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Abstract

Along the coastal region of eastern North America, the fur trade created a number of changes within Native American cultures. In part, the fur trade exasperated deteriorating conditions between neighboring tribes by contributing to an escalation of internecine warfare which was on the rise throughout the centuries prior to contact. Competition for access to trade goods led to a destructive cycle of rivalry between the Iroquois, Hurons, and Mahicans that culminated in the destruction of the Huron, the displacement of Mahican tribes from the Fort Orange area by the Mohawk, and the creation of a rivalry within the Iroquoian League. The effects of trade and European contact also created a spiritual crisis among the Iroquois and other indigenous groups. This crisis was caused in part by a combination of factors including the introduction of Old World pathogens, alcohol, intensification of native rivalry, and a French Jesuit Christianization movement which attempted to displace traditional aboriginal beliefs. Another factor of this spiritual crisis is that the fur trade disrupted indigenous ecological practices which led to the almost total annihilation of furbearing species from many regions. As spiritual and cultural pressures increased, Native groups turned against the animal populations upon which they were dependant and began systematic over-hunting of fur bearers in what has been described as warfare against nature. The fur trade was a major factor in shaping the cultural dynamics of culture relations within and between indigenous groups and European colonial powers. In part, the fur trade acted as a catalyst for the undermining and destruction of indigenous cultural traditions, but it could not have existed without the skilled hunting abilities and pre-existing trade networks of the aboriginal peoples of North America. Throughout the volatile sixteenth, seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the Iroquois successfully and repeatedly turned

disadvantages, created by events surrounding the fur trade and colonial expansionism, into advantages by forging the Five Nations tribal affiliation into a strong military and political entity that became a dominate force within the entire Northeastern region.

I. Historical Overview

Precontact Trade Networks and the proto-Iroquoians: the Woodland Period

When Europeans first arrived in the New World they were able to tap into pre-existing long distance trade networks established during the Archaic and Woodland periods. The archaeological evidence for long distance trade first appeared in New York during the Early Woodland period, the Meadowood Phase, and is documented by the recovery of small discoidal purple and white marine shell beads, derived from mid-Atlantic sources (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 196). There is also archaeological evidence for extensive trade networks established between Meadowood populations in New York and from the Adena and later Hopewell cultures from the Ohio Valley. The evidence of distance networks is not based exclusively on the exchange of exotic goods and materials; it includes the grafting of social ideas and customs pertaining to Adena and Hopewell mortuary practices, including the extensive use of exotic grave goods, within the Meadowood cultural system (Snow 1980: 273). The adoption of Adena and Hopewellian mortuary systems and inclusion of exotic materials by the New York Meadowood cultures was supplied and maintained from a central distribution center located in southern Ohio. "The network was maintained by steady demand, which in turn was sustained by the steady deposition of luxury items as grave goods. The exchange mechanism was probably either individual trading partnerships or transactions between kin group heads" (Snow 1980: 273-274). Clay tubular tobacco pipes of Meadowood manufacture where fashioned to imitate Adena stone tobacco pipes. Grave

goods, consisting of copper ornaments, birdstones, slate gorgets, and boatstones, derived from the Ohio Valley, have been recovered within Meadowood contexts. The archaeological evidence suggests not only the establishment of a trade network but also an exchange of cultural and religious ideas with Adena style burial practices and grave goods assimilated by Meadowood populations (Fagan [1991] 1995: 456; Snow 1980: 267).

Throughout the Meadowood phase, central New York functioned as a central hub in a complex system of long distance trade networks. Trade items derived from southern Ohio entered New York and spread throughout parts of the Northeast. Though the Adena trade network only sporadically touched upon northern New England, the Boucher site, located in the Vermont Champlain drainage area, contained Adena-like mortuary burials and inclusion of exotic luxury grave goods accompanying primary and cremation burials. Grave goods included over 3,000 copper and shell beads, tubular pipes some of which were manufactured in Ohio claystone, and chipped stone artifacts manufactured from New York and Ohio cherts (Snow 1980: 291-293). A number of smaller Adena-like sites, located along the contours of Lake Champlain in Vermont, indicate that the Ohio trade network entered into New York and traveled into Vermont via a trade network that followed the extensive waterway systems which extend from the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain to the Hudson, St. Lawrence and Ohio River systems (Snow 1980: 298). Native copper probably was obtained from sources in the upper Great Lakes region whereas *Olivella* and *Marginella* shells came from the Carolina coastal regions (Snow 1980: 291). The Champlain drainage may have contributed graphite and bear canines into the trade network (Snow 1980: 298). This trade network was eliminated by a population shift of the Huron into the lower St. Lawrence region around A. D. 1600. At this point, the Champlain drainage became a buffer zone between the Iroquois

and the remaining tribes inhabiting this region. At this point "the role of the Hudson—Champlain corridor as a link between the mid-Atlantic and the St. Lawrence valley appears to have grown at the expense of earlier cultural distinctions between the Hudson and Champlain drainages" (Snow 1980: 308).

Meadowood sites are almost exclusively located along rivers and lakes. This location selection suggests a preference for access to navigable waterways which were used to facilitate trade and communication with distant tribes rather in contrast to the use of overland routes favored by the Iroquois and other late Woodland cultures (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 196). Exotic materials including marine-shell beads from the mid-Atlantic, smokey chalcedony knives from Quebec, steatite pots and jasper from Pennsylvania, along with an assortment of copper tools and ornaments, striped slate gorgets, birdstones, and "Turkey Tail" knives and spears all found their way into this trading hub (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 196; Snow 1980: 267). "Adena sites outside the Ohio drainage heartland were the consequence of an extensive trade network in the Eastern woodlands, which facilitated the exchange of luxury items used as grave goods as well as the mortuary system that served as an ideological base" (Snow 1980: 268).

Within the Mohawk drainage area, the assimilation of Adena burial practices continued in the Middlesex phase. In New York State, Middlesex sites are located predominately in eastern New York within the Mohawk Valley. These burial sites contain grave goods that are similar to or identical with Adena style objects including gorgets, birdstones, tobacco platform pipes, stemmed points, large ovate and lanceolate bifaces of exotic chert, shell, and copper ornaments (Funk 1978: 42). This phase was followed by the Canoe Point phase in which Hopewellian grave goods including tobacco pipes, knives made

from Ohio chert, cut mica, sheet silver, copper ear ornaments and copper axes (Snow 1980: 274-275).

By the Middle Woodland period, long distance trade had reached its height during the Point Peninsula phase as evidenced by a surge of luxury burial goods and exchange of cultural ideas that flowed into the New York region from the Adena and Hopewellian cultures. A shift occurred from simple flexed and bundle burials with few grave goods to burials with lavish grave goods comprised of exotic materials. Exchanges of Hopewellian cultural ideas also flowed along the trade routes and it may be at this time that maize may have been introduced into the New York region though no archaeological evidence has yet been recovered to confirm this. Within the New York State region, a Hopewellian mound building culture from the Ohio Valley region briefly mixed with local populations, lasting only a century or two, during the later half of the Early Point Peninsula period. The presence of Hopewellian-style burial mounds in western New York, offers conclusive archaeological evidence for a fusion of religious practices and beliefs along with some innovations seen within the material culture (Ritchie 1965: 216).

The Middle and Late Point Peninsula cultures are characterized by the Kipp Island and Hunter's Home phase. The Kipp Island culture (beginning around A.D. 500) continued a burial tradition consisting of Hopewellian—and a few Adena—characteristics that spread into western and central New York, western Pennsylvania, and southern Ontario via the Ohio and Allegany river systems (Ritchie [1965]1994: 228). Shell beads, sometimes in large numbers, are often recovered within burials, attesting to the popularity of these long distance trade items for personal adornment. Some of the beads recovered were manufactured from the conch *Busycon* which ranges from Cape Cod down along the Atlantic coast, *Marginella*

and *Olivella*, which is found from Florida to the Carolinas, and the gastropod *Anculosa subglobosa*. Fossilized sharks' teeth have also been recovered and are believed to have derived from the mid-Atlantic coastal region (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 249).

During the Kipp Island and Hunter's home phase there was a breakdown of long distance trade from the Ohio Valley. Trade continued but in much diminished quantities. At the same time there was a shift in burial practices from cremation to primary burials and there was no longer any distinction made between grave goods and every day items. This trend continued in the Hunter's Home phase with burials now consisting almost exclusively of primary, flexed burials or secondary bundle burials located near to the settlements. No burial mounds were built at this time and the only long distance trade items recovered from these sites consists of shark teeth (Snow 1980: 275-276).

The Late Woodland Period (beginning around A.D. 1000 to 1300) in central and eastern New York is comprised of the Owasco Tradition (consisting of the Carpenter Brook, Canandaigua, and Castle Creek phases). At this time, there was a cultural shift to the development of swidden horticulture and semi sedentary villages (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 14-15, Snow 1980: 314). Settlements consisted of spring-summer fishing camps (and other seasonal camps) and villages which were larger in size than the preceding Hunter's Home phase. No palisade structures have been identified at this time and all sites are located along the edges of rivers and other waterways with villages overlooking river flood plains (Snow 1980: 313).

During the Canandaigua phase, beginning around A.D. 1100-1200, there was a discernable shift in site locations away from navigable riverine settlements to palisaded villages located on defensible hilltops and the establishment of overland trail networks, a

system favored by the Iroquois. At the same time, long distance trade vanished, though the recovery of ceramic vessels and tobacco pipes of Owasco forms suggest some cultural contact with central New York (Ritchie 1965: 273, 294; Mason 1981: 324; Fagan [1991] 1995:462). Artifacts consisting of marine shell, though non existent in Owasco sites located in the central New York region are rarely recovered in other Owasco sites (Bradley 1987b: 21). Archaeological remains recovered from the Sackett and Bates site, and other Owasco burial and refuse sites, provide the first evidence of warfare and cannibalism (Bamann et al 1992: 442; Ritchie and Funk 1973: 360-361; Snow 1980: 314). At the Sackett site, six male skeletons were recovered each of which had one to eleven arrows recovered within each body (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 294). "By Castle Creek times most of the main villages were palisaded, although undefended seasonal camps along rivers, marshes, and lakes continued to be used as well. Small task groups continued to use small specialized sites for hunting and fishing, but through the period intervillage warfare probably constrained this activity" (Snow 1980: 313-314).

During the Iroquoian tradition (comprised of the Oak Hill, Chance, and Garoga phases) there was a resumption of long distance trade stemming from the trade of exotic materials coming from the mid-Atlantic region (Snow 1994: 57; Bradley 1987 a, b: 42). The Iroquois lived in large heavily fortified settlements and increasingly relied on horticulture as their main dietary staple. Archeological evidence in central New York, the traditional territory of the Onondaga, "emerges as model of village fusion and convergence, probably for reasons of defense in an atmosphere of endemic warfare, which can be demonstrated archeologically at this time (palisaded villages, human bone in refuse deposits) and which Iroquois legend also confirms" (Tuck 1978: 326). Palisades became more elaborate, in some

instances consisting of two or three palisade walls, and the wall heights may have been up to four meters high (Snow [1994] 1996: 52; 1980: 317). Additional evidence for violence and warfare with neighboring tribes throughout the Iroquoian period is found with the fragment of cut and polished human cranium recovered from the Kelso site, one of the earliest Iroquoian sites attributed to the Oak hill phase, and also from excavation of the village fortifications which now contained two and sometime three palisade walls (Tuck 1971:76; Ritchie [1965] 1994: 305).

Andrew Vayda sees a link between the adoption of swidden horticultural practices and an increase of warfare. He proposes a "first model of warfare among swidden agriculturalist, and it is a model in which warfare has such direct ecological functions or consequences as the expansion of population and an increase in the extent of the environment being exploited" (1961: 350). Though Vayda's studies were of swidden agricultural groups in New Zealand, a similar pattern of population growth, territorial expansion and increase in warfare is also clearly demonstrated among the Iroquois. Vayda's second model of warfare is also relevant for the formation of confederations between tribes in close proximity to one another and ultimately to the formation of the Iroquoian League. This second model of warfare and expansion within swidden agriculturalists pertains to "intertribal peace and mobility plus wars of territorial conquest against other tribes" (1961: 352). Again there is a clear correlation to this model and the creation of the Iroquoian confederacy which inwardly created peace among the Five Nations Iroquois and redirected increased hostility towards their more distant neighbors, particularly those tribes that were in direct competition for the European fur trade.

By the Chance phase, increasing populations began to spread into previously established territorial buffer zones between tribes, causing an increase in hostility and communication (Lenig 1965: 72). Village population densities increased as well as village sizes and there were early signs of village consolidations. Longhouses reached their greatest size and were often placed closer together (Snow [1994] 1996: 52; Ritchie and Funk 1973: 362). By the sixteenth century, internecine warfare, torture and cannibalistic rituals were endemic as indicated by numerous fragments of cut and butchered human bones, including severed finger bones, recovered from refuse middens at a number of Iroquoian sites (Snow [1994] 1996: 53). Butchered human remains from the Bloody Hill site provide supportive evidence for cannibalistic feasts used as a substitution for the Iroquoian bear cult ceremonies (Tuck 1971: 113-114). "At a number of sites, bear ceremonialism, war-captive torture, and cannibalism have been linked with large bathtub-shaped hollows filled with fire-cracked rocks, charcoal, beds and lenses of ash, and burned human and bear bones" (Mason 1981: 332). Bear ceremonialism, human effigy uses, reminiscent of the later Iroquoian false face wooden masks, and the use of multi-perforated box and painted turtle shell rattles appear to have it roots dating back into the Owasco Tradition evidenced by the recovery of a clay phallic effigy mingled with faunal materials consisting predominately of black bear and with the recovery of human-faced effigy tobacco pipes and a pendant (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 298-300).

By the Garoga phase, indicative for the Mohawk drainage area, late prehistoric Iroquoian culture reached its height and classic Iroquoian traditional form around A.D. 1450 to 1600 (Ritchie [1965] 1994: 316; Snow 1980: 317). It was during this period that the St. Lawrence Iroquois disappeared, prior to A.D. 1580. There was a population expansion and

increased communication between tribes as evidenced by an increase in village size and number and from the distribution of pottery vessels and tobacco pipe forms (Ritchie [1965] 1994:317; Tuck 1971: 219). These factors, Ritchie believed, later aided in the opening trade relations with Europeans, both through indirect and direct contact with European traders. Furthermore, the increased hostility caused by this contact aided in the formation of the Iroquoian League ([1965] 1994: 317).

During the Garoga phase there was a resumption of long distance trade between the mid-Atlantic and Great Lakes region (Bradley 1987 b: 42; Snow [1994] 1996: 57). In Ontario, archaeological evidence suggests that the complex Huron trade network had its roots established before the Contact period. This trade network consisted of exchanges of corn, produced by the Huron, that was used in trade for furs and dried fish with the more northerly tribes who still subsisted on a predominantly hunter gathering tradition. In a study of Iroquoian settlement patterns, Bruce Trigger found archaeological evidence indicating that "prior to the fur trade the Huron settlements were less close together and less confined to the margin of Georgian Bay, while the greater concentration of population followed closely the development of the fur trade. Thus, in addition to ecological factors, trade more than war appears to be responsible for the concentration of population that distinguished Huronia in historic times" (Trigger 1963: 93). B. Hayden believes that intertribal trade was a factor in the development of large Iroquoian settlements in order to assume better control of trade networks. However, Bruce Trigger finds little to substantiate this hypothesis; there is inconclusive evidence of prehistoric intertribal trade networks or that large villages maintained access to larger quantities of exotic goods at this time (1981: 33).

Burial practices throughout the Iroquoian tradition consisted of simple flexed burials accompanied by few grave offerings. This burial pattern changed after the contact period and numerous grave goods consisting of spiritually charged exotic and European items being placed in the graves of adults and children (Snow 1980: 319; Ritchie [1965] 1994: 321). An account for this sudden influx of burial offerings during the early seventeenth century, was reported by the Indians to a Jesuit missionary, Le Jeune, "that European goods were new, and that the dead needed to take them along to the next world, inasmuch as the next world was not yet well supplied with such goods" (Snow [1994] 1996: 90).

There was an increased interest in ritual and ornamental items and an increased interest in exotic materials, including marine-shell, native copper, and non-local lithic materials (Bradley 1987 a: 38). Shell beads recovered from the Barnes site indicate that these beads may have been possible precursors to wampum and fragments of nonnative copper may possibly represent the earliest European trade item recovered within a Native American context (Bradley 1987 b: 41-42; Tuck 1971: 160). Though settlements remained large, there was a slight decrease in palisade construction with the emphasis placed on selecting naturally defendable positions, to a selection criteria based on more horticulturally productive lands, indicating a brief decrease in hostilities (Bradley 1987 a: 35: Tuck 1971: 147). However warfare still existed as demonstrated by a continuation of cannibalistic feasts (Mason 1981: 332; Bradley 1987 a: 37; Ritchie and Funk 1973: 266).

