Honatteniata. This young man, who was one of the two prisoners whom Montagny had detained when he sent the emissary to the Iroquois, was the son of the old woman with whom Jogues had spent most of those miserable months among the Annierronons. Jogues had been given to her to take the place of her other son whom she had lost, and when the old woman had learned that her younger son was alive, she sent by Kiotsaeton the very belt that her son had been accustomed to wear in his own country as a gift to his preserver.

These ceremonies were concluded with the best of good feeling on both sides, and the next day Montagny entertained the envoys and as many of the Hurons, the Algonquins, the Montagnais, and the Attikamegues as were present at Three Rivers. On July 14 the Governor in his turn presented fourteen presents to the Iroquois, and as he presented each gift he explained, just as Kiotsaeton had done, what was the object of each. Vimont tells us that the converts at Sillery also made presents, and that when Vimont himself added some trifles including some tobacco and one of the pipes commonly used by the French and the natives, Kiotsaeton with unusual esprit for a savage replied: 'When I left my country in order to come here I felt that I was risking my life; I have you to thank that I still see the light of day; we have been loaded down, and covered from head to foot with presents; all but our mouths and now the mouth too is to have its gifts and you have given us these pipes and

> the pleasant odour of the delightful weed. I leave you for a time; and should it happen that our canoes should sink in the waves, the very elements would tell our people of your kindness; nay I am sure that a good spirit has gone on ahead and already told our people and that they have had a taste of the good things which we are carrying to them.'
>
> The next day the envoys took their departure; they were accompanied by two young Frenchmen whom Montagny sent with them to help with the paddling and portaging and to show his confidence in the Annierronons. Kiotsaeton embarked in his canoe and then turned and faced the French and the Indians looking down at him from the bank of the Great River. Raising his voice he exclaimed, 'Farewell, brothers; I am now your kinsman; I go my own country to tell them good news.' And to Montagny he said, 'Your name, Onontio, will be famous far and wide through all the world; I have risked my life and I am returning to my own country loaded with honour and presents and kindness.' At this point the natives discharged their arquebuses and the joyous thunder of the heavy cannon from the citadel concluded the conference.

A perusal of this passage should indicate that Kiotsaeton was actuated by more than "trial and error" in the delivery of his speech, for it was a polished performance, no matter how much it differed from the speaking to which Vimont and Jogues were accustomed. In his original account Vimont writes that "every man admitted that this man was impassioned and eloquent."[19] Elsewhere he states that Kiotsaeton "indulged in many other repartees which clearly showed that he had wit"[20] and calls him "noble"[21] and "great."[22] There was certainly no reason for Superior General to use such words to describe the envoy of the Mohawks, unless of course he meant them. The Mohawks after all were "the

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[19] Thwaites, p. 265.

[20] Ibid., p. 251.

[21] Ibid., p. 269.

[22] Ibid., p. 265.

inveterate enemies of the allies of the French;"[23] they were "a treacherous race, skilled in dissembling and without stability;"[24] they had martyred members of Vimont's own order. If anyone could be called a hostile witness it would have to be Vimont, yet although he was not persuaded by the content of Kiotsaeton's speech, he admired its delivery.

As we ourselves examine the speech we notice a number of highly structured events. The council ring is carefully prepared. Before he begins to speak, Kiotsaeton rises to his full height and slowly surveys the audience. He uses the space in the center of the ring as an actor would a stage, and frequently pantomimes the events he is describing. At the beginning of the speech he sings a song which is answered responsively by the other Mohawks, and at other places he actively involves the audience. Throughout, he uses wampum belts for mnemonic purposes; in addition the belts divide his speech into its major parts and are "gifts" which, when accepted by the French, carry his words with them. Such structured activity can hardly be an accident.

The content of his remarks also seems carefully planned. Before the council even begins Kiotsaeton establishes a high degree of personal proof by being charming and flattering to his hosts, and his reporters, no matter how distrustful they may be of the Mohawks, are drawn to their envoy. At the beginning of his speech he points out that the

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[23] Du Creux, p. 406.

[24] Ibid., p. 413.

Mohawks are united behind his desire for peace. Perhaps he then attempts to throw his hosts off balance by stating that Tokhrahenehiaron should never have been sent home alone, a claim his reporter agrees is "reasonable." But with the presentation of the third belt, Kiotsaeton seeks to conciliate the French. To advance this strategy, his most difficult problem is to minimize the torture received by the two captured Frenchmen. Though he is not believed, his explanation is received by Jogues, one of the men involved, with a smile. More successful is Kiotsaeton's attempt to build a community of interest between the Mohawks and the French. He literally binds them to him with his belts. He returns a prisoner. He utilizes a great deal of pathetic proof, extending to an invocation to his ancestors, in order to show the necessity for peace. He shakes the strength from his body. In the case of the Frenchman who has suffered most from the hands of the Mohawks, he issues a specific appeal based on the ties of adopted kinship.

However much he tries to conciliate the French, Kiotsaeton adopts an opposite strategy with respect to the other Indian tribes. It is they, not the Mohawks, who have caused war to occur. Over and over he comments on the treachery of the Algonquins. He levels the ultimate insult at the bravery of the Hurons when he compares their chiefs and warriors to women. He refers to specific incidents over the past two years and cites sneak attacks and broken treaties. He promises the other tribes, in the tones of friendship, that should they visit the Mohawk country they will find it unnecessary to gather their own firewood.

At first glance, Kiotsaeton's words to these two different audiences seem presented in a very episodic fashion. Yet there is some method to the speech. His introduction, like Red Jacket's,states the purpose of the meeting and stresses unanimity of view. Utilizing song he invokes the Great Spirit. Like Red Jacket, he proceeds to an historical narration before presenting his major arguments. Like Red Jacket, he ends by referring to the return journey and gives expressions of friendship.

More important for the purposes of testing the validity of our theory, Kiotsaeton appears to be mollifying the French while infuriating their Indian allies. His personal proof, pathetic appeals, speech delivery, content, and organization all help to support this end. Whatever the French might have thought was the actual state of affairs, they at least hoped there would be peace. Kiotsaeton reinforces this hope. Before the year was out, however, the Iroquois were on the warpath again, not with the French who sat in Quebec hoping that peace would prevail, but with the Algonquins and Hurons.[25] If the basic theme of Kiotsaeton's speech appears to be "divide and conquer," then the theme became actualized as the Iroquois over the next years picked off France's Indian allies one by one.

II. September 3, 1700--Conference Between Governor de Callieres and the Iroquois.

One example, however, will not prove our point. We therefore present another example: a council of 1700 which was attended by all

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[25] Ibid., p. 406 and passim.

the Iroquois tribes except the Oneidas, for whom excuses were made by the principal spokesman. The council was attended by the French Governor and a number of his officials, including the explorer Joncaire. It was witnessed by Reverend Francois Belmont, a skilled linguist in charge of the Iroquois mission school in Montreal, and Reverend Jacques Bruyas, a missionary with extensive experience and "the best philologist of the Mohawk language."[26]

> They spoke to Chevr de Callieres Governor, &c. as follows:
> By a string of wampum.
> Father Onontio. You see before you, on this occasion all these Iroquois Nations; 'tis true you do not see the face of the Oneida here, because he who was a delegate has fallen sick; we are not masters of sickness or death; but he has assisted at all the councils which have been held, and we express his word as if he were here.
> 1st belt.
> We already stated when last here, that the Far Nations had struck us; that we did not wish to defend ourselves, because you and the English Governor had told us that it was a General Peace. If we did not defend ourselves it was not because we were afraid; on our return to our villages, there were two hundred men ready to set out to avenge us, but when they saw the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire they stopped. We now tell you that there is not any one on the war path, nor desirous to go on it, and we have laid all the hatchets aside.
> 2nd belt.
> When we came here last, we planted the tree of Peace; now we give it roots to reach the Far Nations, in order that it may be strengthened; we add leaves also to it, so that good business may be transacted under its shade. Possibly the

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[26]This assessment is made by E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, IX (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1856-1887), p. 720. The fifteen volumes in this series are an excellent example of the kinds of work done by nineteenth century archivists and are even more valuable because of the subsequent New York State Library fire, which destroyed many of the original documents. The series includes much material relating to the Iroquois. The council report reproduced as shown above comes from Documents, IX, 715-720.

Far Nations will be able to cut some roots from this Great Tree, but we will not be responsible for that nor its consequences.

3rd belt.

