THE QUAKER MISSION TO THE SENECA INDIANS (1798 - 1831)

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
JACK T. VANDER VEN

1967

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ABSTRACT

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by Jack T. Vander Ven

After the War for Independence, the federal government adopted as one of the objectives of its Indian policy the civilization of the Indian tribes within its jurisdiction. To achieve that objective, it invited and received the assistance of a number of Christian missionary groups. Most of the Protestant denominations saw as their principal service to God and to the Indians the propagation of the Gospel and the mass conversion of Indians to Christianity. The Quakers, however, having accepted the idea of religious pluralism, emphasized instruction in the white man's techniques of rural husbandry.

The major purpose of this study is to determine the degree to which the Quakers, whose primary missionary objectives and predispositions distinguished them markedly from evangelical Protestant missionaries, believed themselves to have been successful in their efforts between 1798 and 1831 to bring about the civilization and moral rehabilitation of the Seneca

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Indians of western New York State. This history of the Quaker mission is based primarily on a series of diaries, some in original manuscript form, some edited, that were written between 1798 and 1823 by Quakers of the Philadelphia area, and on printed reports of the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings extending to 1831. An understanding and appreciation of the problems encountered by the Quakers in their work with the Senecas required, in addition, extensive reading in the literature of Iroquoian ethnology.

The major conclusions of this study are: (1) that the economic acculturation of the Senecas was accomplished to a remarkable degree largely through the Quaker technical-aid program, a kind of aid-to-underdeveloped-peoples project; (2) that the moral rehabilitation, or revitalization, of the Senecas was also effected; (3) that the principal instrument of the revitalization of the Senecas, and perhaps also a stimulus to their economic acculturation, was the New Religion of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, which syncretized aboriginal Iroquois concepts with selected Quaker ideas and values; and (4) that, by and large, Quakers evaluated favorably the moral and material results of their missionary effort, together with the moral and material influences of the Handsome Lake religion, during the period 1798-1831.

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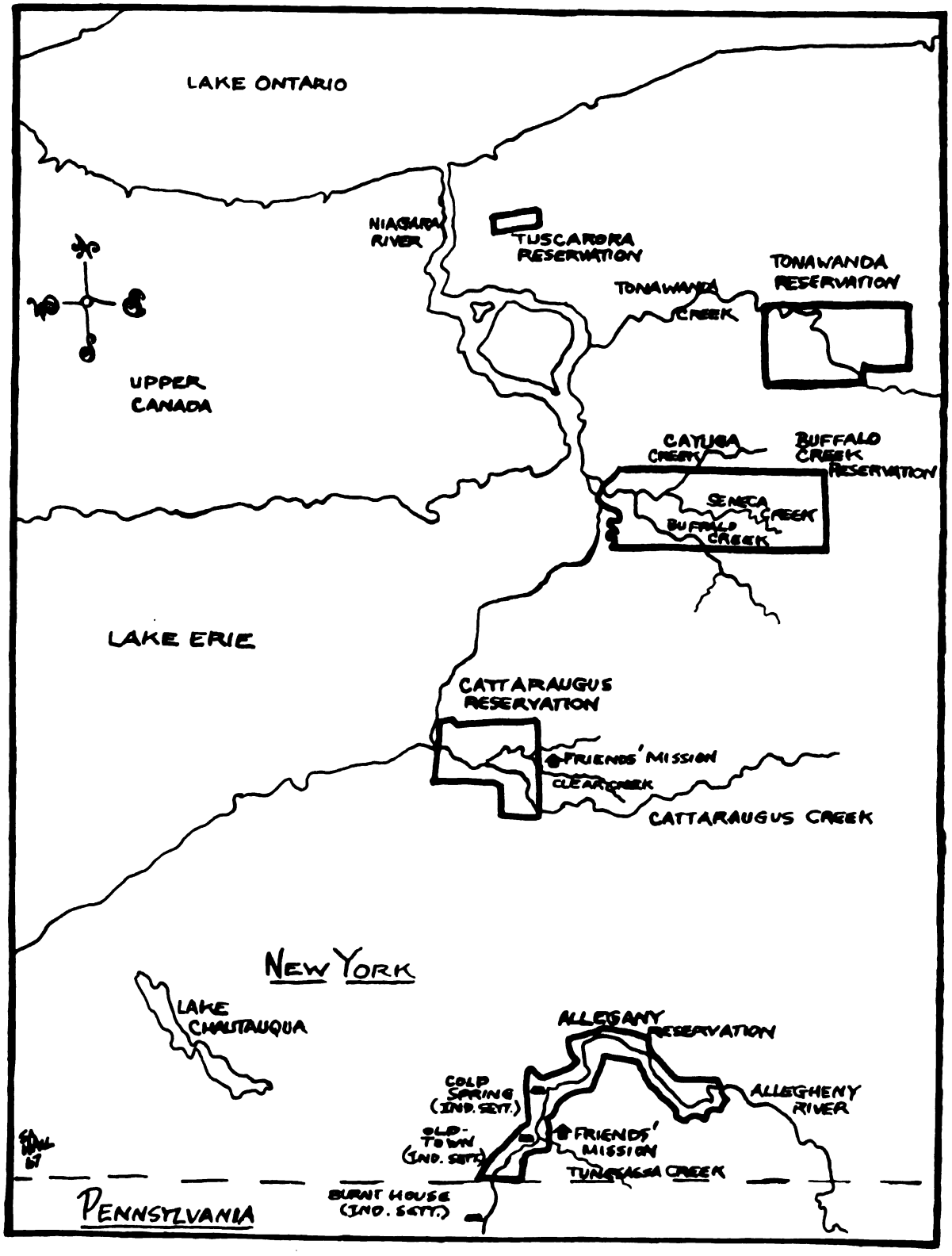
Frontispiece



Area of Quaker Missionary Activity
(Based on the Holland Land Company Map of 1804)

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Jack T. Vander Ven

A THESIS

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PREFACE

This thesis began with an examination of a group of original manuscript diaries in the Clements Library in Ann Arbor, and led to a reading of the secondary literature so essential to an understanding of those diaries, which had, perforce, to be re-examined.

In the summer of 1960, having by then become seriously engaged by the history of the Quaker mission to the Senecas, I visited the Allegany Reservation, an area in southwestern New York State some forty miles long and half a mile wide on each side of the Allegheny River. At that time, the Seneca Indians still residing there were living under a dark cloud. The most habitable and valuable parts of their reservation, the rich bottom lands along the river, were scheduled soon to be inundated by waters built up behind a dam being constructed at a narrows called Kinzua, in Pennsylvania, only twelve miles down-river from the Indian settlements. An unsuccessful legal battle had been fought for several years to prevent construction of the dam, a part of a flood-control program for the Ohio River Basin.

Scattered about the reservation were the houses of the Indians, many of those nearest the river suffering greatly from the neglect of their proprietors, who saw

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the futility of patching and painting. Many of the men worked on the three railroads that traversed the reservation. During the berry-picking season, the entire population seemed to disappear into the woods. In late August or early September, the Senecas donned their colorful ceremonial garments and performed the Green Corn Festival, a spectacle which annually attracted hundreds of visitors, both Indian and white. The town of Salamanca, New York, situated on reservation lands, attracted those in quest of entertainment, and its jail provided short-term accomodations for the victims of fire-water.

Some of the Allegany Senecas, few of whom were without some trace of non-Indian blood, were considering migrating to other reservations in New York. Large numbers, especially of the more sophisticated younger generation, had already established themselves in cities and towns off the reservation, some even marrying into the white community. Meanwhile, older inhabitants of the reservation continued to adhere to the religion of Handsome Lake, with its Allegany center at Cold Spring Longhouse. For them the ancient folk-lore and rituals still possessed deep meaning, and they saw in the impending disaster just another episode in the long history of attempts by greedy white men to deprive them of their lands.

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In the collection of materials and the preparation of the thesis, I have received invaluable aid from several persons. Special thanks are due to William S. Ewing, manuscript curator of the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, who introduced me to the Bonsall diaries; to Anthony F. C. Wallace, of the University of Pennsylvania Department of Anthropology, who sent me a copy of the important Bulletin 149 of the Bureau of American Ethnology; and to Merle H. Deardorff, amateur ethnologist extraordinaire, of Warren Pennsylvania, who was so generous with his assistance during my visit to the Allegany Reservation. Oscar Nephew, a resident of the reservation, took me on some delightful excursions into the Iroquois past.

To Dr. Gilman M. Ostrander I am deeply indebted not only for infinite pains taken in reading and criticizing the thesis during its various stages of development, but as well for agreeing to give the project, already well underway when he became associated with it, and sorely lacking in purpose and direction, the benefit of his wisdom and experience. My wife, Elizabeth E. Vander Ven, made it possible for me to carry the project through to its present conclusion by shouldering many of my family responsibilities as well as her own and by contributing numerous hours of rough-draft typing besides.

Jack T. Vander Ven

Chapter

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Revolutionary generation of Americans was convinced that it had an obligation to be a good example to the rest of the world. A number of wise statesmen, sharing this sense of obligation, were acutely conscious of the responsibility which rested upon the white man with respect to the American Indian. As early as 1776 the American policy of aid to underdeveloped peoples was being outlined in the Continental Congress which, otherwise distracted from Indian affairs by a myriad other concerns, passed a resolution which declared that

> "A friendly commerce between the people of the United Colonies and the Indians, and the propagation of the gospel, and the cultivation of the civil arts among the latter, may produce many and inestimable advantages to both."[1]

It further instructed the Commissioners for Indian Affairs to examine locations among the Indians for the residence of ministers and teachers.

At the end of the War for Independence, the United States faced numerous problems created by the presence of

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[1]Quoted in Francis Paul Prucha, American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), p. 214.

Indians. Many of these problems were a part of the new nation's legacy from the colonial and imperial periods. Others had grown directly out of the military conflict between England and the United Colonies. In its search for solutions to its Indian problems, the government of the United States encouraged and received the assistance of a number of Christian missionary groups.

Most of the Protestant groups which established missions among the different tribes during the post-Revolutionary period declared as their principal intention the dissemination of the Gospel. The Quakers, on the other hand, emphasized instruction in the civil arts, and the labors of members and agents of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting among the Seneca Indians of western New York State produced some unusual results that entitle these missionaries to a separate chapter in the history of Christian missions to the American Indians.

The distinctive character of the Philadelphia Friends' mission to the Senecas is found in (1) the nature and success for at least half a century of the civil arts, or technical-aid, program inaugurated primarily to establish a more stable and productive agricultural economy, (2) the success of the revitalization movement intended to extricate the Indians from the condition of low morale in which they were trapped, and especially (3) the birth of the syncretic New Religion of the Seneca prophet Handsome Lake which helped to ensure

the success of the technical-aid and revitalization programs.[2]

Probably the most pressing Indian problem that faced the United States at the end of the Revolution was the achievement of peaceful relations with the tribes, most of whom had sided with the British during the war. At the outbreak of conflict, the Continental Congress had attempted to persuade the tribes to adopt a neutral stance. Congress soon modified this policy to permit the employment of Indians as allies for military and strategic purposes. However, in its quest for military alliances, Congress soon found itself at a serious disadvantage, compared to the British, who were able to make effective capital of the role they had assumed as protectors of the ancient tribal territories against American intrusions.[3]

The failure of the Americans to keep the Indians neutral forced Congress to adopt a policy of aggressive warfare against the belligerent tribes. Hostility to the patriot cause manifested itself menacingly among some of the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, which had been

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[2]The division of the Quaker mission into a technical-aid program and a revitalization movement was made by Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Exporting the American Idea: Quaker Technology Among the Senecas," Saturday Review, XLVI (April 16, 1963), 56.

[3]Walter H. Mohr, Federal Indian Relations, 1774-1788 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1933), pp. 38-40.

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sundered during the war. Entire tribes, or nations, allied themselves with one side or the other, while others divided over the question of loyalty. Only the Oneidas and Tuscaroras remained loyal to the colonies during the conflict, and even some of these went over to the British side. The other four Iroquois nations, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, were naturally sympathetic to the British, who had not only aided them from time to time in their wars with the Algonquins, but had been lavish with their gifts in contrast to the Americans.

The Indian nations are not mentioned in the treaty of 1783 which formally acknowledged the independence of the United States, and by which Britain relinquished to the new nation that vast part of the North American continent south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. They were left to the mercy of the Americans, many of whom remembered them primarily for their ferocious depradations on the frontiers. The cry went up, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, for the removal of the Indians to other lands. How and to where mattered little to greedy speculators and land-hungry settlers, who viewed the presence of Indians on the land solely in terms of the obstacle it formed to the westward advance of white settlement.

George Washington urged reconciliation with the formerly hostile tribes, and the government of the United

States, in dealing with the Indians, pursued a tactful policy. It maintained no claim to the Indian lands except the right of pre-emption (i.e., the right of purchasing before others).[4] In effect, the government recognized the tribal claims to occupancy of the soil until these were extinguished by treaty purchase. Moreover, to facilitate the conduct of Indian affairs, the government decided to consider the tribes as independent nations and to treat them as such. Such fundamentals of Indian policy were formulated by men who favored an orderly westward expansion which would force the Indians to retreat. The economy of the red man would not, according to this school of thought, hold up under the constant and subtle onslaughts of civilization, the mere pressure of which would render wars and bloodshed unnecessary.

Although the establishment of peace with the tribes was the most urgent of the post-Revolutionary Indian problems, there were other basic difficulties, not the least significant of which was that of assisting the red man along the road from barbarism to civilization. The policies that were worked out in response to the multifarious problems developed in piecemeal fashion under the press of

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[4]For a full explication of the pre-emption rights claimed by the United States, see Esther V. Hill, "The Iroquois Indians and Their Lands Since 1783," New York State Historical Association Proceedings, XXVIII (1930), 338.

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circumstances and the pressures of different special-interest groups until, by the 1830's, the United States had established a set of principles which became the basic guide lines of American Indian policy.[5] Prominent among the fundamental items of the federal program was the promotion of civilization and education among the Indians to bring about their more rapid and thorough assimilation into the main stream of American life.

When the new constitution went into effect in 1789, and the national government now had the specific authority to regulate affairs with the individual tribes, measures could at last be taken to advance the civilization and education of the Indians. The real task of constructing an Indian policy went to the Secretary of War, Henry Knox, a man of no mean experience with Indian affairs. In his first report to President Washington in 1789, Knox conceded that the civilization of the Indians would be a difficult, though not impossible, undertaking. The proper beginning, he thought, should be an attempt "' to induce among the Indian tribes a love for exclusive property...'"[6] by making

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[5]These principles have been conveniently summarized in Prucha, op. cit., p. 2.

[6]Quoted in George Dewey Harmon, Sixty Years of Indian Affairs: Political, Economic, and Diplomatic, 1789-1850 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 17.

gifts of sheep and other domestic animals to the chiefs and by appointing persons to instruct the Indians in animal husbandry. Knox also recommended the appointment of missionaries of high moral character, supplied with the necessary implements and livestock for farming, to live among the Indians and to act solely as their economic and spiritual mentors. Should such a plan fall short of fully civilizing the Indians, it "'would most probably be attended with the salutory /sic/ effect of attaching them to the interest of the United States.'"[7] In his instructions to General Rufus Putnam, who was sent in 1792 to negotiate with the formerly hostile Indians near Lake Erie, Knox included the following statement, which epitomizes the fundamental ends and means of his government's civilization policy:

> "The United States are highly desirous of imparting to all the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization, as the only means of perpetuating them on earth. That we are willing to be at the expense of teaching them to read and write, to plough, and to sow, in order to raise their own bread and meat, with certainty, as the white people do."[8]

President Washington was fully in accord with the opinions of his Secretary of War. In his annual message to Congress on October 25, 1791, Washington presented a six-point

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[7]Quoted in ibid., p. 18.

[8]Quoted in ibid., p. 157.

program "'to advance the happiness of the Indians, and to attach them firmly to the United States.'"[9] He called for carefully considered projects to bring the benefits of civilization to the friendly tribes. In his annual message of the following year he reiterated his recommendations. During this same period, Washington sent with the commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty with the Creek Indians instructions which illustrate the judicious combination of justice and benevolence with national self-interest characteristic of his attitude toward the Indian problem. The commissioners were to try "'to obtain a stipulation for certain missionaries to reside in the nation,'" the object of which would be "'the happiness of the Indians, teaching them the great duties of religion and morality, and to inculcate a friendship and attachment to the United States.'"[10] Very early in the history of the independent republic, her leaders recognized the utility of aid to underdeveloped peoples as a tool of foreign policy. As long as serious threats to national security existed in the presence of unfriendly European powers on the North American continent, the friendship of the Indian tribes was felt to be important.

The aims and methods of federal Indian civilization

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[9]The six points of Washington's program are listed in Prucha, op. cit., p. 46.

[10]Quoted in Harmon, op. cit., p. 157.

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and education policy were thus clearly spelled out in the first years of the new Constitution, and although the humane and benevolent suggestions of such statesmen as Washington and Knox were never fully carried out, they proved to be the basis of the future Indian policy of the United States government. In the intercourse act of March 1, 1793, Congress provided that "'in order to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes, and to secure the continuance of their friendship,'"[11] the President might supply them with domestic animals and the tools of husbandry, plus other goods and money. A yearly sum of $20,000 was appropriated for the gifts and the remuneration of the temporary agents who could be sent to live among them for instructional purposes. Although the Civilization Fund was cut down to $15,000 a year by the intercourse act of 1796, a measure continued in the acts of 1799 and 1802, the civilization program was otherwise left intact. Further provision for assistance to the Indians was made in many of the treaties entered into with individual tribes.

While the federal aid program was being worked out and put into effect, a number of Protestant missionary groups were establishing Indian missions with the avowed chief aim of Christianizing the heathens. This objective

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[11]Quoted in Prucha, op. cit., p. 215.

was founded, according to Robert F. Berkhefer, Jr., upon the basic Protestant assumption of the acceptance of the Scriptures as the sole standard of faith. None of these groups appears to have thought it possible to make permanent Christians of people who were not also acculturated to the white man's ways. On the other hand, they were not in complete accord as to which process, Christianization or civilization, should receive priority.[12]

Relations among the different denominations active in the Indian mission field were usually far from cordial. Each believed itself to be more accurately representative than any other of the essential truths of Christianity, and as interdenominational rivalries intensified, the attitude of the missionaries toward the heathen practices of the Indians was often severely intolerant. Most of the mission workers refused to permit Indian and white religious observances to be held in close proximity. Ultimately, most of them, partly because of the erroneous cultural assumptions they brought to their work and partly because of their basically evangelical objectives, found it difficult to view the results of their missionary labors with entire satisfaction.[13]

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[12]Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 3 and 5-6.

[13]Ibid., pp. 92-94, 119, and 152-60.

The missionary activities of members and agents of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends among the Seneca Indians of western New York during the first half of the nineteenth century demonstrate a number of striking and fundamental dissimilarities to those of the missionary groups whose work has already been characterized in general terms. The differences between Quakers and other missionaries to the Indians are explicable in no small degree by the fact that American Quakers emerged from their ordeals of the Revolutionary era with a changed purpose and outlook. During the war and the series of constitutional crises leading up to it, the Society of Friends was frequently the object of distrust and condemnation by patriots and revolutionary governments because of its pacifistic non-compliance with new demands for taxes and military service. In response to the attacks of Americans hostile to their sect, Friends endeavored to strengthen their church government and to undertake benevolent projects that might offset charges of disloyalty to the patriot cause.[14]

By the war's end, Quakers had abandoned the goal of mass conversion that had motivated their efforts in the seventeenth century, and had adopted instead the idea that they could most benefit society by the purity of their

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[14]Sidney V. James, A People Among Peoples: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 240-41.

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religious fellowship and by the example of their virtuous behavior, including disinterested benevolence. Their new conviction that their church could perform good works for all mankind without first bringing all mankind into their church enabled them to accept diversity of denominations among Christians.

> Friends thought their understanding of God's truth clearer, their church purer and more conducive to right conduct, than others, but they acknowledged that the difference was one of degree, not of kind, and that a religious life could be led by men of other persuasions.[15]

The altered outlook of the Quakers is further attested by the subordinate role which the Quaker missionaries to the Seneca Indians assigned to the promulgation of Christian doctrine. Quakers in the post-Revolutionary era did not abandon their belief that moral regeneration resulted from the spirit of Christ manifested in the Inner Light. Indeed, the concept of the Inner Light remained the central tenet of the Quaker faith. However, in the years following the Revolution, Friends were insisting that the Inner Light made their preaching useful to any properly receptive person, regardless of how few doctrinal precepts they shared. The primary concerns of the Quaker missionaries were with such things as the effective substitution of a modern agricultural

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[15] Ibid., p. 281.

economy for one too dependent upon hunting, the restoration of strong family morality, and temperance. In the controversy over which should come first, Christianization or civilization, they had little difficulty making up their minds. Their establishment of resident missions was undertaken on the belief, like that of Henry Knox, that to prevent their extinction the indigenes would have to be educated to the ways of the white men.[16]

As a religious community, the Society of Friends has not always manifested humanitarian concerns. Examples of charity on the part of individual members of the Society are found throughout the long history of American Quakerism, but it was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that the Society as a whole, acting through the concept of the 'corporate concern', undertook for the first time good works on behalf of persons outside the Society. As a group of men working methodically for the 'corporate concern', the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting represented, asserts Sydney V. James, a departure from older Quaker practice. It did not depend on a collective prompting to start each of its actions, it permitted the hiring of non-Quakers to assist with its benevolent work, and it did not require a host of converts

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[16]Ibid., pp. 272 and 312-15.