The presence of distance trade networks is also seen from a limited quantity of exotic material recovered from two sixteenth century Mohawk sites located in the Caroga Creek drainage in Fulton County. A study of stone tools recovered from archaeological excavations conducted at the Klock site revealed a reliance on local chert sources. The majority of stone

tools were manufactured predominately from central Onondaga and Esopus cherts which the Mohawk could have procured from outcrops located 15 to 25 kilometers south of the Mohawk River. However, two types of exotic chert were recovered which indicates that these materials were procured through long distance trade. These lithic materials consisted of Normanskill cherts from the mid-Hudson valley and possible Lockport chert from the southeastern Ontario region (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 41). The Smith-Pagerie site had a similar pattern of reliance on local chert sources. However there is evidence for long distance trade in the recovery of a large well made projectile point made of exotic tan jasper. This kind of jasper is found in southern Pennsylvania or in southeast Ontario. The second type of exotic lithic material consisits of LeRay chert. Outcrops of this chert type are located in Jefferson County and stone tools manufactured from this material are often found in association with the St. Lawrence Iroquois. Pottery associated with the St. Lawrence Iroquois was also recovered at this site. The presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery and the LeRay cherts on this Mohawk site may be related to the disappearance and dispersal of the St. Lawrence Iroquois, indicating that some of the St. Lawrence Iroquois were absorbed by the Mohawk either as refugees of as war captives (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 76, 78; Snow [1994] 1996: 76).

Marine shell was completely absent from Mohawk sites dating to the fourteenth and early to mid fifteenth centuries. The first occurrence of marine shell consisted of a singular tubular bead recovered from the late fifteenth century Elwood site. Marine shell artifacts began to increase in substantial quantities during the sixteenth century on Iroquoian sites. However, the presence of marine shell artifacts took a sudden reversal at the end of the sixteenth century. This reversal Martha Sempowski attributes to a disruption in the trade

network between the Seneca and the Susquehannocks who served as middlemen in the exchange mid-Atlantic trade networks. At this time, during the second half of the sixteenth century the Susquehannocks migrated further to the south possibly to escape Iroquoian hostility (Kuhn and Funk 1992: 79-81; Sempowski 1992: 51). James Bradley (1987) has shown compelling evidence that precontact trade networks were moving significant quantities of marine shell into the interior via a mid-Atlantic trade corridor. However, sometime prior to or just after initial contact, documentary evidence indicates a major breach occurred between the Iroquois and the Susquehannocks (Sempowski 1992: 51). In a comparison study between Seneca and Susquehannock sites, Martha Sempowski found archaeological evidence to substantiate the documentary evidence that at the beginning of the seventeenth century there is a marked disruption in the occurrence of marine shell on Seneca and Mohawk sites, indicating a disruption of the mid-Atlantic trade network system. Further evidence for the disruption of trade relations between the Susquehannocks and the Iroquois is found in the sudden disappearance of copper spirals and hoops on Iroquois sites. These distinctive trade items, which commonly occurred on sixteenth century Susquehannock and Iroquoian sites, were absent from early seventeenth century Iroquoian sites, though they were still present on Susquehannock sites signifying a disruption in the trade (1992: 58). Additional evidence for a hostile disruption between these two groups is the appearance of Susquehannock pottery styles recovered on New York Iroquoian sites suggesting the incorporation of female war captives (Sempowski 1992: 52; Kuhn and Funk 1992:81).

A shift in the distribution patterns between the mid-Atlantic distributors and inland middlemen groups may account for the eruption of hostilities between the New York Iroquois and the Susquehannocks. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a

sharp decline in the amount of marine shell recovered from sites within Iroquoia. However, this is not the case with the Susquehannocks who may still have had access to materials moving through Allegany Valley/Ohio Valley/ Ontario network (Sempowski 1992: 52). In addition to the disruptive trade patterns, indicated by the absence of copper spirals and hoops, and diminished quantity of marine shell, objects fashioned from catlinite and canal coal are also greatly diminished if not absent from Seneca contexts at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Sempowski 1992: 58). Compelling evidence for a shift in trade patterns is also seen in a comparison of beads recovered from Seneca and Susquehannock early seventeenth century sites. The higher percentage of Group 1 (Indigo and White) beads and faceted star beads, which were available via the Ontario trade connection, provides supporting evidence that the Susquehannock had access to trade items via the Allegany Valley/Ohio Valley/ Ontario trade network which the Seneca did not (Sempowski 1992: 59; Kuhn and Funk 1992: 81). Archaeological and historical evidence suggests a rift occurred between the Susquehannock and the Iroquois at the beginning of the seventeenth century, coinciding with the arrival of the Dutch "It is also unclear how aggressively the Susquehannock were being excluded from the Dutch trade during this period, but the fact that the Susquehannock initiated a formal request for trade with the Dutch in 1626 suggests that they had been experiencing problems with access to the Dutch in the preceding years" (Sempowski 1992: 61). At this point, the Mohawk may have turned to groups on Long Island and coastal New England as alternative sources of shell until the arrival of the Dutch created a flood of wampum and European goods into Iroquoia (Kuhn and Funk 1992: 81).

Additional evidence for a renewal of long distance trade is reflected in the recovery of twelve marine shell artifacts from the Klock site. These artifacts consisted of "eight

discoidal beads, two tubular beads, one broken pendant and one piece of worked marine shell. All of these artifacts were of white shell except for three of the discoidal beads, which were manufactured from purple shell. These three specimens represent the earliest occurrence of purple shell on Mohawk sites. The tubular beads fall within the range of what has traditionally been classified as wampum. These two beads represent the earliest occurrence of true wampum on Mohawk sites" (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 44).

Two shell artifacts where also recovered from the Smith-Pagerie site. One object consisted of a large unpolished white shell bead. The other artifact is a probable pendant fragment manufactured from a highly polished marine shell that may have been derived from the Susquehanna Valley (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 79-80).

Verna Cowin (2000) conducted a study of shell ornaments associated with the Beck Collection at the Carnegie Museum. This study provided additional evidence for a renewed and widespread interest in exotic materials, predominately consisting of marine shell, and the establishment of long distance trade networks between mid-Atlantic coastal groups and interior tribes. This collection included fish and bird shell effigy pendants, triangular pendants, and a variety of shell beads. Unfortunately, many artifacts in this collection are unprovenienced; however, similar artifacts recovered from documented sites indicate a renewed interest in the use and exchange of shell ornaments among the interior tribes. An example of two fish effigies from the Beck collection were nearly identical in form to three fish effigies recovered from two late seventeenth century burials located in St. Ignace, Michigan. The burials were associated with Ottawa, Huron, and Anishinabe tribes living in this area. The two Carnegie Museum specimens where determined to have been manufactured from the shells of either *Busycon carica*—an intertidal Atlantic species which

range from Cape Cod to Florida, or *Busycon carica eliceans*—ranging from North Carolina to central east Florida. Two other saltwater shell effigies were also recovered from another contemporaneous burial site in St Ignace, Michigan. Similar effigies were also recovered from burial grounds in Sussex, New Jersey and Pike County, Pennsylvania. These shell effigies, apparently dating to seventeenth century contexts, have been recovered with some frequency from Iroquoian and Algonquian burial sites. These artifacts may represent either items manufactured by Europeans who were able to use metal drills to carve the new form of incised lines and rows of perforations or were manufactured by natives using European iron tools. In either case, the new design was a result of European influence on Native shell ornament production (2000: 1-4).

A similar occurrence of shell bird effigies have been recorded for a number of historic Native American burial sites and trash pits throughout New York Iroquoian sites, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ontario. Triangular pendants, also recovered from burials and trash pits, appeared in New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Michigan. However, flat, triangular pendants did not occur on Iroquoian sites until after 1680 (Cowin 2000: 5-6).

A variety of discoidal and tubular shell bead forms utilized by Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples have also been recovered from burial contexts. "Holmes theorized that shell was transformed from utilitarian objects into ornaments as it was traded inland, becoming more valuable as it moved away from its source; once valuable, the shell could become an object of either veneration or high esteem. As the level of esteem was raised, the shell objects became treasured by the living and buried with the dead" (Cowin 2000: 8-9). To Native American males, personal ornamentation had a much richer symbolic meaning than being regarded as just personal decoration; items of ornamentation functioned as good

luck charms or specially venerated items. Native Americans believed that these highly prized and valued objects possessed supernatural powers that could protect the wearer against witch craft and evil spirits throughout his lifetime and would accompany him in the afterlife (Cowin 2000: 9). To Native Americans, wealth was associated with a physical, spiritual and social well being which could be physically manifested in material items such as white shell beads. The manifestation of this wealth could be gained through the possession of these portable objects as a kind of medicine (Hamell 1987: 68). Elizabeth Peña suggests that the inclusion of wampum beads in seventeenth century Indian burials were also used "as a method of resistance to European capitalism, as interment removes objects from circulation. This might result in solidifying Native American culture by promoting inter-tribal trade and reasserting cultural practices that had lain dormant for some time" (1990: 151).

In the Descriptions of the New Netherlands, Adriane Van Der Donck paints a detailed picture of traditional Indian garb for both men and women, consisting of leather garments made from deer and buffalo skins that was sometimes heavily adorned with wampum. Some of the skirts worn by the women contained wampum beads that "is frequently worth from one to three hundred guilders" (O'Donnell 1968: 78). Wampum was also worn as various body adornments. Van Der Donck described Indian women wearing "various ornaments, which are also decorated with wampum. Those they esteem as highly as our ladies do their pearl necklaces" (O'Donnell 1968: 78).

The Dutch and the fur trade

The first European contact in the Northeast began with sporadic trade interactions between coastal Indians and Basque fishermen during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This initial contact was a non-formalized affair, occurring predominately when the

fishermen came ashore to dry their fish, mostly cod harvested from the Grande Banks. Trade goods consisted predominately of small metal items which the fishermen traded for limited quantities of peltries (Lenig 1999: 48). The significance of this early trade would soon explode in Europe as the Dutch, French, and to a lesser extent, the English saw the potential of substantial profits to be gained from a lucrative trade in peltries in the Northeast, which could be obtained from the natives for mere trinkets. The quest for peltries soon supplanted the quest for fish and by the beginning of the 1600s, the French were in a strong position to seize the lucrative fur market from their hold over the prime fur bearing region in the Canadian provinces, particularly at Tadoussac.

James Pendergast (1992) suggests that the natives did not receive European goods exclusively through trade during the sixteenth century. Many coastal Indians were in advantageous positions to obtain sometimes-substantial quantities of European goods through a number of other means, including shipwrecks, from settlements, scavenging of abandoned installations, gift giving exchanges with sailors, and interactions whenever ships were required to restock food and water supplies. Hostile encounters sometimes provided the Indians with significant quantities of European materials which were taken from captives or from the dead. European materials also made their way into native possession from interactions with missionary activities and from encounters with pirates and privateers who frequented the Atlantic seaboard, praying predominately on Spanish ships. Pendergast also suggests that quantities of Spanish materials entered into the native trade networks from Spanish missions overrun by native uprising during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. In addition, large quantities of Spanish materials may have entered into the Great Lakes region from two Spanish expeditions, one led by Hernando de Soto in 1539-1540 and the

other by Tristán de Luna in 1559-1561. It is possible that these Spanish materials moved along the same native trade networks for marine shell that stretched from the Atlantic seaboard and into the Great Lakes region. (1992: 12-15).

When the French explorer Cartier first arrived in Canada in 1534, he sailed up the St. Lawrence, landing at the site of Montreal and established trade with the St Lawrence Iroquois. He was followed by Samuel Champlain in 1609, who established a settlement in Quebec, thus ensuring a firm trade relationship with the Algonquian Indians he encountered. Champlain soon became embroiled in a war between the Mohawk and his Algonquian allies. The use of European firearms quickly ended with war in the Algonquians favor, driving the Mohawk from the St. Lawrence region. This attack was followed by a joint Huron and Andastes attack against the Antouhonorons (either the Oneidas or Onondaga) in 1615, an attack led by Champlain (Champlain v. 2 [1922] 1971: 71, 96-100).

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, events where being set in motion in a struggle between European powers which, in part, included a global quest to establish colonial holdings throughout the known world. The Dutch, already heavily involved in the European fad of territorial and colonial expansionist policies, were seeking a way to gain a toehold in the new American wilderness. With the French dominating the Canadian provinces, the English establishment of a colony, first at Roanoke which failed, and with the more successful colony at Jamestown, and the Spanish laying claim to Florida; Dutch New World prospects were looking dim. Dutch fortunes were soon to change when by luck the Dutch West India Company encountered a bright and ambitious English sea captain, Henry Hudson, who was looking for new sponsors in his quest to find a passage to China. In 1609 Hudson sailed from the Netherlands in his recently outfitted ship the *Halve Maen* (*Half*

Moon) and set out for the New World in an attempt to seek a new passage to the lucrative Chinese markets. Though Hudson failed in that attempt, his failure created an opening for profitable Dutch expansion in the New World when he returned home with a cargo hold crammed full with valuable furs, which Hudson obtained from friendly Indians for mere trinkets. The Indians that Hudson encountered, probably Mohawks, were already quite familiar with European trade from previous encounters with French traders who sailed up the Hudson River to rendezvous with the Indians at the confluence of the Normans Kill and Hudson River (Huey 1991: 27). Shortly after Hudson's arrival two traders, Adrian Block and Hendrick Christiaensen sailed up the Hudson River and soon established relations with the Mahicans with whom Christiaensen and his associate Jacques Elkins spent a considerable amount of time (Dunn 1992: 86).

The Dutch first began to send trading ships beginning in 1611. From 1611 until 1614, four independent trading companies became embroiled in a competition for trade with the Indians along the Hudson River. An intense rivalry soon developed between these competing companies which at times degenerated into violent confrontations. To remedy the volatile situation, the States General granted a three-year monopoly to the newly formed New Netherland Company in 1615 (Lenig 1999: 50). One of the traders, Hendrick Christiaensen, who was responsible for the construction of Fort Nassau on Castle Island in 1614, located at the mouth of the Normans Kill River, was attacked by Indians in 1618. He and most of his crew were killed. The original trading fort was destroyed in a spring flood four years later and rebuilt at a different location. When other traders began to arrive in 1620, they found that the Indians were no longer eager to trade. At this point, the States General granted a monopoly for trade rights to the Dutch West India Company in 1621 as a means of ending

the conflict among the traders and reverse the disintegrating trading fortunes (Huey 1988: 13). In 1624, with relations strained between the Dutch traders and the Mohawks, the Dutch West India Company, decided to build a new fort, Fort Orange, within Mahican territory to function as a central point for trade with their Indian allies and to protect settlers colonizing the recently established patroonship Rensselaerswyck. The location of this new fort provided the Mohawk with more reliable and steady access to Dutch trade goods. At this point, Dutch trade goods began to dominate over French goods on Mohawk sites for the Mohawk no longer were forced to conduct long trips to Tadoussac or face hostile Northern Algonquians in order to acquire trade goods. "Eastern Iroquois village sites of this period consistently produce between 3:1 and 4:1 ratios of Native to European materials. The higher percentages of trade goods computed for Mohawk and Oneida sites may be an indication that the most easterly Iroquois villages were taking advantage of their proximity to Castle Island to amass greater quantities of European goods between 1610 and 1625" (Lenig 1999: 53).

In 1622, a truce was established between the Algonquians and Mohawk that was finalized two years later. The Mohawk now acted as middlemen between the Dutch and the Canadian Indians who prized wampum, the production of which was controlled by the Dutch, who either produced it themselves or obtained from the southern New England and Long Island Indians (Snow [1994] 1996: 90-91). "By 1625 and possibly earlier, the focus of the fur trade in eastern New Netherland was no longer furs but wampum. Although the fur trade moved into northern interior areas of the Northeast, by the third decade of the seventeenth century wampum from eastern New Netherland became one of the most important commodities in this trade" (McBride 1994: 35).

By the beginning of the next decade, relations between the Mohawk and the Dutch deteriorated once again when Hans Jorissen Hontom was made director at Fort Orange by the West India Company in 1633. Hontom, a member of one of the earlier rival trading companies, had been directly involved with the kidnapping and murder of a Mohawk chief (Huey 1988: 15). The incensed Mohawks threatened to kill him in retaliation for the crime and attacked Fort Orange, burning the company yacht and killing all the cattle that had been slated to be shipped up river to the colonies. At the same time the Iroquois also claimed that they could get cheaper trade goods from the French and as a consequence had made peace treaties with the French Indians in order to obtain access to French trade goods (Huey 1988: 36). In order to smooth over relations with the Mohawk, Marten Gerritsen sent three delegates to meet with the Mohawk and Oneida in December, 1634. The three men, led by Harmen Meyndertsen van den Bogaert the barber-surgeon for Fort Orange, succeeded in reestablishing friendly relations with the Mohawk. Bogaert was accompanied by Jeronimus de la Croix and Willem Thomassen. On December 11, the three men set out to re-establish trade and alliance negations with the Mohawks and Oneidas.