The best proof of Peace is the surrender of Prisoners; we afford such proof to you in bringing you back thirteen whom we present you, though we have experienced considerable pain in witnessing their separation from us, having long since adopted them as our nephews. We also ask you to restore to us, as you promised, all the prisoners that are among the Far Nations and neighboring tribes here. It will afford great joy to all our Villages.

By a string of wampum.

You and the Onontio of Orange have made Peace; you have told us that we should oppose him who would violate it. Corlard, notwithstanding, seems desirous of creating disturbance. Come, then, to some arrangement, both of you, and let me know what conclusion you will have agreed to, because when the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire were at Onnontae, a Dutchman came to tell us, by a string of Wampum, that Corlard forbad us listening to the Word of Onontio, and in case he spoke, not to mind him but to depart immediately to repair to Albany within ten or twelve days. We were so indignant at this, that Teganisorens told him, he was astonished that Corlard would treat us as Slaves; who were his Brothers, not his Vassals, and after having told us that the Peace was general, that he seemed desirous to induce us to fight against our father, which we were unwilling to do; that, as for the rest, we should despite his prohibition, not fail to go down to Montreal where our Father Onontio had lighted the fire of Peace, and in order that he may not plead ignorance thereof, we showed him these belts we were bringing. All the Nations that were assembled approved what Teganisorens said.

By a string of wampum.

When Joncaire was in our country, the father of this youth whom we restore, was his master; but now it is Joncaire who is master of this young man. We give him in order that if Joncaire should happen to die, he may be regarded as his nephew and may take his place. Therefore it is that we give him up to Onontio, whom we beg, with the Intendant, to take care of him, and to confine him should he become wild.

4th belt.

We should like to take a smith back with us to Fort Frontenac, and that you would also send some goods thither, so that those of our people who do not come down here by the river may, by placing things as they were before the war, find what they want there; and let them be furnished us at a cheap rate and at Montreal prices; Corlard is becoming ill humored; he may indeed create disturbance; we would, therefore, wish to have recourse to that fort.

You appointed a Commandent to Fort Frontenac whom also we called Onontio; I perceive, notwithstanding, that you have made him come back and have confined him in a house. This causes us pain. He supplied our wants; 'tis true he supplied them at a somewhat high rate, but he afforded us pleasure for we were all naked, and were at liberty to take the goods or leave them; It would gratify us much to see him at liberty before going away.

6th belt.

The last time we spoke here we gave some presents to the Algonquin because he made us some during winter, when hunting; he spoke to us again afterwards, and told us that since Onontio united us by the peace, we would eat together when we should meet. He said he would be here on our return, but as this is not the case, I lay this belt on the ground to thank him and to tell him that we ask nothing better than to make one joint kettle when we shall meet. We have not been able to bring back his two little girls whom you demanded and who were prisoners in our parts, because one of them is dead and the other was at the hunting grounds when we left our villages; but we promise you to bring her back next summer.

Answer of the Chevalier de Callieres, Knight of the Order of St. Louis, Governor and Lieutenant-general for the King throughout all Northern France to the Words which the Iroquois deputies brought him.

By a string of wampum.

I am very glad, my Iroquois children, to see you returned with the Rev. Father Bruyas and Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire, and that you have kept the promise you gave me long ago, by bringing me some deputies from your villages. As your good treatment of the Rev. Father and of Sieurs de Maricourt and de Joncaire affords me evidence of the sincerity with which you acted, I am happy to open my arms to you in order to receive you as a good father, who is always disposed to forget the past in regard to his Children, and to emply himself in making a general peace between all my allies and you.

1st belt.

'Tis true, you told me of the blows which the Nations inflicted on you since the Great Onontios of France and of England made peace, which they wished you to enjoy as well as the other Nations, my allies, with whom you were at war; whereunto I answered you as I again do, that your long delay in coming to see me with Deputies from each Village, in conjunction with the blow you struck on the Miamis a year ago, has been the cause of what you experienced, which I regret, as I would rather have wished entirely to terminate the war which must not be thought of any more, forgetting on both sides what has occurred whilst it continued. You have done well in stopping all the parties who were prepared to march, and in

having laid the hatchets aside.
2nd belt.
I bewail the Dead whom you have lost in these last encontres, whilst we were engaged in negotiations of peace, and clean the ground that has been reddened by blood.
3rd belt.
I seize your hatchets and those of my allies to place them with my own and all other weapons of war, in a trench that I dig deep, whereupon I lay a large rock and turn a river over that, in order that people may not find those arms again to use them against each other.
4th belt.
I make firm, like you, the Great Tree of Peace, which you have planted, with all its leaves, and you need not entertain any apprehension that any of the roots will be cut off by the Far Nations, my allies. Here are some of their Chiefs . . . they assure me that the Peace I now conclude with you for all my allies, shall be punctually respected by them . . . .
5th belt.
You afforded me pleasure in bringing back the thirteen French prisoners whom I see here; but I again ask you to bring me back the remainder and, generally, all those of my allies whom you have in your country, by the beginning of next August which is the time I fix for all the nations to bring back also to you all your people whom they retain, so that a mutual exchange may take place in my presence, and in order that every thing be replaced in the same condition it was in before the War; and in regard to your prisoners among the Indians domiciled in this neighborhood, you can speak to them and open the door to them by the Peace I conclude, to return home if they think proper.
6th belt.
In order that this Peace which I grant you in the King's name may be stable, should any difference occur, or any blow be struck on one side or the other, he who may feel aggrieved shall not seek vengeance either by himself or his nation; but he shall come to me that I may have satisfaction done him; and in case the aggressor refuse to give the satisfaction I may have decreed, I shall oblige him to it by uniting myself to those who will have been insulted, and I shall ask the Governor of the English to join me in like manner to chastise the rebels, pursuant to the order we have--he and I--from our two Great Onontios of France and England, and there remains no other agreement to be made between me and Corlard on that point to execute the orders of the Kings, our masters, for the maintenance of the peace.
By a string of wampum.
I willingly accept the recommendation you give the Intendant and me to take care of the young man whom you have given Sieur Joncaire, and we will furnish him every thing he shall require to qualify him for filling some day said Sieur Joncaire's place.

> 7th belt.
> For the purpose of encouraging Peace, I shall ask his Majesty's permission to grant your request as regards Fort Frontenac, and whilst awaiting his orders will immediately have a Smith sent up thither, together with some goods for your most urgent necessities, which will be furnished you at the lowest rates possible, but I recommend you to prevent your young men touching either the Cattle or any other things belonging to the Fort.
> 8th belt.
> I shall give the Algonquins the Belt you have left with me for them, and explain to them its contents; but again recommend you not to omit bringing me their little girl that is still alive in your Country, at the time I indicated for your bringing me the other prisoners.
> After the Iroquois had heard these answers, they spoke as follows:-
> We thank you, Onontio, for the treatment we have received from you. You must have examined all the old affairs to speak as you have done. Such is the way to act when there is a sincere desire to bring matters to a happy termination. For ourselves, we promise to obey your voice, and so much the worse for those who will not do likewise.

In this our second example we notice that in spite of a lapse of fifty-five years there is a remarkable carryover of technique and structure. The strings and belts of wampum are still used to aid memory, divide major sections, and "carry" the spokesman's message to his listeners. There is a similar use of kinship terminology, although Onontio, the French governor, is now a "father" instead of a "brother" to the Iroquois. There is still at the beginning of the speech a stress on the unanimity of view for which the spokesman speaks. There is still an historical narration, an emphasis on peaceful intentions, a proof of good will by means of a return of prisoners, an attempt to bind the other party with the bonds of kinship, a transference of guilt or responsibility for the commission of certain acts. There is even the use of the "divide and conquer" strategy, as the spokesman tries to play off the English against the French.

As in our first example we find the striking use of metaphor, a characteristic of Indian oratory mentioned by many other writers. However, in this instance, we must be careful about the conclusions we draw. Languages which are relatively limited in vocabulary[27] are forced to use metaphor in order to express their ideas. What then is a matter of art for a group with an extensive vocabulary from which to choose its words becomes a matter of necessity for those with a more restricted vocabulary choice. Yet even through the veil of translation we can appreciate the symbol of the Great Tree of Peace, a symbol the Iroquois have traditionally used to describe the League itself and thus an expression which would come naturally to the spokesman. Nor is this symbolic treatment restricted to the Iroquois. In his turn the French governor vividly describes the burying of hatchets.