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By instructing the Indians in a new way of life rather than in a new religion, by stressing changes in social values as against changes in religion, by proclaiming the accessibility of the Inner Light to peoples with doctrinal differences, by rejecting the idea that Indian society should be assimilated into white society until the former had disappeared altogether, and by refusing to equate missionary success with the number of converts to the faith, the Quakers who labored on behalf of the Senecas were able to effect a number of profound, sometimes surprising, transformations in the human material with which they worked.

That human material was found by the Quakers to be in rather straitened circumstances. Indeed, the last years of the eighteenth century may well have been the unhappiest years in the history of the Iroquois. The ancient council fire of the Six Nations, symbol of the unity of the now defunct Confederacy, had been extinguished in 1777, and the Indians were now widely dispersed as a result of the military campaigns in New York during the Revolution. The majority of the Mohawks, and some members of the Cayuga and Onondaga nations, were settled in lands in Ontario offered by the British authorities in Canada. Power in international

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[17] Ibid., pp. 1 and 312-13.

affairs had gone from the Iroquois. For long accustomed to thinking in continental terms, they were now overwhelmed by the nagging frustrations of reservation life. There was widespread collapse of morale.

During the seventeenth century, and for much of the eighteenth, the home-land of the Iroquois Confederacy was more or less that part of the present state of New York between Lake Erie and the Hudson. From there, the Iroquois had extended their hegemony by conquest over the territory from the Mississippi through New England and from the St. Lawrence to the Tennessee. The unity and military strength created by confederation enabled them to hold in subjection numerous tribes, from which they exacted tribute of various kinds. Hunting and trapping expeditions sometimes carried them beyond the limits established by conquest. Even before the outbreak of the War for Independence, the Iroquois watched the white men whittle away their territories by such hard bargains as the Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768.[18] Now, in the years immediately following the Revolution, those who remained in New York (principally the Senecas) suffered further substantial losses of land through political red tape and the maneuvers of land companies. By the year 1798, in which the Philadelphia Friends established their

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[18]The harsh terms of the treaty are discussed by Ray A. Billington, "The Fort Stanwix Treaty of 1768," New York State Historical Association Proceedings, XLII (1944), 182-94.

first mission among them, the Senecas had sold title to all their remaining lands in western New York except ten meagre tracts including the Allegany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, and Tonawanda Reservations.

By 1798, the civilization of the white man had wrought some changes in the Seneca settlements along the Allegheny River. Troops of the Sullivan-Clinton expedition of 1779 had observed in the Indian communities through which they passed "some good buildings of the English construction...," a number of them "larger than common, and built of square & round logs & frame work."[19] John Adlum, a surveyor, had visited the Seneca lands in the summer of 1794, and had reported to civilization's credit "corn in their houses two years old and in plenty, they now had both cows and hogs, and were much more comfortable in their clothing, and the abundance of various vegetables and provisions...."[20] Contracts between Senecas and whites were common between 1795 and 1798, and by the latter date there were "'3 horses,

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[19]New York (State), Secretary of State, Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779 (Auburn, N.Y.: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, 1887), pp. 186 and 308.

[20]Donald H. Kent and Merle H. Deardorff (eds.), "John Adlum on the Allegheny: Memoirs for the Year 1794," Part I, The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIV (July, 1960), 310.

14 horned cattle, 1 yoke oxen, /and/ 12 hogs'"[21] along the Allegheny.

Still, the Seneca towns were essentially Indian towns when the Friends reached them in 1798. More precisely, their way of life was a century-old medley of aboriginal Indian and frontier white culture. Such metal devices as guns, knives, axes, kettles, chains, traps, and files had largely replaced their pre-contact wood and stone counterparts; cloth had considerably replaced skins and furs; pigs, cattle, and cultivated potatoes had been added to the dietary; and liquor had become a common distraction. Iroquois agriculture had, due to white influences, reached its height of productivity in the years just preceding the Revolution. Then along came American troops in 1779 to destroy much of what had been achieved.

However, as Anthony F. C. Wallace points out, the white elements in the Indian way of life had only been utilized to serve the old culture; they had not transformed it. The language, the forms of social relations, the religion (particularly as demonstrated in the ancient rituals), the housing arrangements, the furniture, and the bulk of the dietary were fundamentally unchanged from

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[21]Quoted in Merle H. Deardorff, "The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development," Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton (Bulletin 149 of Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington, D.C., 1951), 85 - hereafter cited as Deardorff, "Handsome Lake".

pre-contact times. The aboriginal division of labor was still practiced.[22]

The indigenous Iroquois economy was a semi-agricultural one. The products of the forest and the stream were combined with those of the field, the garden, and the orchard to keep the Iroquois fed, clothed and sheltered. The staple crops were several varieties of corn, beans, and squash--the so-called Trinity of the American Indian. At least a hundred other plant foods, both wild and cultivated, were known and used.[23] The importance of horticulture in the Iroquois economy, and especially the cultivation on a large scale of corn, beans, and squash, necessitated permanent settlements. When their corn fields and vegetable gardens flourished, they ceased to be nomadic hunters. By the time the first contacts were made with the whites, the Iroquois were domiciled in fairly permanent houses and settled in towns. Hunting and fishing were still pursued, but they were carried on by way of seasonal expeditions originating in the villages.

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[22]Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Handsome Lake and the Great Revival in the West," American Quarterly, IV (Summer, 1952), 156.

[23]For a comprehensive itemization of plant foods in the Iroquois dietary, consult Arthur C. Parker, "Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants," New York State Museum Bulletin, No. 144 (November 1, 1910), pp. 43 ff.

A wide variety of animal foods was consumed by the Iroquois, and in times of dearth the list was no doubt considerably extended. The equilibrium of the semi-agricultural economy was gradually upset by the increasing scarcity of game, attributable in part to the impinging white settlements, but as much, if not more, to the 'pioneer spirit' of our forebears, which permitted the indiscriminate slaughter of wild animals. While the Iroquois were practical conservationists, the white frontiersmen, with guns and traps, and with no regard for sex, drastically reduced (in some cases to extinction) the numbers of turkeys, passenger pigeons, and other wild creatures. It seemed clear to the Quakers that the Seneca dependence upon hunting, now less reliable than ever, could only be obviated by the establishment of a more stable agricultural economy.

In order to achieve this principal objective of their technical-aid program, the Quakers believed they would have to overcome a number of difficulties arising from the persistence of certain aboriginal customs and practices and not necessarily related to the composition of the Iroquois dietary. One of these had to do with the division of labor. In the indigenous culture, the entire population, men and women, had an important share in production. All had to contribute equally to keep supply on a level with demand. The Iroquois economy was a highly socialistic one - from

each according to his ability to each according to his need.

The factor of interdependence in Iroquois production was the result of a rigid sexual division of labor. The men were warriors first and foremost, but in the economic sector they were charged with all of the responsibilities associated with hunting, including trapping, and fishing. Hunting and fishing were skills that demanded the use of every faculty, and, whereas the woman's labor in the fields consumed but six weeks of the year, the man's contributions to the larder engaged him throughout the year. War expeditions and conquests kept him occupied the rest of the time.

Agricultural production, on the other hand, was, in almost all its aspects, in the hands of the women. One of the first things that caught the attention of the Quaker missionaries in the spring of 1798 was the scene of women laboring in the cornfields; planting time was approaching.[24] It was a part of the fixed belief of the Iroquois that the bond between women and the crops was so close that only women could make them grow. If and when the men worked in the fields, it was always as assistants; they scorned the work which they deemed peculiarly that of the women,

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[24]Anthony F. C. Wallace (ed.), "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798-1800," Part I, Pennsylvania History, XIX (April, 1952), 126-27.

and they feared the ridicule to which they would be exposed if they were seen doing 'squaw work.'

However, as the necessity for war was removed, as game grew gradually more scarce, as agriculture became the chief dependence, and as the environment of the white man was forced upon the Indians, the old reasons for the abstention of men from field work passed away. But the force of tradition remained strong. While the women performed their customary labors in the fields, the men, with a diminished importance in society, still spent many of their working hours in the hunt, but otherwise passed their days in shooting arrows, pitching quoits, jumping, and other competitive games, and their nights in talk. When these failed to dispel the gloom of reservation life, drunkenness was a common recourse.

Another obstacle to the implementation of the Quaker civil arts program stemmed from the ancient Iroquois cosmologic myth in which corn was said to have sprung from the breasts of the Earth-Mother, who died upon delivering the twins, Good Minded and Evil Minded. Beans and squash also sprang from her grave. The earth was revered as the mother of man, for she furnished sustenance in the form of animals and plants. Since Mother Earth nurtured her children, her breasts were not to be torn at with plows, which the Quakers tried to introduce and which required

manpower, but rather tickled gently by women with a stick or a hoe.[25]

The ancient Iroquois concept of land tenure was also continued down to post-Revolutionary times. This was based on the idea that land was a gift from the 'Great Spirit', a gift necessary for survival and one which only the original giver could take away. Hence, land was neither an item of booty to be won nor a commodity to be bought or sold. It belonged to all the people who inhabited it. No individual could enforce a claim to a specific piece of land. Neither could any individual of his own volition legally 'sell' lands. Indian property was held in common. The Indian had no idea of legal title, of the individual ownership of land. The tribe, or nation, had exclusive use and control of a tract of land bounded by natural features. In short, the idea of 'exclusive property', as represented by the family farm urged on the Indians by the Quakers, was contrary to Iroquois belief.[26]

These and similar problems created by the stubborn persistence of Iroquois traditions hindered the Quakers in

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[25]George S. Snyderman, "Concepts of Land Ownership Among the Iroquois and Their Neighbors," Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton (Bulletin 149 of Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington, D.C., 1951), 15-17.

[26]Ibid., 18-19.

their efforts to train the Senecas in the white man's agricultural technology. None, however, seemed at first more deleterious than the excessive consumption of liquor. Dispirited and demoralized, the Senecas maintained a precarious existence farming and hunting on their dwindling reservations. Strong drink was for many the last refuge.

The aboriginal Iroquois dietary contained a corn soup liquor and a number of other beverages prepared from various types of herbs, but these drinks were all non-intoxicating. The Iroquois had no intoxicants, except for the fermented sap of the maple tree, until they came into contact with the whites, and had, therefore, acquired no technique for resisting the effects of alcohol. Their indulgence in it often proved disastrous.

Liquor was an addiction of many Indians at this time, and led to distressing social disorders. The fact that frontier whites also had a reputation for drunkenness did not lessen the seriousness of the problem among the Indians. At the pagan religious festivals, the sacred dances often degenerated into orgies. Worse than these were the community drinking bouts. In the fall the community dispersed up and down the Allegheny River for hunting. In the spring, the men filled their boats with the season's fur take and went off to Pittsburgh and its traders.[1] Pay was taken mostly in whiskey, and when the flotilla returned,

usually in May, the community celebrated for a week. Deaths from brawling and exposure were common.[27] No one was safe until the whiskey was gone, but even then it was not hard for Indians to get more from white bootleggers. The Friends admonished the Indians to give up strong drink altogether, warning them that progress could come only to a sober community.

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[27]Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 88.

CHAPTER II

PRELUDE TO THE QUAKER MISSION

The first contact between members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends and an influential chief of the Seneca Indians took place in Philadelphia, then the nation's capital, in late 1790. The meeting was incidental to the official business on which that chief had been invited to the city by the Government of Pennsylvania, but it bore important fruit in the influence it was to have on the establishment of Quaker missions among the Indians of New York State.

By the Treaty of Fort Harmar of 1789, the Senecas of the Allegheny River settlements, under the leadership of Chief Cornplanter, had supported the United States against the belligerent Indians of the Northwest. The Iroquois present had also agreed, again through Cornplanter's intercession, to cede to Pennsylvania the 'Erie Triangle' for $2,000 worth of goods.[1]

After the Treaty of Fort Harmar, General Richard Butler, one of the commissioners, wrote to Thomas Mifflin,

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[1]For the terms of the Treaty of Fort Harmar, see U.S., Congress, American State Papers, IV, Indian Affairs, I, pp. 5,6, and lxxii--hereafter cited as Indian Affairs.

President of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council, suggesting a gift of 1,000 to 1,500 acres to Cornplanter in recognition of his services and the value of his friendship to cement his ties with the State.[2]

The attachment of Cornplanter, a Seneca war chief also known as John Abeel, O'Bail, Obale,[3] to the United States had already been largely secured. At a post-Revolutionary council at Fort Pitt, he had learned that the British, contrary to their solemn war-time promises, had abandoned their Indian allies to the Americans, and from that time on he threw in his lot with the new country, believing that his people's wisest course lay in making the best possible terms with it. It was largely through his urgings that the signing of the Second Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784) by the Six Nations was accomplished, even though he was dissatisfied with it and worried about the discontent of his people.

The United States recognized that what it needed more than anything else to achieve and preserve amity with the New York Iroquois and to exert influence with the

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[2]Merle H. Deardorff, "The Cornplanter Grant in Warren County," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XXIV (March, 1941), 8.

[3]Cornplanter was a half-breed. His father was a Dutch trader of Albany. His mother was a 'princess' of the Turtle clan of Senecas.

hostile tribes of the Ohio River region was a strong native character to head what it hoped to convert into a pro-American party to oppose the pro-British faction under the Mohawk chieftain Joseph Brant, who, from his base in Upper Canada, was in constant touch with the chiefs of the northwestern tribes. It was natural that Cornplanter, as leader of the powerful Seneca element which had a long tradition of action independent of the League, should be selected for the purpose, and that he should lend himself to elevation by the Americans into their spokesman and favor granter to the Indians. Cornplanter was always on the go -- to the Indians of the Northwest to attempt pacification; to Buffalo Creek, the headquarters of those of the eastern Senecas, such as Red Jacket, who had not gone to Canada with Brant, to argue with his own people; and to Albany, New York, and Philadelphia to consult with American officials, state and federal.

On May 10, 1790, President Mifflin wrote to Cornplanter inviting him and two fellow-chiefs, Halftown and New Arrow, to Philadelphia in September to remonstrate before the Assembly over the plundering of Iroquois camps by white people. His trip was delayed, however, by the so-called 'Walker Tragedy', the murder of two friendly Seneca Indians by white settlers at the Pine Creek community

in north-central Pennsylvania. Finally, in late September, he and five others, including Halftown and Big Tree, set out for Philadelphia, where they arrived on October 22. On the next day Cornplanter addressed the Supreme Executive Council. On the twenty-ninth he made a speech setting forth his grievances and suggestions one by one.[4]

On the first day of December, 1790, President Washington met Cornplanter and his companions in Philadelphia. On the twenty-ninth, there was an exchange of speeches between Cornplanter and the President, during which Washington promised to the Indians access to the courts and federal protection in their land dealings. Washington expressed a wish "that all the miseries of the late war should be forgotten and buried forever." After urging the promotion of "each other's prosperity by acts of mutual friendship and justice," he notified the Indians that now, since the new Constitution was in effect, only the central government of the United States had the power to treat with the Indians, and that any treaty made without its authority would be invalid. He concluded by asking the visiting Seneca chiefs to caution all the Iroquois against joining the Miami Indians in

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[4]Deardorff, "Cornplanter Grant," 9.

their uprising against the United States.[5]

Washington's Indian policy at this time was to hammer the recalcitrant tribes of the Northwest into submission, albeit in accordance with a notion of justice to the Indians that did not encompass their destruction, while strengthening existing ties with the friendly nations. He appointed Timothy Pickering, former quarter-master general of the army, to make appropriate reparations to the Senecas for the 'Walker Tragedy',[6] and "'to declare to them the friendly disposition of the Federal government towards them, and its readiness to extend protection and support to them on all needful occasions...'"[7]

Beyond attaching the Indians to the interests of the United States, it was the objective of Washington and Pickering to transform their primitive state into one of civilization by "'introducing among them the knowledge of farming, of smith's and carpenter's work, of spinning and weaving, and of reading and writing...'"[8] This would be

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[5]John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), The Writings of George Washington (39 vols.; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), XXXI (1939), pp. 179-84.

[6]Ibid., pp. 124-25.

[7]Quoted in Charles W. Upham, The Life of Timothy Pickering (3 vols.; Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1873), II, pp. 454-55.

[8]Quoted in ibid., III, pp. 31-32.

done partly by making gifts of livestock and agricultural implements to the Indians and partly by appointing "'some benevolent man'" to conduct "'a school of plain learning and husbandry'" in one of the towns of the Indian tribe that appeared most receptive toward the program.[9]

Well before the Pickering appointment was made, the United States Government had used for peace-keeping purposes white men of proven influence with the Six Nations Indians. One such person was the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, a Protestant missionary who had labored among the Oneidas from 1766 to 1775, and who had been instrumental in keeping most of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras loyal to the Americans during the Revolution. During the summer of 1789 he journeyed through the entire country of the Six Nations, urging upon the Indians a policy of peace and friendship with the United States. He helped to bring Cornplanter and his fellow-chiefs to Philadelphia in October of 1790.

The Americans hoped that the Seneca chiefs would get an impression of American power from the Philadelphia visit. Coupled with a display of power, however, was a wonderful hospitality. Cornplanter was made much of by the people of the city. He spoke no English, but with the help of interpreters he talked war and politics at

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[9]Quoted in ibid., II, p. 471.

length with Washington and other statesmen and dignitaries, and he discussed religion and education with the numerous whites who were anxious to help his people. During his long stay in Philadelphia in the winter of 1790, he attended Quaker meetings with some regularity.[10]

Cornplanter attended an historic conference and asked Washington to allow the Senecas to retain their lands. He also asked the President to recommend men of good will who might be willing to teach the Indians good habits. On January 19, 1791, Washington delivered an address to the Seneca chiefs in which he made the following statement:

> You may, when you return...to your own Country, mention to your Nation my desire to promote their prosperity by teaching the use of domestic animals, and the manner that the white people plough and raise so much corn. And if upon consideration it would be agreeable to the Nation at large to learn these arts, I will find some means of teaching them at such places within their Country as shall be agreed upon.[11]

Three days later, Thomas Mifflin, now Governor of Pennsylvania, recommended to the new Legislature the gift of three tracts of land on the Allegheny River requested by Cornplanter in lieu of the 1,500 acres in the Erie Triangle ceded to the State in the Treaty of Fort Harmar. An act was accordingly passed on January 29

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[10]Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 84.

[11]Fitzpatrick, op. cit., pp. 198-99.

and approved on February 1.[12]

On February 10, 1791, Cornplanter, impressed by the apparent interest shown by the Quakers in bringing about a friendly feeling between Indians and whites, addressed a request to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends that they bring to Philadelphia three boys of his tribe for education, one of them to be his oldest son Henry. The letter begins as follows:

> The Seneca Nation see, that the Great-spirit intends that they shall not continue to live by hunting... ...we wish our children to be taught the same principles by which your fathers were guided in their councils.
>
> We have too little wisdom among us. We cannot teach our children what we perceive their situation requires them to know, and we therefore ask you to instruct them. We wish them to be instructed to read and to write, and such other things as you teach your own children; and especially to teach them to love peace.

He warned the Quakers that "if you do this thing, look up to God for your reward."[13] The Indians were too poor to accept the cost of the boys' education. This letter was not delivered to the Friends until after Cornplanter left Philadelphia.

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[12]Deardorff, "Cornplanter Grant," 10.

[13]The "Cornplanter Letter" is printed in Friends Historical Association of Philadelphia, Bulletin, XXV (1936), 86-87.

The Quaker reply to the "Cornplanter Letter", dated June 2, 1791, was forwarded to the Seneca chief through John Adlum, the surveyor. The Friends agreed to receive the three boys "when they can be conveniently sent to us, intending they shall be treated with care and kindness, and instructed in reading, writing, and Husbandry as the Children of our Friends are taught." For this project, the letter states, the Friends had received the approval of the Governor of Pennsylvania and Secretary of War Henry Knox.[14]

The Quaker project was temporarily delayed, however, when Cornplanter, upon returning home, found that the Americans had appointed for him, at his request, a teacher in the person of Captain Waterman Baldwin, who had been Cornplanter's prisoner during the Revolution. Baldwin brought with him horses, a plow, and a Bible. Ostensibly, he was to act as an interpreter and to help the Indians learn farming, reading, and writing. In truth, he was a spy for the Americans, as were all of his kind at that time.[15]

Thus, before the Friends had time to act, the federal government had taken steps of its own. Cornplanter

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[14]The Quaker reply is printed in ibid., 87.