The fur trade was going badly for the Dutch. The Mohawk had recently formed a truce with the French Indians in order to secure French trade (Gehring and Starna 1988: 1). Bogaert nearly created a faux pax when he failed to bring sufficient presents to cement friendship between the Dutch and the Mohawk. This mistake, the Mohawk were quick to point out, the French had not made. Just prior to the arrival of the three Dutchmen, French delegates had visited the Mohawk to establish peaceful relations for trade. The French brought with them good gifts and possessed a clear understanding of Indian views about the importance of reciprocity and gift giving exchanges which were used to cement relationships

of friendship and peace. (Gehring and Starna 1988: 13). Previously, the Mohawk had been at war with the French Indians. Now with their own supplies of beaver running low and with access to French trade blocked, the Mohawk were amenable to make peace with the French Indians (Gehring and Starna 1988: 14).

The Dutch established a colony on Manhattan and gained a short-lived toehold along the Fresh River (the Connecticut River), where they built another trading fort called Good Hope, until they were ousted from their claims there by the English in 1650. They also created a small colony to the south on the Delaware River and expanded their sphere of influence as far east as Cape Cod. In 1628-1629 the Dutch West India Company granted a charter to Kiliaen van Rensselaer granting him permission to establish a patroonship in the vicinity of Fort Orange in order to promote agricultural pursuits in the New World. The founding of an agricultural colony, set within the heart of the Dutch fur trading empire, soon created tension and open conflict between the fur traders under the Dutch West India Company and the members of the patroonship. Not only did the colonists act as rival competitors in the fur trade; their need to clear the forests for agricultural pursuits destroyed the habitat for the fur bearing animals which the Company traders at Fort Orange needed in order to survive as a viable trade center (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 10). By the end of the 1630s, the Dutch lost control of trade with the Connecticut River Indians to the English who intensified their domination over the Connecticut River. The Dutch were also facing increasing conflict over access to the New England wampum resources with the Pequot Indians, who dominated control of wampum against many of the New England tribes as well. This conflict contributed to a Pequot loss of power and influence and ultimately culminated in the Pequot War beginning in 1636 (McBride 1994: 49).

Around the same time, the Swedes also established a trading fort in Delaware, under the leadership of the former governor of New Netherland, Peter Minuit (Lenig 1999: 56- 57). The Dutch lost all rights to lands east of the Connecticut River to the English in 1650 with the Treaty of Hartford, which curtailed the ability of the Dutch to receive wampum from this region. With the fur trade in jeopardy, the Dutch began to import large quantities of conch shells from the Caribbean that were shipped to Fort Orange for the cottage industry manufacture of wampum beads (McBride 1994: 43; Peña 1990; Huey 1988: 359). At this point, "the Mohawks and Mahicans found it profitable to by-pass the Dutch and sell furs to the English for a higher price. Although this trade may have benefited the Mahicans as well as the Mohawks, the latter were taking advantage of the Mahican residents below Albany, using their Housatonic territory and connections in New England as a conduit to the English market" (Dunn 1992: 95).

The early part of the sixteenth century marked a pivotal point in European colonial and native social interactions "when the precedents were established and processes of change set in motion" (Bradley 1987 b: 31). In his studies of large artifact assemblages recovered from Onondaga sites, James Bradley has been able to "reconstruct both the ongoing internal development of the Onondaga culture as well as the evidence for European contact and Onondaga participation in long-distance exchange networks" (1987 b: 32). Even though at this early stage of the European/native exchange network system, the Iroquois had no direct access to European traders, European materials, predominately consisting of small pieces of copper, brass and iron objects have been recovered from Iroquoian sites. At this point, the Indians were predominately interested in iron axes, glass beads, and copper kettles which were used not only for cooking but also as a source of sheet metal from which the Indians

fashioned projectile points and tinkler cones, replacing native materials consisting of chert and bone. Though many archaeologists and historians consider the St. Lawrence region to be the focal point of trade relations, James Bradley, and a few other archaeologists feel that there is substantial evidence to suggest that the trade goods did not reach the Onondaga via the St. Lawrence connection, but instead came up from the south along the Susquehanna from the mid-Atlantic coastal region (1987: 32; Snow [1994] 1996: 67). Dean Snow believes that the Mohawk, unlike the western Iroquois, received the majority of trade goods from the French at Tadoussac and from the St. Lawrence region during the sixteenth century ([1994] 1996: 75).

By the end of the Woodland period, there was a renewed interest among some native populations, including the Onondaga and other Iroquoian groups, to obtain spiritually changed materials consisting predominately of marine shell, exotic lithics, and native copper, much of which has subsequently been recovered from burial contexts. These materials moved through a number of trade network systems in operation along the Atlantic coastal region, moving inland via the river and waterway systems. "This network continued to function and expand during the sixteenth century as the volume of shell flowing inland increased. The evidence is also quite clear that, by the middle of the sixteenth century, European materials were moving inland through this same network" (Bradley 1987 b: 39). Bradley believes that it was along this route, up the Susquehanna River system rather than down from St. Lawrence, that the interior Iroquoian tribes, including the Onondaga, received European trade goods through a traditional exchange network, which had been in operation for a thousand years. This trade pattern only changed after the Dutch establishment of Fort Nassau on the lower Hudson River in 1614 (Bradley 1987 b: 41).

II. Trade and wampum

Iroquois view of trade items

The Iroquois initially viewed European trade items in terms of their own cultural perspective as exotic and spiritually charged items. "Being rare and exotic, European goods could function as emblems of rank in Indian society and as gifts in the exchanges that created and maintained alliance networks. Indian individuals seeking to increase their political power, especially in the wake of the epidemics, often tried to accumulate trade goods that could be used to gain allies (Cronan 1983: 94).

The earliest trade items recovered from New York Iroquoian sites consisted predominately of small iron and copper alloy fragments. Marine shell artifacts and exotic chert from the western Ohio region have been recovered in some quantities from Iroquoian sites throughout this period providing evidence for the establishment of an extensive precontact exchange network (Bradley 1987 a: 89; Mandzy 1992: 140). By the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century the European trade goods lost some of their prestige as spiritually charged objects and there was an increasing interest in more utilitarian trade objects (Fagan [1991] 1995: 476-477). "The first trade goods on Mohawk sites represent evidence of *indirect* contact with Europeans. Trade objects of metal found in situ at Garoga, Klock and Smith-Pagerie are very meager indeed. Evidence is lacking for any substantial impact of European culture traits, such as architecture, agricultural practices, religion and technology" (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 132). A similar pattern is found with European materials recovered from Cayuga sites throughout the seventeenth century. The quantity and variety of European goods are severely limited from all early seventeenth century contexts. However, there is an exponential increase in both numbers and variety of European items

recovered from sites of the second and third quarters of the seventeenth century. Materials recovered from Cayuga sites of the fourth quarter, however, suggest a decrease in the variety of these materials, while certain items, such as firearms, are still numerous" (Mandzy 1992: 147).

European trade items were most often incorporated into native ideology and cosmology. European trade goods functioned as specially charged goods similar to native materials in that both were regarded by the Indians as having magical, and other worldly properties. With the possible exception of firearms, European utilitarian items such as nails, axes, and brass kettles—which were used as both coo ing vessels and as sources of raw material to fashion not only adornments, but also nives and triangular projectile points—were not regarded as being superior to native made items. Native pottery and lithic production of stone tools continued throughout the seventeenth century, though at a somewhat reduced rate (Mandzy 1992: 143). European materials recovered from a number of Cayuga sites suggest that European materials were being utilized by the Cayuga in the manufacture of traditional tool types that were ta ing on a more European form during the seventeenth century. Cayuga burial materials recovered from the Roger's Farm Site were predominately manufactured from European materials, but many items were modified to suit native criteria, an example of which is iron nife blades all of which had been modified. The recovery of a wide range of utilitarian metal objects "illustrate the degree to which Cayuga material culture reflects a substitution of European made items for existing traditionally made tools" (Mandzy 1992: 143). However, traditional non-utilitarian implements including antler and bone combs, wood bowls, marine shell, bone, and stone beads and pendants, were often recovered in some quantities from the burials. Burials from the Roger's Farm Site, dating to

the mid seventeenth century, reflect a change in Cayuga burial customs with the inclusion of European and traditional grave goods in larger quantities than materials recovered from earlier contexts as well as a mixture of flexed, bundle and extended burial practices identified. The inclusion of possible ossuary practices suggests Huron practices from the inclusion of Huron adoptees or refugees within the Cayuga population (Mandzy 1992: 144).

One exception to this pattern is the presence of European firearms. European guns soon became a high demand trade item for these weapons proved to be superior to the bow and arrow and the possession of firearms frequently changed the balance of power in native warfare. In addition, iron axes and hatchets frequently replaced the traditional war club.

Trade items:

Glass beads

To Native Americans, glass beads were more than mere trinkets and baubles. Beads were venerated as spiritually charged objects, particularly during the late sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth centuries. Europeans quickly began producing colorless, white and colored beads most favored by the Indians which incorporated native ideologies in the symbolic representation of colors. Glass beads also fit into a preexisting niche as replacements or substitutes for crystals, objects that were symbolically important items to the Indians as objects associated with "success, health, and long life. The Mohawks were the main suppliers of quartz crystals up to 1614. After that they became the primary middlemen for the Dutch glass beads that replaced them" (Snow [1994] 1996: 86).

The presence of glass beads recovered from Iroquoian sites serve as good time markers throughout the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. In a study of glass beads recovered from 33 Mohawk sites, Donald Rumrill identified ten distinct periods

associated with abrupt changes in bead types recovered from these sites. Changes in bead types also seem to coincide with village relocation and revitalization episodes, and taken with additional archaeological evidence, including European tobacco pipes, firearms components, and Jesuit rings, all of which serve as datable time markers, and combined with documentary sources, provide archaeologists with a tool to firmly date historic period Iroquoian sites (1991).

During the early historic period (1600-1615), glass trade beads are rare on Mohawk sites, but are much more common on Oneida, Seneca, and Onondaga sites at this time. The first glass trade beads recovered in some numbers are associated with the Cayuga Genoa Fort I and II sites dating to the early seventeenth century (Mandzy 1992: 141). Prior to this point, only a small number of long tubular beads recovered from Mohawk sites, indicated indirect contact with European traders (Rumrill 1991: 43). At the end of this period, there is a marked increase in the number of beads recovered on Mohawk sites. This increase coincides with the Dutch trading presence established first at Fort Nassau on Castle Island in 1614 and later at Fort Orange in 1624. From 1615-1630 glass bead markers are dominated by polychrome and flush eye glass beads. However in Mohawk burial contexts for this bead, bead mortuary offerings consist predominately of heirloom bead varieties (Rumrill 1991: 15). In addition to the polychrome beads found throughout Iroquoian sites, a number of exotic bead varieties have also been recovered. These exotic beads may reflect glass beads obtained from traders at Fort Orange during this period (Rumrill 1991: 16).

Following the blue bead period (1630-1646) tubular bead varieties became popular. The unfinished-end tubular bead period marked the time from 1646 to1659, coinciding with another series of Mohawk village relocations and revitalization. A variety of red, blue, and

white tubular beads with unfinished ends characterize this period. Short tubular beads with finished ends first appear in 1659. Tubular marine shell beads and red catlinite stone beads also appear at this time (Rumrill 1991: 27). The period of 1667-1682 is dominated by red beads, followed by wound beads that range in date from 1682-1693. Beginning in the mid eighteenth century ornamental seed beads become the dominant bead type (Rumrill 1991: 43).

Archaeological excavations conducted at Fort Orange in 1988 amounted in the recovery of a number of artifacts pertaining to the era of the Dutch fur trade at the fort between 1624 and 1664. Among the artifacts recovered were over 300 tubular and round glass trade beads, most of which were recovered from the area that had originally been the east entrance of the fort and the site of the majority of trade with the Indians occurred (Huey 1985: 75-76). A general shift from round to tubular beads has been documented on Indian sites beginning in 1630 until 1660 at which point tubular beads went into decline. "These dates suggest that Fort Orange played a direct role in the distribution of tubular beads. Their relative absence at English sites as compared to Dutch sites also indicate that the origin of tubular beads at most Indian sites was Dutch, if they were not also partly of French origin from Canada" (Huey 1988: 589).

There have been a number of studies conducted on glass beads (Rumrill 1991; Kenyon and Fitzgerald 1986; Karlis 1974; Fitzgerald et al. 1995; Turgeon 2001). Many European countries produced glass beads specifically for trade in the New World and often producing beads to match Native American color preferences to reflect Indian spirituality. George Hamell conducted studies based on the Native American mythical and spiritual associations of color (white, black, and red) and spiritually charged materials (Hamell 1992;

Hamell 1987). To the Iroquois, the colors white, red, and black "organize ritual states-of-being into three contrastive and complementary sets: social states-of-being, asocial states-of-being, and anti-social states of being" (Hamell 1992: 456).

Other colors that were very popular with the Iroquois were blue or blue-green which were also symbolic of the social state-of –being. All light and white things were associated with "the purposiveness of mind, knowledge, and the greatest being. These colors are good to think (with)" (Hamell 1987: 67). Yellow was not a popular color; the Indians associated this color with ill health and sickness (Hamell 1992: 462).

Some of the earliest glass trade beads, dating to the sixteenth century, consisted predominately of solid white or light blue round beads. These beads were the most popular with the Indians who placed greater value on clear, white, and light blue objects as being symbolically positive objects whereas black or very dark colored beads were believed to have negative symbolic connotations including an association with death (Snow [1994] 1996: 78). By the early part of the seventeenth century a variety of striped glass beads were produced for the Indian trade including red striped beads. For the Iroquois, red was a powerful color, the color of blood. This color had positive connotations as symbolic of life, but it was also representative of war. As such, the Iroquois placed the greatest value on red objects including beads and copper (Snow [1994] 1996: 82).

In another study of beads recovered from Mohawk sites, Kenyon and Fitzgerald (1986) identified three bead horizon markers. The earliest consists of a polychrome bead horizon that marks the early trade relations between the Mohawk and four independent trading companies followed by the inception of the New Netherland Company. The second bead epoch (1625-c.1635) consists of small globular and white cored beads associated with

the Dutch West India Company. The third bead epoch (1635-1645) consists of plain and striped light blue beads and cored white seed beads and marks the end of the West India Company trade when trade was once again open to independent Dutch traders and much greater numbers of European trade goods once again appear on Mohawk sites (Lenig 1999: 65).

The Dutch involvement in bead manufacture lasted only throughout the seventeenth century beginning in 1597 to ca. 1697 at which point Holland began to purchase cheaper beads notably from Germany and Bohemia. Throughout this period, there were six Dutch glass houses known to have produced glass beads. A few of these glass houses also produced mirrors which was another important trade commodity among the Indians (Karklis 1974: 64-66).

Copper alloy and iron objects

Some of the earliest European trade items to appear in protohistoric period Iroquoian sites, consist of brass and copper artifacts, dating from 1560-1580. On Mohawk sites, the earliest European trade items consisted of copper kettle fragments from which the Indians fashioned rolled beads, tinkler cones, and pendants for personal adornments. They also fashioned utilitarian items consisting of knives, saws and projectile points. The Smith-Pagerie site produced two objects pertaining to European trade. The first object was a brass or copper bead made from rolled sheet metal. The second object consisted of a corroded triangular iron object which was perforated on the base and folded in half and may originally had been an iron projectile point (Funk and Kuhn 2003:80).

Iron and brass objects such as brass kettles and iron axes, recovered on Iroquoian sites dating to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, were used not only as

utilitarian objects but also as sources of raw material for the manufacture of traditional native objects such as tinkler cones and projectile points. "Thus the initial impact of European goods was conservative, not revolutionary, for the way in which they were used promoted traditional cultural patterns, not their change (Fagan [1991] 1995: 477). It was not until the seventeenth century that native weaponry began to lose prestige and value as warriors sought Europeans guns and iron hatchets to replace flint-tipped arrows, knives, and war club. As a result, skills such as flintnapping began to deteriorate among the younger generations as less time was devoted to learning traditional crafts (Cronan 1983: 102).

The first metal objects consisted predominately of iron axes and kettles. Nails have also been recovered at a number of early trade contexts. Later trade items included sewing needles, knives, and mouth harps. A number of metal objects were recovered from the Cayuga Genoa Fort sites dating to the early seventeenth century. "The variety of traditional items made from iron recovered from the Genoa Fort sites (awls, chisels, drills, fishhooks, gouges, saws, and scrapers) illustrate that the Cayuga were able to utilize the potential of the new material to provide such items as they needed. One of the best examples of the use of European materials to fulfill specific needs of the Cayuga is illustrated by the iron knife-blade assemblage. While iron knife blades are recovered in far greater numbers than those of flint or copper/brass, all the blades show signs of modification" (Mandzy 1992: 141). Iron axe blades recovered from early seventeenth century Iroquoian sites all show signs of modification to fit Iroquoian designs or were used as sources of raw material in order to fashion native implements from European materials (Mandzy 1992: 141).