But we find in our second example more than this imitation of metaphor. Not only do we see a continuity of rhetorical technique followed by the Iroquois spokesman, but we see a conscious effort on the part of the French governor to follow that pattern himself. An important part of listener analysis is the capacity to conform subsequently to the expectations of that audience. In our first example we

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[27]Of course we are not committing the fallacy of saying here that the Iroquois languages are therefore "simpler" or more "primitive" than our own. In fact, because they are agglutinative in structure, the grammar of the Iroquian languages is hideously complex. In Chapter III we dealt with the difficulty Europeans had learning these tongues. In subsequent pages we shall refer to effect they have on Europeans who cannot interpret their sense but are still able to appreciate sound and intonation patterns.

read that Vimont responded to Kiotsaeton by interpreting his belts in the Indian manner. Later French officials continued the practice. Commenting on a speech he delivered to the Onondagas in 1654, Father Simon Le Moyne wrote that "I was full two hours making my whole speech, talking like a Chief, and walking about like an actor on a stage, as is their custom."[28] Lafiteau offered his French readers additional snippets of information about Indian speaking practice. "An Iroquois must not be addressed by his name," he wrote. "You must say 'my brother' or 'my uncle.'"[29] In the example we have just cited, de Callieres continues this practice of speech adaptation.

III. June 10-21, 1750--Speeches Delivered During the Journey of Brother Canmerhoff and David Zeisberger to the Five Nations

Our third example takes place fifty years later in Central New York. Two Moravian missionaries toured the Oneida and Onondaga country from May through August of 1750, and it is from their journal that we print the following extracts:[30]

> After we had been silent for a little while, I began to speak as follows: Brethren, we have come here to visit you, as we promised in Philadelphia, and gave you a fathom of wampum as a pledge that we would come. We have been sent by our brethren in Bethlehem to bring you a message, and have arrived safe and well at your fire in Onondago.

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[28] E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., The Documentary History of the State of New York (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1849), I, 39.

[29] Previously cited in Chapter IV of this study from Morgan, League, II, 240.

[30] William M. Beauchamp, ed., "Diary of the Journey of Br. Canmerhoff and David Zeisberger to the Five Nations from May 3-14 to August 6-17, 1750," Moravian Journals Relating to Central New York, 1745-66 (Syracuse: The Dehler Press, 1916), pp. 48-56.

We are glad to meet you here all together. We wish, first of all, to rest one or two days from our journey, which, as you know, has been long and dangerous, and then we will meet with you again, and tell you the object of our coming. David then translated this message into the Maqui language. My words were received with great applause, accompanied by the usual exclamations of affirmation, in which the voice of Ganassateco was particularly loud, and he showed by his appearance how pleased he was.

We told them that the Gajuka, Hahotschaunquas, was here in the house with us, that he had acted as our traveling companion from Wajomik. . . . We told them what route we had taken on our companion's account. They were much interested. Many old men, some very venerable in appearance, who saw us for the firsttime, smiled to us very kindly. We presented them with a pipe of tobacco, a valuable gift.

Thereupon, to our astonishment, an old Oneida began to sing the message which he had for the Council, in a very high tenor voice. He continued for more than half an hour. It was a message from . . . the Nanticokes in Wajomik; firstly, concerning the renewal of their covenant, and their gratitude for permission to remain and plant on their land at Wajomik. Secondly, it referred to the land they still own in Maryland among the whites. The belts were only white, and very poor compared to ours. The Oneida repeated his message and handed over the belts to Ganassateco, who made some remarks and then delivered them to the Council. . . . A servant was told to bring us something to eat. While we were enjoying it they conversed much with us. We then took leave of them and went to our quarter.

The news of our arrival soon spread through the whole town. It is a very unusual occurrence for white people to visit Onondago, but no one asked us whether we were traders, or what our business was. All seemed to know us and greeted us kindly.

On our return home in the evening we again found a meal prepared. Ganassateco came in soon after and talked very freely with us. The man who served as our messenger to the Council also came. He explained to us that he held the office of assistant to the Council. He then asked us many questions about our Brethren, where we lived, and how far we were from Philadelphia. We answered him at length. . . .

This morning, soon after we arose, we were served with a bountiful meal. On the whole they were very particular, in Onondaga, that we should not feel the need of anything, and were anxious for us to relish their fare. Ganassateco's manner was very kind and cheerful; he considered it an honor to entertain us in his house. Later I took a walk, and thought

prayerfully of all our matters, asking the Lord to show us His will clearly in perplexities. Upon my return the Council had begun to assemble in our hut. Soon after Ganassateco brought in a scalp of a Gataber; it was skillfully painted and tied to a stick, and had been taken by some warriors who had recently returned from war. It was the subject of a long discourse. David then told Ganassateco that, first of all, we would like to talk over our matters with him alone, so that we might give him a clear idea of our wishes, and that he might then propose them to the Council for us, as we were not perfectly familiar with their language and customs. He consented and immediately arose and left the Council with us.

We seated ourselves on a tree, not far from his house, and made this our Council chamber. We then spoke as follows: Brother, I, Gallichwio and Ganousseracheri, have been sent to you by our Bretheren . . . and all who live in our settlements, as messengers to you and your Council, and to our Brothers, to Aquanoschioni (Iroquois), to bring you kind greetings, and, as a token of their feelings towards you, they send you this fathom of wampum. He examined the string closely, and asked whether the message we brought came also from our Brethren across the seas; and when we said that it did, and that we had received letters from Tgarihontie and the other Brethren, our words seemed doubly important, and he seemed much astonished.

Thereupon I brought forward the belt of wampum took it in my hand, and first told David its signification, say: Brethren! Our Brethren on both sides of the sea send this belt of wampum to our Bethren, the Aquanoshioni, to renew, strengthen, and prolong our bond of fellowship with them. Then I related, very circumstantially, how 8 years ago, Johanan had spoken with the great men of the nations, who had been in Philadelphia, when he met them in Conrad Weisser's house in Tulpehocken. He had made a covenant with them, and had also received a fathom of wampum from them. I set forth the conditions of the covenant, viz., that we were no traders, and did not come to them from love of gain, or desire to seize or buy their lands, neither had we come to the Indians like the priests in the land of the Maquais. I explained briefly what Johanan had then said to the Nations, and told them that in consequence we had traveled to their Brethren on the Susquehanna at Wajomik, Shomoko, and Long
received by them as Brethren. A result of this covenant was that 5 years ago Tgirhitontie had come here to Onondago and had visited them, but as none of our Brethren were familiar with their language, they could not speak to them. In accordance with this covenant we had, with their knowledge and consent and the desire of Shikellimy and other Indians, sent one of our Brethren to Shomoko as blacksmith, in order to work for the Indians. He was still living there and would remain longer. All this was to be confirmed by the belt of wampum, while it declared, at the same time, that we asked permission for

several of our Brethren to dwell among them for a number of years, in order to learn their language thoroughly, and thus make known to them our intentions. Thereupon I handed over the Belt to David, who translated all my words into the Maquai language, and he then presented it to Ganassateco. He accepted it and examined it very carefully, and we could perceive that he considered it of great value.

I then brought forward a fathom of wampum and said: Brethren, on our journey here we halted for 8 days in Wajomik. Several of your Brethren from among the . . . Nanticokes visited us, and said they would like one of our Brethren, a blacksmith, to dwell among them, to make their guns and axes, and whatever work of that kind was to be done. We answered them, saying: that the land on which they lived belonged to the 5 Nations, and that they had authority to decide in cases of this nature. We were unable to take any steps in this matter, for we were a people who did not wish to gain an entrance to the Indians in any underhanded manner, and therefore, if they wished a blacksmith, they must ask permission of our Brethren, the Aquanoschioni. They granted the justice of our remarks, and expressed themselves unwilling to do anything without the consent of the 5 Nations, and commissioned us to mention their wishes to the Council here in Onondaga, and hear their opinion on the subject. I said: For this reason, Brethren, we give you this fathom of wampum, in order that you may deliberate on this subject, with your brethren, and give us an answer. David translated all this, and gave them the fathom of wampum.

I then took another fathom of wampum and said: Brethren, last summer when you were in Philadelphia, we made the acquaintance of our Brethren, the Sennekas, and especially of the 3 chiefs, Achsochqua, Hagastaes and Garontianechqui, who live in Zonesschio. They invited us to visit their land and city on our journey hither, and therefore we give you this fathom of wampum. We then said that these were the words and message we had been charged to bring from our Brethren to the Aquanoschioni. All these propositions we wished him to lay before the Council, in order that they might discuss them and give us an answer. We also told him that we had brought with us some gifts from our Brethren to the Council, and that we desired them to make known to us when they were assembled, so that we might present them.