[15]Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 84.

thanked the Quakers but wrote that "'we mean to let him /I.e., Baldwin/ teach them a little first and then take your offer and will send them down.'"[16]

The arrival of Baldwin was not the only reason the Quakers did not follow up the opportunities opened to them by Cornplanter's request. The political and military hostilities made it inadvisable for the Quakers to send a mission, since many of the New York Indians were openly hostile despite Cornplanter's peaceful intentions. These threatened to join the Indians in the Northwest, where the situation was still explosive and the Indians the more belligerent for the defeat of the federal force under General Josiah Harmar in November, 1790.

In the early winter months of 1792, Kirkland went through the western part of New York state to convince the Indians that a policy of hostility toward the United States would destroy them. He called a council at Geneseo. Many influential chiefs, including Red Jacket and Farmer's Brother, were present. He renewed the invitation, made by Pickering at Painted Post, New York, in June, to the Iroquois chiefs to come to Philadelphia. He persuaded the council to send a large delegation of chiefs to the nation's capital to negotiate with the federal government.

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[16]Quoted in Merle H. Deardorff and George S. Snyderman (eds.), "A Nineteenth-Century Journal of a Visit to the Indians of New York," American Philosophical Society, Library Bulletin: Studies of Historical Documents (1956), 584.

Eventually, every influential chief of the Six Nations but Brant, Great Sky, and Fish-carrier went to Philadelphia. Great Sky was too sick to attend.

On March 14, the chiefs of the Six Nations arrived in Philadelphia with Kirkland.[17] There they remained until the end of April. The Philadelphia council was climaxed with a treaty, dated March 23, providing an annual fund of $1,500 for the purpose of instructing the Six Nations in agriculture, carpentry, smith's work, spinning and weaving, and the elements of reading and writing the English language.[18] As a result of this treaty, the Six Nations were convinced of the good will of the President and Congress toward the Indians. They agreed, as Pickering had hoped, to become the mediators of peace with the hostile Indians in Ohio. The Six Nations thereafter continued friendly with the United States.[19]

The Quakers, thwarted in their earliest attempts to establish a mission among the New York Iroquois, had not

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[17] Upham, op. cit., III, pp. 30-31.

[18] See Joseph D. Ibbotson, "Samuel Kirkland, the Treaty of 1792, and the Indian Barrier State," New York State Historical Association Proceedings, XXXVI (1938), 391. On March 23, 1792, Washington had written to the Senate asking their advice on the possibility of such an annual appropriation. - Fitzpatrick, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[19] For the terms of the treaty of 1792 and the diplomacy of the federal government with respect to the Indians of the Northwest and New York State at this time, see Indian Affairs, pp. 225 ff. and lxxiii.

given up hope of eventually doing so. Meanwhile, they became involved in other activities having to do with the Indians. Before the end of 1791, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting had directed its attention to the problem of pacifying the western frontier and supporting Washington's non-military efforts in this direction. The Friends published a pamphlet expressing their views on the Indian situation and recommending such just and pacific measures as might arrest the devastating border wars and establish peace upon a firm basis. They hoped to furnish every member of Congress and officer of government with a copy of it. A copy was received by Pickering, who averred that "'if the facts and observations contained in it had been duly attended to, we might have escaped a deplorable Indian war.'"[20]

When the Iroquois chiefs were in Philadelphia in 1792, they had a number of conferences with Friends. On April 4, Elizabeth Drinker, a Philadelphia Quaker, wrote in her diary:

> "We had 20 persons to dine with us besides our own family, Izaac Zane and his daughter, Sally, John Parish, W. Savery, Ben Wilson, 13 Indians and 2 interpreters. They dined in ye back parlor and had a talk after dinner in the garden..."[21]

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[20]Quoted in Upham, op. cit., III, p. 23.

[21]Quoted in Francis R. Taylor, The Life of William Savery of Philadelphia, 1750-1804. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 58.

These small incidents demonstrate that the Friends were fully alive to the Indian situation and were the close confidants of the chiefs.

In February of 1793, word reached the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings of the Society of Friends that a treaty conference was to be held in the summer at Sandusky, Ohio, on the southern shore of Lake Erie.[22] Two Indian messengers came all the way from the Northwest Territory to the federal government at Philadelphia with requests from chiefs that some Friends should attend the council. On March 21, Washington wrote to four members of his cabinet, bringing to their attention the desire of the Quakers to send a delegation to Sandusky, and asking them for opinions on the extent to which they ought to be recognized in the Instructions to the Commissioners and the degree to which they should be allowed to participate in the treaty conference.[23]

By April 1793, there was widespread unrest among the tribes of the Northwest. Washington, however, went

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[22]The Meetings for Sufferings were set up by the Yearly Meetings, beginning with Philadelphia in 1756, to meet emergency conditions in the French and Indian War and the Revolution. They were at first concerned with such things as legal aid to Friends who fell afoul of military exactions. After the Revolution, they provided legal protection to re-enslaved Negroes and served as the voice of the church to the various governments. - James, op. cit., p. 15.

[23]Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. 397.

ahead with his treaty conference plans. He wrote the Secretary of War concerning a request made by the Quakers to be permitted to make presents to the Indians at the impending conference, leaving up to the Secretary of War and the commissioners the propriety of granting the request at all, and to what amount and kind of articles.[24]

The six Friends who volunteered to make the trip to Sandusky for the Meeting for Sufferings were John Parrish, William Savery, and John Elliott of Philadelphia, Jacob Lindley of Chester County, Pennsylvania, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorne of New Jersey, all of whom traveled under individual concern and with minutes from their respective Monthly Meetings.[25] Washington chose Timothy Pickering, General Benjamin Lincoln, and Beverly Randolph as commissioners for the United States. The group of Quakers was eventually joined by John Heckwelder, a Moravian missionary of long experience with the Indians. The instructions of Secretary of War Knox to the three commissioners regarding the Friends and Heckwelder were explicit:

> The society of Friends have, with the approbation of the President of the United

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[24] Ibid., pp. 407-408.

[25] William Savery (1750-1804), a master tanner of Philadelphia, traveled much "in the ministry" both in the United States and Europe, and gained considerable fame as a preacher.

> States, decided to send some of their respectable members, in order to contribute their influence to induce the hostile Indians to a peace. They are not, however, to confer with the Indians upon any subject of importance, until they have previously communicated the same, and received your approbation.
>
> The Reverend John Heckwelder...will accompany you, in order, also, to use his influence towards a peace. .... His knowledge of Indian customs and manners may be of great use in your negotiations.[26]

The six Friends, with Washington's approval, started forth on their journey on May 3, 1793. They bore with them a letter of introduction from the Meeting for Sufferings, the representative body of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. The address contained the usual Quaker affirmations of peaceful intentions, and expressed a deep wish for a durable and peaceful outcome of the conference.[27] On June 10, 1793, the Friends and Heckwelder arrived at Detroit, where they joined the federal commissioners for the trip to Sandusky.

The American commissioners had gone to Sandusky prepared to make bona fide concessions to the Indians. In spite of urgings from the Six Nations, however, the treaty failed. When the Shawnees and Delawares proved obstinate, the Iroquois chiefs walked out of the council.

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[26]The letter is printed in Indian Affairs, pp. 340-41.

[27]The letter is printed in Taylor, op. cit., pp. 68-70; and William Savery, A Journal of the Life, Travels and Religious Labors of Wm. Savery (1750-1804), comp. Jonathan Evans (Philadelphia, 1873), pp. 29-33.

The Friends were not hampered by federal regulations in their intercourse with any of the Indians, either singly or in groups. The official restrictions had little force; the Friends moved freely among the Indians and conversed with them unhindered during the frequent intervals between councils. On one occasion, William Savery presented five of the principal chiefs with neat tobacco boxes, well filled, which they said would constantly remind them of Friends.[28]

Actually, neither the Quakers nor the delegates of the Six Nations played an effective role in the conference. The negotiations were a failure, partly because of British interference, which caused the opening of negotiations to be delayed, and partly because, as John Parrish stated in his journal, the United States

> "...instead of singly attending to Establishing a Peace with the Natives, .../pursued/ measures...to procure large & extensive tracts into their Country & .../made/ them believe they were a conquered people & that all their lands were in reality the property of the United States..."[29]

A Captain Elliot commented that General Anthony Wayne's very presence near the treaty site and his loud threats that

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[28] Ibid., p. 64.

[29] Quoted in George S. Snyderman (ed.), "A Preliminary Survey of American Indian Manuscripts in Repositories of the Philadelphia Area," American Philosophical Society, Library Bulletin: Studies of Historical Documents (1953), 605.

could only result in the Indians "'forming their plans of operation to prosecute the war'"[30] scarcely furthered the interests of peace. The difficulty which the Six Nations Iroquois of New York experienced at the attempted treaty, in being excluded from the private councils of the other tribes, had resulted from their being considered in the American interest.

The failure of the commissioners to gain an equitable treaty convinced the Quakers that peace could be won only with a long-term, uninterrupted program of assistance, and that the present pattern of sending individuals intermittently, and usually at times of apparent crisis, to deal with the Indians was not likely to effect mutual understanding because it lacked continuity. The Quaker delegation refused to witness the treaty because it confirmed to the United States large tracts of land "obtained by Conquest" and not by consent.[31]

In August, 1794, the Meeting for Sufferings in Philadelphia was notified by both the United States Government and by the Indians that the presence of another delegation of Friends would be welcome (and actually desired by the Indians) at a treaty conference to be held later in

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[30]Quoted in Ibid.

[31]See Savery, op. cit., pp. 28-87, for a Quaker account of the attempted treaty of 1793.

the year between the Six Nations of New York and the United States at Canandaigua, New York. David Bacon, William Savery, John Parrish, and James Emlen offered their services, and were approved by the Meeting. Timothy Pickering, now the nation's Postmaster-General, was chosen to lead the United States mission.

Both parties felt that the resulting Treaty of Canandaigua was successful. The Senecas felt repaid for their loss of territory west of the Pennsylvania line by the pledge of securities they had received that the lands they now held were theirs forever. The conference was the last great council held by the United States Government with the Confederacy of the Six Nations. Some of its treaty stipulations hold today. This is the basic treaty upon which the Indians of New York still rely for recognition and federal protection.[32]

The treaty was signed in the presence of the delegation of Friends, who again mingled freely with the Indians, seeking to guide them and protect them from frauds. The Friends delivered the address from the Meeting for Sufferings and made gifts of the various presents brought from Philadelphia. The Indians made speeches to the Friends and requested advice from them as difficulties arose during

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[32]A Quaker account of the treaty conference is contained in ibid., pp. 88-160. The treaty also increased the Iroquois annuity to $4,500--see Indian Affairs, pp. 545 ff. and lxxiii.

the progress of the negotiations for the treaty. Pickering did not object to the Friends, but welcomed their help.

During the conferences, Sagareesa, or Sword Carrier, a Tuscarora chief, visited with the Friends and made the concrete suggestion, according to Savery, that "some of our young men might come among them as teachers; we supposed he meant as schoolmasters and artisans."[33] The remarks of the chief stimulated interest among the Friends and clearly expressed the needs of the red men, and the visits made by Friends to the conferences in 1793 and 1794 made a deep impression on their minds. They saw first-hand the condition of the people who were being pushed over farther west, and whose domains were eagerly coveted by the expanding nation. The visitors returned to the Meeting for Sufferings convinced that some more essential services should be rendered to these people than had heretofore been given them.

The Friends who had attended the Canandaigua treaty conference made a stirring and compassionate appeal in their report to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings.

> "Many are the difficulties and sufferings to which the Indians are subjected, and their present Situation appears loudly to claim the Sympathy and Attention of the members of our religious Society and others who have grown numerous and opulent of the former Inheritance

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[33] Ibid., p. 125.

> of these poor declining People; we cannot but believe some mode may be fallen upon of rendering them more essential Service than has yet been adopted."[34]

Accordingly, when the "Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and the Eastern parts of Maryland and Virginia" convened in Philadelphia in September, 1795, the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings urged it to consider ways in which Quakers could best aid the Indians.

In response, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, on September 30, appointed a sub-committee of forty-three prominent Quakers to take the subject of the Indians into definite consideration, and report "whether a fund might not be fitly appropriated for the desirable purpose of promoting the civilization and well-being of the Indians...."[35] After careful analysis, the committee, on October 2, reported back to the Yearly Meeting, stating the objectives of Quaker work as follows:

> ...to promote amongst them the principles of the Christian religion, as well as to turn their attention to school learning, agriculture, and the useful mechanic employments...[36]

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[34]Quoted in Rayner W. Kelsey, Friends and the Indians, 1644-1917 (Philadelphia: the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917), pp. 91-92.

[35]Friends, Society of, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, The Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, &c. reflecting the situation of the Indian Natives in the year 1795 (Philadelphia: Samuel Sanson, 1795), p. 3. - hereafter cited as Friends, Proceedings in 1795.

[36]Ibid., p. 4.

The report went on to recommend the establishment of a permanent committee to direct the raising of a fund by subscription. The recommendation was accepted by the Yearly Meeting, which appointed another sub-committee empowered

> ...to give solid attention to the concern at large, also receive and appropriate such monies as may be raised towards effecting the beneficial pious purposes held up to view in said Report...[37]

This committee, composed of twenty-nine Friends, met on October 4 and organized "The Committee for Promoting the Improvement and Gradual Civilization of the Natives," appointing Thomas Wistar clerk and John Elliott treasurer.[38]

The committee set to work preparing subscription blanks for the collection of funds. It prefaced these blanks with an Epistle directed to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings belonging to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

> It is hoped that some sober well qualified friends will be drawn to unite with the Concern so far as to go among them for the purpose of instructing them in husbandry, and useful trades; and teaching their children necessary learning, that they may be acquainted with the Scriptures of truth, improve in the principles of

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[37] Ibid.

[38] The Committee boasted such men as William Savery, John Parrish, and William Hartshorne of the temporary committee and James Emlen and John Elliott (treasurer), all of whom had been at Sandusky (1793) and/or Canandaigua (1794).

> Christianity, and become qualified to manage temporal concerns--and it is expected the committee will find it expedient to erect Grist and Saw Mills, Smith's shops and other necessary improvements in some of their villages. For the support of those who may be disposed to undertake the performance of these services, due provision is intended to be made...[39]

Before entering directly upon the work for the Indians of New York, the Committee notified President Washington of its plans. From Washington the Friends received cordial encouragement. The committee appointed to see him reported that he was in complete accord with their purposes and that he had suggested they talk with Timothy Pickering, now Secretary of State, about all Indian problems. The projected Quaker mission was in line with Pickering's own views on Indian rehabilitation. Pickering was convinced that the civilization of the Indians could only be accomplished by steadily and persistently forcing upon them the practice and arts of husbandry. The object he aimed at, as expressed in a letter of August 16, 1791, was the termination of their semi-hunting tribal economy by securing to every man a separate possession of land, based upon an absolute title, which he could cultivate for himself and his family.

> "The introduction of the art of husbandry, in its improved state, was the great object; but improvements in husbandry could not take place without exclusive property, that the

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[39]Friends, Proceedings in 1795, p. 6.

> improver might enjoy the fruit of his labor. ... The obvious consequence of...improvements is the separate enjoyment of lands..."[40]

The Committee next sent a circular letter to the different settlements of the New York Iroquois to ascertain their disposition to receiving assistance from the Quakers. The letter, dated January 5, 1796, asked whether the Indians wished to be taught farming and other useful trades, and whether they wanted their children to learn to read and write. It also reiterated the fact that the Quakers had no designs on Indian lands. The letter to the Onondagas alludes to the scarcity of game brought to the attention of Friends, and agrees that the Indian dependence upon hunting must cease, for, "'although your lands are much less than they once were, they are with a small degree of industry abundantly sufficient to supply all your wants.'"[41]

A letter from Timothy Pickering to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, written February 15, 1796, urged them to accept help from the Quakers. After testifying to Washington's approval of the Quaker plan, Pickering advised the Indians to adopt the farming methods of the

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[40]Quoted in Upham, op. cit., III, p. 77.

[41]Quoted in Snyderman, "Preliminary Survey of American Indian Manuscripts," 598.

white men, fence their lands, and raise livestock. The Quakers would not, insisted Pickering, seek payment for their services in furs, land, or money. Pickering also wrote on the same day to Captain Israel Chapin, the United States Indian Superintendent, at Canandaigua, informing him of the Quaker plan to promote the welfare of the Indians, and asking for their cooperation in carrying it out.

In 1796, the Committee delegated a group of six Friends, including James Cooper, John Pierce, and Henry Simmons, Jr., to make a visit of inspection and inquiry to the Indians of New York. They set out early in the summer. On May 20 of that year, Jacob Taylor appeared before the Committee with a letter from the Friend's agent, Israel Chapin, advising them that so far only the Oneidas had accepted the Quaker proposals. The visit of inspection and the letter from Chapin seemed to point out that the Oneidas and other Indians settled on their reservation offered the most open field of service for the time.

In at least one place the Quaker proposals were not at all graciously received. Chapin wrote to the Friends on July 6, 1796, that the Indians residing on the Buffalo Creek Reservation were opposed to receiving a Quaker mission

for the time being. They were suspicious that Friends would eventually lay claim to some of their lands. They agreed, nevertheless, to observe Quaker missionary work in other parts of New York State before closing their minds to Friends' proposals.[42]

Elsewhere in western New York, however, and especially in those Indian settlements where Cornplanter's influence was at all effective, the attitude of the Indians toward the idea of Quaker assistance was, if not enthusiastic, at least tolerant in a way that seemed to offer encouragement for the future to the Friends of Philadelphia.

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[42] Ibid.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE QUAKER MISSION

From 1756, the year of the founding of the Friendly Association,[1] to 1795, when the Indian Committee was established in Philadelphia, all the Quaker concern for Indian work fell upon individuals. The concern consisted almost exclusively of preaching, attending treaty conferences, or the occasional giving of material aid as the result of individual leading. In 1795, the transition was made from the individual to the corporate concern, and in the following years several yearly meetings in their corporate capacity established mission stations among the Indians.[2]

The method of recruiting missionaries, teachers, and other workers was one of the Indian Committee's first concerns. Before an application could be considered by

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[1]"The Friendly Association for Regaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures" was formed by those strict Quakers of Pennsylvania who, under the leadership of Israel Pemberton, sought to carry on their public policy during the French and Indian War years by other means than constitutional political power. The Association, which tried to stop Indian raids by non-military measures and thereby discredit the Provincial government, did not enjoy the official recognition of the Society of Friends, and could not, therefore, be considered a 'corporate concern'. -see James, op. cit., p. 178; and Theodore Thayer, "The Friendly Association," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXVII (October, 1943), 356-76.

[2]Taylor, op. cit., p. 61; and Kelsey, op. cit., p. 89.

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the Committee, the prospect had to be cleared through his own Monthly Meeting. If a person was acceptable to his Monthly Meeting, he would be given a recommendation to the Committee, which then made the final judgement. The Committee required regular reports from the individuals sent to work at the mission stations. In addition, delegations were sent periodically to inspect the operations of the missions, check financial arrangements and expenditures, and personally speak with the Indians.

By the summer of 1796, the Committee was ready to launch its mission program. The six Friends who were making the tour of inspection for the Committee reached the Oneida Reservation sometime during the summer. Enoch Walker, Jacob Taylor, and Henry Simmons, Jr., decided to stay as teachers. Taylor distributed farming tools and household utensils. Jeremy Belknap, Congregational minister and noted historian, who had come to Oneida from Boston, met the three Friends at Whites Town on June 21.[3] He noted that they had taken up temporary quarters in the house of Hendrick Apaumut, the Mohegan chief.[4]

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[3]Jeremy Belknap (1744-1798) was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the author of a respected three-volume History of New Hampshire.

[4]Jeremy Belknap, Journal of a Tour from Boston to Oneida, June, 1796 (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson & Son, 1882), pp. 19 and 25.

In an attempt to get their technical-aid program underway, the Quakers encouraged the Indians to cultivate their land. They soon discovered that the Indian men were, by tradition, unaccustomed, and therefore averse, to agricultural labor. To set an example, the Friends began to improve a piece of land without the Indians' assistance. In addition, the Friends restored a saw mill belonging to the Oneidas, and several Indians were taught to operate it.