Gun parts first appeared on Mohawk sites dating after 1615. "Probably just 'souvenirs,' they include a serpentine from a matchlock, a frizzen from an early English lock

(doglock), and a gun spall, plus several pieces of Weser slipware (Weserware), a northern-European earthenware imported into Amsterdam, Holland from about 1570 to 1620" (Rumrill 1991: 11). By the mid seventeenth century, gun parts are found in some abundance on Mohawk sites "with late snaphaunces and English locks being the weapons of choice" (Rumrill 1991: 27).

Tobacco pipes

Tobacco use has an ancient tradition within Indian cultures including the Iroquois. In the decades prior to contact (1350-1525), Iroquoian pipes, typically produced by men, were dispersed in a wide range throughout Iroquoia. Dean Snow attributes the wide dispersal pattern of pipes as a reflection of the Iroquoian routine of long distance trade and gift exchanges taking place between different Iroquoian communities beginning around A.D. 1350 (Snow [1994] 1996: 38).

A number of tobacco pipes of European manufacture have been recovered from Native American sites. The use of tobacco first reached the Old World by the mid sixteenth century, first in France and Portugal, and quickly spread across portions of Europe in the following decades. The first Dutch tobacco pipes began to appear on Mohawk sites after the establishment of Fort Orange in 1624.

At Fort Orange, a quantity of broken pipe stems were recovered along the east wall entrance of the fort in association with glass trade beads. Some had been carved into small whistles, possibly to be used either as signaling devices or as toys (Huey 1985: 77). However, the recovery of the pipe stems and glass beads at this location at the fort, indicate a deposit that is clearly associated with Indian trade at Fort Orange.

European white ball clay tobacco pipes were first recovered from the Wagner's Hollow site and were found in association with beads dating from 1615-1630 polychrome and flush eye bead period sequence. This pipe fragment consisted of a variety referred to as the "Dutch Tulip," a bulbous pipe that had a raised-platform heel mark that was manufactured from 1625 to 1650 (Rumrill 1991: 15).

Tobacco smoking became very common among the Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland. Archeological excavations at Fort Orange contained abundant tobacco pipe fragments indicating the importance of smoking to the Dutch inhabitants during the seventeenth century. The most common tobacco pipes recovered from Dutch and English contexts are EB pipes, manufactured by Edward Bird. Bird manufactured elbow-shaped pipe bowls that are predominately found only in America (Huey 1988: 594). These pipes "appear to have been a form developed for the American trade by Edward Bird to imitate the shape of Indian pipes" (Huey 1991: 59).

Textiles

As the European demand for furs increased and the population of fur bearing animals, most notably beaver, diminished, Indian hunters became hard pressed to obtain sufficient quantities of furs. Indian hunters forced to spend increasing amounts of time in hunting and trapping pursuits for the fur trade had less time to spend in obtaining furs for their own use. In fact, traders often prized Indian leather clothing for "the coats which the Indians make of beaver skins, and have worn a long time around their bodies, until the same have become foul with sweat and grease—those afterwards are used by the hatters and make the best felt hats" (O'Donnell 1968: 113).

As a consequence of the Dutch fondness for used Indian apparel, cloth became an increasingly important trade commodity as the Indians came to rely more on European cloth to replace their traditional leather apparel. In New England, the demand for skins for the trade so depleted indigenous resources that the Indians increasingly were forced to rely on European cloth. By the mid seventeenth century, the textile trade became the second most important trade item next to wampum (Cronan 1983:102). For the Dutch, the trade in duffle was the only means by which the Company could secure enough wampum trade with the interior tribes (McBride 1994: 38). So vital was duffle to the trade that in 1626, Issack de Rasiere requested the directors of the West India Company to ship sufficient quantities of duffle in order to continually secure enough wampum to entice the French Indians to come to Fort Orange to trade (Van Laer 1924: 227). Several bale seals, used to mark shipments of cloth, were recovered from excavations at Fort Orange. "One large folded and stamped lead seal that was found in a deposit probably dating from the 1650's indicate a shipment of cloth from Kampen, Overijssel. Similar Kampen seals have been found at Iroquois Indian sites dating between 1650 and 1682" (Huey 1985: 76)

Bale seals, musket balls, iron axes, nails, iron Jew's harp (mouth harps) and a bone handle clasp knife were recovered from the Coleman-Van Duesan site. This Mohawk site dates to the polychrome and flush eye bead period (1615-1630) and provides clear evidence for an increase contact in trade relations between the Mohawk and Dutch, particularly reflecting trade at Fort Orange. The recovery of bale seals also reveals the early presence of European fabric making its way into the fur trade network at an early date (Rumrill 1991: 15).

Native use of wampum and the Condolence ceremony

Native Americans had a long tradition in the use of shell as a medium of exchange in long distance trade that certainly predated the occurrence of wampum. Shell beads, animal effigies, and pendants have been found in many interior indigenous contexts and are often associated with burials suggesting a specialty item status. However, some shell artifacts recovered from trash heaps may have served utilitarian functions (Cowin 2000: 10). The use of shell ornamentation, consisting of discoidal and tubular beads, a variety of effigy pendants, and wampum rose in popularity during the seventeenth century, with many forms apparently having been drilled using European metal tools (Cowin 2000: 10-11). True wampum, consisting of tubular shell beads manufactured from hard shell clams or quahogs (Mercenaria mercenaria, conch (Busycon carica) or whelk (B. canaliculatum) however, is a commodity associated only with historic period sites. True wampum, also called sewant or sewan, first sporadically appeared in the sixteenth century Iroquoian sites and in much larger quantities during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at the height of the fur trade (Tooker 1978: 422; McBride 1994: 41).

Wampum beads were valued by both the Iroquois and the Algonquians. "The Indians of Long Island, in southern New York, were the chief producers of wampum and paid huge quantities of it in tribute, showing that they accepted the superior power of the Iroquois" (Graymont 1988: 42). While Europeans came to identify the small white and purple beads as a form of currency, for native people wampum served many different functions. Wampum was used in the production of belts that were woven into designs to recorded treaties, alliances, and important events. Chiefs possessed strings of wampum as a badge of office. It was used in the Condolence ceremony to stop the tears of mourning, and was seen as spiritually charged items that could bring good medicine and personal prestige (Fagan [1991]

1995: 468; Graymont 1988: 42). Wampum also served as "tokens of wealth, means of exchange and payment, and things to be given away or destroyed" (Mauss 1954: 71).

Wampum, consisting of white and purple tubular beads, was strung together in specific patterns to symbolically record major treaties and events. The color of the beads also had symbolic representation of white associated with "positive harmony of right-mindedness, socially positive and constructive. Black or purple connoted the reverse: the negative, the destructive, and death itself" (Snow [1994] 1996: 67).

The Onondaga tell the story of the warrior chief Tadodaho, a powerful warrior and sorcerer, whose skill in battle has won him the admiration and loyalty of many of the young warriors in the village. For Tadodaho, advocates of peace are in direct conflict with his quest for power which he perceives as derived from making war and so he begins to eliminate all those who oppose him through the use of sorcery and cannibalism. His main rival is the hero (peace sachem) Hayenwatha who tries to use diplomatic means to turn Tadodaho towards peace. Hayenwatha holds two council meetings and each time one of his daughters dies mysteriously and Tadodaho's sorcery powers are suspected. A third council is called but when the members begin to gather, an accident causes the death of Hayenwatha's third and last daughter and her unborn child. Stricken with grief, Hayenwatha fled from the village and became a wanderer. Hayenwatha's mind is so sicken with grief that he became a twisted cannibalistic monster like Tadodaho until by chance he came across some white shells by the water which he strung together and thus eased his grief. He then traveled to the Mohawks carrying with him many strings of white beads as emblems of peace where he first presented Deganawidah, a Mohawk sachem, with a gift of three strings of beads. In this way, one strand of beads would wipe away the tears that blind, the second strand would unstop the ears

that could no longer hear, and the final strand would unstop the throat so that the bereaved could speak again. It was this ritualized act that formed the basis of the Iroquoian Condolence Ceremony (Graymont 1988: 14 - 20).

This theme of grief or a thirst for war, in the case of Tadodaho, causing a sickness of the mind and physical deformation of the body is found in a number of Iroquoian legends regarding the founding of the league. In another Onondaga legend, pertaining to the founding of the great league, J. Hewitt tells of thirteen strings of wampum being used to represent thirteen matters or themes. These strings of wampum were hung suspended on a horizontal rod or pole. After this act, Hayenwatha and the other peace sachems go to Tadodaho in order to heal his mind making it human again. Tadodaho is not only a power war chief, he also is a powerful and evil sorcerer, a monster figure with a grotesque twisted body and head full of withering snakes for hair. He is a powerful, magical creature, full of hate and vengeance and with a destructive thirst for war. Upon meeting Tadodaho, the peace sachems begin to chant the Six Songs which begins to transform Tadodaho, bringing peace to his mind. In a ritualized healing ceremony, incorporating the use of strings of wampum, Tadodaho is healed of the bloodlust that has deformed him and he is transformed into a man again (1892: 131-139).

Dutch and European use of wampum

Wampum increased in importance during the early seventeenth century as a vital commodity between the Iroquois and European traders, particularly the Dutch who quickly adopted the use of wampum as a form of currency within a colony that was extremely lacking in coin. The English were slower to adopt the use of wampum as a medium of currency until 1627 when they learned from the Dutch of the value that the Indians placed on

the shell beads. Within ten years, the English began to eclipse wampum production by seizing control over the major native wampum resources, leading to conflicts with the Pequot Indians by 1637. By the mid seventeenth century, the Dutch had become so dependant on the use of wampum as a replacement for metal coin that European manufacture of beads, particularly from New England, created a flood of poor quality wampum on the market (Peña 1990: 61-66). "Though the Indians sometimes accepted shoddy trade goods, they consistently refused to take in exchange for furs, any but the best quality sewant. Therefore, the poorer product was fobbed off on the Dutch settlers and from time to time their protests became so vocal that the authorities were forced to take steps to regulate the quality and price of sewant" (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 43).

The Dutch were no strangers to the use of shell as currency from their involvement with the African slave trade (Fagan [1991] 1995: 478: McBride 1994: 42; Peña 1990: 57). The Dutch became involved with cottage industry production of wampum along with obtaining vast quantities from their Indian allies on Long Island. There is archaeological evidence for the production of wampum at Fort Orange beginning in the mid seventeenth century. Archaeological and historical documentation indicate that poor people associated with the alms house and soldiers from military blockhouses were the predominate craftsmen involved in the cottage industry of bead manufacture (Peña 1990: 165-166). At Fort Orange, a total of 57 wampum beads were recovered a few of which were incomplete or had broken during manufacture and were discarded. In addition, "a string of eight white wampum beads were uncovered *in situ* in a corner of the Van Doesburgh house" (Huey 1985: 76). The recovery of these artifacts provide evidence that the Dutch not only had access and used wampum as a form of currency within the frontier trade society established in the New

World, but that the Dutch were also involved in the mass production of wampum, creating a flood of beads in the market. During the first half of the seventeenth century, wampum became a critical component of the fur trade with the interior tribes. "In the process, the wampum trade, more so than the fur trade, transformed native social, political, and economic patterns in the region" (McBride 1994: 33). With the Dutch securing access to wampum from the coastal areas they maintained an edge over the French who had no direct access to wampum. It was the ability to trade for wampum that attracted the Canadian Indians to the Dutch at Fort Orange (McBride 1994: 39; Van Laer 1920: 227). Excavations of the Albany waterfront for the SUNY Construction Fund Site uncovered a number of pieces of wampum and shell fragments providing evidence for cottage industry production of wampum being conducted within the vicinity of the fort (Lesniak 2002). So important was sewant to the Dutch, that the shell beads remained legal tender in the New York colonies until 1701 even after the English take over of the Dutch holding, including Manhattan and Fort Orange in 1664 (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 44).

The Dutch were able to tap into a pre-existing native exchange network consisting of marine shell, at a time when shell items were highly prized by many interior tribes. This interest in shell is well documented for the interior tribes by an increase of shell moving inland along river systems connected to the Chesapeake Bay during the sixteenth century. "During the sixteenth century, two very different economic systems began to interact across northeastern North America. One was a European system oriented to trade, with all its attendant commercial and market overtones. The other was a series of indigenous native exchange networks based on reciprocity" (Bradley 1987 b: 43).

The Dutch commercial philosophy for trade can be discerned from Adriaen Van Der Donck's description of the Indian money system, which ironically never existed in the manner envisioned by the Europeans. "The use of gold and silver or any metallic coin is unknown among them. The currency which they use in their places to which they resort is called *wampum*. This is the only article of money medium among the natives, with which any traffic can be driven; and it is also common with us in purchasing necessaries and carrying on our trade; many thousand strings are exchanged every year for peltries near the seashores where the wampum is only made, and where the peltries are brought for sale" (O'Donnell 1968; 93). In 1664, Johannes Megapolensis Jr. also described Indian money as consisting of "little bones, made of shells or cockles, which are found on the sea-beach. They value these bones as highly as many Christians do gold, silver and pearls; but they do not like our money, and esteem it no better than iron" (Jameson 1909: 176).

III. The fur trade: effects and consequences in Iroquoia

Formation of the Iroquoian League

At the initial time of European contact, around the end of the sixteenth century, the major Iroquois tribes consisted of the Huron, Neutral, Erie, and Tobacco, located predominately in Canada, and the Five Nations Iroquois (comprised of the Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Mohawk, and Cayuga) spread across nearly the entire length of central New York. Sometime just prior to or at the start of European contact, the Iroquoian tribes began to form confederations and alliances as a means to end bloodshed between the Iroquoian tribes and as a means of strengthening their position against their non-Iroquoian neighbors (Fagan [1991] 1995: 467; Snow [1994] 1996: 49). "The confederacy was adaptive in that it allowed groups to legislate against unnecessary blood feuding, while still

maintaining individual cultural and political identity in their dealings with others. The arrival of the Europeans and their fur trade created a new, highly volatile political situation, in which it was clearly an advantage for neighbors to be linked in close alliances" (Fagan [1991] 1995: 468). However, the formation of the league failed to bring an end to the conflict for the Five Nations Iroquois continued vicious attacks against neighboring tribes. "In later years, these conflicts often became furious beyond belief as the League sought to extend its peace by means of warfare. The reality was that it had to be a peace on Iroquoian terms, within the confines of their political and social structure. Because the surrounding peoples did not all agree to this, warfare would continue, killing of enemies would continue, grief would continue, and retaliation would continue in order to dry the tears of the mourners" (Graymont 1988: 43-45). Many of the Iroquoian legends pertaining to the founding of the league carry a common theme of a need for peace in order to end the destructive cycle of war that was engulfing all the tribes. There are even indications that internal strife threatened the Iroquoian League. The peace of the Iroquois was not intended for just the five allied nations, but for all the nations as a means of putting an end to the destructive mourning war cycle bringing about a new era of peace for all tribes (Richter 1983: 536).

The initial development of the League of the Iroquois may have its earliest roots dating as far back as the middle Iroquoian period circa A.D. 1300 to 1350 though the formal alliance was still a few centuries away. At this point, Iroquoian villages were scattered in a wide distribution throughout the Great Lakes region in central New York (Snow [1994] 1996: 48). At the beginning of the Chance phase, the Onondaga began a pattern of village relocation and consolidation into large fortified villages. Sometime between A.D. 1450 and 1475, one such village relocation event placed a large village within two miles of a small

village thus marking the formation of the Onondaga tribe as a political entity (Trigger 1981: 38). James Tuck sees this factor as evidence for "the founding of the Onondaga Nation or tribe and in this local-level alliance is the seed of further alliances between nations that ultimately resulted in the Five Nations confederacy" (1978: 326-327). Tuck also identified two major Iroquoian settlement patterns ranging between around A.D. 800 and by the 1500s and 1600s. The first trend, a shift from small fishing and farming villages that were consolidated into large villages located far apart from one another, may have aided the formation of confederacies. A second trend identified archaeologically was "a shift from small villages dominated by a single large house (and by extension a single large social group) to larger villages with a greater number of smaller structures (and, again by extension, a larger number of clans or lineages of roughly similar size)" (Tuck 1978: 328). By the fifteenth century, Iroquoian villages were beginning to coalesce into community clusters giving rise to the later league nations. "As the villages began to cluster, some sense of linguistic and political unity must have emerged within each cluster. By the end of the period, large fortified villages where clustered in the homelands of the historic Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations" (Snow [1994] 1996: 49).