Thereupon he took the wampum, string by string, into his hand, and began to repeat what we had said, in order to see whether he had fully understood us. When he came to the belt he clasped his hands, and asked whether such were not our wishes, viz., that we and the Aquanoschioni should be united. We said, yes, and that we should continue to be more closely united and never be separated. We were astonished to see how well he had comprehended all, especially what concerned our mission to the Indians, and the reason of our coming to them.

> After he had said that he would make known our propositions to the Council we went home to his house. Many of the chiefs were still there. He told them that we had spoken with him alone, because David was not perfectly familiar with their language, and that we had therefore explained our message to him, so that he might announce it to them. He at once showed them the fathom of wampum and belt and intoned, in the usual Indian fashion, the signification of each, and we saw and heard that he had well understood our words. He laid special emphasis on our not being traders, who come to the Indians to trade with them for furs, or to gain their lands. Neither were we like the priests in Schenectady, (of whom the Indians appear to have a very poor opinion); he said that we had priests among us; indeed he believed that most of our Brethren were priests, but quite a different class of people. In order to express this he made use of a word intended to convey the idea that we were good and true Christians. All present were attentive to this explanation, and afterward held a meeting in another house.

Whereas in our first and second examples we found spokesmen used to deliver the results reached by the council, in these extracts Ganassateco serves as the sponsor and spokesman for the outside delegation. Canmerhoff and Zeisberger, his interpreter, did not feel they were sufficiently fluent in the Onondaga language to deliver their message themselves. It was therefore necessary for them to engage in a tortuous exercise in translation. First, Canmerhoff had to deliver his speech to Zeisberger, who then translated his address into what was probably one of the Algonquin languages. Ganassateco then delivered their speech back to them and subsequently presented the message to Council. Earlier, Canmerhoff and Zeisberger had observed the same process occur when an Oneida spokesman delivered a message from the "Nanticokes," an Iroquois client tribe which lived along the Susquehanna River. Both external and internal evidence indicate that this was a fairly common procedure.

According to Morgan,

> it was customary for the foreign tribe to be represented at the council by a delegation of wise men and chiefs, who bore their proposition and presented it in person. After the council was formally opened and the delegation introduced, one of the sachems made a short address, in the course of which he thanked the Great Spirit for sparing their lives and permitting them to meet together; after which he informed the delegation that the council was ready to hear them upon the affair for which it had convened. One of the delegates then submitted their proposition in form, and sustained it by such arguments as he was able to make. Careful attention was given by the members of the council that they might clearly comprehend the matter at hand. After the address was concluded, the delegation withdrew from the council to await at a distance the result of its deliberations.[31]

Essentially, this was the same format followed in the council attended by Canmerhoff and Zeisberger and the council which was later to deliberate upon the propositions of the Reverend Cram. Ganassateco, in the former instance, was perfectly familiar with the role he needed to play. He had Canmerhoff present his proposals in the form of a speech, he examined the wampum carefully, he went over sections to make sure he understood them. Canmerhoff professed himself amazed at Ganassateco's powers of recall. Later he noticed particularly Ganassateco's attempt before the council to present his points in their most favorable light.

As we examine the extracts further, we note that Canmerhoff seemed perfectly familiar with Iroquois speech practice, and we must conclude either that he had been thoroughly briefed or else that this style of speaking was diffused beyond the borders of the Confederacy. Canmerhoff knows the use of wampum, and he compares the richness of his

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[31]Lewis H. Morgan, Ancient Society (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1877), p. 139.

own belts with those presented by other groups. He implies, at least, that the value of the belt increases the presuasiveness of the message. He knows the use of kinship terminology. He opens with a description of his trip and historical narration, and he closes with references to common acquaintances. He is aware of the function of the conference which will follow his speech.

More so than in our second example, Canmerhoff's diary stresses the unique vocal delivery of the council spokesman. He speaks of the Oneida spokesman singing in a high tenor voice; later Ganassateco "intones" his message in "the usual Indian fashion." We are reminded of Kiotsaeton's use of music and dance, or le Moyne's statement that he had to talk "like a chief." The Iroquois language, Bryant tells us, was such that the sense depended on inflection, and the orators practiced greater and more sudden variations in pitch than is permitted in English oratory.[32] As we shall see later in this study, the Iroquois did not make the same distinctions as we do between speech, song, and the dance. The speech of council was different from the speech of conversation. Their language, "except in council, where eloquence was in order, was terse, undemonstrative, trenchant. There are almost no labials in the Iroquois languages, and they talked without moving their lips."[33] As the spokesman used language differently than he would in ordinary life, so he used gesture. We see Ganassateco clasping his hands

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[32]William Clement Bryant, "Address at Forest Lawn Cemetery," in Red Jacket ("Transactions of the Buffalo Historical Society," Vol. III: the Courier Co., 1885), p. 17.

[33]Edmund Wilson, Apologies to the Iroquois (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960), p. 75.

to convey a certain meaning to Canmerhoff. Later he would speak in such a way before the council that Canmerhoff and Zeisberger would be able to follow him and confirm the fact that he was correctly interpreting their remarks.

Finally, our third example stresses the importance of the art of memory as practiced by the orator-spokesman. True, Kiosaeton and the Iroquois delegates of 1700 seem to have no trouble remembering their instructions, but they have their wampum to help them and we have no way to verify that they are speaking what their councils wish them to say. But here Ganassateco appears to take great pains in learning the rather complicated message he is asked to deliver, and recall Hall's observation, cited in Chapter II of this study, in which he recalled Red Jacket using sticks instead of wampum as memory aids. It was in fact part of the duty of spokesmen to remember the diplomatic history of their tribe. In our second example we find the spokesmen of the Iroquois congratulating de Callieres on his knowledge of their past relations with each other. Red Jacket, of course, demonstrated similar powers:

> On a certain occasion, in a council at which Gov. Tompkins was present, a dispute arose as to the terms of a certain treaty. 'You have forgotten,' said the agent; 'we have it written down on paper.' 'The paper then tells a lie,' rejoined Red Jacket. 'I have it written down here,' he added, placing his hand with great dignity upon his brow. 'This is the book the Great Spirit has given the Indian; it does not lie;' A reference was made to the treaty in question, when, to the astonishment of all present, the document confirmed every word the unlettered statesman had uttered.[34]

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[34] Bryant, ibid.

Ganassateco then appears to be practicing a skill that was common to his fellow spokesmen. It was a necessary part of his craft that he know other languages, that he could remember the results of conference, and that he could reproduce this concensus with accuracy and passion.

IV. March 6, 1768--Conference with Sir William Johnson

Our final example of Iroquois speaking is taken from the papers of Sir William Johnson.[35] The grammar and punctuation in the extract are Sir William's own:

> In the morning the Indians all Assembled, the Six Nations Coghnawageys &ca being desireous to Condole with the Mohawks for the Loss of Onaharrissa one of their Chiefs lately deceased--being met Conoghquieson of Oneida on behalf of the three younger Branches of the Confederacy namely the Oneidas, Tuscaroras and Cayugas went thro' the whole ceremony of Condolance with the Elder Branches namely the Mohawk, Onondagas and Cenecas which done the latter, by the speaker of Onondaga in a set speech gave them thanks for their Condolence, and for their adherence to the Customs of their forefathers
>
> Sir William then called together to Chiefs of the Six Nations &ca, & addressed them as follows
>
> Brothers
>
> I think it extremely necessary at this time to speak to you on the Subject of several Reports I have lately received and I desire you will give full attention to what I shall say, and that you will answer me ingeniously, and honestly from your hearts.
>
> Brothers
>
> We are not ignorant of some private Conferences you have held, and of others, which are intended shortly, we have heard of the loss of some of our own People and of

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[35] O'Callaghan, Documents, VIII, 45-48. During the colonial period Johnson had probably more influence with the Iroquois than any other white man. Materials by Johnson which do not appear in O'Callaghan's Documents or Documentary History are contained in the thirteen volume set entitled The Papers of Sir William Johnson (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1921-1962).

the threats of yours. We acknowledge that some of the English have lately injured you, but these whenever apprehended will meet with Just punishment of this I have already spoke and shall say much more to you tomorrow, and as I hope Quiet your minds thereon--At the same time let me observe to you that it is the duty of all those who are bound by the same Chain in the Bond of friendship to communicate their Grievances without taking any private resolutions of their own, this I hope you will do ingeniously and I believe I partly know all that you can say, and at the same time be assured that the Great King and his people are sincerely disposed to promote your Welfare and not Suffer you to be injured and that your several Grievances are now before the King who has fallen upon Measures for your redress and for the future Security of your persons and property's, but the misconduct of many of your people and the Nature of your Complaints have made it a Work of time before such steps could be taken as would effectually Guard us both from injury. In proof of the truth of what I now say to you and on which you may firmly rely, here is a letter which I have just received from the Earl of Shelburne, one of the Kings first Ministers wherein he assures me of it, and likewise desires that you may have Notice to attend early in the Spring in Order to settle the Boundary line as a farther security to your propertys.