Sickness disabled many of the Indians and some of the Friends in 1797, so little improvement was achieved among the Oneidas in that year. The following spring the Quakers hired some Indians to assist in improving the land allotted to them for a farm, but the work habits of the Indians were so irregular that the plan was soon abandoned. The Friends reported that "Some days, near 30 would come to work, and other days scarcely 1 was to be had. They /i.e., Friends/ therefore engaged a number of Indian lads and young men, whom they boarded, and allowed a reasonable compensation for their labor."[5]

Eventually, some improvement began to take place. Many of the Indian men began to assist their wives in

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[5]Friends, Society of, Accounts of Two Attempts towards the Civilization of some Indian Natives (London: Phillips and Fardon, 1806), p. 9. - hereafter cited as Friends, Civilization of Indian Natives.

working their little plots of land. When they ran into trouble for want of a blacksmith to make and repair their farming tools, William Gregory, a Friend whose trade was blacksmithing, arrived at the mission fully equipped with the appropriate tools. His wife and another woman, Hannah Jackson, came with him to instruct the Indian women and girls in housekeeping.[6] Items of farming equipment were furnished for the instruction of the man.

In 1798 a large and comfortable dwelling house, a barn, and other buildings were erected on the mission farm, and young men and boys were employed in cultivating the fields. Large quantities of grain and hay were produced, demonstrating to the Indians the advantages of cultivation. Several Indians learned the blacksmith's trade, and a number of young women and girls were taught by Mrs. Gregory and Miss Jackson to spin, weave, knit and sew, as well as to read and write a little.

Premiums were offered to stimulate competition among the Indian men in the raising of crops and among the women for the spinning of yarn and weaving of woolen clothes. The offer of premiums was not, however, a Quaker innovation. In 1779 the British had offered premiums to

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[6]Other Friends engaged at the Oneida mission at various times were Josiah Rowland and Jonathan Thomas.

the Iroquois of the western part of New York State to encourage large plantings of corn and other vegetables,[7] and prizes to men for agricultural achievement were a part of Samuel Kirkland's unsuccessful plan to reconstruct the Oneidas after the Revolution.[8] The Friends at the Oneida mission experimented, with apparently good results, paying cash premiums. The smith's business flourished, and the Friends, with the assistance of the young men, continued to work their farm. As opportunities for service arose, Friends extended their labors to the various parts of the reservation in numerous ways. Among other things, they assisted the Stockbridge Indians residing on the reservation in erecting a grist-mill.

In the winter of 1796-1797, a school for Indian children had been opened by the Quaker missionaries, and, according to an account of the Committee, "An Indian, well qualified by education in New England"[9] was engaged at a stated salary to teach the Stockbridge children. The school was in session every winter during the duration of the Quaker mission.

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[7]See the Journal of Lieutenant William Barton of the Sullivan expedition in New York (State), Secretary of State, op. cit., p. 9.

[8]See infra, p. 59.

[9]Friends, Civilization of Indian Natives, pp. 8-9.

Toward the end of the third year of the mission, with gradual but continuing progress apparent among the Oneidas, the Friends began to feel that the Indians had been instructed sufficiently to enable them to improve quickly if only they would apply themselves. They failed, however, to persuade the Indians to accept the idea of exclusive property, a concept they advocated primarily for two reasons. In the first place, the Quakers hoped to prevent the alienations of tribal lands that were taking place because, according to the Iroquois philosophy of tribal communal ownership, individuals could not convey land. Land transactions required the consent of civil chiefs, and many bogus "chiefs" were being duped by unscrupulous speculators into ceding large areas of Indian lands without prior consultation with all or any segments of the tribe. The Quakers believed that the invalidation of the concept of tribal communal ownership and the removal of the requirement of consent of the civil chiefs by a system of individual and absolute title would provide greater security of real property. Secondly, the Quakers, in common with other white Americans, believed that the self-reliance forced upon the proprietor of the dispersed farmstead acted as a stimulus to personal and property improvement and to great productivity.

Some of the Indians on the Oneida Reservation had

become suspicious that Friends would eventually bring claims against them for their services. They knew that the various tools and agricultural implements distributed among them must have cost a great deal of money. They doubted that even Quakers could be, in spite of all visible proofs to the contrary, so disinterested; that they would not in time make a permanent establishment among them and lay claim to a part of their lands. When an impasse was reached because of this unwarranted distrust, the Friends concluded that suspicions could best be quieted by bringing the mission to a close, leaving all of the improvements, blacksmith's tools, and agricultural implements with the Indians as a testimony to their altruistic intentions.

In September 1799, four members of the Committee went to Oneida, and, after some friendly conferences with the Indians, closed the affairs of the mission there. The Indians, in reply to an address delivered by the Friends, thanked the missionaries for assisting them without any apparently selfish motives. They were especially grateful for the counsel given by Friends about the harmfulness of strong drink, and they asked that the Friends visit them from time to time to see how they progressed.[10]

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[10] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

In 1797, members of the Oneida, Stockbridge and Tuscarora communities of the Oneida Reservation requested Friends to place some of the Indian girls among their own families in the Philadelphia area, where they would, among other things, learn to read and write. Accordingly, Henry Simmons and Joseph Clark brought some of them to Philadelphia that year. In 1801, Clark accompanied three of the girls back to Oneida, three others having returned previously. Each of them was sent home with a Bible and other religious books, a spinning wheel, and articles of clothing which she had made during her stay in the home of a Friend.

A letter written in September, 1803, by one of the girls who had lived with a Quaker family in Philadelphia to one of the female Friends who had resided at the Oneida mission indicated the effectiveness of the instruction she had received. She had continued to spin wool and flax since returning home, and had instructed her people to make butter and cheese. Many Indians had begun to raise flax for linen and sheep for meat and wool. The material improvement of the Oneidas since the closing of the Quaker mission had been great, she reported. Many Indians had built frame houses and barns. She estimated that, though there were still many heavy drinkers on the reservation,

three hundred men and women had given up the habit.[11]

Among the Stockbridge girls taken to Philadelphia to be educated in domestic duties was Mary Doxtator. After her return to her people she married an Oneida, a member of the "Pagan" party, who opposed all her efforts to be useful among the Indians. After his death, however, she opened a school of industry and taught the Indian women to sew, spin, and weave blankets and garment material.[12]

Phoebe Roberts passed through the Oneida Reservation in October, 1821, while on a missionary journey to Upper Canada (Ontario). She wrote in her diary, after briefly mentioning the Quaker mission, that the Indians "inhabit excellent land and nice farms considering they live in little log houses..... ...their buildings are mostly frame."[13]

The Quakers were neither the first nor the last to undertake missionary work among the Oneida Indians. Samuel Kirkland had labored among them before the Revolution, and he had hoped to return after the War. When he was in Philadelphia in 1792 for a treaty conference with a number of Iroquois chiefs, he presented his program for the

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[11] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

[12] Julia K. Bloomfield, The Oneidas (New York: Alden Brothers, 1907), pp. 143-44.

[13] Leslie R. Gray (ed.), "Phoebe Roberts' Diary of a Quaker Missionary Journey to Upper Canada, 1821-1822," Ontario History, XLII (No. 1), 7.

civilization and education of the Oneidas. Kirkland favored the influx of a white frontier population. He, like Pickering, had become convinced that the Indians would never adopt the white man's agricultural methods unless they were forced to do so. He had previously tried to help civilize the Indians by introducing modern agricultural techniques, but his efforts had been continually frustrated when the Indian men dropped everything and went off on their hunts.

Kirkland believed that the best way to promote the reconstruction of the Oneidas was to establish among them a thorough system of education--industrial, political, and religious. His idea in 1792 was to erect a school in the vicinity of Oneida where the students would come into close touch with the whites. Here he hoped to prepare the most promising Indian pupils for leadership in teaching smaller schools which were to be placed in all the Iroquois reservations. To encourage agriculture and the learning of trades, farmers, blacksmiths, and carpenters were to be located at the central villages to instruct the Indians. Prizes were to be given to encourage both the pupils in the schools and the adults on the farms. The Federal Government endorsed Kirkland's plan and appropriated $1,500 annually for twenty-one years.

Kirkland's plan failed. He could not find suitable

leadership for the adult education program, and the government withdrew its interest. He then turned to the project of an Indian Academy to train his own leadership. In January, 1793, he obtained a charter from New York State for the Hamilton Oneida Academy. A few Indian pupils attended for a while, but they soon lost interest, and during the financial panic of 1793-1795, the school was practically abandoned. Kirkland, nevertheless, continued his missionary labors among the Oneidas until shortly before his death in 1805.[14]

Well before the Quakers established their mission at Oneida, the Moravians were active in the Indian mission field, attempting to bring civilization to the red man. Moravian missionary work, however, as distinct from that of the Quakers, was avowedly evangelistic. Like William Penn, the Moravians believed that the North American Indians were descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel, that they had departed from their original religion, and that it was incumbent upon good Christians to bring them back into the fold.[15] The Moravians won converts from among many tribes,

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[14]The reasons for the failure of Kirkland's missionary project are discussed in Herbert John Lennox, Samuel Kirkland's Mission to the Iroquois (Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1935), pp. 15-17.

[15]Kenneth G. Hamilton, John Ettwein and the Moravian Church During the Revolutionary Period (Bethlehem, Penna.: Times Publishing Co., 1940), p. 92.

including the Onondaga, the Cayuga, and the Seneca.

The Moravians carried the work of civilization to the Indians by concentrating them in settlements such as those of Friedenshűtten and Gnadenhűtten. These towns resembled in several ways the Allegheny Seneca settlements of 1800-1810 under the Quaker-Handsome Lake influence, and it is possible that Quaker missionary work among the New York Indians was patterned to some extent after the activities of the Moravians. Members of the two sects were certainly not out of touch with one another before 1795, and John Ettwein, the Moravian bishop, corresponded with Friends in Philadelphia before the advent of the corporate concern.

Except for the one significant difference, that the Moravians sought to win converts to their sect, the Quaker and Moravian missions were strikingly similar. The Moravians encouraged their converts to read the Bible, an objective the Friends also hoped to achieve, though perhaps for somewhat different reasons. Missionaries of both sects organized Indian schools. The Moravians sought to improve the native agricultural skills. New implements, such as the plow, were introduced. While hunting and fishing were allowed, agriculture was to be the backbone of the economy. Orderliness, industry, and the sanctity of marriage and the family were taught. Immorality,

drunkenness, laziness, slovenliness, dishonesty, vengefulness, and cruelty were denounced as contrary to Scripture. During the Revolutionary War, the communities of Moravian Indians were kept out of the conflict. This work of the Moravian missionaries appears to have resulted in a rise in living standards among the Indians.[16] Kirkland and the Moravians preceded the Quakers in the New York Iroquois mission field, but they were not more successful than the Quakers in their efforts to civilize the Indians. The zeal of Friends to labor on behalf of the Iroquois was not seriously dampened by the closing of the Oneida mission in 1799. Well before this closing took place, Friends had become interested in the Seneca Indians. The Seneca chief Cornplanter resided on the Allegheny River in northwestern Pennsylvania about five miles south of the New York line. Other villages of the Senecas were located farther up the Allegheny and in adjacent parts of western New York, at Buffalo and Tonawanda Creeks. Early in 1797, Friends were considering what their duty should be toward the Senecas. By 1798, Quaker interest had shifted from the Oneidas to the Allegheny Senecas.

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[16] Kenneth G. Hamilton, "Cultural Contributions of Moravian Missions Among the Indians," Pennsylvania History, XVIII (January, 1951), 1-15.

Generally speaking, the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Senecas, under the influence of such recalcitrants as Red Jacket, were still unreconstructed and hostile to attempts by white Americans to transform their way of life. In November 1797, Jacob Lindley visited with a number of Seneca chiefs, including Farmer's Brother, at Buffalo Creek. He spoke to them of the Quaker program for helping the Indians to better their condition, but he received little enthusiastic response for his efforts.[17] The situation among the Allegheny and Cattaraugus Senecas was quite different. These communities were dominated by two very unusual characters: Wanundguhta, the Chief Warrior, at Cattaraugus, and Cornplanter, on the Allegheny. Both men favored missionary assistance to their people.

Cornplanter lived at Burnt House, the main village on his Allegheny River tract, one of three tracts granted to him by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1791, comprising six hundred acres on the River and two near-by islands. Cornplanter held this grant in fee simple; he was not required to perfect it by settlement or payment. The village received its name, Burnt House, before a destructive raid of American troops in 1779, even though it was burned

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[17]Frank H. Severance (ed.), "Jacob Lindley's Journal: His Account of His 'Religious Visit' to the Friends in Canada, and to Indians on Buffalo Creek, in 1797," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, VI (1903), 176.

at that time.

Nine miles above Burnt House was the village of Genesinguhta (Oldtown), located not on Cornplanter's personal grant but in New York State. Only three or four families resided at Oldtown, the largest townsite in the area, in 1798, most of the Indians on the Allegheny living in or near Burnt House. There was a large measure of security in this. Across the line surveyors were laying off the Seneca national reservation, now the Allegany Reservation, a tract of forty-two square miles, and none of the Indians knew where the survey lines would fall.[18]

The first settlement of Friends among the Senecas was made in 1798, and was undertaken by three young men, Joel Swayne, Halliday Jackson, and Henry Simmons, Jr., the last of whom had spent some time at the Oneida mission.[19] On April 29, 1798, these three, accompanied by Joshua Sharpless and John Pierce, left Philadelphia to journey

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[18]By the Treaty of Big Tree, September 15, 1797, the Senecas had sold to Robert Morris title to all their remaining lands in western New York except ten tracts including the Allegany, Cattaraugas, Buffalo Creek, and Tonawanda Reservations. Bankruptcy led Morris to debtor's prison in 1798, and the Holland Land Company acquired his Seneca lands through foreclosure.

[19]Halliday Jackson (1771-1835) was a Quaker of New Garden, near Philadelphia. He made notes while at the mission, but did not write the "short history" edited by Anthony F.C. Wallace until some time later.

to Burnt House, which they reached on May 17. The town consisted of about thirty bark-roofed log cabins resting on the west bank of the Allegheny. The population was about four hundred. Above the town was Cornplanter's sawmill, the first mill on the Upper Allegheny.

Cornplanter received the Friends warmly, welcoming them into his house, where they were fed and given temporary lodgings. Cornplanter's son, Henry, educated by Friends in Philadelphia, was there to serve as interpreter. When Jackson saw the Indian women laboring in the fields, he realized the immensity of the tasks that he and his companions had volunteered to perform. The purpose of the mission, as he understood it, was to help the Indians by supplying them

> with implements of Husbandry to till the land, that they might cease to pursue the wild Beasts of the forrest /sic/, and look for sustenance to their Fields, their Fruit Trees, & their Vineyards and have flocks and herds and swine in Abundance, and Corn in their houses, and bread without scarcity, and themselves become Clothed with Garments which their own fingers have made...[20]

The Quakers would instruct the Indians in building houses, enclosing fields, handicrafts, and mechanical and manual arts.

A council was held on May 18 in Cornplanter's house. This dwelling was not only the home of Cornplanter's family,

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[20]Wallace, "Halliday Jackson's Journal, 1798-1800," Part I, 121-22.

but also the community guest house, council house, and ceremonial center. After explaining the objectives of their mission to the Indians, the Friends read a letter from James McHenry, Secretary of War, recommending that the Indians make use of the Friends' advice and assistance. The next day, Cornplanter expressed his personal approval of the Quaker program, warning that there were some among his people who remained adamant about changing the old division of labor, and asked the Friends to teach the Indian children to read and write.

The Friends received Cornplanter's permission to select a plot of land which they could use and improve during their sojourn among the Indians, and they chose a mission site at Genesinguhta, upriver from Burnt House, comprising about 150 acres of partly cleared flat and many deserted houses. Deciding upon a lot with one of these houses, they paid Cornplanter twenty dollars for the dwelling and, on the 23rd of May, moved with their horses and baggage from Burnt House. Cornplanter gave them hunting and fishing privileges in the vicinity of their settlement and loaned them some tools until their own should arrive from Philadelphia. Here at Genesinguhta the Friends would establish an agricultural demonstration center for the Indians. They hoped that an Indian man might, with assurances that no other Indian man should see

him, be persuaded to do 'squaw work' in the fields.

The first days at the mission were taken up with improving farming implements soon arrived from Philadelphia, and during the summer and fall the Friends put up a new and bigger house to replace the one they had purchased from Cornplanter. This work engaged them until early October, and they were forced to turn down requests from a number of Indians for assistance in the raising of houses of their own. However, the following March, the Friends at the mission reported that their new house, a two-story shingled log dwelling, had aroused in some Indians the desire to build better houses for themselves, and that, with assistance from the Friends, three old Indian men had learned to make shingles.

Thereafter, the pace at which the Indians were building shingle-roofed log houses was sufficient to impress Joshua Sharpless, who had visited Genesinguhta in the spring of 1798, and returned there in September of 1799 with four other members of the Indian Committee on a tour of inspection. Even so, the Committee members concluded that the number of more solid and comfortable Indian dwellings was too small. The primitive style of house construction was very much in evidence on the tracts of land inhabited by the Senecas.

The aboriginal Iroquois house was the rectangular

Gä-nó-sote, or bark cabin, very long, and subdivided, so as to accomodate a number of families. The French explorer Samuel de Champlain (1567-1635) described the typical longhouse as being "'approximately fifty or sixty yards long by twelve wide, with a passage ten or twelve feet broad down the middle from one end to the other. .... There will be a dozen fires to each cabin, making two dozen families.'"[21] In truth, the longhouses of the Iroquois varied considerably in length and width, and some were twenty feet high. They often held as many as twenty related families, but four was the most common number. Champlain's unfavorable reaction to the coarse flea-infested, smokey environment of the longhouse[22] was echoed to some degree in 1806 by John Phillips, a Friend from Philadelphia, during his first trip around the Seneca reservations: "...I could not have thought that any creatures possessed of rational sense would have lived in so much filth. .... I think I scarcely saw a table and the houses so full of fleas that they may be seen skipping about."[23] It amazed Phillips that the Indians could live

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[21]Quoted in Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada, National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65. Anthropological Series, No. 15. (3d ed.; Ottawa: E. Cloutier, 1955), pp. 88-89.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Deardorff and Snyderman, "A Nineteenth-Century Journal," entry for September 18, 1806.

in their old bark dwellings through the winter without freezing.[24] However, the old ways, to the discontent of the Quakers, were slow to die.

When the Quakers presented their plan to teach the Senecas to farm with modern tools, the Indians immediately made the Quakers aware of the scarcity of agricultural implements. The Friends responded with gifts of tools, including scythes, log chains, and plows. Additional tools were made available on a loan basis. For example, those received from Philadelphia by the Friends at Genesinguhta in May of 1798 were to be left at the mission to be used by the Friends, themselves, and also to be loaned out to those Indians who wished to use them. It was decided not to give any of them away to the Indians for fear that some might be pawned or sold to buy liquor. The practice of lending tools was to be stopped when the Friends felt that the Indians had progressed far enough to buy or manufacture whatever metal implements they needed. The purpose of the Quaker mission was not simply to give the Indians whatever they needed for an indefinite period of time. The Friends intended a rehabilitation program. They encouraged the Indians to be interdependent, believing, as Halliday Jackson wrote, that while the Indians "were

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[24] Ibid., entry of September 17.

united together in good works they were like a cord made of many strings not easily broken.[25]

In addition to admonishing the Indians about the baneful effects of indefinite borrowing, the Quakers took positive measures to make their charges more self-reliant. John Pennock, a young Quaker blacksmith, came to Genesinguhta in September of 1801 to instruct Indians in his trade. In November, three young men began a training program with Pennock, who was at the mission intermittently through the fall of 1804, making the iron works for grist and saw mills when not giving lessons. By the autumn of 1803, a number of Pennock's trainees, including one Jacob on the reservation of the Tuscarora Indians, were working by themselves with tools supplied by the Indian Committee. The Quakers also had tools shipped in for purchase by the Indians. As late as 1806, however, requests to borrow Friends' tools were still being made. In a conference in September of that year with members of the Indian Committee who were viewing the Indian improvements, John Silver-heels, a young Seneca of the anti-Cornplanter faction, complained that "For three years past you have not lent us any tools -- we were then like a man asleep & when he

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[25]George S. Snyderman (ed.), "Halliday Jackson's Journal of a Visit Paid to the Indians of New York (1806)," American Philosophical Society, Library Bulletin: Studies of Historical Documents (1957), entry for September 16, 1806.

awakened and reached out his hands to get assistance you then withdrew it from him -- We still expected to get tools to borrow after you brought on tools to sell."[26] In answer to Silverheel's grievance, the Friends stated that "when Children first begin to walk they require to be taken by the hand to steady & help them to learn to walk but when they get able to go alone it is best to withdraw that assistance & they will learn the faster & so we believe it would be with the Indians."[27] Like the use of the autochthonous Iroquois dwelling, the practice of borrowing tools was not easily extirpated.