Iroquoian tribal structure was composed of families, clans and phratries (also called moiety). The familial component, comprised of members of the same blood line was the most basic social unit. A group of families that traced decent from a single matriarchal line formed a clan. Two clans that had some type of relational connection formed a phratry that combined together, made up a tribe. This pattern was later extended in the creation of the Iroquoian League in which the different tribes, or nations, were thought of as being related to

one another much in the same way that clans and phratries were linked together through relational ties (Speck 1955: 28; Tooker 1978: 426; Snow [1994] 1996: 60).

Formation of large, heavily palisaded villages first appeared in Ontario but quickly spread to Iroquoian groups in the east. Village size rapidly expanded from a few hundred people to 1500-2000, though the Draper site in Ontario reached a population size of about 2000 to 3000. This pattern of village consolidation and expansion is believed to have had earlier roots identified in a pattern of village consolidation that began to develop when small villages, composed of clans, began to intermarry and form larger, mixed villages (Speck 1955: 29). These large settlements created a new set of internal tribal problems not only in terms of food and resource consumption, such as wood and tillable acreage, but also crowded conditions. Furthermore, an increasingly sedentary lifestyle created a rise in internal disputes and violence which necessitated the need for the development of an increasingly complex society (Fagan [1991] 1995: 463-464; Trigger 1981: 37). It may be at this point that the Iroquois adopted more formal councils comprised of war and peace sachems (chiefs) from each clan (Fagan [1991] 1995: 465). Unlike their Huron neighbors in southern Ontario, the Five Nations Iroquois had a limited access to the prime fur bearing areas in the north. After the contact period, control and access to trade networks was at a premium. "Competition over (trade) outlets would keep the groups separate, while the need for cooperation in defense and plundering expeditions of mutual benefit promoted the strengthening of the aboriginal peace league" (Trigger 1963; 96).

Andrew Vayda's study of the Ibans, a former head hunting tribe of Sarawak located in the Indies, show a pattern similar to the formation of Iroquoian confederacies and ultimately to the League of the Iroquois. In his second model of warfare and expansion of

swidden horticulturalists, Vayda noted that the Iban tribes experienced little intertribal warfare as compared with other swidden horticulturalists. One difference he noted between the Ibans and other groups is that the Iban tribes benefited from closer proximity between communities that were linked together by affinal kinship ties. These factors allowed for an increase in intervillage mobility (1961: 351). This pattern of close proximity, kinship ties, and intervillage mobility is also a characteristic shared by the Five Nation Iroquois. Robert Kuhn suggests that the Iroquoian confederacy first began among the eastern Iroquoian tribes comprised of the Mohawk, Oneida and Onondaga and later expanded into the formation of the Iroquoian League (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 157; Kuhn and Sempowski 2001: 303).

A second factor that Vayda noted for the peaceful relations exhibited among the Ibans was the availability of sufficient cultivatable land within the tribal territory, circumventing hostility over a limited resource, in this case cultivatable land (1961: 352). A case can also be made for a similar pattern for the Five Nations Iroquois whose territory encompassed a substantial amount of rich agricultural lands suitable to produce maize, beans and squash. However, in the case of the Iroquois, the availability of trade goods acted as a bond among Iroquoian tribes already linked together in confederations. A steady supply of trade goods eased hostility among the Five Nations Iroquois and solidified their hostility against rival tribes who were in direct competition for trade, particularly the Huron and Mahicans. The Five Nations Iroquois, being more landlocked than the Hurons located to the north and Mahicans to the east, were not in a strong position to set up direct trade relations with either the French or the Dutch at the onset of the fur trade (Trigger 1971: 277). The Five Nation Iroquois turned disadvantage to advantage with a solidification of peaceful relations among themselves in order to gain the necessary military strength to effectively attack their enemies

and thus secure a strong position for themselves in trade with the Dutch at Fort Orange. As Vayda noted for the successful aggression of the Iban, "the readier the access to trade goods the more efficient would be the economic and military system" (1961: 355). Such may be said for the Five Nation Iroquois as well. In any event, "what made the League effective was not its ability to centralize power and communicate authority to the margins, in which it failed miserably, but the consensus not to feud among the Five Nations and to compound such infractions by ritual payments of wampum" (Fenton 1971: 139). Part of the creation of the League included the creation for a predetermined gift stipulation to be paid by a family in the event of a murder. In this way peace could be maintained within and between tribes by a gift payment of wampum (Tooker 1978: 423).

There is still much debate about the date of the formation of the Iroquoian League. Iroquoian legend places the formation of the League in the century or two before contact. In one Iroquois legend, pertaining to the founding of the league, Deganawida, a Huron sachem, blocks out the sun bringing darkness to the land. In 1451, central New York State experienced such an event with the occurrence of a solar eclipse (Tuck 1978: 327; Tooker 1978: 418; Snow [1994] 1996: 60). However, some archaeologists believe that the league formed at a later date, sometime during the early 1500s and that the formation may have taken place over an extended period of time (Snow 1980: 319).

In another Iroquoian legend, Deganawidah, a Huron, alienated himself from his people with his idea for peace among the Iroquois. Again the prevalent theme is a lifestyle revolving on ceaseless warfare against all neighboring tribes, particularly the more southern Iroquoian tribes, the Five Nations Iroquois. With the Hurons so dedicated to war, Deganawidah decided to take his message of peace to the southern tribes. Deganawidah

began to spread his message of the Great Peace first among the western tribes then moving towards the east where he encountered the Mohawk. The Mohawk, greatly weakened by continual warfare, greeted his message of peace with great enthusiasm for his message of peace could finally end the destructive Mourning Wars, a perpetual cycle of bloodshed and revenge and thus the Mohawk became the first tribe to accept the Great Peace. Deganawidah, as a neutral outsider, could function in the role of messenger to bring the Great Peace to all the southern Iroquois. While with the Mohawk, Deganawidah encountered Hayenwatha and after Hayenwatha's mind was cured due to mourning for his daughters' deaths, he joined Deganawidah in proposing a confederacy or family of Iroquoian tribes in what would be known as the League of the Iroquois. The league would act as an extended family composed of clans from each of the five tribes. Each clan had certain number of chiefs, chosen by the head mothers from each tribe, and these chiefs would become the confederacy chiefs. Each tribe though was to retain their own autonomy and self government within the individual tribes. Once this proposal was accepted by the Mohawk, Deganawidah and Hayenwatha set out to bring the Great Peace to the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and then the Seneca, the western-most tribe. The message of peace met opposition when they visited the Onondaga for the evil sorcerer and warrior Tadodaho only wanted to make war. Tadodaho would only accept the idea of peace if he was accepted as a leading chief of the confederacy and thus the Onondaga became the fire-Keepers of the confederacy. The Seneca joined the confederacy after two of their greatest war chiefs were entrusted to the positions of war chiefs for the confederacy and they would lead the Five Nations to war against their enemies. Deganawidah chose a pine tree as a symbol of the confederacy. The great tree possessed four great roots that spread out in the four cardinal directions and all who wished

peace could come and sit beneath it. He also placed an eagle atop the tree to sound out a cry of alarm at approaching danger. The tree was symbolically planted with the Onondaga who were the Keepers of the Central Hearth (Graymont 1988: 23-32).

An Iroquoian longhouse was chosen as a symbol for the Great League. The Mohawk were the Keepers of the Eastern Door, the Seneca were Keepers of the Western Door and the Onondaga were Keepers of the Central Hearth and Keepers of the Wampum Belts (Speck 1955: 36). William Fenton summed up the immediate results pertaining to the formation of the league: "Whether the League was a response to a perceived threat, as the economic historians would have us believe, or whether its previous existence enabled the Five Nations to take advantage of the situation when it arose, it soon made them a formidable power that had to be reckoned with by Indian neighbors and colonial powers alike" (1971: 138).

From the study conducted of archaeological materials recovered from three Mohawk village settlements in the Caroga Creek drainage, Robert Funk and Robert Kuhn hypothesized that the formation of the Five Nations Iroquoian League reached its final stage of existence sometime between 1590 and 1610. They hypothesize that the eastern Iroquois tribes, comprised of the Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga formed their own confederacy at a much earlier date. Archaeological evidence indicates that these three tribes "derive from a common population and cultural origin. They were located close in space and shared similarities in most aspects of their culture. Later, this relationship probably became the basis for the Five Nations Confederacy" (2003: 157).

A study of Mohawk and Seneca pipes and pottery, conducted by Robert Kuhn and Martha Sempowski (2001), provides evidence that the league did not reach its final completion until sometime around A.D. 1590 to A.D. 1605. It was during this period that

Mohawk pipes first appeared on Seneca sites indicating the start of peaceful relations between the two tribes. The researchers believe that the development of peaceful relationships between the tribes would have entailed increased contact and exchanges of goods, particularly items important in ceremonial contexts such as smoking pipes. The smoking of tobacco was held in high regard and often incorporated within a number of ceremonies and rituals. The smoking of tobacco probably played a part within the peace negations for the formation of the League. The exchange of pipes was also a factor in the formation of alliances (2001: 304). With the Seneca being the western most tribe, and keepers of the western door, and the Mohawk symbolizing the Keepers of the eastern door of the Confederation longhouse, the Seneca probably was the last tribe to join the league and thus the inclusion of the Seneca, many believe, marks the inception of the classical form for the League. The earliest appearance of Mohawk tobacco pipes within Seneca sites, were recovered from the Cameron site, occupied between A.D.1590-1605. Mohawk pipes were also recovered from two additional Seneca sites both dating to the early quarter of the seventeenth century. The presence of Mohawk tobacco pipes at this time indicates the opening of peace negotiations between the tribes and possibly the final inception for the league. Additional evidence for the incorporation of the Seneca into the League is the increased numbers of glass beads and other Dutch trade goods, which the Seneca would have obtained from the Mohawk at this time (Kuhn and Sempowski 2001:311).

One problem with the League was that the League never created absolute unity among the allied nations. The council leaders, composed of nearly fifty chiefs or sachems, were selected from within certain families that held hereditary rights to the title of sachems and were chosen by the matrons of those families. These sachems had no legal authority and

could be deposed by the matrons. The council oversaw affairs of the league, particularly in matters of war and peace, but they had no authority over individuals interested in seeking profits or revenge or ambitious young warriors seeking to enhance their own status by seeking the warpath. Quite often the league suffered from internal factions as aggressive war chiefs rivaled the council sachems in political influence within the league. In this way, unity among the five allied nations often failed to materialize as the tribes often acted independently from one another even in declarations of war against enemy tribes (Speck 1955:31). The tribes also acted independently from one another in their individual pursuit of gaining advantageous trade relations. In 1656, Peter Stuyvesant feared that the Senecas, who had asked for trade in guns and ammunition, would turn against the Dutch and Mohawk, following the establishment of a French presence in Seneca country. Two year before, Stuyvesant voiced similar concerns over the Mohawk, who also wanted guns and ammunition. At that time, the Mohawk were establishing trade relationships with the English as well, which seriously threatened the Dutch trade. At this point, Stuyvesant suggested conducting limited trade in guns and ammunitions with the Indians in secret in order to maintain their friendship and thus maintain the trade (Huey 1991: 38; 1988 65).

In matters of policy that encompassed all of the allied nations, equality was maintained among all the nations to ensure that no one tribe could seize controlling power over all the nations (Tooker 1978: 430). Dean Snow believes that the structural network of the League functioned more as "a mutual nonaggression pact than a political union. It allowed persuasion but not coercion within the longhouse, and this in turn allowed nations or even factions of nations to follow their own policies ([1994] 1996: 62).

Adriaen Van Der Donck's description of the Indian tribal networks and formations of nations during the mid 1600s, reflect both the pattern of familial relationships that bound a tribe or nation together and that individual tribes maintained independence, sometime to the detriment of the whole body. "All those who are of one tribe or nation form one separate society, and usually keep together; every tribe or nation has its own chief, and is a separate government, subject to its own laws and regulations. They however all appear to have descended from one parent-stock, but they seldom marry out of their own tribes. They always are jealous of each other as is respects their national power; and every tribe endeavors to increase its own strength" (O'Donnell 1968: 91-92).

By the 1660s the Iroquoian League had weakened, due to devastating population losses caused by exposure to deadly European diseases, famine, constant warfare, and from internal bickering among the tribes in response to trade rivalries. At this time, the Onondaga utilized their diplomatic skills in redefining and reuniting the Iroquoian League. In 1677 Onondaga diplomacy led to a series of agreements and treaties between the English colonies, the Five Nations, and other native tribes which resulted in the Covenant, an agreement which bound the participants together in a series of social and political obligations and to minimize aggression (Fagan [1991] 1995: 476). However, peace did not extend to all the nations.

Iroquoian Warfare and the Mourning War

Warfare became an important aspect of Iroquoian life by the Chance Phase as evident by the formation of large heavily fortified villages, though some small unfortified villages were located along the banks of navigable rivers (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 3). Ronald Mason believes that these small unprotected sites may represent short term or special purpose sites used during brief periods of peace (1981:340). This shift in settlement patterns, emphasizing

an increased concern for obtaining defensible positions was in part a response to increased warfare. "One feature of warfare was the development of buffer zones between belligerent factions. Where the population density is low, warring Neolithic groups are often separated from each other by lakes or broad stretches of forest" (Trigger 1968: 69). However, other factors can also influence a change in settlement patterns. Trade, warfare, agricultur,e population growth followed by devastating epidemics all played an influential roll in Iroquoian settlement patterns and cultural development. These factors can be seen in the establishment of trade routes, particularly in the exchange of agricultural goods for meat. It can also be identified when some families or communities grow in stature or power within the tribal network, which may be identified archaeologically with one large longhouse surrounded by small housing units. The adoption of horticulture, in this case based upon the Three Sisters (corn, beans and squash), allow for population growth which in turn places stress from overcrowding within and between populations. This stress factor can lead to an increase in warfare, necessitating similar tribal bands or clans to join together, forming even larger, more complex social units (confederacies) and consolidating smaller villages into a large palisaded settlement, which in turn creates additional stress and hostility.

Andrew Vayda noted an increase in warfare among other swidden agriculturalists (1961). As already noted, Iroquoian subsistence practices had long since adopted to swidden (slash and burn) horticultural practices as their main dietary consumption though some hunting and gathering also continued to be practiced. In a study of Maori groups in New Zealand, Vayda suggests that the Maori may have preferred to obtain land already cleared for agricultural pursuits from neighboring tribes by territorial conquest, thus saving them the costly effort of clearing land (1961: 348).

However, the adoption of swidden agriculture may have benefited the Iroquois in their ability to make war on other nations. "They often endeavor to produce a large quantity of corn, beans, and other things which they sow as well. That is why they do not have any difficulty leaving their villages to go and wage war upon other nations, given that they leave to their families all that is necessary for their subsistence. That is the advantage that they have over some of the other nations" (Brandão 2003: 87).

In many Indian cultures, warfare was also used as a means for young men to gain prestige (Richter 1983: 529). A similar interest for warfare was noted among the headhunting Ibans. Young Iban males where most preoccupied with the chance to go on expeditions into the jungle or towards the coast to acquire goods or get involved with head hunting in order to gain material profit and gain social prestige (Vayda 1961: 351-352).

A number of theories have been purposed to explain the sudden importance of warfare within Iroquoian society. One theory suggests that warfare acted as a substitute for male prestige as horticulture replaced hunting as the main dietary staple (Tuck 1978: 326, 330; Mason 1981: 326: Trigger 1963: 98; Trigger 1981: 34). Another factor that may have led to increased tribal hostilities was a breakdown of personal ties and communication with neighboring tribes as the need for seeking marriageable mates diminished with the formation of large villages (Fagan [1991] 1995: 466). "Warfare may have been the major factor in forging large communities and political alliances. And when a village reached its maximum practicable size, the inhabitants expanded into new communities, forming confederacies, tribes, and other associations. These settlement clusters depleted natural food resources more rapidly, making the people more dependent on horticulture. The constant political maneuvering and warfare led to more elaborate fortifications in the 16th century, villages

with multiple palisades, earthworks, and massive tree-trunk ramparts" (Fagan [1991] 1995: 467).

In the case of the mourning wars, warfare was not conducted just as a means of exacting revenge on some enemy tribe; the mourning war ritual acted as a "means of restoring lost population, ensuring social continuity, and dealing with death" (Richter 1983: 529). These wars were conducted for the express purpose of captive taking, many of which were then adopted by a family as a means of population replenishment due to an increasing death toll caused from warfare and deadly epidemics that were sweeping through the interior tribes by the seventeenth century (Brandão 2003: 77). "Vacant positions in Iroquois families and villages were thus literally and symbolically filled, and the continuity of Iroquois society was confirmed, while survivors were assured that the social role and spiritual strength embodied in the departed's name had not been lost" (Richter 1983: 531). Young men related by marriage to the bereaved women where responsible to conduct raids against enemy tribes in order to gain captives. Most captives were adopted even those selected for ritualized torture and execution. The ritualized torture and execution of captives and abuse of adopted captives involved every member of the village, in effect cementing communal identity at a social level. "Warfare thus dramatically promoted group cohesion and demonstrated to the Iroquois their superiority over their enemies" (Richter 1983: 534). Executed captives were defleshed, the remains cooked in kettles, and consumed by everyone in the village. To the Iroquois, this ritualized feast held great religious significance (Richter 1983: 534).