Here shewed and Explained the Necessary parts of Lord Shelburnes Letter then proceeded

Brothers

You see that you are not forgotten, but that everything is intended that can be possibly done for your interest and I make no doubt you will soon feel its effect, and express your sincere thanks for these tokens of friendship and justice 'till when I desire you to do Justice to the Good intentions of the English by a pacific conduct, and to cast away from this Moment any sparks of resentment which may remain in your hearts together with all misgrounded Jealousys or Suspicions of our integrity Gave a Large Belt

P.M. The Indians having had a private Conference amongst themselves Assembled and by their Speaker answered the Speech of this Morning as follows

Brother

We thank the Great Spirit above for the present Meeting and we shall honestly answer You on the Subject of Your Speech, and declare the Causes of our uneasyness which we confess to have arrived at a great Pitch--and we beg in our turn You Open Your Ears and hearken to what we have to say, and endeavour to obtain that redress for us which is the only sure way of securing the peace

Brother

We have often put in Mind of the many promises which were made to us at the beginning of the late War by the Generals,

Governors, and by yourself, from all which we had the strongest reason to expect that the event of your Success would have proved greatly to our benefit, That we should be favored and noticed, That we should not be wronged of our Lands or of our Peltry, that every enchroachment should be removed and that we should live in peace and travel about without Molestation or hindrance at the same time the French told us that what was said was not true, nor from your hearts and that the day you got the better of them would be the first day of our Misfortunes--You persuaded us not to believe them, but we have found it since too true, We soon found ourselves used ill at the Posts, on the Frontiers, and by the Traders. The people who had formerly wronged us and who did not choose to Venture before to take possession of our Rights then rose up to crush us, The Rum Bottles hung at every door to Steal our Lands, and instead of the English protecting us as we thought they would do they employed their Superior Cunning to wrong us, they murdered our people in Pensilvania, Virginia and all over the Country, and the Traders began more and more to deceive, and now neither regard their own Character, or the Officer sent to take care of the Trade, so that if we are wronged who is to help us We cant ramble over the Country for Justice and if we did, we begin now to grow Old, and wise we see that your Wise Men in the Towns will be always against us. Your people came from the Sun rising up our Rivers to the West, and now they begin to come upon us from the South, they have got already almost to Fort Pitt but nothing is done to drive them away You cant say that we have not often complained of this, and if you are not able or willing to do it we can, and must do so soon or they will eat us up, for your people want to chuse all the best of our Lands tho' there is enough within your part with your own mark upon it without any Inhabitants, Brother this is very hard upon us, but it is not all, for the Road thro' the Country is no longer safe, the Pensilvanians and Virginians murder all those of our people they can meet, without any reason, and instead of leaving off as you told us they would, they have Murdered ten the othere day, two of which are our own people, the rest are our Younger Brothers and Nephews that depend upon us yet you wont take the Murderer or do any thing to him. You are wise You have a Government and Laws, but you dont prevent this, you often tell us we dont restrain our people and that you do so with yours, but Brother your words differ more from your Actions than ours do, We have large Wide Ears and we can hear that you are going to Settle great numbers in the heart of our Country, and our Necks are stretched out, and our faces set to the Sea Shore to watch their motions. Brother you that are wise and have Laws and say you can make your people do what they are desired should prevent all this and if they wont let us alone you should shake them by the head. we beleive that you are wise and that you can

do all this, but we begin to think you have no mind to hinder them; If you will say you cant we will do it for you, our Legs are long, and our sight so good that we can see a great way thro' the Woods, we can see the Blood you have spilled and the fences you have made, and surely it is but right that we should punish those who have done all this Mischief. Brother this is the truth, it comes from our hearts. Why should we hide it from you. If you wont do justice to our Fathers the Mohawks who are going to Lose the Land at their very doors, If you wont keep the people away from the Rivers near Ohio, and keep the Road open making Pensilvania and Virginia quiet we must get tired of looking to you, and turn our faces another way.

Gave a Large Belt

Brother

We heartily thank the Great King for his intentions and for what he is going to do about the Boundary Line, but Brother we hear bad News the Cherokees have told us that the line was run in their Country last year, and that it as surrounded them so that they cannot Stir; We beg that you will think of this for our heads will be Quite turned if that is to be our Case, We therefore think that the line we talked of last should not go beyond Fort Augusta

Sir William answered them

Brothers

I have heard what you said, and I am sorry to find you enlarge so much upon these Subjects after all I have said to you as well in public as in private. The redress of your Grievances is an object of much more attention both to the King and his people than you imagine and you will have no reason to doubt of the sincerity of the English as soon as the Salutary Measure now under consideration can be put in practice. As I have a good deal to say to you tomorrow I shall defer adding any thing farther at this time, than to desire you to remove these unjust Suspicions from your breasts, as they make you unhappy in a great measure without reason, and give pain to your Brothers the English who are just now studying your Welfare and happiness

then Adjourned till Morning.

This last example provides us with further evidence of the continuity to be seen in Iroquois speaking practice. As we read it, we see once again an attempt on the part of a white man to adapt his presentation to his audience. We find the Iroquois spokesman, in turn, making use of a formula opening, an historical narration, an episodic presentation of major claims reinforced by wampum, and kinship terminology. Although

our example is only a factual report of a conference, we have every right to feel that there is a similar continuity in delivery, for "analogizing from one situation to another is a basic cultural mechanism among the Iroquois," and when one needs to know how to handle a new situation among them, he is expected to follow an established pattern already applied to something similar.[36]

There is also an attempt on the part of the Iroquois spokesman to "turn the tables" and "divide and conquer," techniques we have seen them use earlier with such good effect in their dealings with the English and French. Now, after the French and Indian War, the familiar arguments have lost their strength, and the spokesman can only use the weaker strategy of playing the English Indian Superintendent off against the Cononial governments. It is a sign of the beginning of the end of the effective Iroquois tight-rope act. Although "their policy of non-involvement in colonial wars helped to preserve them as a major power in North America until the Revolutionary War,"[37] in less than ten years the Iroquois would no longer be able to throw their weight on one side or the other of the fulcrum. There would no longer be a balance of power for them to exploit in the New World. They themselves would split over whom to support in the Revolution. In doing so, the myth of their power would be destroyed. The spokesman of this conference with Johnson would be one of the last to be able to use the threat of force with any persuasiveness.

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[36]Annemarie Anrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve ("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 65 [New Haven, 1961]), 139.

[37]Trelease, p. 363.

To recapitulate, then, we have seen, over a 123 year period, a speaking tradition continuous both in matters of content and presentation. Reynold's thesis that there was a lack of a formalized system of rhetoric among the Iroquois does not seem to hold. Rather, the opposite is true. In matters of invention, they made use of ethical appeals revolving around their positions as spokesmen for a united council, as well as kinship terms which presupposed an imagined or adoptive relationship, as equals, with the other party. They made use of pathetic appeals directed toward pride, blood and tribal relationships, fear, greed, and fair mindedness. Their logical reasoning frequently involved "turning the tables," by taking the argument advanced by the other party and turning it against him. Reliance was also made to historical precedent, and major arguments were further buttressed by "gifts," the presentation of wampum.[38] While we cannot speak with certainty about matters of style, because of translation difficulties, the Iroquois spokesmen appeared to make extensive use of metaphor, even when the nature of their languages did not force them to do so. In matters of organization, they seemed to vary little from a five-part structure: invocation of the Great Spirit and statement of

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[38]Consider Heckewelder: "No chief pays any attention to reports, though they may carry with them the marks of truth. Until he is officially and in due form apprised of the matter, he will . . .reply that he had not heard it. . . . As soon as he is officially informed, through a string of wampum from some distant chief or leading man of the nation . . . he will then say: 'I have heard it'; and acts accordingly." John Heckewelder, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations ("Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. XII Philadelphia, 1876), 109.

purpose, description of the journey, historical narration, presentation of major claims, and appeals to kinship ties. In matters of delivery, they were much more stylized than they were in ordinary discourse. Their vocalization was artifical and declamatory, their gesture frequently pantomimic. Above all, they were skilled in application of the canon of memory. Finally, their performances, physically delivered within a council ring that permitted them free and varied movement, took place within a larger social context involving the council for which they spoke.