From the establishment of the mission until the spring of 1800, few important breakthroughs had been achieved by the Quakers in the agricultural aspect of their technical-aid program. The offer of cash premiums to those Indians who showed the most progress in adopting the white man's ways was extended to the Allegheny Senecas in 1798. By 1806, the premium scheme had been discontinued for fear the Indians might waste the money on liquor. By

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[26]Isaac Bonsall, "Journal of a Journey Made by Quaker Missionaries to the Indians of the Allegheny River Valley, and an Account of Visits to Quakers in Pennsylvania and Ohio, September 2, 1806 to January 19, 1807," MS, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, entry for September 16. - hereafter cited as Bonsall, 1806 MS.

[27]Ibid.

the fall of 1799, the Indians at Burnt House and Genesinguhta had enclosed a number of fields for pasture and had increased the numbers of their cattle, pigs, sheep, and tame fowls. These changes represented some advance. While it had been fairly easy for the men to accept animal husbandry because of the traditional association of the male with the hunt -- tending animals was not 'squaw work' --, the idea of the enclosed field was a concept quite foreign to the Iroquois experience. Domesticated animals, other than the dog, had not previously been kept, and the few pigs, cattle, and horses in the Indian villages in 1798 scarcely demanded fences to keep them out of the garden plots and from wandering off. When the numbers of livestock increased with the aid of the Friends, it became necessary to enclose fields, and the Indians were taught how to erect wooden post and rail fences. They were also advised to clear some of the rich bottom lands along the Allegheny for meadows and to plant other bottom lands with hay and timothy grass to provide winter fodder for their cattle.

The Indians had not, however, started to raise wheat and similar grains or to use the plow. It was in the spring of 1800 that an Indian, for the first time, took hold of a Quaker's plow and tried it himself, to the surprise of his friends. The breakdown of the ancient prohibitions was

thereafter rapid enough that within a year the Allegheny Senecas were, with a little instruction from Friends, beginning to use the plow. The Friends demonstrated the implement's advantages with an experiment in which several strips of a large field were prepared, some in the new way and the intermediate strips in the old way by women using hoe-like digging sticks. They were all planted with corn, the parts worked by plow not only having saved much labor but having produced the best crop.[28] This was followed in the summer by the first attempt made by the Indians to raise wheat. The Friends at Genesinguhta could report with some elation in September, 1801, that "The false shame on the part of men, and the ridicule of the women, is wearing away, in proportion as they become familiarized to each other's assistance in their little agricultural labors."[29]

The gradual acceptance of the Quaker's farming practices by the Indian males along the Allegheny gave the women greater time and opportunity to improve in the domestic arts. The Friends decided that some women could be employed at the mission to give instruction not only in housekeeping, but also in such skills as spinning and

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[28]Friends, Civilization of Indian Natives, p. 24.

[29]Ibid., p. 25.

weaving. Accordingly, by 1806, they had acquired from the Holland Land Company a tract near present-day Quaker Bridge, New York, where they built a school for training "in the useful arts" which was still in existence in 1941. In the meantime, two women, Rachel Coope, who came with her husband, and Hannah Jackson, who had worked at the Oneida mission, had taken up residence at the Allegheny mission. They made a particular point of cleanliness when they gave demonstrations in housekeeping. When Halliday Jackson returned to the mission in 1806 (he had ended his residence there in June of 1800), he noticed that the Indians appeared more clean and decently dressed than when he first saw them eight years earlier. When the women saw Jackson and his companions approaching their doors, they immediately began to sweep their houses.[30]

By September of 1806, the domestic-arts training school was opened and the Friends urged that some Indian girls be sent there for instruction. There they learned to spin yarn from wool and from the flax, a newly-introduced crop, grown by the men. From the yarn, they wove blankets and garment material. They were also taught to sew and knit, to make soap for laundering and house cleaning, and to manufacture cheese and butter. The Friends distributed a variety of household utensils and brought looms and

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[30]Snyderman, "Jackson's Journal (1806)," entry for September 15, 1806.

tacklings for garment making.

In November, 1798, Cornplanter again brought up the subject of teaching English to the Indian children. Simmons, better equipped than his companions by virtue of his year at Oneida, decided to go to Burnt House, where he would live with Cornplanter and teach children who would come to him for instruction. The first school opened at Burnt House in November with classes held in Cornplanter's House, and with adults as well as children in attendance. The same year a small schoolhouse was built nearby, with disappointing results. When the weather was bad, there might be thirty pupils; when it was good, none. It became apparent at the commencement of classes in the fall of 1800 that the Indians were still too careless about keeping the attendance up, so the Friends terminated the project, and no regular school was maintained at Burnt House afterwards. There is no record of any school at all on Cornplanter's personal tract between 1801 and 1815. Cornplanter had ordered all Indians except his family and close relatives to move off his lands in the unrealized hope of leasing his property to white people.[31]

Reports of the Quaker work on the Allegheny Reservation

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[31]See Ernest C. Miller, "Pennsylvania's Last Indian School," Pennsylvania History, XXV (April, 1958), 103.

had been carried to other reservations in western New York, and in the early spring of 1799 the Friends at Genesinguhta received a petition from some of the chiefs of the Cattaraugus Reservation, requesting them to send some teachers to reside with them and help to set up a saw mill. The petition was forwarded to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Then in 1800 and 1801, chiefs of the Seneca Indians on the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations made personal visits to the Indian Committee in Philadelphia to appeal for tools and for assistance in erecting saw mills. To the Indians of these three reservations the Friends could, at first, give only encouragement and certain tools, especially saw-mill irons. The Cattaraugus Indians, half Seneca and half Munsee Delaware, hired some non-Quaker white men to help them build their mill, which was ready for use when three members of the Indian Committee visited the Cattaraugus Reservation in the fall of 1801. The Indians were not competent to run it, however, and one of the Friends agreed to stay at the reservation for a while to instruct some of them in its operation. Two years later, the Buffalo Creek Indians acquired their own saw mill, supplied, like the one at Cattaraugus, with irons from the Friends.

Throughout the first years of the Allegheny mission, the Friends tried to persuade a few selected Indians at

Burnt House to move with their families to the vicinity of Genesinguhta, where much potentially good farm land was available. The objective of the Quaker scheme was to detach some families from the crowded, intimate communal life at Burnt House, which retarded the abandonment of traditional practices. The members of the Indian Committee who inspected the Indian settlements on the Allegheny in 1801 observed that the improvements in housing, livestock, and crops at Burnt House were not as great as those near Genesinguhta, where the Indians lived on separate farms. Finally, in 1802, several Indian families moved upriver to Genesinguhta and beyond. By the next year a new twenty-two-mile road had been built to connect Burnt House with the upper settlements. Felling trees for roadways was something of a novelty to most of the Indians, who had known only narrow, well-beaten paths, or trails, traced through the over-hanging forests.

The work of the Quakers during the first years of the Seneca mission did not engender an attitude of complete trust in the minds of all the Indians among whom they labored. Some remained suspicious, as the Oneidas did, that the Friends might eventually charge them for their services. The members of the Committee emphatically reassured them that no charge in money, skins, lands or anything else would ever be made. When Cornplanter

apportioned the Federal Government annuity for 1800 among his people, twenty dollars were left over. He offered the money to the Friends at Genesinguhta for their services, insisting that they accept it to buy food and clothing for themselves. Before yielding to Cornplanter's insistences with a determination to return the value of the money in gifts, the Quakers protested that they expected no material rewards for their good works. Such gestures of magnanimity failed, however, to allay the doubts of many Indians, and throughout the journals of the mission workers runs the note of apprehension on the part of the Indians that the Quakers would ultimately bring claims, particularly for lands, against their red brothers. This time, however, the Quakers did not allow Indian distrust to force them into closing the mission.

Misfortune visited the Allegheny Senecas during the winter of 1802-1803. The Indians had increased their cattle herds faster than they had increased the means of feeding them through a long, hard winter, and many of the animals perished. Their requests to the Friends at Genesinguhta for hay and other fodder could not be met sufficiently without severely depleting the Friends' supplies. Fearing that similar requests in future winters might disrupt their generally good relations with the Indians, the Friends decided to buy a piece of land off

the reservation where they could continue their good work for the Indians without feeling dependent upon them for land.

In the meantime, while the Friends at Genesinguhta were pursuing their program of technical assistance to the Indians, an unusual and unpredictable series of events occurred at Burnt House, where Simmons had gone in November of 1798 to give English lessons. The outcome of those events, along with the Quaker emphasis on civil arts rather than the saving of souls, dramatically distinguished the Quaker mission to the Senecas from all other post-Revolutionary Protestant Indian missions.

CHAPTER IV

HANDSOME LAKE AND THE NEW RELIGION

While Henry Simmons was teaching at Burnt House, Handsome Lake, Cornplanter's half-brother, lay abed in the chief's house, evidently dying from a wasting disease aggravated by his chronic drunkenness. For four years Handsome Lake, by this time well past the prime of life, remained a helpless invalid, staring at the opening in the ceiling through which the smoke escaped and complaining of neglect, brooding over the prevalence of witchcraft in the community, and lamenting his misspent life. He was further depressed by the death, in the winter of 1798-'99, of a favorite niece, Cornplanter's daughter.[1]

On the morning of June 15, 1799, Handsome Lake fainted and, while in a trance-like state, experienced what he conceived to be a divine revelation. When he awoke, he dictated the vision to Simmons, who wrote it down in the words of an interpreter. This vision, the first of a series, became the basis of the New Religion of the Iroquois, which functioned as the instrument for the revitalization of Indian society, and which endorsed in part the adoption of the white man's agricultural economy.

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[1]Wallace, "Handsome Lake and the Great Revival," 152.

The three Friends who had gone among the Senecas on the Allegheny River in 1798 found many drunkards in Cornplanter's town. In council shortly after their arrival at Burnt House, they urged the Indians to give up strong drink, just as the Friends who resided at the Oneida mission from 1796 to 1799 often counseled the Indians living there against the harmful effects of liquor. By this time, Cornplanter was very much aware of the disastrous effects liquor was having on his people, and was quite ready to do anything practicable to eliminate the nefarious liquid from his community.

But still the liquor flowed. During the Mid-winter ceremony toward the end of February 1799, the Friends found the Indians at Burnt House dancing and drinking. They rebuked Cornplanter for allowing such things to go on in his town. "... surely it availeth nothing your dancing and Musick /sic/ and Burnt offerings -- your appointed Feasts and your sacrifices, the most High will not accept as an attonement /sic/ for your Sins."[2]

Then came the annual community drinking spree, which began about the middle of May and lasted for several weeks.[3] Several men were killed in brawls, and others,

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[2]Wallace, "Halliday Jackson's Journal, 1798-1800," Part I, 143.

[3]Ibid., 144.

who had passed out on the ground, were left to die of exposure. When the fire water was gone and remorse had set in, the Friends asked Cornplanter to call a council, where they spoke sternly to the Indians "concerning the Great evil of strong drink and of the many abominations it wrought in the earth."[4] After the usual interval, Cornplanter replied that his people were determined to give up liquor, that "the evil that was committed was all on their own side,"[5] and that they had chosen two young chiefs to act as policemen to prevent the further appearance of liquor in their community, to punish violators of their resolution, and to have general supervision over local morals. These festivals which had been influenced by the example of whites and had become occasions for riot were to be abolished and only those of traditional usage to be continued, and in their more austere original form.

Shortly afterward, an Indian woman accused of witchcraft was stabbed to death while working in the fields near Burnt House, executed by Cornplanter's sons at their father's command, and buried without the usual ceremony and the customary mourning. Iroquois believed in the power of witches and magic charms, and witch killing was approved

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., 145.

of by the Indians at Burnt House in 1799. Confession was demanded of those believed guilty of witchcraft, and whose crimes were not of a nature heinous enough to merit death. Though opposed to the killing of people on charges of witchcraft, or for any other reason, the Friends do not seem to have been too deeply troubled by the event. The woman, they were told, had threatened to kill a young child in Cornplanter's house.

Simmons taught English to the Indian children in Cornplanter's house and met there with the men every winter night. The Quakers approached the Indians in a less theological manner than the Catholics and the evangelical Protestants had. Using Henry, Cornplanter's son, as interpreter, the men questioned Simmons about white men's beliefs and customs. Some of the answers, he said, could be found in the Bible. He was also questioned about theology and morals, and he answered in the usual Quaker way, with the doctrine of the 'Inner Light'.

> Look inside. You have a Light in there that will show you what is good and what is bad. When you know you have done wrong, repent and resolve to do better. Outward forms and books and guides are good; but they are made by men. The Great Spirit himself puts the Inner Light in every man. Look to it. Learn to read and write so that you may discover for yourself whether or not the white man's Book is true. Learn to distinguish good from evil so that you may avoid the pricks of conscience in this world and prosper; and that you may avoid

punishment in the next.[6]

It was in an atmosphere of debauchery and witch-hunting at Burnt House that Handsome Lake experienced his dream. Now, dreams had always been of enormous importance to the Iroquois. They looked to their dreams for guidance in all the important affairs of life. They believed, among other things, that unconscious desires were expressed in symbolic form by dreams, and that these desires demanded immediate satisfaction, either directly or symbolically, as through ceremonies or rituals. Dreams were very common, especially among boys at puberty, in which the dreamer encountered a supernatural being who promised to be a friend and patron and to give his protege special powers. Dreams of supernatural protectors (or persecutors) also often came to sick persons. While some dreams expressed only the wishes of the dreamer's soul, others expressed the wishes of his personal guardian spirit or of various supernatural beings.

The anthropologist Anthony F. C. Wallace distinguishes between two types of dreams; the <u>symptomatic</u> dream and the <u>visitation</u> dream. The former expressed a wish of the dreamer's soul, and displayed relatively humble and mundane matters. The latter, on the other hand, showed powerful supernatural beings who usually spoke personally to the

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[6]Summarized from the MS journal of Henry Simmons, Jr., by Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 90.

dreamer, giving him a message of importance for himself and often also for the whole community. Sometimes this type of dream bore elements of personality transformation for the dreamer, who in his identification with the Gods assumed a new role as prophet, messiah, and public adviser. Frustration of the wishes of a supernatural was dangerous.[7] Some Indians went to the other world in their dreams and returned with a conviction of guilt that was relieved by repentance and a resolution to reform.

Simmons recorded the following account of Handsome Lake's first vision in his diary.

> "...as he lay or sat in the house, he heard somebody call to him out of the house, he immediately arose and went out, his daughter seeing him asked where he was going he told her he would soon be back, and as he stood without, he saw three men by the side of the house, he then fainted and fell gently to the ground..., and the men had bushes in their hands with berries on them, of different kinds, who invited him to take some and eat, and they would help him, and that he would live to see such like berries ripe this summer he thought he took one berry off each man's bush. They told him the great Spirit was much displeased with his people getting drunk, but as he had been sick a great while, he had thought more upon the great Spirit, and was preserved from drinking strong drink to excess, and if he got well he must not take to it again for the great Spirit knew (not only what people were always doing) but also their very thoughts, and that there was some very bad ones among them, who would poison others, but one of

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[7]Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Dreams and the Wishes of the Soul: A Type of Psychoanalytic Theory Among the 17th Century Iroquois," American Anthropologist, LX (April, 1958), 234-48.

> them was lately killed, yet there still remained one like her who was a man."[8]

The three apparitions had also announced that a fourth person would later arrive, and when, in a further dream, this fourth person did appear and declare to Handsome Lake that he pitied him and was going to take him away, he felt that he was talking with the Great Spirit himself. Handsome Lake then fell into a trance, which lasted for seven hours. He dreamed that a guide led him away to his deceased son and niece, who expressed displeasure over the lack of attention given Handsome Lake by his earthly relatives. The guide then admonished Handsome Lake to give up his drinking and "'all kinds of frolicks and danc ing'" except the ancient religious dances. The guide told him that those who got drunk need not expect to come to "'that happy place,'" and he bade Handsome Lake look around at a river nearby. Handsome Lake looked and saw many canoes loaded with whiskey and accompanied by "'an ugly fellow...going about very busy doing and making all the noise and mischief he could amongst the people!'"[9] The guide told him that this was the Devil. He told him also that the Indians could have their children instructed

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[8]Quoted from the MS journal of Henry Simmons, Jr., by Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 90.

[9]Quoted from the MS journal of Henry Simmons, Jr., by ibid., 91.

by the whites, but not at the expense of their ancient customs and ways of life. Just as the only major renunciation the Quakers demanded of the Indians was the abandonment of alcoholic liquor, the only major fault the Great Spirit's angelic agents had to find with Handsome Lake was his drinking.

When Handsome Lake recovered from his trance, he declared that the four divine messengers had ordered him to preach to his people to save them from corruption and degradation. On hearing Handsome Lake's revelation Cornplanter called a council, and sent for Simmons. The Indians asked the Quaker what he thought of it. His reply was that white men, including some Quakers, had had similar experiences, and that, since Indians and Quakers were of one flesh and blood, Handsome Lake's revelation could be true.

Handsome Lake's various visions and sayings, remembered by his associates, were collected by oral transmission and passed down from preacher to preacher among the Iroquois as "The Code of Handsome Lake." The Code, or Gaí´ wiio' (good work; good message; gospel), is recited in the Longhouse every other year, in three or four installments, which occupy successive mornings. The text underwent variations as it was passed from preacher to preacher until, in the early 1860's, a council was

appointed to reduce it to a reliable written version in the Seneca language. This text was eventually lost, but another attempt to record it was made in 1903. An English translation of this second text was made by Arthur C. Parker in 1913.

The Code of Handsome Lake, in the Parker translation, contains 130 sections, and is prefaced with a recital of the Prophet's visions. Nine of the sections deal with the problem of drunkenness, and seven of these explicitly admonish the Indians to give up intoxicating drinks. Sections six through twelve deal primarily with the obligations of marriage, and center upon the sacredness of the marriage bond. They reflect Handsome Lake's desire to cut down on divorce among the Indians. Sections fourteen through seventeen set forth the Prophet's dicta concerning the proper handling of children. Children should be taught to obey their parents and guardians, but they should never be treated unjustly. Respect for the aged and kindness to orphans are upheld. Adultery, vanity, gossip (godiodiáse; "stories that augment by repetition"), thievery, venality, and braggadocio are all denounced. Cooperation among men is strongly urged. The ancient practices of hospitality are to be continued.

In sections 2, 3, 46, 72, and 103, witchcraft and the use of magic charms are denounced, but witches are not

to be punished either by death or by whipping (this despite Handsome Lake's early career as a witch hunter).[10] Rather, they are to be urged to cease their malicious work, and confess their sins, either publicly or privately, to the Great Spirit. For those who continued to practice witchcraft there would be a hideous punishment in the after-life. The agricultural methods and additions of the white men should be adopted, and a certain number of Indians should learn English to help in dealings with the whites. Too much schooling from the whites, however, would only accelerate the disappearance of the characteristics of the Indian culture. Indian children should not go to white schools.

The Bible should not be embraced, and the lands of the Indians should not be sold to the whites. Handsome Lake's followers are enjoined to retain the Harvest Dance,

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[10]This statement is made after a careful study of the Parker translation. - Arthur C. Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet," New York State Museum Bulletin, No. 163 (November 1, 1912), pp. 27-30, 46, 58, and 71-72. It agrees with the conclusion stated by Frederick Houghton, "The History of the Buffalo Creek Reservation," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, XXIV (1920), 138; viz., that Handsome Lake "forbade the punishment of witches. Rather, he urged them to cease their sins and confess them, either publicly or privately, to the Great Ruler." It contradicts Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 95 and 96; Edmund Wilson, Apologies to the Iroquois (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1960), p. 86; and Wallace, "Handsome Lake and the Great Revival," 153, all of whom indicate that the Seneca prophet advocated the killing of witches. Deardorff, p. 96, states that in 1807, "another witch was killed on the Allegheny, at the Prophet's direction." Perhaps the sections of the Code proscribing the killing of witches were a later inclusion. -- J.T.V.

the Great Feather Dance, the Personal Chant (or Sacred Song), and the Bowl Game--the Four Sacred Ceremonies of the Good Message. The Mid-winter festival, the Green Corn ceremony, the Maple festival, the white dog sacrifice, and the tobacco-offering rituals are all to be kept, but certain ceremonial dances, especially those of the totem animal societies, are to be dropped. To the traditional festivals Handsome Lake added the Strawberry festival, a thanksgiving to the Great Spirit for the first fruits of the earth.