A glimpse of the mourning war practice is seen in Adriaen Van Der Donck's narrative. "The victors accept of no ransom, nor are the captive certain of their lives, until they are given over to persons who have previously lost connections by blood in war. They

seldom destroy women and children, unless it be in their first fury, but never afterwards. If it be in their power, they carry them all with them to their own abode" (O'Donnell 1968: 99). He then later describes native laws and punishments, which also includes their views on the rights of captives. "Persons are very seldom doomed to death among them, except captives taken in war, whom they consider to have forfeited the rights of man. Such they condemn to be burned" (O'Donnell 1968: 101). Most of the adoptees consisted of women and children for they were seldom consigned to death (Snow, Gehring and Starna 1996:43). Adult males most often were slated for death for it was feared that they could never accept adoption and would run away (Brandão 2003: 73). Other crimes, such as murder, were to be conducted as a personal retaliation by an individual or family against the perpetrator (O'Donnell 1968: 101). French missionaries also reported on the occasional practice of war parties killing and eating a captive if they were getting short of food (Eccles [1969]1992: 27).

Indian warfare, unlike European models, was conceptualized as a means of population replenishment while minimizing the risks of the warriors in battle. To an Indian warrior, death in battle held none of the European connotations of honor and bravery. To an Indian warrior, death in battle, or any kind of violent death, meant exclusion from one's family and community in the afterlife. Even a fallen warrior's physical remains was buried separately from the communal burial grounds (Richter 1983 535-536). Indian tactics in battle were designed to minimize the risks in order to ensure the success in taking captives while minimizing the loss of life to those conducting a raid. The introduction of guns to Indian warfare had drastic consequences in the increase of death tolls, for musketry soon proved far more fatal in being able to penetrate Indian wooden armor to far greater effect than flint or brass tipped arrows. As a result, Indian warfare tactics were forced to change

from the relatively bloodless large-scale attacks to small raiding parties and ambushes (Richter 1983: 538).

Large villages offered populations greater security and diminished internal tribal bloodshed within a confederacy, however this system of large village consolidations and formation of confederacies served to intensify hostility and warfare against neighboring non-allied tribes (Tuck 1978: 330). This pattern of village consolidation, formation of confederacies and increased internal communication—while communication between separate confederacies diminished—is evidenced by homogenization of cultural objects (including but not limited to pottery, lithics, and tobacco pipes). In terms of pottery, "ceramics *within* the Huron, Five Nations, and Neutral areas become increasingly similar to one another while a comparison of ceramics *between* areas shows a concomitant dissimilarity" (Tuck 1978: 332).

To the Iroquois, warfare was a way of life. The many different Iroquoian tribes in New York and Canada not only made war against one another, particularly after the advent of the fur trade when the Five Nations Iroquois and Huron became embroiled in a vicious bloodletting due to competition to access for French and Dutch trade; they were also at war with many of the Algonquian tribes. "The Iroquois war had gone on for a century before the French and Dutch arrived in force, and there were elements of prestige and personal glory, of revenge and self-preservation, that impelled them to maintain old feuds that they had only checked among themselves by the formation of the League, with all its supporting ritual sanctions and symbolic metaphors" (Fenton 1971: 142). The Mohawk, in particular, were greatly feared by a number of different tribes including the Mahicans located in the Hudson River Valley, Abanaki tribes in the east, and Algonquian-speaking tribes to the north. The

Mohawks regarded themselves as "People of the Flint County" (Ganiengehaka) but they received the name "Mohawk" from their enemies meaning "Man Eaters" so great was their reputation for their bloody deeds on the warpath (Graymont 1988: 13). Daniel Richter summed up the destructive mourning-war cycle for what it had become. "The mourning-war tradition, deaths from disease, dependence on firearms and the trade in furs combined to produce a dangerous spiral: epidemics lead to deadlier mourning-wars fought with firearms; the need for guns increased the demand for pelts to trade for them; the quest for furs provoked wars with other nations; and deaths in those conflicts began the mourning-war cycle anew" (Richter 1983: 540).

A study of Iroquoian settlement patterns show a clear correlation between an increase of warfare and a growing preoccupation with locating villages in natural defensible positions along steep cliffs and erecting sometime two or three stockade lines around all or part of the village perimeter. A study conducted of the settlement patterns for three sixteenth century Mohawk villages in the Caroga Creek drainage demonstrate a growing concern for village defenses during this period. Small numbers of Northern Iroquoian pottery sherds recovered from the Klock, Garoga, and Smith-Pagerie sites were fashioned from local clays and thus cannot be considered to be examples of exotic trade items. These pottery samples may indicate the presence of female captives, some Huron but mostly comprised of St. Lawrence Iroquois pottery styles, thus providing unsubstantiated evidence for increased conflict between the Mohawk and Northern Iroquoian tribes during the sixteenth century. The later half of the sixteenth century, ca. A.D. 1580, saw the dispersal of the St. Lawrence Iroquois, many of whom were adopted by the Huron. Some, however, may have been adopted or

taken as captives by the eastern Iroquoian tribes, which may account for a small population increase identified at the Smith-Pagerie site (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 156-157).

The demand for trade items became an additional impetus for war beginning in the seventeenth century. "Trade with Europeans made economic motives central to American Indian conflicts for the first time. Because iron tools, firearms, and other trade goods so quickly became essential to Indian economies, struggles for those items and for furs to barter for them lay behind numerous seventeenth-century wars" (Richter 1983: 539).

Throughout the seventeenth century the Mohawk were embroiled in a series of wars with the Mahican tribes due to competition for control over direct trade relations with the Dutch at Fort Orange. The presence of Normanskill chert recovered at the Klock site indicates that the Mohawk had some access to materials from the Hudson valley region and pottery from both areas show remarked similarity. However Robert Kuhn feels that the absence of Hudson River fish from Mohawk villages and a difference in ceramic pipe traditions between the two regions suggest that relations may not have been relatively peaceful during the sixteenth century (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 157).

The Beaver Wars and destruction of the Huron

The seventeenth century was a volatile period which led to an intensification of European and native interactions, increase of trade, explosion of European epidemics and indigenous population losses, the beginning erosion of native cultural and spiritual beliefs, and intensification of warfare. The Beaver wars were a product of these events. These wars were fought not only to gain access to furs and thus trade goods; they were the resulting backlash of indigenous responses to a growing cultural crisis, as a means to seek revenge against an unseen enemy consisting of pathogens, and as a means of quickly replenishing

their population losses with an influx of captives. "Surviving lineages were so shattered by premature deaths that they had to merge with others or take in many adoptees in order to remain viable residential units. Fictive kinship facilitated these *ad hoc* arrangements and made it possible for the longhouse to survive as a traditional residential form" (Snow [1994] 1996: 111).

Beginning in 1634, both the Huron and Iroquois sustained substantial population losses from a series of epidemics that swept through the interior tribes. The desire for revenge and need of captives was as powerful a motivator for the Iroquois as was the need for beavers. It was these factors that prompted a full scale attack against the Huron beginning in 1641 and ended in the destruction of the Huron by 1649. At the Iroquoian village site, Jackson-Everson, the exclusive presence of Huron pottery identifies this site as the residence of Huron captives during their initial incorporation and adoption by the Iroquois following the Beaver Wars (Rumrill 1991: 33).

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois were involved with a number of wars with various other tribes as well and by 1657 had succeeded in eliminating their northern and western enemies. At the same time the Mohawk maintained peaceful relations with the Narragansetts from whom they directly received vast quantities of wampum, thus circumventing the English control over wampum supplies. Though the English and French were both opposed to the Mohawk at this point, the English were reluctant to go to war against the Mohawk. This was due in part for fear of retaliations but also because the Mohawk were important for maintaining trade for they circumvented the Dutch and supplied the English traders with furs (Snow [1994] 1996: 116).

The Native American propensity for war was an aspect of Indian culture that the European powers found to be useful. "As French writers make very explicit, the necessity of holding onto allies made the continuation of Indian rivalries not only desirable, but essential. If the hostile Iroquois had not existed, the French would have had to invent them. Confronted by a deadlock of this sort, the best chance that the Dutch traders had of obtaining furs from the north was to arm their Mohawk allies so that they could better pirate these furs from among the tribes allied to the French. From this decision, arrived at by the traders at Fort Orange, the wars of the Iroquois had their origin" (Trigger 1971: 286).

The Mohawk-Mahican War

In 1624 hostilities between the Mohawk and Mahican tribes erupted into warfare that ended in the relocation of the Mahicans to lands east of the Hudson River in 1628 and provided the Mohawk with direct access to the Dutch fur traders at Fort Orange. Though it is not very clear as to the state of relations between the Mohawk and Mahican prior to the establishment of a Dutch outpost at Fort Orange, located securely within Mahican territory, at the early part of the seventeenth century, Johan De Laet referred to the Mohawk as "the enemies of the Mahicans" (Jameson 1909: 47).

There is little evidence that the Mahicans and Mohawk were at war during the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the start of trade relations between the Dutch, Mahicans and Mohawk, the Mohawk were allowed access through Mahican territory to trade with the Dutch, first at Fort Nassau, then later at Fort Orange. At this point, the Mahicans favored staying on the east side of the river in order to avoid Mohawk encounters when the Mohawk traveled through Mohican territory via western routes in order to trade with the Dutch at Fort Nassau. This factor serves as an indication that the Mahican were far from

happy with the increasing Mohawk incursions into their territory (Dunn 1992: 87). However, open warfare did not appear to have erupted between the Mahican and Mohawk at this time. Maps drawn by Adriaen Block, dating to 1614, contain sketches of non-palisaded Mahican villages, which suggests a lack of hostilities between the Mohawk and Mahican at this point. An additional 1616 map also shows unfortified Mahican villages (Dunn 1992: 88). The Mahicans were undoubtedly even less happy when the Mohawk offered a proposal to the Dutch to form a covenant between the Dutch, Mohawk, Mahican, and other nations, that would guarantee peaceful access for all tribes to trade with Dutch. "Such a pact would assure the Mohawks an active partnership in the inland trade with far-away tribes and nations, so that furs coming from the west and even the north would be under Mohawk control" (Dunn 1992: 89). "There is, however, no solid evidence to suggest that the Mahicans were trying to monopolize trade or that the Mohawk were unable to travel freely through Mahican territory in the period immediately prior to 1624. Even at this early period north-south relations were as important as east-west ones and that it is impossible to understand Dutch-Indian relations in New York State independently of French-Indian ones in Canada" (Trigger 1971: 277).

At the start of the fur trade, the landlocked Mohawk were in a poor geographical position to secure direct trade relationships with either the Dutch or the French. Prior to 1610, trade within the Northeast was concentrated in the St. Lawrence Valley dominated by the French and their Canadian Indian allies. The Mohawk conducted raids against the Algonquians to secure small amounts of French trade goods. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Mohawks were becoming a dominating presence in the St. Lawrence. "By 1609 the Mohawks so dominated Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River

that Champlain referred to the latter as the 'River of the Iroquois," (Snow [1994] 1996: 89). Mohawk domination was soon to end for with French hatchets and later French military assistance the northern Algonquian succeeded in driving the Mohawk from the St. Lawrence region by 1610 and from the Ottawa Valley by the next decade (Trigger 1971: 277). Furthermore, the Mohawk were also at odds with the Susquehannocks in a conflict that lasted from 1605 to 1615. Facing wars on two fronts and their access to direct trade severely restricted, Mohawk fortunes began to brighten a little with the arrival of the Dutch, first in Manhattan and later at Fort Orange. The Dutch position was even more promising for their river Indian allies, the Mahicans, who maintained a status of friendship with the northern Algonquian tribes. This situation created a very favorable position for a Dutch and Mahican alliance which left little need for an alliance with the Mohawk and New York Iroquois (Trigger 1971: 278).

Archaeological evidence suggests that the first Dutch traders to establish relations with the Five Nations Iroquois predominately did so with the easternmost tribes. The Mohawk enjoyed the most favorable position in this trade network. That position was to change however when, in 1621, a new charter was granted to the Dutch West India Company to secure trade rights in New Netherlands. The Dutch West India Company chose to ally itself with the Mahicans rather than the Mohawk. The Dutch West India Company used wampum, which they obtained from the Pequot and Mohegan Indians in trade established on the Connecticut River, and attempted to use their allegiance with the Mahican, who controlled the trade route between Canada and Fort Orange, to lure northern Algonquian tribes to trade at Fort Orange (Lenig 1999: 54-55).

In 1624, with a promising start for access to Dutch trade slipping away, the Mohawk decided to go to war against the Mahicans with the intent to drive them from their traditional lands and far away from exerting any further influence over Dutch-Indian relations within the Hudson Valley region. This sudden vacuum could then be filled by the Mohawk who would then be free to dictate and secure their own trade agreement with the Dutch "and also prevent the Dutch from making alliances with potential enemies to the north" (Trigger 1971: 279). At the same time the Mohawk were also making overtures of peace to the French and the French Algonquian Indians. The treaty was ratified in 1624. However, it was to be an uneasy and temporary peace. Peace between the Mohawk and northern Algonquians seriously threatened the French commercial interests in Canada for trade with the northern tribes could then be diverted to Albany where wampum, much prized by the northern tribes and not accessible to the French, could easily be obtained (Eccles [1969]1992: 31). At this point, with access to French trade goods, and the warfare with the northern tribes temporarily stilled, the Mohawk were free to turn their attention against the Mahicans.

During the first two years, the war resulted in the destruction of the Mohawk's easternmost village by the Mahicans in 1626 (Gehring and Starna 1988: 22; Huey 1988: 27). "The resulting war was clearly aimed at closing the route of northern trade with Fort Orange. Company traders at Fort Orange urged the Algonquian to forsake their truce so that the Mohawk could be more easily eradicated" (Lenig 1999: 55). The Mohawk were already becoming a dominate force in the fur trade, blocking Dutch access to furs from the St. Lawrence region. The Mohawk were increasingly viewed by the Dutch as a rather dangerous obstacle in the fur trade for it was the Mohawk who blocked potentially lucrative trade between the Dutch and the French Indians. As a result of this, the Dutch may have

encouraged the Mahicans, who were angered at Mohawk incursions into their territory, to attack the Mohawk whom the Dutch may have wanted to eliminate, by warfare, if necessary (Dunn 1992: 91).

At first the war did not go well for the Mohawk but Mohawk fortunes were soon to change when Daniel Van Krieckenbeeck and a small party of Dutchmen agreed to aid their Mahican allies in their war against the Mohawk. The Dutchmen and their Mahican allies were soon set upon by a Mohawk war party and defeated. A few Dutchmen were killed during the initial battle, including Van Krieckenbeeck. Three Dutchmen were captured, roasted, and eaten by the Mohawk (Jameson 1909: 84). The Dutch then sent a trader, Pieter Barentson, to the Mohawk in order to reestablish peaceful relations and prevent further bloodshed, notably Dutch blood. (Trigger 1971: 279; Snow, Gehring and Starna 1996: 32). This peace was also to extend to the northern Algonquians whom the Dutch wished to come to Fort Orange for trade. Isaack de Rasiere, the provincial secretary of New Netherland, issued a proclamation to the traders at Fort Orange and to the Mohawk that the Mohawk were to grant the northern tribes perpetual access to traders at Fort Orange or the Dutch would compel them to maintain the peace by force (Trigger 1971: 279). "By the next year, unnamed Dutchmen are reported to have distributed presents among the northern Algonquians visiting Fort Orange in order to encourage them to break their truce with the Mohawk. Those who appear to have been responsible for doing this were the associates of Daniel Van Krieckenbeeck." (Trigger 1971: 279-280. Apparently some of the Dutch wished to remove the Mohawk presence by force if necessary if the Mohawk continued to block trade with the St. Lawrence tribes. In a letter to Peter Minuit, Isaac de Rasieres stated: "I must sometime perforce go up the river to see whether I can get the Minquass (Mohawks) to

come to an agreement with the French Indians whereby they [the French Indians] may obtain forever a free passage through their country. That being done, I hope to carry out my design of discovering Lake Champlain, and if this cannot be done by amicable means, I beg your Honors to authorize me to go with 50 or 60 men on an expedition to drive them off, which in the end will have to be done anyway" (Van Laer 1924: 214).

Among the Canadian Algonquians there was dissention over consenting to the Dutch wishes. Some Algonquians wanted to renew the war against the Mohawk but many were opposed to war at this time. Samuel de Champlain became angered when he learned of the Dutch scheme to protract a war between the Mohawk and Algonquians and threatened to provide military aid to the Mohawk if war broke out (Champlain v. 5 [1933] 1971: 214 -217). Later two Mohawks were captured and tortured by a party of young Algonquian warriors. They were later released at the insistence of Champlain. This incident was followed by the murder of a party of Frenchmen by the Mohawk when the French came for a visit. Prior to their arrival, a Morrison Island Algonquian had informed the Mohawk that the Frenchmen were spies. (Champlain v. 5 [1933] 1971: 308-12) "A more fundamental reason for the killing was probably that Mohawk resentment and anger had been fanned by news of the negotiations going on between the northern Algonquians and the Dutch. One can speculate that the Dutch themselves may have passed this news along to the Mohawk" (Trigger 1971: 280).