In fact, it just might be possible to argue that the Iroquois were too highly structured, too rigidly attached to their own rhetorical formulas. They were faced by white men who attempted to adapt to their methods of speaking, but they did not try to do the reverse. For a while, this rigidity was not a problem. As the Revolution approached, however, the persuasive strategies that had worked so well to neutralize French aid to its Indian allies, and balance the French off against first the Dutch and later the English, no longer were sufficient. Indeed nothing would be sufficient. White pressures would grow too strong. Finally the Iroquois would have to direct their resources, not to dominate, not to balance, but merely to survive.

How was this rhetorical tradition to survive the rigors of the Revolutionary War? This question will be answered, for the most part, in the next chapter. There we shall explore the probability that the Revolution was so traumatic that the rhetorical tradition was broken completely. But one part of the question remains our concern in this chapter. If there was an unbroken speaking technique in practice over

a span of five generations, such as we have proposed, then there must have been procedures for perpetuating it. However unlikely it was that the structured activity we have seen was an independent rediscovery by each succeeding generation, we have yet to prove that the art of the council spokesman was of such a nature that it could be easily transmitted, given the available mechanisms in Iroquois culture. Without the possibility of transmission, there would be no opportunity for the development of a tradition. In the rest of this chapter we shall offer three arguments in favor of the transmission of the rhetorical craft within the Confederacy.

Recall first the many opportunities which existed for someone to observe the orator-spokesman practice his craft. In Chapter IV we have remarked upon the frequency of civil, mourning, and religious councils among the Iroquois. They were so frequent that Sir William Johnson, in our fourth example, was perfectly aware of the fact when the Onondaga spokesman rose to give a "set Speech" that would condole the Mohawks for their loss of a chief. According to Morgan,

> in those warlike periods, when the Conferacy was moving onward amid incessant conflicts with contiguous nations, or, perchance, resisting sudden tides of migratory population, there was no dearth of those exciting causes, of those emergencies of peril, which rouse the spirit of the people,

and thus

> oratory . . . was necessarily brought into high repute.[39]

Nor was council activity restricted to the tribal and inter-tribal level.

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[39]Lewis H. Morgan, League of the Ho-De-No Sau-Nee or Iroquois (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1901), I, 101.

The same procedure was followed on all levels when unanimity was desired and needed to be reported. Fenton tells us that

> an individual desiring to bring a proposition before the general council must gain the assent of family, clan, his moiety, the nation, and in due course the business went before the representatives of the Confederacy. In reverse measures of the League Council requiring sanction were sent down to the people for approval.[40]

Since, as we have indicated in previous chapters, such special interest groups as the warriors and the women also had their spokesmen, there were a plethora of models for the aspiring spokesman to observe. And in like manner there existed numerous opportunities to practice should he wish to do so.

Second, the Iroquois who chose to become an orator-spokesman was not stopped by an accident of birth. True, the positions of chief and sachem were elective, but they ran in certain families. The spokesman, however, was not similarly restricted. All he need exhibit was skill, and if he did so his status within the tribe increased considerably. Morgan points out that

> by the cultivation and exercise of this capacity has opened the pathway to distinction; and the chief or warrior gifted with its magical power could elevate himself as rapidly, as he who gained renown upon the war-path. With the Iroquois, as with the Romans, the two professions, oratory and arms, could establish men in the highest degree of personal consideration.[41]

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[40]William N. Fenton, "Toward the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Natives: The Missionary and Linguistic Work of Asher Wright," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, C (December, 1956), 572.

[41]Morgan, p. 102.

Third, because of the importance of the position, there may have been formal training procedures for perpetuation of the craft. The Iroquois have long had a penchant for "secret learning," a subject we shall deal with in the next chapter. In spite of the bad form that would be displayed if one consciously showed he was trying to learn something, however, some of the people we have met in our four examples may have been doing precisely that. We recall the other Mohawks who accompanied Kiotsaeton to the council at Three Rivers. We recall the many others who accompanied the spokesmen to their meetings with de Callieres and Johnson. We recall the council "assistant" mentioned in the Moravian journal. Finally we have the word of one author who writes of a training session in oral history, a skill that needed to be mastered by every council spokesman. Recalling that between 1770 and 1780 the Indians "could relate very minutely what had passed between William Penn and their forefathers,"[42] Heckewelder describes the process by means of which they were able to do so:

> For the purpose of refreshing their own memories, and of instructing one or more of their most capable and promising young men in these matters, they assemble once or twice a year. On these occasions they always meet at a chosen spot in the woods, at a small distance from the town, where a fire is kindled, and at the proper time provisions are brought out to them; there, on a large piece of bark or on a blanket, all the documents are laid out in such order, that they can at once distinguish each particular speech, the same as we know the principal contents of an instrument of writing by the endorsement on it. If any paper or parchment writings are connected with the belts, or strings of wampum, they apply to some trust white man (if such can be had) to read the contents to them. Their speaker then, who is always chosen from among those who are endowed with superior talents, and has already been

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[42]Heckewelder, p. 108.

> trained up to the business, rises, and in an audible voice delivers, with the gravity that the subject requires, the contents, sentence after sentence, until he has finished the whole on one subject. On the manner in which the belts or strings of wampum are handled by the speaker much depends . . . and a good speaker will be able to point out the exact place on a belt which is to answer to each particular sentence, the same as we can point out a passage in a book. Belts and strings, when done with by the speaker, are again handed to the chief, who puts them up carefully in the speech-bag or pouch.[43]

If such training sessions were also accompanied by exposure to oratory, including the "set Speeches" of the condolence ceremony, and the novice was given every opportunity to practice his skill on successively more important levels of society, from the family to the inter-tribal level, if moreover such speaking increased his status and was necessary to the maintenance of his tribe, then it is no wonder that there would be a continuity of technique in the craft of the orator-spokesman. We must conclude that this continuity did in fact exist. We now proceed to determine how much of the tradition was passed on to Red Jacket.

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[43] Ibid.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONTINUING TRADITION

In the last two chapters we have explored two factors which may help to explain Red Jacket the speaker. The first of these factors was the existence of an elaborate system of intra-group communication, founded upon concensus, which required spokesmen both to inform the council and report upon its deliberations. The other factor was a set of rules and procedures which these spokesmen followed and passed down to succeeding generations. We have made the claim that this system of council and spokesman enabled the Iroquois to maintain a high degree of social cohesion and resist, to a greater degree than other Eastern tribes, the mounting pressures of white colonization. We have raised the possibility that the council allowed a freer flow of information within the Confederacy, while the spokesmen, operating under its directives, were free to spread a great deal of misinformation to outsiders. To the other theories explaining Iroquois influence during the Colonial period we have added a fifth, namely that the communication system we have described managed to convince whites that the Iroquois were more powerful than they really were, until with the fall of the French the balance of power game played by the Iroquois spokesmen lost its viability. Finally we have argued that this communication system remained relatively unchanged over the years, at least until the

Revolution.

However, what effects did these two factors we have discussed have upon the Reply to Reverend Cram? In Chapter II of this study we have pointed out the great amount of social disintegration prevalent among the Senecas after the Revolution. It is quite possible that Red Jacket was not a product of his tradition, and if so we are not justified in drawing conclusions about him from it.

We shall try to answer our question by doing two things: (1) by proving that the rhetorical tradition of the Iroquois still exists at the present time, and (2) by showing that Red Jacket followed the major conventions of the tradition in his reply. At the end of the chapter, we shall go on to explore the ramifications of our conclusion that a traditional, structured system of rhetoric does in fact exist among the Iroquois.

Let us begin by taking a look at the one Iroquois group that does not talk at all--the Husk Face medicine society.[1] Every year toward the end of the Midwinter Ceremony, the Husk Faces enter the Longhouse to review the previous year's events. They are not Iroquois, but rather beings who are friends of the Iroquois and who inhabit a country where the crops are plentiful and the weather is always warm. Their arrival is announced by a pounding on the outside of the Longhouse,

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[1]The description of the Husk Face Ceremony is the author's own, based on experiences at the Alleghany Reservation. Another description of the Husk Face ceremony is contained in Edmund Wilson, Apologies to the Iroquois (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960), pp. 242-243.

pounding that is so severe that to someone in the darkened interior the very building seems to shake. Then through one of the two doors the Husk Faces enter the building. Each appears, to the white man at least, to be wearing a mask made out of corn husks, but everyone maintains the fiction that they are what they seem to be. Each is carrying a walking stick, and their clothes suggest they have taken a long hard journey in order to be at the ceremony. They are of all ages, and even the youngest suggests by his movements that he is exhausted from the trip.