One of the most conspicuous elements in the Parker version of the Code is the heaviness of the hand of conscience. Indeed, the Code expresses an almost puritanical moral dogma. The Prophet, having learned something about Christianity, provided the followers of his new religion with a heaven and a hell. The Iroquois already had a kind of devil, but Handsome Lake furnished him with horns, cloven hoofs, and a tail. The Prophet describes the punishments of the damned in minute, almost sadistic, detail. The punishments, comprising sections 84, 95, and 102 through 110, invariably fit the crime in <u>lex talionis</u> fashion. The stingy person, because of his great size, will not be able to stand up. Those who sell their lands to the whites will remove grain by grain a heap of sand that never diminishes. Those who take fire water on

earth must drink molten metal after death. Witches who refuse to repent are punished by being dipped alternately into cauldrons of cold and boiling water. Fiddlers are damned to rubbing bars of hot iron across their arms as though they were playing at a dance. The husband and wife who quarrel incessantly shall dispute in Hell until their eyes bulge from their heads and flames shoot from their mouths. Those who gamble with cards and do not repent shall play in Hell with a pack of red-hot iron cards. The man guilty of beating his wife shall beat with his bare hands the red-hot image of a woman. Promiscuous women shall be ravished by red-hot objects. These punishments were not everlasting. When the sinners had paid for their sins, they would be admitted to Heaven. In this respect, General Henry S. Dearborn, who visited Buffalo Creek in the summer of 1838, was impressed by the concept of punishment for sin embodied in the Good Message.

> ...the Indian Hell, among all the tribes, has this advantage, over that, which most of our pious & merciful clergymen have to liberally contrived for the christian disciples,--there is a term to all the awful punishments inflicted on even the most hardened sinner, the offences being atoned for by a shorter or longer boil, according to their greater or less henious /sic/ character; & finally all go to heaven & hunt & dance & eat & enjoy themselves in the vast prairies & forests of the Great

Spirit's dominions...[11]

For the good people, on the other hand, there was the reward of Heaven, called "The New World" in the Code. This was a paradise of berry picking, with fruits, flowers and birds in abundance. The residents of this celestial abode spent their time in amusement and repose. No evil could enter there. None in Heaven ever transgressed again. Families were reunited and dwelt forever in harmony. They possessed a bodily form, as well as the senses and the remembrance of the earthly life. The Great Feather Dance and other ancient rituals were continued in Heaven.

The only white man ever admitted to "The New World" was George Washington. He lived in an enclosed fort just outside the gate of Heaven. Everyone who entered "the lands of the Creator" saw him walking back and forth within the enclosure, blessed for his benevolent policy toward the Indians after the Revolution.

Jesus plays a curious role in the Good Message. Handsome Lake in one of his visions meets a man whose breast had been pierced by a spear and whose hands and feet appeared to be torn by nails. "They slew me," the

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[11]Henry A.S. Dearborn, "...A Record of Councils with the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians at Buffalo and Cattaraugus in the Years 1838 and 1839," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, VII (1904), 91. While not an altogether accurate description of Handsome Lake's Hell, Dearborn's account is noteworthy for the element of humor it lends to the subject. -- J.T.V.

man told the Prophet, "because of their independence and unbelief," and he enjoined Handsome Lake to tell his people that they will become lost when they follow the ways of the white man.[12]

The curative effects of the first two visions on Handsome Lake were striking. Within two months his health was significantly improved, and for the remaining sixteen years of his life, having renounced alcohol, he was very active, dreaming, preaching, and travelling.

Merle H. Deardorff relates the legend that Handsome Lake would disappear for weeks down the Allegheny and that spies once found him sitting in a mountain cabin, listening while the Bible was read to him by an old man in a black coat.[13] Does the story suggest the possibility of an influence on Handsome Lake of the religion of the whites, and particularly of the Quakers? Perhaps not, since the story may not contain even the minutest element of truth. It is known, however, that Handsome Lake was living, albeit barely, at Burnt House when the first Quaker mission on the Allegheny was established, and that he became acquainted with Quaker teachings. Wallace speculates that the Prophet's three angels bearing gifts

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[12]Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake," pp. 67-68.

[13]Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 87 n.

and exhortations were unconsciously the three Quakers, Simmons, Jackson, and Swayne.[14] Succeeding events certainly confirm the impression that the Prophet greatly admired the Quakers. He made himself actively useful to them, recommending them to the Indians, and even advising his people to follow their advice. The Quakers, in turn, endorsed his visions and his messages as being truly inspirational. The Quaker modus vivendi with the religion of Handsome Lake was made possible in part, Sydney V. James asserts, by the Quaker acceptance of religious pluralism.[15]

The similarities between the Handsome Lake Religion and the religion of the Quakers are obvious, and the Prophet's identification with what the Quakers stood for is evident in their later relationships. The Quakers were disturbed to find that divorce and remarriage were quite common among the Indians. Monogamy was the ordinary form of marriage among the Iroquois. Exceptions to the rule sometimes occurred in the families of chiefs, but even chiefs rarely had more than two wives. The institution of marriage was not, however, founded upon love, but was regulated exclusively as a matter of physical necessity.

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[14]Wallace, "Handsome Lake and the Great Revival," 158.

[15]James, op. cit., p. 314.

It was not even a contract between the parties to be married, but substantially between their mothers. The husband and wife were never of the same clan. Divorce and separation were allowed to all, and occurred at the will of either husband or wife. It was usually caused by the failure of one or the other to live up to the obligations involved in the marriage contract. Infidelity was a good justification for divorce. By Handsome Lake's day the marriage bond had become so tenuous that even a quarrel was regarded as sufficient grounds for separation, and wives were often rather casually given up for new ones. The Quakers repeatedly encouraged the Indians to honor the marriage bond and the inviolability of the family, condemning infidelity, desertion, and separation and divorce for trivial grounds. Industry, sobriety and modesty -- personal traits valued and taught by the Quakers -- were emphatically preached by the Prophet.

Wallace contends that Handsome Lake was undertaking a veritable social revolution by emphasizing the sanctity of the monogamous nuclear family while advising the assumption of the white male role of agriculturist by the Indian men. His argument is that the Prophet recognized that rapid political and economic change demanded a domestic culture adapted to dispersed nuclear family farmsteads, and that the permanent nuclear family was threatened by

male philandering and the emotional dependence of wives on their female relatives, practices against which Handsome Lake inveighed.[16]

Yet the Quakers and Handsome Lake did not see eye to eye on everything, and for a while the Prophet vehemently opposed the Quakers at some points. He advised against schools for the Indian children. He approved of the imitation of the white man's agricultural economy, but he warned the Indians not to go too far. They might farm a little, and build houses, but they must not sell anything they raised. Rather, they should give it away to one another. Furthermore, his continued belief in witchcraft bothered the Quakers.

Handsome Lake's opposition to the Quakers did not last long, however, and he made a number of accomodations which are now embodied in the Good Message. Some Indians should learn English to treat with the whites. Some agricultural produce could be sold after all the needy had been provided for. Cultivation could be carried on in separate fields. Most importantly, the Quakers valued Handsome Lake as an ally, particularly in their campaign against drunkenness. Handsome Lake and the Quakers were

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[16]Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Cultural Composition of the Handsome Lake Religion," Symposium on Cherokee and Iroquois Culture, ed. William N. Fenton and John Gulick (Bulletin 180 of Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington, D.C., 1961), 148.

equally concerned about the possible alienation of the reservation lands from the Indians. The Prophet preached against the sale of lands, and the Friends tried to introduce a system of land tenure that would prevent further losses.

During the years 1800-1802, Handsome Lake acquired considerable influence over the Seneca nation. After one of the Prophet's series of visions, in the early part of 1800, Cornplanter asked Halliday Jackson for his opinion of the revelation. The Friend, after learning the purport of the Prophet's message and discovering that "the sayings were calculated to turn.../the Indians/ from the evil of their ways,.../answered that/ they would do well to observe the sayings..."[17] With this endorsement from the Friends, whose advice was generally respected, Handsome Lake's influence increased.

By January, 1802, the Friends residing at Genesinguhta on the Allegany Reservation could report that intemperance had declined significantly, and that an effective mode of punishment for drunkenness had been devised.

> Not any /liquor/ is knowingly allowed to be brought into the settlements on this river. Those who come back drunk from amongst whites are sharply reprimanded and exposed by the chiefs at their return. This has nearly the

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[17] Anthony F.C. Wallace (ed.), "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798-1800," Part II, Pennsylvania History, XIX (July, 1952), 333.

> same effect amongst Indians, as committing a man to the workhouse amongst white people.[18]

Ridicule had long been a method of punishment among the Iroquois. It had been found to be more effective than any type of physical restraint. Handsome Lake and his followers were using it now against drunkards.

When President Jefferson heard of Handsome Lake's work, he invited the Prophet to visit him in Washington, D.C. In early 1802, Handsome Lake, with a delegation of Seneca and Onondaga chiefs, travelled to the national capital. There, in March, the Prophet talked with the President. He pleaded for the division of lands into separate tracts, each one with its own deed to be held for safekeeping by designated Indians. When he and his associates returned home, they bore letters expressing Jefferson's approval of the Prophet and his teachings. The President directed his Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, to write a letter commending Handsome Lake's teachings to all the Iroquois. In 1802, a number of Indian women from the New York reservations sent a petition to Joseph Brant, urging him to use his influence to keep liquor away from the Indians of the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario.

By October, 1803, Handsome Lake's campaign against liquor had proven so effective that Cornplanter's sister could report an almost complete abstention from alcohol

by the Indians at Burnt House for the previous four years. The Indians who went to Pittsburgh with furs returned with clothing and provisions instead of whiskey. The Pittsburgh merchants took to keeping jugs of sugar-water on their counters for the customary "treat," since the Senecas refused whiskey. The Quaker Isaac Bonsall, at the Allegany Reservation in September, 1803, on a tour of inspection, was told by the Prophet that he had been advising the Indians to pursue the course of life recommended by the Quakers, and to follow habits of industry and sobriety.[19]

When Bonsall, Jackson, and Phillips visited the Allegheny Senecas in September, 1806, they were told that one or two young chiefs had acquired liquor in a clandestine manner for sale to the whites, but that the Indians were, in general, opposed to such behavior. In a council on September 16, Handsome Lake announced to the Friends that he expected to leave shortly for a council of the Six Nations at Buffalo Creek, where he would speak about the things revealed to him by the Great Spirit in his visions.[20] Jackson was deeply impressed by the

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[19]Isaac Bonsall, An Account of a Journey to the Seneca Indians and to Upper Canada, September 9 to October 18, 1803, MS, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, entry for September 21. -- hereafter cited as Bonsall 1803 MS.

[20]Bonsall 1806 MS, entry for September 16.

improvements of the Indians in industry and sobriety.

> Several Old Men whom I well knew had former been very much addicted to drinking and generally intoxicated when they could obtain Liquor is now become sober & endustrious, & very few instances of intoxication have occur'd among the Allegany Indians for two or three years past. ...When I and my companions first came among them & settled at Genesinguhta it was disagreable being in their Towns on account of the Liquor. ...now I could see them at work on their farms, Building houses & clearing land but then it was common to see them in their Towns Several of their old people in a huddle together, trying to prop one another from falling.[21]

At the Cattaraugus Reservation on September 21, the Friends were told by the Chief Warrior that the Six Nations had generally reformed respecting whiskey and other serious matters, because "...they knew this conduct would be pleasing to the Great Spirit."[22]

During the summer of 1806, Handsome Lake visited Seneca towns on the Genesee to preach habits of sobriety and industry. He and the Quakers were now in such close accord that the Seneca chief Blacksnake could tell the Friends in council on September 16, "your young men and us are like one. When we want anything done we consult them and they assist us, and our Prophet tells us what to

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[21] Snyderman, "Jackson's Journal (1806)," 582-83.

[22] Deardorff and Snyderman, "A Nineteenth-Century Journal," 608.

do and so we get instruction from both."[23]

On August 25, 1807, Erastus Granger, the Indian agent, wrote from Buffalo Creek of the tremendous influence Handsome Lake had acquired over the Six Nations. His fame had spread even to some of the western Indians. Granger proposed that Handsome Lake, along with Cornplanter and other friendly Senecas, be sent to persuade the hostile western tribes to peace. On August 21, 1808, the Prophet, Cornplanter, and some other chiefs were issued a pass for a trip to meet the western Indians in council.[24]

The Annual Report for 1806 of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America reviewed the results of the Quaker-Handsome Lake temperance campaign at the Onondaga Reservation.

> Formerly they were pagans, and notorious for drunkenness; but for three of four years past, since they have embraced the doctrine of the Prophet, they are greatly reformed, as to their habit of intemperance, and give a degree of credit to the Bible, as the only rule of duty.[25]

It noted, however, that the Onondagas had not made equal progress in "the arts of husbandry and civilized life."[26]

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[23]Snyderman, "Jackson's Journal (1806)," 579.

[24]Deardorff, "Handsome Lake," 96.

[25]The Panoplist /or, The Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad/ II (January, 1807), 385; University of Michigan Microfilm.

[26]Ibid.

In 1809, Handsome Lake was still residing at Burnt House, but his influence was dominant at Cold Spring, by then the major upper settlement of Senecas on the Allegheny. That same year, a number of Friends visiting Onondaga wrote that "'We are informed not only by themselves, but by the interpreter, that the followers of Handsome Lake have totally refrained from the use of ardent spirits for about nine years.'"[27] During 1809, 136 Allegany Senecas promised Cornplanter that they would stop drinking liquor and obey the commands of Handsome Lake.

Handsome Lake remained neutral throughout the War of 1812, and advised the Iroquois to stay out of the conflict. Most of the Indians who finally joined the Americans in July, 1813 at Buffalo were from the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Few or none came from Tonawanda, Allegany, Onondaga, and Cattaraugus--the strongly Handsome Lake communities. For his efforts to keep the Iroquois out of war, Handsome Lake came to be known as the 'Peace Prophet'.

Handsome Lake was now at Tonawanda after ten years at Burnt House, two at Cold Spring, and a brief stay at Cattaraugus. It was to Tonawanda that Handsome Lake

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[27]Quoted in Mabel Powers, "The Legacy of Handsome Lake," Christian Century, LXXIV (January 9, 1957), 47.

eventually came when he and his followers were driven out of the Allegany Reservation by his enemies, and Tonawanda has remained the headquarters of the Handsome Lake religion. There is no record of his ever having visited Tuscarora and Oneida, and by 1912, these reservations contained only Indians who were nominally Christian. In 1815, Handsome Lake went to Onondaga, where he died on August 10. He was buried under the old council house. He was succeeded in the ministry of the Good Message by his grandson, James Johnson (Sosheówà).

Handsome Lake's temperance campaign was institutionalized in 1831 in the Six Nations Temperance Society. Since then its name has been changed to the Grand Lodge Convention of the Iroquois Temperance League, and as late as 1957 it met annually on the Allegany Reservation. Indians from most of the reservations in New York State attended its three-day sessions.[28] William M. Beauchamp attended a large meeting of the Iroquois Temperance League at Onondaga during the last decade of the nineteenth century. At the meeting the Good Message of Handsome Lake was honored in speeches and in the performances of some of the sacred dances.[29]

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[28] Ibid.

[29] William M. Beauchamp, "Iroquois Notes," Journal of American Folk-Lore, IV (1891), 44.

Evangelical Protestant missionaries were often severely critical of Handsome Lake and of the Quakers who supported him. They denounced Handsome Lake's religion because it was pagan, and they took the Quakers to task for supporting the Prophet instead of converting the Indians to Christianity. After the death of Handsome Lake, these missionaries made deep inroads into the spiritual life of the reservations. Asher Wright, the Congregational missionary who lived among the Senecas from 1831 to 1875, called Handsome Lake's religion a device of the Devil for sidetracking the Indians from the path toward conversion.[30] Thompson S. Harris, a Protestant missionary who had aided with the conversion of some of the Indians of the Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus Reservations during the years 1821-1828, belittled the Quaker doctrine of the 'Inner Light', absorbed to some extent by the Good Message.

> In a conversation had by one of these young /Christian/ converts /at the Cattaraugus Reservation/ with a Quaker, the latter stated to him his view of the work of the Spirit, under the similitude of a cord let down from Heaven, and attached to every man's heart; and that when this cord was touched by the finger of God, the motion was invariably felt at the lower extremity.

The convert replied with some skepticism that he had often

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[30] Wilson, op. cit., p. 178.

experienced a motion at the end of his fish line that seemed to be the bite of a fish. On bringing in the line, however, he found the bait intact and no fish. Could it be, he inquired, that the Devil had been toying with both his line and with the cord attached to every man's heart?[31]

Jabez B. Hyde, a Calvinist who came to the Buffalo Creek Protestant Mission in 1811, both praised and condemned the work of the Quakers and their motives.

> The Friends have done well, and deserve... thanks...The consolation of seeing that their labors were not in vain, the misery they have prevented and the comforts they have been instrumental in promoting, must ever be pleasant to their recollection and grateful to all who participate in the sympathies of men. But I still doubt whether without the life-giving power of Divine truth, without a turning to God through the Mediator, ...Christ Jesus, receiving him as...their only hope -- I doubt whether their outward improvements would ever arrive to that stability that would stand a day without holding it up, or that stability that would prevent them from wasting away and becoming extinct.[32]

Of the alliance between the Prophet and the Quakers, The

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[31]Frank H. Severance (ed.), "Journals of Rev. Thompson S. Harris: His Missionary Labors Among the Senecas at Buffalo Creek and Cattaraugus Reservations, 1821-1828," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, VI (1903), 373.

[32]Frank H. Severance (ed.), "A Teacher Among the Senecas: Historical and Personal Narrative of Jabez Backus Hyde, Who Came to the Buffalo Creek Mission in 1811," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, VI (1903), 254.

Panoplist, a missionary magazine of the early nineteenth century, was generous with praise for the reforms it had achieved, but added a note of doubt.

> A mission from the Friends near Philadelphia, has much aided this reform /i.e., of Handsome Lake/, by counsels and example; but whether one would have succeeded without the other, it is probably impossible to determine.[33]

Evangelical Christian missionaries infiltrated the Indian ranks, in spite of heroic efforts by followers of the New Religion to keep their influence away from the reservations, and by 1820 the permanent division of the Iroquois into two camps was being effected. One party (mostly about Buffalo Creek, Tuscarora, and Oneida) went its way to "church"; the other stayed in the Quaker-Handsome Lake longhouse, with the Good Message.

Regardless of Quaker influences, Handsome Lake's New Religion was first and foremost an Indian religion. He enjoined his followers to continue to give thanks to the Great Spirit for his gifts in the old way, with burnt offerings, and to worship him at the Longhouse ceremonies, which would be the ancient religious rituals. Indeed, Handsome Lake did little more than give a certain ethical content to the old Iroquois beliefs, making a few additions such as the Strawberry festival. But, of course, he did

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[33] The Panoplist, II (January, 1807), 386-87.

this under the influence of the Quakers.

The important point, however, is that Handsome Lake brought his syncretic Good Message to the Iroquois during a time of great crisis and cultural disintegration. The Indians saw the old way going out in the immense tidal rush of white settlement. The Quaker program of relief and rehabilitation helped the Indians enormously, but more than that, they needed something which would restore their racial pride. Badly beaten by American troops during the Revolution, and cooped up on a few small tracts of land scattered about the State of New York, many of them had taken to drink as the only escape from frustration. Handsome Lake appeared to them as a messiah. The nineteenth-century American ethnologist Lewis Henry Morgan, whose descriptions of aboriginal Iroquois customs and artifacts are classic, was impressed with the revelations, though skeptical of their authenticity.

> The influence of the new religion has been extremely salutary and preservative, without the restraints of which, the fears of Gä-ne-o-di-yo might have been realized ere this, in the rapid decline, if not extinction of the race. Their downward tendencies were arrested, and their constant diminution of numbers was changed to a gradual increase. Its beneficent effects upon the people doubtless contributed more to its final establishment than any other cause.[34]

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[34] Lewis Henry Morgan, League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois, ed. Herbert M. Lloyd (2 vols.; New York: Dodd, Mead and Company 1904), I, p. 222.

Handsome Lake, unlike other Indian messiahs, did not advocate the complete rejection of white cultural elements. He did not exhort his followers to vanquish the white conquerors and restore all lost lands to the Indians. He made numerous accomodations, most of them under Quaker influence, while preaching the retention of the essentials of the aboriginal order. Thus, while trying to save the Indians from the whites in one sense, he was promoting the acculturation of the Indians in another. His religious movement conforms, therefore, more exactly to what Ralph Linton calls a 'nativistic movement': "Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture." Such an attempt can come about only when a society realizes that there are cultures other than its own and that the existence of its own culture is menaced. To combat the threat, "certain current or remembered elements of the familiar culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value."[35] The 'nativistic movement' emphasizes the revival or perpetuation of those elements of particular racial distinctiveness or those practicably revived or perpetuated under current conditions, such as games and ceremonial

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[35]Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, XLV (April, 1943), 230-31.

observances. At the same time, it permits its followers to adopt or continue the use of objects of white manufacture or white agricultural techniques which are obviously superior to their pre-contact counterparts.