By 1628, the Mohawk-Mahican the war came to a close. The Mahican survivors fled to the Connecticut Valley but continued to maintain title to their lands west of the Hudson until 1630 when they sold part of their land claims to Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, including the area between Fort Orange and the Mohawk (Jameson 1909: 89, 131). They sold their

remaining lands the following year, "thus abandoning all claims to land west of the Hudson River" (Trigger 1971: 281). As a consequence of this war the Mahicans, and all the tribes within the vicinity of the Dutch colony, were required to pay annual tribute to the Mohawk and were required to go to war against Mohawk enemies (Jameson 1909: 172). By the 1640s the Mohawks, and Mahicans, gained possession of guns from English and Dutch traders and with their new firepower, were able to subjugate and terrorize all the tribes within the vicinity (Dunn 1992: 95; Jameson 1909: 274). However, peace was not to last for sporadic warfare soon broke out between the Mahicans and Mohawks in 1640, 1646, and again in 1658. In the 1660s large-scale warfare erupted again in the vicinity of Fort Orange between the Mohawk and the Mahicans and their New England Indian allies. In the aftermath, the Mahicans sold more land to the Dutch and English while at the same time the Mohawk also began to sell Mahican lands taken during earlier hostilities (Dunn 1992: 85).

With the Mahican rivalry eliminated, the Mohawk found themselves in the advantageous position of securing for themselves the roll of middlemen in all Dutch trade relations with the northern tribes, effectively blocking all other direct trade relations with the Dutch. The Dutch, being in no position to counteract this Mohawk monopoly imposed upon them, had no choice but to accept Mohawk trade dictates. The Mohawk victory also created an advantage for the French traders, for with the Mohawk acting as an effective block against direct trade between the Dutch and the northern tribes, the northern tribes could no longer drive down the prices for trade goods by playing the Dutch and French traders off one another (Trigger 1971: 281-282). "In the long run it was in the Mohawk's interests to re-establish good relations with the French so that they could play French traders off against Dutch ones in an effort to drive down the price of European trade goods. The main dilemma

that faced the French was that they could not afford to arrange a treaty from which their Indian allies were left out, while neither they nor the Mohawk could afford a peace which would allow these same allies to develop trading contracts with the Dutch" (Trigger 1971: 282).

Trade relations remained a complex affair throughout the 1630s. These trade relationships can be viewed more as series of political maneuverings that often culminated in temporary peace ratifications between rival tribes in order to allow access to European trade. Often it was in the best interest of the French or Dutch traders to see that these peace treaties did not long remain in effect.

> "Even at this early date the relationship of the Iroquois to the French was a paradoxical one. Their enmity threatened the survival of the French fur trade empire by either severing its communications with the western tribes or by destroying the base at Quebec in an open assault. Yet their friendship was equally dangerous, for were they to make a firm peace with the western tribes that traded with the French, they might grant these tribes access to the Dutch trading post on the Hudson or serve as middlemen for them" (Eccles [1969]1992: 31).

In 1634 the Iroquois and northern Algonquians concluded a peace treaty that alarmed both the French and Dutch traders who feared that their allied Indian tribes would have access to trade with their rivals. It was also in the best interest of two competing colonies to see disruptions among their rival's allied tribes. When the French learned of Iroquois attempts to incite the Algonquian tribes living along the Ottawa River to make war on the Huron, a traditional enemy of the Iroquois, the French suspected that this was "a Dutch plot designed to provoke a war between the Huron and northern Algonquian which, in turn, would prevent the former from coming to trade with the French" (Trigger 1971: 284-285).

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, trade relationships established between the native tribes and their European allies cannot be viewed within an individual

context. It is all but impossible to separate the French and the French Indians from the Dutch and their five Nation Iroquois allies. Charlotte Wilcoxen described the volatile nature of these relationships during these important centuries of the early colonial era in the Northeast. "Self-interest drew the Dutch and later the English of the Albany region into a symbiotic relationship with the Indians. The fur trade had brought them together in the first place; recognition by both that they had a dangerous mutual enemy in the French of Canada kept them together in what was now and then an uneasy covenant" ([1981] 1984: 61). The French feared the political and military strength of the Iroquois. An unknown French author wrote; "it must be observed that the Iroquois Nation is the most warlike of all the native peoples, and if the Frenchman had not been established in this country, they would have made themselves, undoubtedly, the masters of all the other nations. Their ruin began when the fancy for making war on us took hold of them" (Brandão 2003: 65-67). In 1664-1665 the Jesuit, le Mercier described the warlike nature of the Iroquois. "These people have always made war upon us, although they have at times pretended to ask for peace" (Snow, Gehring, and Starna 1996: 145).

Despite Indian complaints of harsh and unfair treatment Dutch traders sometimes heaped on the Indians when they came to trade, the Five Nations Iroquois remained loyal to the Dutch following the Criekenbeek incident, though at times, relations became strained. In 1633 Hans Hunthum was appointed to the position of *commis* (whose duties included the purchase of skins and their shipment to Manhattan) by the Dutch West India Company directors against the wishes of van Rensselaer's. Hunthum soon incensed the Mohawk by cheating them, resulting in Mohawk retaliation by burning the Company yacht and killing cattle (Merwick 1990: 32). Indian complaints primarily centered on physical abuse, unfair

trade practices, and the selling of liquor. These problems particularly became more prominent by the 1660s due to a serious scarcity of beaver as over hunting caused the collapse and disappearance of these animals except from the deep hinterland regions. "As a result, the contest among the Albany traders for peltries became so frantic that the Indians often complained of beatings and harassment" (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 66).

By 1659 there was mounting hostility brewing between small traders and *handelaars* (large merchant traders). At the start of the new trading season that spring a court ruling on how trade would be conducted intensified the competition between the two groups by putting the trade rights up to public auction. The court magistrates, comprised predominately of *handelaars*, ruled that all trade would be conducted within the fort by licensed traders; in effect cutting off small traders who traditionally conducted trade by "walking in the woods" a practice that many Company officials and licensed traders felt was dangerous to the trade. A number of citizens (men and women) decided to take matters into their own hands and went to meet the Indians coming to trade. The Indians were frequently ambushed, beaten, cheated, and lied to during these encounters. (Merwick 1990 89-90).

By the late seventeenth century, alliances between the indigenous tribes and the European traders went beyond that of trade and into hostile relations. Though both the Five Nations Iroquois and the French Indians wished to expand the trade to include the French and the Dutch, battle lines were becoming established by this point, not only between rival indigenous groups, but also between the European powers, particularly between the English and the French during the later part of the seventeenth century. Both the Five Nations Iroquois and French Indians were drawn into a global power struggle between the English and French, which came to include attempts to dominate the fur trade by playing the Indians

against one another. The Five Nations Iroquois swiftly allied themselves with the English after England seized control of New Netherland in 1664 during the Second Anglo-Dutch war. At this point, the Mohawk quickly signed a treaty with the English to become allies and trading partners. At this time the Mohawk were also forced into formalizing peaceful relations with the French. In 1663-1664 Jérôme Lalemant, a Jesuit priest, wrote that "the Agniehronnons [Mohawks]—the nation nearest to us and the most arrogant and cruel—ask us for peace because they are no longer in a condition to make war, being reduced to a very small number by famine, disease, and the losses they have suffered in the last two or three years" (Snow, Gehring, and Starna 1996:140). In 1666, the Marquis de Tracy led an attack against the Mohawk, destroying four Mohawk "castles" one of which, the Freeman site, has been identified based on archaeological and historical documentation. The Mohawk relocated and rebuilt their villages on the north side of the Mohawk River and after concluding peace negotiations with the French in 1667, Jesuit priests were once again allowed to stay within Mohawk villages (Snow, Gehring, and Starna 1996: 151). In 1673, a French missionary, Garnier, reported that the Iroquois expressed interest in opening trade negotiations with the French if the French were willing to sell trade goods cheaper than the trade goods that could be obtained at Albany (Huey 1988: 112).

The Iroquois were still far from being at peace. The Mohawks were now at war with most of the southern New England Algonquians. The Mohawk were also fighting with the Susquehannocks and Shawnee. In 1677, Andros, the governor of New Netherland, now called New York, called a meeting in Albany to try and end Mohawk and Mahican raids against the New England Indian tribes, long time English allies. The agreement concluded in the Covenant Chain. It secured an Iroquoian position of dominance over all the other Indian

tribes and created a permanent tie with the English. "While the Covenant Chain was to the English a hierarchical structure, to the Iroquois it was a nearly flat network of linked arms. The links all strengthened each other, but they needed constant nurturing. Gift exchange, most importantly the transfer of wampum in the seventeenth century, maintained the network and prevented it from dissolving in to the normal human condition of constant warfare" (Snow [1994] 1996: 125). By the 1680's French trade began to grow in the west. The Iroquois, annoyed with these events, began to attack French outposts. In 1687 the French retaliated against the Senecas in the Denonville expedition.

Throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, the French Indians began to attack Dutch and later English settlements in what are now Albany and Rensselaer counties. In 1687, the Senecas sent a peace delegation to meet with the French governor, Denonville. The result was about fifty Seneca delegates were captured and sent to Quebec as captives where many died (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 73). The reports Denonville received from the Jesuit missionaries and post commanders urged him to destroy any further Iroquoian threat in order to preserve New France and so a largely unsuccessful campaign was launched against the Senecas. Seneca villages and crops were burned, but the tribes fled with minimal losses (Eccles [1969]1992: 117-119). As a result of this incident, the Mohawk never forgave the French and remained loyal to the English whereas "the Senecas and Onondagas continued to ply the English against the French until the middle of the eighteenth century" (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 73). In 1688 epidemics of small pox and measles struck the colony in New France, forcing Denonville to sue for peace with the Iroquois with a treaty to be ratified the following spring. Instead the Iroquois launched a series of raids against the French settlements. At first the French had little success in counteracting Iroquoian attacks until the

French changed their military tactics and staged ambushes along the paths the Iroquois were most likely to use. At that point, the tide began to turn against the Iroquois, who now suffered much grater casualties, and the French were now able to take the war into Iroquoian country (Eccles [1969] 1992: 122). In May, 1689 England and France were at war and by August the colony at Albany was preparing for an attack. The attack came five months later with Schenectady not Albany selected as the target. The French Indians launched a surprise night attack on the Schenectady settlement on February 9, 1690. The result of this massacre led to a series of bloody reprisals between the French and English, which didn't cease until the treaty of Paris brought an end to the hostilities in 1763.

The late seventeenth century loomed as a low point in Iroquoia. Decades of constant warfare and deadly epidemics had decimated and fragmented all the tribes. The beaver were by now in serious decline and were nearly extinct in many areas due to over hunting. Traditional Indian beliefs and customs were threatened by European Christianized values and beliefs. The Iroquoian League was threatening to unravel, not only from internal rivalry to seek missionaries, but also from external pressures by both the English and French who sought to create alliances to the benefit of each colonial power. The Iroquois maintained their individual autonomy and managed to stay the vying colonial powers with promises of nonaggression. With the Iroquois opting for neutrality from English and French conflicts, they turned their attentions to the western tribes who still maintained plentiful access to beaver though to little avail. The Iroquois failed to gain control over the western tribes, particularly with the establishment of English and French forts in the west. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Iroquois domination was at a new low. The Iroquois suffered many casualties during their last war and so when the Huron began negotiations for the right

to trade at Albany in 1703, the Iroquois decided to grant permission rather than risk another costly war (Eccles [1969] 1992: 135).

Undermining of indigenous cultural traditions and spiritual beliefs

Christianization

As already noted, a number of factors caused, directly and indirectly, by European contact threatened to undermine indigenous traditional cultures and spiritual belief. This included the missionary efforts of Jesuits, who followed in the wake of the fur traders. The Iroquois first became exposed to the missionizing efforts of the French Jesuit priests, the Black Robes, after the absorption of Huron survivors of the Beaver Wars in 1649. Many of these adoptees were Christian Indians and their adoption into the tribes opened the way for Jesuit missionization efforts into Iroquoia as well. Not only did the missionizing efforts threaten to undermine traditional spiritual beliefs, but also competition between the Mohawks and Onondagas to host Jesuit missionaries, in a effort to win French favor, threatened the stability of the League in 1657. After this period, religious paraphernalia appear on Iroquoian sites. However the Freeman site, one of the first villages destroyed by the French in October, 1666, contained no religious artifacts. Following the village relocation and rebuilding on the north side of the Mohawk River and the conclusion of peace with the French, Jesuit priests were once again allowed on Iroquoian sites. At this point, the Jesuits succeeded in converting many of the Mohawk to Catholicism. As tensions mounted between traditionalists and Christian Indians, a large segment of Christian Indians chose to relocate in Canada and created a new village named Caughnawaga, after its original namesake. Of these relocated Indians, at least half were believed to have been adopted Huron survivors (Snow, Gehring, and Starna 1996: 176; Rumrill 1991: 32).

However, the Jesuit presence on Iroquoian sites vanish after 1682 as friendly relationships with the French severely decline throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. In 1693, the governor of New France, Count Louis de Frontenac led an attack of French soldiers and Canadian Indians against the Mohawk in February, 1693. The survivors were forced to flee and dispersed to different locations.

Destruction of the furbearers

Faunal studies conducted from the Klock, Garoga, and Smith-Pagerie site reveal a change in subsistence patterns with an increase of beaver occurring in the later periods as a direct reflection of the impact caused by the European fur trade. Beaver remains recovered from earlier contexts prior to or associated with the earliest contact period contained on average only two percent of beaver. However, faunal remains from the Klock and Garoga sites contained 10 percent of beaver and the Smith-Pagerie site beaver remains accounted for almost 20 percent of the faunal assemblage. Another change in subsistence patterns was an increase of bear which was related to the Iroquoian practice of keeping bears for feasts and bear ceremonialism (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 156). Prior to the establishment of the European fur trade, Indian hunting practices was limited to the amount of game that could be consumed or traded to other Indians. There was no profit in taking extra meat or skins. "Trade was conducted by sachems and other high-prestige individuals, and so was held in check by the status relationships within a village and the diplomatic relations between villages (Cronan 1983: 98). This pattern would be irrevocably changed in the advent of the fur trade.

The fur trade did far more than introduce Indians to European goods. Most importantly, the European fur trade brought a new idea of commercial exploitation "at once utilizing and subverting Indian trade patterns to extend European mercantile ones. The

essential lesson for the Indians was that certain things began to have *prices* that had not had them before. In particular, one could buy personal prestige by killing animals and exchanging their skins for wampum or high-status European goods. By the early1630s about 30,000 beaver pelts flowed into Fort Orange, which rapidly eliminated local beaver populations (Eccles [1969] 1992: 36).

Not only fur-bearers were at risk (Cronan 1983: 97). There was increased hunting pressure placed on game species such as deer and turkey and other game birds for the Indians also supplied meat in trade networks. Along with increased hunting pressure, edge habitat loss also contributed to a substantial population decline, as was noted historically for turkey and deer, particularly in New England (Cronan 1983: 99-101). The introduction of European musketry to Indian hunters made the killing of large game animals easier. Indian hunting tactics for large animals such as moose changed. Formerly, moose had only been hunted in deep snow. But with Indian hunters gaining access to European weaponry, moose could easily be taken at any time, so much so that by the mid seventeenth century moose had vanished from eastern Canada and northern New England (Cronan 1983: 104-105). By the mid seventeenth century, the beaver had vanished from much of New York. The Mohawk were forced to take beaver by force from Ontario during the Beaver Wars against the Canadian Indians. At this point, the Mohawk gained access to exotic game species such as moose, wolverine, whistling swan, and red-necked grebe which are predominantly Canadian species. Also for the first time European domestic species (predominately cow and pig) were recovered from Mohawk faunal assemblages (Kuhn and Funk 2000: 52-53.)

Beaver and other fur bearers were not the only game animals exploited in the fur trade. In his "Description of New Netherlands", Adrian Van Der Donck, provides a rich and

detailed glimpse of the Dutch New World holdings including vivid descriptions of the land, geography, and vegetation, but more importantly, about the New World's animal and Native populations. In 1641, Van Der Donck, a young lawyer hired by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer to act as *schout* (sheriff) for Van Rensselaer's patroonship of Rensselaerswyck. Van Der Donck narratives describe many of the wild animals hunted by the Indians which included female lions from the high mountain regions of the southwest which the Indians sometimes bring in to trade (O'Donnell 1968: 43). Bear were also taken by the Indians which were mostly killed during their winter hibernation when the sleeping bears were easy to kill. Though Van Der Donck never tried bear meat, he reported that a number of Dutchmen had eaten bear, liking the meat to good pork (O'Donnell 1968: 45). He also claims that buffalo, hunted by the Indians mostly in the southwest regions, produced meat that was much better tasting and more desirable than deer meat and that their skins produced leather of a heavy enough quality to be used in the manufacture of harness and horse collars. (O'Donnell 1968: 45). Deer were very plentiful in the region and Van Der Donck claims that the Indians killed thousands throughout the year though the majority was taken during the fall. Van Der Donck's account provide evidence that the Dutch relied heavily on wild game hunted by the Indians, particularly with a scarcity of familiar domestic species during the early years of the colony.