But though the Husk Faces are tired and cannot talk, only make a strange sound like blowing on a bottle, they still can dance. After promenading around the Longhouse and surveying the audience, they begin their characteristic patterns around the central drummer's bench. It is then time for them to deliver a message to the Senecas; to do so they must conscript a member of the audience to be their spokesman.

Observing an earlier Midwinter Ceremony, Wilson writes that

> they are obliged to commandeer an orator in order to deliver their message, which in some mysterious way they manage to communicate to him. The orator is said to be Kidnapped. He is taken outside and briefed. I was told by Nicodemus Bailey that this had several times happened to him. The oration of the Huskfaces' spokesman is supposed to be satiric and witty, and I imagine that he was excellent at this. . . . But the Kuskfaces of Allegany had evidently no eligible satirist, and they conscripted the master of ceremonies, whom they summoned outside the door. When he returned, unaccompanied by the Huskfaces, he delivered a long homily, which was apparently less witty than moralistic.[2]

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[2]Wilson, ibid.

The situation now, regrettably, remains the same. The spokesman of course delivers his speech in Seneca, but a person unfamiliar with the language can observe interest on the faces of those who are listening. Accompanying this, however, is no excitement or laughter. Evidently the speaker is being chosen for his knowledge of ritual and the Seneca language, not for his capacity to delight his audience.

The purpose of the Husk Face spokesman's address is to review the previous year. He explains who the Husk Faces are and describes their long, tedious journey. He narrates the previous year's activities on the reservation. He advances various claims directed to improving the behavior of the Longhouse people. But though he intones his speech in presumably the proper manner, we are disappointed if we have come looking for exciting oratory, Flat-footed, with one hand in his pocket and the other holding his cap, he stands in front of the stove at the women's end of the Longhouse, his vocal variety non-existent, his face expressionless. He is not the man we hoped to find.

In other parts of the Midwinter Ceremony, however, we find glimpses of what we are looking for. As we enter early in the evening, the Handsome Lake preacher is standing over on the men's side and declaiming the Thanksgiving Address to the Great Spirit. It is a set speech--every part of it is traditional and delivered without change from one year to the next. In the items for which the Great Spirit is thanked, even in the order in which these items are presented, we find an echo of Red Jacket's opening remarks. The only difference is that the Thanksgiving Address takes these items and amplifies them. Later, as the dancing takes place, we note the Iroquois gift for pantomine.

One of the members of the Bear Society is especially funny as he sniffs around the berries on the drummer's bench. A member of the False Faces dances for the writer's children after they have given him gifts of chewing gum; we discover later that the is an art student at Buffalo State University and a subject of much speculation by the young women of the reservation. He is a superb dancer and pantomimist, and when one of the writer's children fails to beat the turtle rattle in a coherent rhythm, he dissolves the audience into laughter by registering an attitude of infinite surprise. Throughout the evening everyone dances with the others around the drummer's bench. If someone is too young to participate--and all ages are present at the meeting--then the child is handed to someone who is not participating in this dance, and then later retrieved. Scattered among the dances and sacred songs are a number of impromptu conferences, often initiated by the clan mothers. Afterwards one of the men will rise to greet a guest, ask the group to consider someone's personal problem, or make an announcement concerning upcoming activities. The whole Midwinter Ceremony unfolds leisurely over the four hour period. When it is the turn of a particular individual or group, they perform their portion of the ceremony without self-consciousness or hesitation. There are frequent pauses until the next group is "ready," but no one seems to mind.

This description of the Midwinter Ceremony at Allegheny is quite different from the political councils we have examined in earlier chapters, but while there are differences there are also similarities. We have already mentioned the parallels between the Thanksgiving Address and Red Jacket's opening, with its stress on unity and its enumeration

of the Great Spirit's gifts to the Indians. We notice traditional formulas interspersed with extemporized material. We notice the short conferences which precede the speaking of the spokesmen. We notice the "intoning" which caught the attention of Canmerhoff. We see the emphasis upon mime, though it occurs in dance and not in oratory.

In her study of the most conservative of all Iroquois groups, the Longhouse people of the Six Nations Reserve, Shimony reaches similar conclusions. She differentiates between two forms of speaking in their religious speaking: the recitation from memory of traditional addresses, and the "extemporaneous but patterned moral exhortations."[3] The speakers are not elected or appointed because "'the ability to speak' is considered preordained, a gift to the individual from the Great Creator,"[4] but they must be male and present their material with a certain degree of skill.

Shimony does not find a comprehensive training program for these individuals because "clandestine acquisition of knowledge is a recognized pattern among the Iroquois,"[5] and if a person demonstrated too great an eagerness to possess the skill, then he might not be pre-ordained to have it or else offend the spirits who have given it to him. Yet older members are expected to encourage those who show glimmers of interest and work them into the ceremonials. An individual practices in secret,[6]

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[3]Annemarie Anrod Shimony, Conservatism Among the Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve ("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 65 New Haven, 1961), 90.

[4]Ibid., p. 89.

[5]Ibid., pp. 128-129.

[6]Ibid.

partly out of respect to his elders,[7] partly out of the belief that "volunteering is bad form and impudent."[8] At his first performance the speaker or other public performer is usually nervous or ill at ease.[9] Fortunately, should he falter, the keepers of the faith will serve as prompters.[10]

Shimony observes the same phenomena present at the council of traditional chiefs at Grand River:

> Accepting a chieftainship is an onerous duty for which one has been designated by the Great Creator . . . one notes a religious tone in speaking of the office, but in this case it is probably rather an old trait, since the theme of predestination for a position is very widespread in Iroquoian culture. The onerousness of leadership is also felt by the more responsible of the elected councilors, one of whom told me: 'They twist you in knots in the council, no matter how good and true; it was a thankful day when I got out; I didn't know whom to face.'[11]

We recall Red Jacket's words: "I was born an orator." An Iroquois does not have to want to perform a particular function; if he is called upon to do it he must do so.[12] And literally hundreds of Iroquois perform orally for their clans, moieties, tribes, and Confederacy at the present day. It is their duty.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Lewis H. Morgan, League of the Ho-De-No Sau-Nee or Iroquois (New York: Dodd Mead and Company, 1901), I, 119.

[11] Shimony, p. 123.

[12] For example, a warrior must be brave and unflinchingly face danger. The Iroquois have a virtual monopoly on high steel work in this country because they are not supposed to be afraid of heights. Yet Freilich claims that when Iroquois steel workers are drunk enough, they will admit to be as terrified as the next man. See Morris Freilich, "Cultural Persistence Among the Modern Iroquois," Anthropos, LIII (1958), 473-483.

From this survey of speaking practiced in the conservative enclaves of present-day Iroquois society, we return to Red Jacket and, in doing so, we present an admittedly tortuous argument. It is this: if there is a discernible speaking tradition before Red Jacket's time, and traces of that tradition still exist, then, presumably, Red Jacket was a product of that tradition. This argument is an important one. Its acceptance is necessary if we are to see Indian oratory as something more than merely "quaint" and colorful. Its acceptance will lay to rest the assumption that Indian spokesmen were innocent children of the forest who spoke well by accident. This assumption has been with us from the beginning of our nation. Witness the exhortation from The American Speaker, dated 1814:

> And shall he not have strong attachments to his country, where the finest flowers are found in the wilderness?-- Where man in his rude state, speaks with more strength of eloquence, than he has been able to attain in the most polished and cultivated society?[13]

But of course the question is meaningless, for Red Jacket was "polished" and "cultivated" as a speaker. He was not like the chimpanzee who by chance creates a beautiful painting. He was a conscious artist. And art requires work.

However, though the presumption lies in our favor, we need to spend a little more time with our argument before we can consider it proven. Let us focus more closely on that art of which we claim Red Jacket was a master, the art of rhetoric.

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[13]The American Speaker; a Selection of Popular, Parliamentary, and Forensic Eloquence, 2nd. ed. (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1814), p. vi.

For the purposes of discussion let us say that the people involved in a communication situation have a set of "filters" by which they relate to their external world. The recipient of a message filters the stimuli he receives through a series of processes known as perception. This perception is determined partially by the built-in capabilities and codes of his neuro-physiological system, partially by the learning provided through the physical and social conditions in which he has lived. The recipient's perception, his filtered stimuli, add to or modify his view of the external world. Of course, the recipient of a communication responds to his perception of it in a selective way, because to the degree that man is a goal-directed animal, he sets priorities on his goals. His behavior is either blocked or passed through another set of filters which have been called variously his "hierarchy of attitudes" or "goal-complex." To the extent that his responses filter through in the direction and intensity desired by the originator of the communication, or stimuli, he is persuaded.