An interpretation of Handsome Lake's religion that comes even closer to the mark than Linton's is the one offered by Fred W. Voget, who labels it a 'reformative movement', which he defines as

> ...a relatively conscious attempt on the part of a subordinated group to attain a personal and social reintegration. Through a selective rejection, modification, and synthesis of both traditional and alien (dominant) cultural components.
>
> Each of the reformative religions begins with a special revelation traceable to a Creator-God. In point of content the revelation emphasizes a new way that God has devised for his Indian children. If Indians will but accept God's plan, life will be better; the Indian will maintain his race, strengthen the bonds of his kinship, and remain culturally distinct amid the throngs of whites that threaten his very existence.[36]

In the reformative religion, God advises the Indians to make use of basic Indian beliefs and practices in order that they may remain physically and culturally distinct from the conquerors. However, some of the ways of the alien conquerors may be in accord with the new order

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[36] Fred W. Voget, "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accomodation," American Anthropologist, LVIII (April, 1956), 250-51.

planned for the Indians and should, therefore, be incorporated. The leaders of reformative movements often suffer a deep sense of unworthiness which they express publicly in guilty self-recrimination, and assume that there are others who do or should experience the same sense of sin and the desire to be regenerated.

All of these interpretations are, to some extent, descriptive of the conditions out of which the New Religion of the Iroquois was born and of the characteristics of the Handsome Lake movement. But Anthony F.C. Wallace, writing of the religion of the Seneca prophet, in particular, has provided the most intelligible explanation. He calls it a 'revitalization movement', which he defines as "a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture."[37] Most revitalization movements among North American Indians begin with one or several visions by a single individual.

> A supernatural being appears to the prophet-to-be, explains his own and his society's troubles as being entirely or partly a result of the violation of certain rules, and promises individual and social revitalization if the injunctions are followed and the rituals practiced, but personal and social catastrophe if they are not.
>
> The dreamer undertakes to preach his revelations

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[37]Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," American Anthropologist, LVIII (April, 1956), 265.

> to people, in an evangelistic or messianic spirit; he becomes a prophet.[38]

In sharp, though not complete, contrast to Handsome Lake, who preached co-existence with the white men, was the Shawnee prophet, Tenskatawa, a brother of Tecumseh. Like Handsome Lake, Tenskatawa had earned a reputation as a drunkard, but he nevertheless proved himself a valuable ally to his brother, who was, in the years preceding the War of 1812, attempting to organize a powerful confederacy of the western and southern Indians in order to maintain the Ohio River as a boundary to white expansion. He, like the Seneca prophet, had a vision while in a trance, late in 1805. He claimed he was conducted into the spirit world, where he spoke with the Great Spirit, the Master of Life, who advised him to preach the old ways that would make the Indians conscious of their traditions and the necessity to preserve them. His doctrine was a blend of moral injunction, cultural reform, and ritual innovation. He denounced witchcraft practices, the fire-water of the whites, the medicine societies, and the alienation of lands. He urged upon his people the virtues of chastity, kindness, and charity. Unlike Handsome Lake, whose vision preceded his own by a few years, he was unwilling to compromise with the whites in any way. He

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[38] Ibid., 270-73.

prophesied that within four years there would occur a universal catastrophe, which only his followers would survive. He preached war on the whites and the eventual restoration of all the lands that once belonged to the Indians. For his bellicosity, he has come to be known as the 'war prophet'.

The Shawnees, his own people, took little stock in his assumed supernatural powers, but he was widely believed elsewhere. With Tecumseh, he was able to rally an army of over a thousand converts, mostly Delawares, to his "new religion." His converts ransacked the white frontier settlements, killing and stealing livestock. With their followers, the Prophet and his brother settled on the Wabash River, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. They established a town in which liquor was forbidden and the traditional ways exalted. But both Tenskatawa's militant religious movement and Tecumseh's confederacy were crushed at the Battle of Tippecanoe, in November, 1811, when William Henry Harrison defeated their forces.

The cultural reforms advocated by Tenskwatawa were similar to those which had been preached by Neolin ("The Enlightened"), the Delaware prophet, who, in 1762, while living on the Cuyahoga River south of Lake Erie in Ohio, claimed to have had visions that told him the red man would be able to drive the whites away if they would

only return to their original ways of living. He declared that he had been taken into the presence of the Master of Life, and from Him obtained instructions on the proper course of the Indian life, and the mode of worship most acceptable to Him. If the Indians would abandon guns, powder, fire-water, and all other elements of white culture, He would return the vanishing game. The Indians were to drive off the whites who were encroaching on their lands and were to live chaste and friendly lives. Neolin opposed the European ways, and urged the Indians of the Ohio country to return to the simple, pure manners of their ancestors. He made many converts, not only among the Delawares, but also among the Shawnee, Ottawa, and other tribal populations in the Ohio Valley. Among those impressed by his words was Pontiac, who rationalized his assault on Detroit in 1763 by reference to the Prophet's message.[39]

Tenskatawa and Neolin were two of a long line of Indian prophets who appeared in post-contact times. A few, including the Shawnee prophet, achieved an influence equal to that of Handsome Lake, but their new religions were shortlived. Many other messianic messages must have

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[39]For examples of other new Indian religions, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, "New Religions Among the Delaware Indians, 1600-1900," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, XII (Spring, 1956), 1-21.

been born dead. What gave the Good Message its extraordinary vitality and longevity? Part of the answer can be found in Handsome Lake's accomodation to the alien white culture. But the true sustaining force was the mixture of Quaker with old Iroquois elements. It was this unusual combination that gave the New Religion of the Iroquois its durability and acceptability.

The crucial role of the syncretic Good Message of Handsome Lake in the moral and social revitalization of a number of Iroquois communities is quite obvious; its favorable influence on the gradual transformation of the semi-agricultural Indian economy into a thoroughly agricultural one, based on the white man's techniques of rural husbandry, is less so. It is difficult to determine the degree to which changes in the economic sphere were the result, on the one hand, of Quaker example and instruction, or, on the other, of the endorsements of Quaker techniques by the Seneca prophet. It is possible, for example, the decisive change in the aboriginal division of labor in 1801, when Indian men first began to use plows, was primarily, if not solely, a triumph of Quaker persistence and example, and that other related developments would have taken place if a new Indian religion embodying Quaker ideas and values had never been born.

The journals of Quaker missionaries and the reports

of the Indian Committee note that Handsome Lake, early in his career as prophet of the New Religion, began advising the Indians "to follow habits of industry," but they do not afford more substantial clues concerning the effects of the Prophet's "ministry" on economic change. The most that can be said is that economic acculturation in the years following the Handsome Lake revelation was considerable, and that it occurred at a time when both the Prophet and the Quakers were working to create a more stable and meaningful life for the Indians.

CHAPTER V

THE QUAKER MISSION IN THE ERA OF THE NEW RELIGION

The history of the Quaker mission to the Seneca Indians from 1798 to 1831 divides into two periods separated by the death of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet, in 1815. The first period was marked by significant improvement in the moral and material condition of the Indians resulting from a positive response to Quaker teaching and example and to the preaching of Handsome Lake, whose New Religion syncretized aboriginal Iroquois beliefs with selected Quaker concepts. It was also characterized, in spite of a degree of ineradicable distrust, by growing Indian belief in the security of their remaining territorial possessions.

The second period saw continuing Indian progress, morally and materially, but it also witnessed a deterioration of Quaker-Indian relations as Indian resentment over mounting pressure from land-jobbers tended to color the attitude of the Senecas toward all white people. It ended in 1831 when the Friends at the Allegheny mission, believing conditions to be uncongenial to a continuation of their efforts, suspended their missionary activities.

In September, 1803, Isaac Bonsall, Isaac Coates,

Thomas Stewardson, and John Shoemaker, Jr., were delegated by the Indian Committee to visit the Seneca Indians and the Friends working among them and to make arrangements for the removal of the mission at Genesinguhta to a place nearby but off the Allegany Reservation. Most of the land for the proposed mission site belonged to the Holland Land Company. "The land about," noted Bonsall, following their inspection of the site, "appeared to be of the first quality and a very natural mill seat -- the timber very good and some of the land easy to be cleared..."[1]

In the days that followed, the Friends received the approval of Cornplanter and Handsome Lake for their proposed removal. They were further informed that the Indians of the Allegheny settlements were agreeable to the Friends either staying at Genesinguhta or moving to land of their own, so long as they remained near the Indians to give them further assistance and instruction, and provided they left their improvements at Genesinguhta to the Indians if they decided to move. The decision had already been made, however, and at a council at Burnt House on September 24, the delegates from the Committee read a letter from the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting informing the Indians of the plan to move the mission station

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[1]Bonsall 1803 MS, entry for September 16.

to Tunesassa. Accordingly, the Committee purchased 692 acres of land on Tunesassa Creek from the Holland Land Company for $865. Before the winter of 1803-'04 set in, Joel Swayne, Jacob Taylor, and Jonathan Thomas built a temporary house on the new property and moved in for the winter.

The Indians of the Upper Allegheny settlements, who were raising small crops of wheat, were without a grist mill near them. With the approval of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the Friends at Tunesassa installed a grist mill and a saw mill on their farm and began construction of a large, permanent house to replace the temporary one.

By mid-March of 1805, both of the mills at Tunesassa were in operation, but neither was completely finished. Heavy floods in February and early March had delayed their completion, damaged the dam on Tunesassa Creek, and drowned out the old Genesinguhta settlement, most of whose residents moved five miles up the Allegheny from Genesinguhta, where a longhouse was being built as a ceremonial center for the New Religion.

By September of 1806, the mills, dwelling house, barn, and other buildings at the Tunesassa mission had been completed, and about fifty acres of land cleared. George Hildebrand, a "Dutchman" who was operating Cornplanter's saw mill when Friends first arrived on the

Allegheny in 1798, was now operating the mill at Tunesassa. The Indians who came often to the new mission station to have their wheat ground were pleased "to see the grain reduced to meal so much quicker than pounding it in their wooden mortars."[2]

Relations between Indians and Friends at Tunesassa were generally cordial, and subject to less embarrassment than at Genesinguhta. There were still problems, however. In September, 1806, Johnson Silverheels, after complaining about the Quaker decision to discontinue the loaning of tools, further complained that the Friends at Tunesassa did not provide food for the Indians who came there to use the mills. After all, wasn't this the custom of his own people? Hospitality, according to Iroquois tradition, was enjoined by the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit had made all and had given everything for the many and not for the few. Hospitality was not a virtue, but a strict duty, and food ought to be provided for anyone who might call for it at any time. This rule of universal hospitality, which was followed by the Iroquois, is described by the Iroquoian ethnologist Arthur C. Parker:

> Anyone from anywhere could enter any house at any time if occupants were within, and be served with food. ...it was the duty of the housewife to offer food to everyone that

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[2]Friends, Civilization of Indian Natives, p. 44.

> entered her door. .... There was never need for anyone to go hungry or destitute, the unfortunate and the lazy could avail themselves of the stores of the more fortunate and the more energetic. ...the slightest indication of an imposition was rebuked in a stern manner.[3]

Friends answered Silverheels unequivocally that missionaries were not at Tunesassa to feed the Indians. If the Quaker women living and teaching there were to follow the Indian custom, they would be spending all of their time preparing and serving food and would have no time for teaching. Furthermore, there was a real danger that those Indian men who disliked work might simply decide to live off the Friends. The Indian boys who went to Tunesassa to learn to farm or to operate the mills would be fed in payment for whatever labor they performed while there, but the girls who went there to receive instruction in housekeeping and the domestic arts would have to provide their own food, while the Friends would give them some wool and flax for spinning.[4] The Quakers also prohibited the Indians from using the mills on Sunday, closely observed by the missionaries as a day of rest.

In voicing his dissatisfaction with the Quaker mission, Silverheels had spoken only for one group of

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[3]Parker, "Iroquois Uses of Maize," 62-63.

[4]Bonsall 1806 MS, entry for September 16.

Allegheny Senecas, the anti-Cornplanter faction of younger men who had gained some of the influence with the Indians that had once been the chief's. On the two days following Silverheel's remonstrance, several Indians, including an aged sister of Cornplanter, came to Tunesassa to apologize for comments the young man had made in the council at Cold Spring.

These problems were small when compared with the difficulties Friends faced in persuading the Indians to accept the concept of exclusive property. But all problems, great and small, were offset by the continuing successes registered by the Quakers in their technical-aid program.

The accomplishments of the Quaker missionary program can be measured at all accurately only by the extent to which the Quakers themselves felt that its objectives were fulfilled. As Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., has pointed out, the evangelical Protestant missionaries viewed their Indian endeavors as dismal failures because they expected conversions to come quickly and in large numbers.[5] The Quakers, by contrast, because their aims were more practical and less millennial, were more nearly satisfied with the results of their efforts.

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[5]Berkhofer, op. cit., pp. 157-60.

The reports of the Indian Committee and the journals of the Committee delegates abound in evidence of their satisfaction with the moral and material improvement of the Indians. As early as the fall of 1799, only a year and a half after the founding of the Seneca mission, Friends visiting the Genesinguhta settlement for the Committee were impressed with the increases in crops, livestock, and enclosed fields.[6] The three members of the Committee who visited there in September of 1801 had even more reason to be delighted, since the Indian men were using plows and the women were ceasing to ridicule them.[7] The members of the deputation of September, 1803, were likewise pleased with the improvements they saw, especially the newly-constructed log road that afforded a much better land route between Burnt House and the Indian settlements at Genesinguhta and Cold Spring.[8]

By the autumn of 1806, the Allegheny Indians were, as a result of the Handsome Lake temperance movement, a sober community, and, in Quaker terms, a fairly industrious one, too. Nearly all of the agricultural work was being

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[6]Friends, Civilization of Indian Natives, pp. 18-19.

[7]Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[8]Ibid., p. 39.

done by the men, their wives assisting only with planting and harvesting. Fencing, road construction, and house building were also engaging more of the men's time. Isaac Bonsall noted in his diary, "Their improvements are generally beyond anything I had anticipated. We are convinced that the labor of the Friends among the Indians has been peculiarly blessed."[9] Halliday Jackson, comparing the condition of the Indians in 1806 to their state in 1800, concluded that their improvements "in divers respects since I left them has rather exceeded my expectation, and quite equal to any I have observed in any of the new settlements made by whites in the same length of time...."[10] John Phillips, who had not previously visited the Seneca mission, was less pleased than Bonsall and Jackson.

While the Senecas on the Allegheny were becoming rehabilitated and acculturated with the assistance of the Quakers and in response to the preachings of Handsome Lake, Friends were considering the possibility of extending their missionary activities to other reservations in western New York. As early as 1799, some of the chiefs of the Cattaraugus Reservation had requested that some

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[9]Bonsall 1806 MS, entry for September 18.

[10]Snyderman, "Jackson's Journal (1806)," entry for September 18, 1806.

Friends settle among them in order to teach and assist them, and a year later, they offered to set aside some land for their use. Until 1808, however, the Quakers limited their assistance to such things as gifts of tools and the training, at the Allegheny mission, of young men and boys in farming and blacksmithing, and while the Senecas at Cattaraugus improved their material condition considerably, the Munsee Delawares residing there still lived in a very primitive state.

In the autumn of 1806, the deputation from the Committee met the Cattaraugus Senecas in council on the reservation and praised them for the progress they had made in improving their way of life. Halliday Jackson noted in his diary, however, that their progress in agriculture had not been as great as that among the Allegheny Senecas, and he attributed the difference to the continuous example set by the mission at the latter place.[11] The Chief Warrior, Wanundguhta, thanked the Friends for the assistance they had given, adding that he and several others had worked to keep liquor out of their community and to persuade the idle to cease such useless diversions as gambling, card playing, and lacrosse, in order to "learn useful labor, saying that some in their

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[11] Ibid., entry for September 21.

play & diversions had received considerable injury by having different limbs broke & not having attended to industry were left without means of subsistance, /sic/ whereas if they had kept to labor would have avoided these accidents & had something to live on."[12] The Quakers had repeatedly urged the Indians to teach their children to work while they were still young, so that they would not grow up in idleness and be averse to work during adulthood. In Wanundguhta's speech, as recorded by Isaac Bonsall, they found further justification for their philosophy of education. Before leaving the reservation, the Friends prepared a letter for the Munsee Delawares, urging them to follow the example of their Seneca neighbors.

In 1808, measures were at last taken by Friends to speed up the civilizing process at Cattaraugus. They purchased a tract of land of about five hundred acres at Clear Creek adjoining the reservation. A house was built, and Benjamin Coope, Jacob Taylor, Stephen Twining, and Hannah Jackson took up residence. Some land was cleared at the mission site during the year, and four or five acres were sown with wheat. Saw and grist mills were erected on the property for use by the Indians, and instruction in the arts of domestic life, such as soap

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[12]Bonsall 1806 MS, entry for September 21.

making and the manufacture of clothing from flax and wool instead of animal skins, was given to the women.

The Quakers offered to buy a piece of land for the Munsee Delawares, and asked the Senecas to help the Delawares to improve their material condition. Though grateful for the Friends' offer, the Delawares declined it, announcing that they were planning to join their relatives west of the Ohio. By mid-summer of 1810, the Delawares were on the move west, and the Seneca chiefs, believing that the Delawares would be happier among their own people, did not attempt to persuade them to stay.

By spring of 1811, the Friends at Clear Creek could report considerable progress among the Cattaraugus Senecas. The men were splitting rails to enclose fields and seemed genuinely enthusiastic about farming as a much more dependable means of subsistence than hunting. Some of them had even "disposed of the produce of their farms to good advantage...."[13] The women were doing a good deal of spinning and weaving.

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[13]Friends, Society of, London Yearly Meeting, Meeting for Sufferings, Aborigines' Committee, Some Account of the Religious Society of Friends toward the Indian Tribes in the Settlement of the Colonies of East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania: With a Brief Narrative of their Labours for the Civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from the Time of their Settlement in America, to the Year 1843 (London: Edward Marsh, 1844), p. 130. - hereafter cited as Friends, Civilization and Christian Instruction of Indians.

The Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Senecas and the Tuscaroras received only incidental assistance from the Quakers, but they, too, were becoming perceptibly acculturated. In 1804, Gerard T. Hopkins, a member of the Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, visited the Buffalo Creek Senecas and declared himself pleased with the improvements they had made. "They are making considerable progress in agriculture, live in tolerable log houses, and have a number of cattle, horses and hogs. We saw many of them at work; they were preparing the ground for the plough by rolling logs, taking up stumps, etc. We also saw among them a large plough at work drawn by three yoke oxen, and attended by the Indians."[14] Hopkins also met Sword Carrier (Sagareesa), a chief of the Tuscaroras, who spoke about the transition his people were making from a semi-hunting to an agricultural economy. In 1806, Jacob Taylor, John Phillips, and Halliday Jackson met Erastus Granger, the new Federal Superintendent of the Senecas, who reported that the Tonawanda and Buffalo Creek Senecas were making good progress in agricultural pursuits. He spoke of his satisfaction at viewing the improvements of the Allegheny

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[14]Frank H. Severance (ed.), "A Visit of Gerard T. Hopkins: A Quaker Ambassador to the Indians Who Visited Buffalo in 1804," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, VI (1903), 221.

Indians that summer, and said that he had tried to stimulate the Indians at Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda by telling them of the progress of their Allegheny brothers.[15]

In the years after 1806, reports of material improvement among the Allegheny Indians continued to come to the Indian Committee from the Friends at Tunesassa. The policy of the Quaker mission had always been to do no more work than necessary for the Indians. The Quaker method was bearing fruit in the increasing number of women who were becoming skilled in the domestic arts, the greater personal neatness and cleanliness of the Indians, and the ever greater amount of land being brought under cultivation by the Indian men. In 1810, the tanning of leather was added to the various occupations already being pursued by the Indians.

Meanwhile, impending war threatened to interrupt the work of the Quakers. In the spring of 1800, Cornplanter and a number of other Allegheny Seneca chiefs had attended a Six Nations' Council at Buffalo Creek to discuss rumors of impending war between the United States and Great Britain. Eight years later, the Friends at

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[15]Snyderman, "Jackson's Journal (1806)," entry for September 22, 1806.

Tunesassa reported that a number of Seneca chiefs were making plans to go west to advise certain tribes to remain neutral should war break out.

When war finally did come in 1812, Friends attempted to dissuade the Iroquois from taking part in the hostilities, but they failed to persuade many to remain neutral. Many of the younger men hurried west to join the forces of Tecumseh, the Shawnee chief, who hoped to form a confederation of all the tribes in the Mississippi Valley to resist the flood of white migration. This idea was opposed by Handsome Lake and Red Jacket, a Seneca chief who had resisted white-imposed progress, but who spoke out for peace, and worked to prevent the Iroquois from going to war against the United States on the side of Tecumseh. Erastus Granger, the federal agent, also pleaded with the Iroquois to remain neutral. He and Red Jacket deplored the fact that the Canadian Mohawks of Joseph Brant's party were bound to fight as British allies.