On the other hand, the originator of the communication, equipped as he is with his own sets of perceptions and attitudes, has learned that he can influence his external world by modifying the behavior of other persons. If he can modify the recipient's perception, he informs; if he alters the recipient's goal-complex, he persuades. As he develops a set of rules or an operational procedure for doing this, he may be said to have developed a "rhetoric." Following his set of rules, his rhetoric, modifies the originator's behavior so that he can more effectively modify the perception and/or the goal-complexes of the recipient of the communication.

It follows that there are different "rhetorics" for different individuals, because each originator will develop a set of rules according to his own perceptions and attitudes. And to the degree that one's perceptions and attitudes are shaped by his culture, each culture will also have its own rhetoric. When we say that Red Jacket uses rhetoric we mean that he uses a set of rules, determined by his culture and himself, to modify the perception and goal-complexes of others. He is an effective rhetorician to the degree that his communications inform or persuade their recipients.

We have already shown that Red Jacket used a set of rules which was fairly elaborate in nature. He operated within the rigid frame of council and spokesmen. He employed traditional commonplaces or formulas within his speech. He utilized a received speech organization. His ethical and pathetic appeals were the same as those used previously by his fellow Iroquois. Even his logical arguments--"turning the tables" by asking the Christians themselves to practice what they preached and "dividing and conquering" by emphasizing the differences between Christian groups--were common rhetorical strategies. In fact there was nothing in his speech, from opening formula to closing expression of good will, that we have not seen delivered on other occasions by other spokesmen.

We cannot be as sure about the delivery of the speech. Granted, the Bemis text emphasizes the expression, "HIM only," to indicate that Red Jacket made emphatically clear the fact that he was speaking of the Great Spirit, not the Christian God. We are also told Red Jacket ironically moved to shake Cram's hand in a visible expression of farewell.

Beyond this, however, we have no indications of how the speech was delivered, or how closely Red Jacket conformed to the presentational style of previous spokesmen. Certain sources tell us that, when Red Jacket spoke,

> his very tones, his gestures, and his pauses conveyed the vigor of his words. His voice was vibrant, modulated, and rhythmic and flowed with a cadence that held his listeners spellbound.[14]

We are told that he was "overwhelming in argument, and entirely unsurpassed in his inimitable wit and powers of sarcasm."[15] But these observations are the same that were made about many nineteenth century orators. Actually, in all that has been written about Red Jacket, only one first-hand observation has been found. It is offered here for what it is worth:

> In a few minutes, Red Jacket arose with a great deal of native dignity, (-he was a finely built, stocky, stout man, not tall, with a coal-black piercing eye, well set back). He first adjusted his wampum, perfectly unembarrassed, and, looking directly up, deliberately uttered a sentence, which Mr. Parish (sic.), now standing again, then interpreted.[16]

It is not enough to reconstruct how Red Jacket spoke on a previous occasion to Reverend Cram, but combined with the other statements about the effectiveness of his delivery, it seems to tell us that in matters of presentation Red Jacket also followed in the footsteps of his

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[14]Arthur C. Parker, Red Jacket, Last of the Senecas (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952), p. 186.

[15]Asher Wright papers in the manuscript collection of the Buffalo Historical Society.

[16]W. William Hall, letter to the Buffalo Historical Society, September 2, 1862, in the manuscript collection of the Society.

ancestors. Red Jacket, in other words, was a practitioner of Iroquois rhetoric, a set of rules or operational procedures that was indigenous to his culture.

How effective was he as a practitioner? We have cited his contemporaries who admired his skills. We have pointed out that he rose to a position of high status within his tribe because of his speaking ability. Specifically, we find in his Reply to Reverend Cram that he succeeded in infuriating the missionary and blocked his further activities on the reservation. For at least another decade, in spite of a number of attempts, Christian missionaries failed to make serious inroads at Buffalo Creek. Although we must always remember that he was speaking for his council, and not necessarily stating personal beliefs,[17] his words reflected a policy that would be followed by the reservation for at least the next ten years and by some of the Senecas until the present day.

Arthur C. Parker, New York State anthropologist and Seneca Indian, once wrote a passage about the Iroquois that, had we offered it earlier in the study, might have invited ridicule, for he assumed that the Iroquois once practiced the art of rhetoric in the same way that the Greeks and Romans did. Parker said that

> among the noble arts was that of oratory. Young men with ability were trained to speak. Not only must

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[17] Cf. Breckenridge: "Though a pagan, yet his opposition was political, and he cared little for any religion except so far as it seemed to advance or endanger the glory and safety of the tribe." Cited in William L. Stone, Life and Times of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha or Red Jacket (Albany: J. Munsell, 1866), pp. 341-342.

> They memorize the rituals, but perfect themselves in extemporaneous speaking. By debates held under the instruction of the old men, they learned how to become quick at repartee and how to trip their adversaries. . . . An endeavor was made to make the address rhetorical and filled with apt metaphor.[18]

Now, nearing our conclusion, we cannot dismiss Parker so lightly. When we began, we wrote that Red Jacket and the Iroquois speaking tradition would have to demonstrate an effectiveness and manifest a developed structure if they would be worth the study by students of public address. Our study seems to show this. The Iroquois did in fact have a set of rules or operational procedures worth investigation. We can no longer smile when Parker tells us that there were places in our country three hundred years ago where men were receiving training in formal debating practices. We know it must have been so.

Yet if we accept this, we find our work has just begun, for we have thrown our discipline wide open into an area which we may call "rhetorical" anthropology. Consider, for a moment, just the Iroquois. This study has argued that Iroquois speaking had an effect on Colonial history, but someone needs to go on to prove that a specific speech did indeed lead to a particular historical event. Nor have we adequately dealt in these pages with Iroquois rhetoric since Red Jacket's time. What has happened to Iroquois spokesmen since 1805? When William Seneca, President of the Seneca Nation, speaks to a Congressional committee, what factors have caused him to alter his speaking style? When Mad Bear

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[18]Arthur C. Parker, "The Civilization of the Red Man," in Flick, Alexander C., ed., History of New York (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), I, 119-120.

Anderson and other leaders of the Red Power movement attempt to influence their audiences, how much do they reflect their heritage? To what extent do modern political practices among the Iroquois draw upon the mechanisms of the traditional hereditary council?

Or consider other cultures. Our fourth example in Chapter V suggests that the Iroquois were at that time involved in extensive negotiations with the Cherokee. Since Iroquois rhetorical practices were originally developed to communicate effectively with Indians, not whites, to what extent do Iroquois practices reflect those of other tribes and how effective were they when directed to these different audiences? Go farther afield. What may we learn of value from speaking traditions as different as village councils in Pakistan or the Eskimo utilization of ridicule in legal argument? What indeed might be worth knowing about speech practices in the medieval kingdoms of Africa or universities of India?[19] What might be gathered from cross-cultural comparisons which would investigate oral rhetorics in pre-literate and literate cultures?

Finally, consider our own speech tradition. The Greeks are the source of our knowledge about and interest in the discipline of rhetoric. When Lewis Henry Morgan, the pioneer American anthropologist whose name

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[19]For the student of public address, two of the most suggestive pages in all history are contained in Will Durant's Our Oriental Heritage. He writes of "schools of discussion" in ancient India enrolling thousands of students, and possessing vast libraries dedicated to "the Goddess of Speech." After these tantalizing remarks, he abruptly drops the subject. Yet these same Indians founded the modern science of philology and formed perhaps the world's most extensive body of oral literature. See Will Durant, Our Oriental Heritage (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1935), pp. 556-557.

is mentioned frequently in these pages, went on from the Iroquois to generalize about other cultures, he found extensive parallels between the Confederacy and the ancient Greeks. We date our own knowledge of Greek speaking practice from Corax and Tisias, but perhaps somewhere here there may be hints or suggestions about how to push our knowledge back even further into the past. Or let us risk being completely outrageous, since we are rarely allowed to be so in studies of this kind. The writer once had an anthropology professor in undergraduate school who asserted that the only constant in human culture was the incest taboo. Yet the Iroquois spokesmen are not all that different from us. Might we dare to hope that cross-cultural studies would show us other constants in the processes of human communication? Perhaps college sophomores need not be our primary objects of study. There may be richer fodder in other pastures.

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