On June 16, 1812, the British were reported to have taken forcible possession of Grand Island, a property of the Senecas in the Niagara River. The Senecas would no longer promise neutrality. A council was called at Buffalo Creek Reservation, and Red Jacket advocated war. A declaration of war was read, and many of the Senecas, as well as members of other nations, such as the

Tuscarora, Oneida, and Onondaga, flocked to the American standard. Cornplanter's son, Henry, with four hundred Senecas, took part in the defense of Buffalo. Crossing into Canada, the New York Iroquois troops fought at Chippewa and at Lundy's Lane under General Scott, some Indian women fighting alongside the men. The War of 1812 estranged the Canadian and American branches of the Iroquois. Senecas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, and Onondagas fought the Mohawks, their ancient friends, who had now become their enemies.[16]

In the latter part of 1814, a delegation from the Indian Committee, including Halliday Jackson, visited the Friends and Indians at the Allegany and Cattaraugus Reservations. The report of the delegates stressed the fact that while the agricultural improvements of the Indians had been interrupted somewhat during the war, their "manners and deportment in general have become more assimilated to the modes and practices of white people."[17] The Indians were thankful that the Quakers had continued their missions among them during the war to help them

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[16]Arthur C. Parker, "The Senecas in the War of 1812," New York State Historical Association Proceedings, XV (1916), 78-90. Parker claims that the Senecas comprised two-thirds of the Iroquois troops who fought for the United States.

[17]Friends, Civilization and Christian Instruction of Indians, pp. 130-31.

through a period of grave difficulty.

The year 1815 saw the termination of the extensive service of the Indian Committee at Cattaraugus. A part of the land on Clear Creek owned by the Committee was sold to Jacob Taylor, one of the Friends who had been stationed there. The land sold contained the mills, which were thereafter operated as private property, although it was provided in the terms of sale that the Indians should have their grain ground free of charge for one year. Taylor agreed to act as Cattaraugus agent and correspondent for the Committee, a post he held for three years.

This did not, however, signal the end of all organized Quaker assistance to the Cattaraugus Indians. During the severe winter of 1816-'17, Friends distributed provisions among the Indians of the Cattaraugus and Allegany Reservations. Then, in 1818, the Committee, in response to a desire expressed by the Cattaraugus Indians to have their children taught English, accepted the offer of a Friend to open a school at the reservation. A year later, it was reported that the school was fairly well attended, but in 1821 it was closed because the Indians were not united in its support. Even the agency of Jacob Taylor was discontinued. Although the balance of the Clear Creek land owned by the Committee was not disposed of for another thirty years, the active efforts of the Committee

at Cattaraugus had come to an end.

The year 1815 marked the death of Handsome Lake, and the second phase of the history of the New Religion began. During its first phase, it had been a religion of radical reform, a revitalization movement. During its second phase (1815-ca. 1845), as pressure was put on the Senecas by the Ogden Land Company, successor to the Holland Land Company, to sell their reservations and migrate to new lands west of the Mississippi, it was transformed into a religion of nativism, with emphasis on its non-Christian, or traditional, elements. While representatives of the federal government were divided over the issue of removal, the Quakers supported those Senecas who resisted the pressure for sale and removal.[18]

The outcome of the removal affair was the loss of the reservations along the Genesee River, of the Buffalo Creek Reservation, and of much of the Tonawanda Reservation; the splitting of the Senecas into a Christian, pro-removal group, and a "pagan," anti-removal group; and the eventual replacement, at Cattaraugus and Allegany, of the traditional clan-appointed chiefs with a council of elected chiefs.

The leader of the "pagan party" of Senecas, so called

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[18]Wallace, "Cultural Composition of the Handsome Lake Religion," 148-49.

by evangelical Protestant missionaries and their Indian converts because its members stressed their Indianness and set themselves in opposition to external pressures for change, was Red Jacket, a chief of the Buffalo Creek Reservation. For many years Red Jacket had been unable to win many adherents to his anti-white causes, but after the death of Handsome Lake, whose accommodations with white civilization Red Jacket viewed with a jaundiced eye, he became increasingly influential. He was as suspicious as ever of ambitious land agents and much disturbed over his wife's interest in Christianity. As the forces of covetous white land-seekers grew more menacing, Red Jacket moved himself into the leadership of the anti-removal Senecas, and a number of followers of the Handsome Lake religion, upon recognizing the threat to their lands, began to rally around his standard.

Red Jacket's adherents were opposed by the "Christian party," known also as the "emigration party," which was convinced that the best hope for the Senecas was removal to Green Bay in Michigan Territory.[19]

Although the members of the Pagan party were particularly antagonistic toward the more uncompromising

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[19]Henry S. Manley, "Red Jacket's Last Campaign," New York State Historical Association Proceedings, XLVIII (1950), 149-50.

types of Christian missionaries, the repercussions of the growing Indian resentment toward whites and of the schism in the Seneca population, which came to revolve more about theology and politics than about practical matters like agriculture and family organization, were felt even in the missionary activities of the Quakers.

The opposition of the Pagan party was especially bitter with regard to the education of the young, its members venting their wrath against Quakers as well as evangelical Protestants. Cornplanter had been unsuccessful in leasing the lands of his personal tracts to whites, and the Indians who had moved off the Grant for that purpose had drifted back and resumed residence there. Then, in 1815, the Presbyterian Western Missionary Society at Pittsburgh sent Samuel Oldham to operate a school for the Indians at Burnt House. By October, 1818, however, the school had been closed down, the result of a decision by Cornplanter, who had become irate over the land-grabbing policies of the whites and who began to argue that education for the young was a waste of time and effort.

In the summer of 1816, the Quaker Joseph Elkinton came to the Allegheny from his home in Philadelphia and opened a school for Indian boys at Cold Spring. By August of the following year, the school had eighteen pupils, of

whom several had already learned to read English. Pagan opposition was soon evident, however, and in December of 1820, one of the Friends at Tunesassa reported that Red Jacket and an Onondaga chieftain were going to Washington, D.C., to demand that Elkinton's Cold Spring school be discontinued. For a while longer, though, it remained in operation, its enrollment even increasing to twenty-six pupils, many of whom came from long distances and frequently stayed with Elkinton overnight so they might have more time for their studies.

Elkinton soon faced serious troubles. Opposition from the Pagan party became increasingly more severe, and on one occasion Red Jacket threatened to tar and feather the schoolmaster if he persisted in his work. In February of 1821, Cornplanter, who became increasingly more anti-American and anti-white civilization in his later years, told Elkinton to close his school and go home (the Quaker school at Cattaraugus had already been closed), and by the 15th of March, the opposition had succeeded in their demands. They were apprehensive, they said, lest the Friends should take their lands for the services they had been performing. In September Elkinton wrote to the Committee that Cornplanter had called on the Senecas to follow their former customs and had warned them that the Quakers would ultimately charge for their services. The

Friends in Philadelphia wrote to the Indians that they expected no remuneration for their gifts and services, but to no avail. In 1822, Elkinton's school was transferred to the mission grounds at Tunesassa.[20]

The Pagan opponents of Elkinton's school also argued that the Quaker proposal that the Indian communal lands be divided into individually-owned farms was nothing more than a white man's ruse to get their lands away from them. The Quakers had persistently urged the practice of exclusive property on the Indians for political, social, and economic reasons, and they made a strong point of the fact that Indian improvements in housing and agriculture occurred more rapidly at Genesinguhta and Cold Spring, where the Indians tended to live more detached from one another on separate farms, than at Burnt House. In September of 1806, one of the Allegheny Senecas showed the members of the delegation from the Committee the deeds to lots he had purchased from whites in some of their communities down-river from the Indian settlements.

In the years following the death of the Prophet, when the land problem became especially critical, the Quakers, in their anxiety over the possible alienation

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[20]Kelsey, op. cit., p. 98.

of reservation territory, doubled their efforts in the direction of land division. In 1817, the Committee urged President Monroe to discourage the cession of reservation lands in New York State and to suggest to the Indians a division of their communal lands in order to remove the danger of their being transferred as a whole to the whites.[21] In September, members of the Committee met the Seneca chiefs at Cattaraugus in a general council, and won an agreement to try the Quaker plan of land division on the Allegany Reservation.

A surveyor was engaged in 1818 to lay out the Allegany Reservation in lots suitable for farming, and during the summer he proceeded to divide the land. It was not long, however, before he was stopped by some Indians of the Pagan party, who asked that the Committee get official approval from President Monroe for the proposed division of land. His approval was soon obtained, and in January, 1819, he addressed a letter to the Allegany Indians recommending that they hold their lands in severalty.[22]

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[21]Friends, Civilization and Christian Instruction of Indians, p. 132.

[22]Friends, Society of, London Yearly Meeting, Meeting for Sufferings, Tracts Relative to the Aborigines, No. 3 (London: Edward Marsh, 1843), p. 17.

Presidential endorsement did not overcome Pagan resistance, and the land-division project was never carried out. As late as 1838, the lands of the Allegany Indians were still "not held in severalty, and those who occupy and improve any particular part, do not thereby acquire a permanent right to the soil; they hold by possession only, and are liable to be dispossessed in case the chiefs should form a treaty of cession. Hence, they have less encouragement to make permanent improvements..."[23] The Quakers had failed in the 1790's to sell the idea of exclusive property to the Oneidas; they were scarcely more successful with the Senecas two decades later.

The transfer of Elkinton's school from Cold Spring to Tunesassa in 1822 permitted its director to continue with the pedagogical work he had begun in 1816, and in 1823 the school, housed in a building newly erected for the purpose, was attended by about twenty pupils. A workshop for instructing boys and young men in various vocational skills was built near the school house. In 1825, Mary Nutt, who later married Elkinton, established at Tunesassa a girl's school for the learning of English, as well as knitting, spinning, and other domestic arts. That same year, Elkinton founded a shortlived "Aboriginal

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[23] Ibid., p. 10.

Agricultural Society." From time to time, when Pagan recalcitrance was especially strong, the enrollment at the schools dipped drastically, but in 1826, the Friends at Tunesassa were able to report that the average number of pupils in each school was twenty-five.[24] Between school hours, the boys were employed on the farm or in the workshop.

In 1823, Isaac Bonsall and Jacob Taylor visited the Cattaraugus Reservation, where Quaker assistance had ceased two years previously. Bonsall inspected the farms of the Indians and found a number of large and well-constructed houses and barns, as well as a considerable amount of fenced and cultivated land, "but the improvements have not progressed as they ought to have considering the labor of Friends among them."[25] In an interview with the Chief Warrior, he learned of the deep regret felt by the Cattaraugus Indians over the termination of Quaker service. One of the Indians ascribed the lack of progress to the

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[24] Friends, Civilization and Christian Instruction of Indians, p. 140.

[25] Isaac Bonsall, Manuscript Journal of a Journey Made by Isaac and Ann Bonsall, Quaker Missionaries, through Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, and Indiana, Describing Meetings with Quaker Groups and Visits with Indians on Their Reservations in Western New York, July 12 to November 17, 1823, MS, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, entry for August 8.

fact that a Presbyterian missionary had tried to establish himself on the reservation and had created an unfortunate division among the people. Those opposed to him had forced him to settle off the reservation, but some of those favorably disposed toward him had placed their children in his care to be boarded, clothed, and taught to read and write English. Singing was an important part of the missionary's educational program. One of the Indians of the opposition told Bonsall that the children under the Presbyterian's tutelage "were so ignorant of what they did that they did not know whether they were singing to God or the Devil."[26]

Prior to 1830, the Indians of New York State became exercised over plans being formulated by the federal government for removing various eastern tribes to lands beyond the Mississippi. After the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, the French ceased to be a menace to the United States, and President Jefferson, under strong political pressure, saw in the newly acquired territory an excellent home for the Indians. By 1825, the old federal Indian policy of peaceful persuasion and negotiation for Indian lands had been replaced by a coercive policy of removal.

In 1826 the Senecas sold the last of their lands

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[26] Ibid.

along the Genesee River. That same year, the Ogden Land Company claimed to have concluded with a number of Seneca "chiefs" a treaty by which the Company acquired about 81,000 acres of land, mostly from the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations, for $43,050. Red Jacket and thirty or forty other members of the Pagan party wrote to President John Quincy Adams and to the Governor of New York about the threats and briberies with which the Land Company had obtained the "chiefs'" signatures, and the "treaty" was never ratified. However, the Land Company maintained that the transaction was nonetheless effective, and proceeded to sell reservation lands, thus creating an atmosphere of extreme apprehensiveness for the Indians.[27]

In the years that followed the "treaty" of 1826, the situation at Tunesassa became so discouraging to Friends that all mission work was suspended in 1831 until such a time as the Indians should ask for the Friends' return. The war troubles of 1812, the land problem and its concomitant anxieties, and the divisive influence of evangelical Protestant missionaries had all in one way or another taken their toll, and before long many Senecas would be dispossessed of their reservation lands.

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[27]Manley, "Red Jacket's Last Campaign," 151-60.

No Friend could overlook the enormous progress that had been made by the Allegany Indians in their agricultural pursuits, however, to say nothing of their moral and social revitalization. In 1826, the Friends at Tunesassa were able to make the following glowing report, which, perhaps, disguised their anxieties.

> There are 80 families, composed of 439 individuals, who pursue this mode of acquiring a livelihood, & possess 479 head of cattle, 58 horses, 350 hogs, 699 acres of improved land, in which 70 acres of meadow are included. 239 acres were planted last season (1825) with corn, 42 with potatoes, 38 with wheat, & 116 with oats, besides buckwheat & various kinds of vegetables.[28]

Much of the economic progress of the Indians during this period of the Allegheny mission was being achieved in spite of intense anti-white feeling and because the Quakers had earlier established solid foundations for economic acculturation.

How did Friends evaluate the results of their missionary labors among the Allegheny Senecas? In 1835, four years after the suspension of mission work at Tunesassa, the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings, in a letter to its London counterpart, wrote, "The labor & expense which Friends have bestowed upon the Indians at Tunesassa have had a beneficial effect."[29] Their primitive

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[28]Friends, Civilization and Christian Instruction of Indians, p. 140.

[29]Ibid., p. 142.

bark-covered dwellings had largely been replaced with shingle-roofed frame or log houses. The women, once hewers of firewood, were free to pursue more appropriate domestic affairs. Their agriculture, once insufficient to support them, had been so improved and expanded that many raised a surplus for local markets. Their population, instead of declining as before, was increasing rapidly. Their houses of worship, when not in use for the performance of the ceremonies of the New Religion, were being used as schools, taught by their own people. The marriage bond, once so casually regarded, had acquired greater sanctity. Not a word about the conversion of Indians to the Quaker religion, an objective of, at best, minor importance to Friends. According to the anthropologist George S. Snyderman, many Senecas applied for admittance into the Society of Friends, but were turned down because they did not meet the very stringent standards of the Quaker faith, more stringent than those of Catholicism and evangelical Protestantism.[30]

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[30]George S. Snyderman, "The MS Collections of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends Pertaining to the American Indian," American Philosophical Society, Library Bulletin: Studies of Historical Documents (1958), 620.

EPILOGUE

The Quakers resumed their missionary work at Tunesassa in 1836. During the period of suspension, various Friends had visited the Senecas in order to keep the Indian Committee informed of the situation on the Allegheny, and by late 1835, conditions seemed to them to favor and, indeed, to demand a resumption of the work halted in 1831. The nativistic influence of such vehement anti-whites as Cornplanter became in his later years had faded considerably by that time (Cornplanter died in 1836), and, according to Friends, the Indians "were unanimous in their desire to have their children instructed by Friends."[1] The heavy floods of October 18-20, the worst on the upper Allegheny in thirty-two years, carried away two-thirds of the Indians' crops, leaving only eight families with enough food to prevent their suffering.

In the winter of 1836, Enoch Lewis and Robert Scotten took up residence at the Tunesassa mission farm, distributing $1,300 of Quaker money among the Indians for the purchase of food, in addition to another $200, earmarked for seed. In 1837, in consequence of a failure

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[1]Friends, Civilization and Christian Instruction of Indians, p. 143.

of crops due to frost, the Committee directed the expenditure of an additional $600 for the relief of distressed families. Nature had dealt the Seneca economy a serious reverse. Some of the Indians sold their implements and livestock to buy food, while others left their homes to hunt. Some even leased the farm lands they had worked to white men. One of the few signs of hope in an atmosphere of despair was the resurgence of Indian interest in the education of the young, and in 1837 the schools at Tunesassa were reopened.

Most ominously, the Ogden Land Company was about to mount its most serious challenge to the continued existence of the remaining Seneca reservations in New York State, Allegany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, and Tonawanda, which in 1837 comprised an area of about 125,000 acres. The Quakers had failed to persuade the Indians to divide their communal lands in severalty, and in 1838 the Land Company, which owned pre-emptive title to the Seneca reservations, launched an all-out attempt to wrest them all from their owners. Many Quakers, believing that the Senecas were then "less fitted for removal to the wilds of the west than they were when Friends commenced their labours amongst them,"[2] threw

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[2]Friends, Tracts Relative to the Aborigines, No. 3 p. 12.

themselves into the struggle.

Well before 1838, a liberal-conservative split had developed within the Society of Friends. The cause of the schism was Elias Hicks (1748-1830), a popular Quaker minister from Long Island, whose strong Quietistic bent placed him in opposition to the English Evangelical ministers traveling in the United States with the authority of the London Yearly Meeting. Hicks emphasized the 'Inner Light' aspect of the Quaker faith and regarded the evangelical doctrines of salvation as man-made "innovations." He held Christ to have been essentially "human," a perfect man, and he was charged by the conservative members of the Society with preaching unitarianism and questioning the inspiration and authority of the Bible. In April, 1827, the first separation of American Friends into liberal, or "Hicksite," and conservative, or "Orthodox," groups occurred in Philadelphia.

Hicks was also strongly in favor of enlarged rights and opportunities for unprivileged classes of people, and although most of his work on behalf of the oppressed was done to end Negro slavery, he was throughout his life sympathetic to the plight of the Indians. His concern for the condition of the Indians was shared by his liberal adherents, and most of the work done by the

Quakers in 1838-'41 to protect the Senecas in the possession of their New York lands was done by the liberal wing of the Society.

Liberal Friends made numerous trips to Washington in attempts to prevent the ratification of the land cession treaties of 1838 and 1842. The fraudulent "treaty" of 1838 was a document produced by the Land Company which purported to show that the Senecas had relinquished all four of their reservations for $202,000. When Friends learned of the unscrupulous tactics employed to get the signatures of "chiefs" on the treaty, they entered the pamphlet war. In early 1840 a group of liberal Friends issued the 256-page The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York, which contained a series of affidavits charging various briberies, intimidations, and signatures either forged or obtained with the help of the liquor bottle.[3] Officials of the federal government were persuaded by the evidence of deceit to appeal to the Land Company to avoid litigation by settling the matter out of court. The outcome was the compromise treaty of 1842, ratified by Congress and protested by Quakers, which restored Allegany and Cattaraugus to the Indians, but left Buffalo

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[3]Henry S. Manley, "Buying Buffalo from the Indians," New York State Historical Association Proceedings, XLV (1947), 325.

Creek and Tonawanda in the hands of the Land Company. The Tonawanda Senecas refused to acknowledge the loss of their lands, and in 1868 they obtained a special act of Congress which authorized them to buy back that tenth part of their original reserve from which they had never been ousted.

The disastrous floods and crop failures of 1835 and 1837 on the upper Allegheny were followed by ruinous floods in the fall of 1842 and by the severe winter of 1842-'43, and again the Quakers distributed food and seed among the needy. Ultimately, however, the Indians began to recover, and by the spring of 1849, Friends at Tunesassa could report that "the agricultural operations of the Indians have been conducted in their usual way. ...the grain and grass were generally good, and well gathered at the proper season. .... On Cornplanter's settlement the Indians cultivated more land last year than usual, and performed more of the labour themselves than the preceding one."[4]

Where the Quakers had failed to find a final solution to the problem of land alienation, the Senecas found one of their own in the creation of the Seneca Nation. In an effort to prevent the further loss of lands to the

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[4]Friends' Review: A Religious, Literary, and Miscellaneous Journal, II (May 19, 1849), 549.

whites, a majority of the non-ranking Senecas of Allegany and Cattaraugus seceded from the Iroquois Confederacy in December of 1848 and formed the Seneca Nation. They overthrew the traditional clan-appointed chiefs, whom they charged with dishonesty in connection with the treaties of 1838 and 1842, and they drew up a republican constitution which vested the treaty-making power in a council of eighteen annually-elected chiefs. It further provided that no treaty would be binding upon the Nation until approved by three-fourths of the legal voters. The founders of the Indian republic obtained from the federal government a charter which established them as a semi-independent political entity. The republic survived its conflicts with the pro-Confederacy faction of Senecas to remain the instrument by which the Allegany and Cattaraugus Indians have preserved their territorial integrity down to the present day.

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