Van Der Donck also listed a number of bird species exploited by the Indians and which subsequently ended up on Dutch menus. Turkey was the most heavily exploited bird and "differ little in taste from the tame turkeys; but the epicures prefer the wild kind. They are best in the fall of the year when the Indians will usually sell a turkey for ten stivers, and with the Christians the common price is a daelder each" (O'Donnell 1968: 50). Different

types of quail were also hunted by both the Dutch and Indians and which the Dutch hunted with guns. A number of other birds including woodcock, pheasants, birch-cocks and a number of waterfowl where hunted. Van Der Donck also makes a reference to the taking of pigeons, which undoubtedly were the now extinct passenger pigeon, whose numbers were so great that flocks of pigeons "resemble the clouds in the heavens, and obstruct the rays of the sun" (O'Donnell 1968: 51). He then goes on to describe the traditional Indian harvests of these birds following ancient hunting –gathering patterns of a seasonal resource. "The Indians, when they find the breeding places of the pigeons (at which they assemble in numberless thousands), frequently remove to those places with their wives and children, to the number of two or three hundred in a company, where they live a month or more on the young pigeons, which they take, after pushing them from their nests with poles and sticks" (O'Donnell 1968: 51). The Dutch also heavily exploited native fish such as sturgeon, though plentiful was not well favored since large fish were not considered edible (O'Donnell 1968: 54-55).

The Dutch were trading for more than just pelts. The Dutch also acquired a portion of their dietary sustenance needs from the Indians. Adriaen Van Der Donck not only provided a list of wild game animals the Dutch obtained in trade from the Indians but also crops as well. "They raise an abundance of corn and beans, of which we obtain whole cargoes in sloops and galleys in trade" (O'Donnell 1968: 98). Other items that also were involved in the trade during this period included tobacco, copper, wooden items (Bradley 1987 b: 42) and Indian slaves, most of whom where probably female captives taken by the Five Nations Iroquois, and those not adopted by the Iroquois or burnt in their fires were sold to the Dutch (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 16). Faunal materials recovered from Fort Orange

indicate a higher proportion consisting of deer. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Dutch settlers and traders relied on deer meat, obtained predominately from the Indian trade which the Indians traded for milk and butter (Huey 1991: 58; 1988: 34, 242). A comparison of deer and pig teeth recovered from archaeological contexts at Fort Orange revealed that prior to 1624, 90 per cent of the teeth recovered were from deer. In deposits ranging from 1624 to 1640 about 70 per cent of the teeth recovered were deer compared to 30 per cent for pig. From 1648 to 1657 there was an increase of deer one again at 79 per cent compared to 21 per cent for pig. However, after 1657 the ratio of deer to pig dropped to 50 per cent while at the same time there was a continual decrease in the number of fish bones recovered (Huey 1988: 556).

From Adriaen Van Der Donck, we get a glimpse of the stress native and colonial hunting was already placing on wild animal, bird, and fish species, particularly on the numbers of deer, beaver, and passenger pigeons that were being slaughtered by the thousands every year. During his tenure at Rensselaerwyck during the mid 1600s he reports that about eighty thousand beaver are killed annually to feed the Dutch fur markets (O'Donnell 1968:111). Van Der Donck was no ecologist and probably had little comprehension of the devastation fur trade hunting practices and habitat loss from colonialism was undoubtedly having on many animal and plant species. Van Der Donck's naiveté and idealistic spirit are reflected in his narratives when he writes that "we can infer that there will not be an end to the wild animals, and also because there are large districts where the animals will remain unmolested" (O'Donnell 1968: 98). In just a couple of hundred years, many of the animal species that were so numerous in Van Der Donck's time were driven to the brink of extinction, surviving in isolated pockets of the deep interior forests. For some unfortunate

others, like the passenger pigeon, never again would there be flocks of such magnitude to darken the sky.

Exposure to Old World pathogens

To the Iroquois physical illness and the healing arts were often interconnected to the spirit world. Illness and death were caused not only by natural causes, but by witches and evil spirits as well (Brandão 2003: 93; Graymont 1888: 38; Snow [1994] 1996: 54). A number of infant and child burials recovered from the two late sixteen/early seventeenth century Seneca burial sites, the Cameron and Dutch Hollow sites, contained human figurines made from carved antler that were found exclusively associated with the infant and children burials. These effigy figurines, sometimes referred to as "September Morn, are only associated with post contact burials and are nearly always associated with children (Mandzy 1992: 142). "These effigy burial items where given to children to act as charms and protection against evil witchcraft (Saunders 1992: 113; Mandzy 1992: 142). "From ancient times the Iroquois had had medicine societies, composed of healers and those who had been cured by the ceremonies of the members. There might be several such societies, each having its own rituals and cures in any village" (Graymont 1988: 40). For some healing ceremonies, the healers wore sacred masks, often symbolizing supernatural powers. But in the wake of devastating Old World pathogens, shamans using traditional medicine and rituals proved to be powerless against the deadly diseases. Another factor of the disruption caused by diseases was the destruction of traditional social systems such as the restrictions formerly placed on individuals in the accumulation of prestige items. Thus Indian economies now became linked to a European market system but for social and political growth (Cronan 1983: 98).

There is much debate on the affects of old world pathogens on Native Americans and on the subsequent death tolls. There are a number of population estimates for Native Americans prior to and post European contact. Undoubtedly, the spread of infectious disease correlates with more direct and widespread contact between European traders and Native American tribes with disease first striking the coastal tribes would have the earliest exposure to Europeans and their contagions. The interior tribes, such as the Iroquois, escaped the initial catastrophic epidemics of the sixteenth century. Studies of spatial and settlement patterns and population growth conducted for the Mohawk village sites of Garoga, Klock and Smith-Pagerie indicate a relatively stable population with an increase indicated at the Smith Pagerie site, possibly from some influx of St. Lawrence Iroquois—indicated by the presence of St. Lawrence Iroquoian pottery and exotic chert originating from Jefferson County— and no indication of dramatic population losses attributed to European pathogens (Funk and Kuhn 2003: 78, 155).

By the seventeenth century, devastating waves of European induced epidemics swept through the interior tribes, including the Iroquois. Thousands died from measles, small pox, and other Old World contagions. In addition to substantial mortality rates attributed to the exposure of Old World pathogens, Lorraine also makes a strong case that some death rates were also attributed to preexisting infectious diseases, such as dysentery, which may have sporadically infected overcrowded and unsanitary villages (1992). As the death toll continued to rise, village social structures and spiritual beliefs were increasing demoralized and threatened to collapse (Cronan 1983: 89). Added with the loss of life from almost continuous warfare, all Indian populations were facing potential destruction. The death tolls placed increasing pressure on all the tribes to replace population losses with fresh captives to

revitalize their dwindling population. "Warfare would cease to be a sporadic and specific response to individual deaths and would become instead a constant and increasingly undifferentiated symptom of societies in demographic crisis" (Richter 1983: 537).

Historical documentation refers to the Iroquoian custom of distributing gifts of wampum to console family members, in this case caused by death from diseases (Brandão 2003: 83; Jameson 1909: 179). In 1634, Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, while visiting the Mohawk to re-establish amicable relations bore witness to a condolence ritual. 'Toward evening about 40 fathoms of sewant were distributed among them as testimony of the Indians who had died of the small pox; this in the presence of the chiefs and nearest friends, because it is their custom that they distribute it thus to the chiefs and nearest friends" (Gehring and Starna 1988; 21).

Alcohol and firearms

There are a number of Dutch documents including the court minutes for Fort Orange (Van Laer 1920) that pertain to the troubles surrounding the illegal traffic in alcohol and firearms. There was apparently little shortage of alcohol available in the Dutch colonies. Archaeological excavations conducted at the site of Fort Orange uncovered a structure located along the south side of the fort entrance that is believed to be the remains of a brewery, built by Jean Labatie in 1647 (Huey 1985: 73). It is not unlikely that some of this liquor may have ended up being used to supply Indian requests for alcohol or being used by illicit traders who often plied the Indians with drink before trade negotiations in order to cheat the Indians.

In his Description of the New Netherlands, Adriane Van Der Donck describes some of the problems inherent with the illicit trade in alcohol to the Indians. "When they [the

Indians] associate much with our people, and can obtain liquor, they will drink to excess, when they become insolent and troublesome, and are malicious. To prevent this, the government has forbidden the sale of spirituous liquors to the Indians. Most of them however will not taste liquor. Before they are accustomed to spirituous liquor, they are easily made drunk, for which a small glass or two is sufficient" (O'Donnell 1968: 74-75). A Jesuit missionary, le Mercier, in 1667-1668, wrote of the continuing problem of alcohol. "It is so common here, and causes such disorders, that it seems sometimes as if all the people of the Village had become insane, so great is the license they allow themselves when they are under the influence of liquor" (Snow, Gehring, and Starna 1996: 159).

Dutch and French traders were often in a quandary about the issue of selling guns to the Indians and there were laws established during the early years of the colony to prevent the trade in guns, ammunition, and liquor to the Indians which during the seventeenth century were construed as being some of the most serious of crimes within the colonies. The illegal selling of strong drink to the Indians often resulted in the Indians easily becoming very drunk and prone to violence not only against their own people (Brandão 2003: 89) but white settlers as well. Court records from Albany (Van Laer 1920) attest to a number of drunken violent instances involving the Indians and Dutch settlers and it was one instance where the courts allowed Indian testimony in order to punish offenders in the practice of selling illegal liquor to the Indians. Women and children were often employed in the illegal sale of liquor for they often drew much lighter sentences (Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 36). However a petition was set forth by some of the poor inhabitants of the Delaware colony in order to trade or barter liquor to the Indians in order to gain access to Indian corn and meat and prevent starvation (Merwick 1990: 96-97).

The illegal traffic in guns and ammunition was more problematic to Dutch authorities if they wished to further cultivate trade relations with the Indians. The Indian demands for guns became a threat to the Dutch, particularly after the French Indians, traditional enemies of the New York Iroquois, began to acquire weapons. In 1639 the Dutch unsuccessfully tried to abolish the sale of guns to the Indians. "The company ordinance of March 1639 had forbidden any trader to sell muskets, powder, or lead to the Indians on penalty of death" (Huey 1991: 36). Illegal trafficking in guns continued despite this rather empty threat. The Mohawk may also have received some of their guns from English traders via Mahican trade connections. With the threat of the English trafficking of guns compromising Dutch trade, some Dutch traders were willing to risk prosecution in order to maintain Mohawk trade (Dunn 1992: 95; Jameson 1909: 274). In 1648, Jacob Janz Schermerhorn, a New Amsterdam trader, was caught with firearms to be used for trade, but received only five years banishment (Huey 1991: 36). Excavations at Fort Orange also contained a post 1648 deposit located near the entrance way which contained a large amount of lead waste, suggesting an increase in the illegal traffic of lead to the Indians (Huey 1988: 585). So great was the Indian demand for guns that Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherlands, reversed this policy in 1654 and began selling guns directly to the Mohawk (Snow [1994] 1996: 113; Wilcoxen [1981] 1984: 35: Jameson 1909: 344, 369; Huey 1988: 585). However, in the immediate years prior to this relaxation in trade, the Dutch must have been involved in much clandestine and illicit gun trafficking with the Indians. By the mid seventeenth century, not only had the Indians acquired guns, but had become proficient in their use. A small number of gun parts were recovered from four Mohawk sites the earliest of which, the Martin site, dating from 1605 to 1625, produced a single gun part. Additional gun parts were recovered

in greater numbers at the other three sites which range in date from 1632 – 1682 (Puype 1985: 85-86). Much greater quantities of gun parts, however, have been recovered from Seneca sites. These gun parts consist of weapons of Dutch, French, and Spanish manufacture which the Seneca occasionally captured from enemy tribes. Gun parts recovered from Seneca sites, ranging in date from 1630 to 1655, predominately consisted of flintlocks, a gun that was in high demand by the Indians as a trade items but was relatively rare in Europe. Adrian Mandzy suggests that a shift in settlement patterns for Cayuga sites away from naturally fortified positions may be a result of an increase in the military strength of the Cayuga due to the possession of firearms (1992: 143). The demand for flintlocks in the Indian trade may have "led the way to the mass production of these weapons for European armies during the last quarter of the seventeenth century" (Puype 1985: 90).

From Adrien Van Der Donck's narrative on the New Netherlands we get a glimpse of the Indians' adaptation to the use of European weapons in favor over traditional native weaponry. "At present many of them use fire-arms, which they prize highly and learn to use dexterously. They spare no pains in procuring guns and ammunition, for which they trade with the Christians at a dear rate. At present they also use small axes (tomahawks) instead of their war-clubs" (O'Donnell 1968: 100). Johannes Megapolensis Jr., writing in 1644 stated that "their weapons in wars were formerly a bow and arrow, with a stone axe and mallet; but now they get from our people guns, swords, iron axes, and mallets" (Jameson 1909: 176).

The recovery of a small number of gun parts on Mohawk sites confirms that the Indians were in possession of firearms as early as 1615. However it wasn't until the mid seventeenth century that firearms were recovered in much greater abundance.

Conclusion

The Iroquois were far from the primitive, child-like, savages or bloodthirsty hooligans that colonial descriptions often portrayed them as. The Iroquois were skilled and savvy traders, negotiators, diplomats, and warriors who not only came to dominate trade with the Dutch, but became a powerful political, military, and economic presence throughout the northeast where their influence spread north into Canada and south into the Susquehanna region, well beyond their territorial boundaries. The Five Nations Iroquois repeatedly were able to successfully turn disadvantage into an advantage throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. In 1701, the Iroquois negotiated a peace settlement with the governor of New France, Callière, and a number of the French Indians as a means to end the destructive decades of war throughout the late seventeenth century, which seriously weakened the Iroquois. The Grand Settlement not only created a peace between the Iroquois and the western tribes, but also established an Iroquoian policy of neutrality from any future Anglo-French imperial conflict. In addition, the Iroquois were granted hunting rights to the west, trade was made accessible not only with New France but also in Pennsylvania, and the Iroquois gained potential trade from western Indians that were now allowed to come to Albany to trade (Richter 1983: 552-553). William Fenton sees the interior position of the Iroquois as a boon to the Five Nations in that "at first disadvantaged by being deprived of direct access to trade goods and then beset by enemies armed with iron tools, they were in the long run better able to withstand the shock of culture contact than were the Algonquian coastal peoples, who were disorganized and decimated" (1971: 139). Far from becoming "Europeanized," the Iroquois maintained many aspects of their cultural traditions, only blending certain aspects of European culture and materialism, such as the incorporation of hybrid Christian/native religious belief system and whole hearted adoption

of European guns into hunting and warfare activities. "Given that certain groups, such as the Iroquois Nation, saw themselves superior to all other peoples, including the Europeans, it is not surprising that they maintained particular aspects of their culture throughout the eras of Queen Victoria and Theodore Roosevelt. At a time when many Native Americans were dependant upon the government institutions for survival, the Iroquois ethnographic collections made during this period illustrate the maintenance of traditional material culture and behavioral patterns" (Mandzy 1992: 133).

Even though the formation of the Iroquoian League failed to unite the Five Nations into one political body, the end of internal hostilities allowed the Iroquois to concentrate their hostile attentions against their main rivals in the fur trade. To the north they succeeded in destroying the Huron, Neutral and Erie, and they caused the dispersal of a number of Algonquian tribes. The Five Nations Iroquois were then able to swell their dwindling population, caused by devastating wars and disease, by adopting large numbers of captives which were dispersed among the Onondaga, Oneida and Seneca (Fenton 1971: 142-143). "In a period of instability and violence the Cayuga were able to maximize the opportunities presented by extended contact, and minimize the destructive factors brought about by the new circumstances. At a time when most Native American societies witnesses a decrease in their political and economic sovereignty, the Cayuga were able to adapt to such a degree that they were able to maintain a position of unchallenged authority until the end of the eighteenth century" (Mandzy 1992: 147). This is not just a remarkable legacy for just the Cayuga, for it is the legacy of the Five Nations Iroquois.

In effect, the fur trade could not have existed without the skilled abilities of Indian hunters and with their cooperation in trade relations. Europeans lacked the ability to hunt

efficiently enough to supply enough skins to meet market demands. The Dutch, English, and French were forced by necessity to conduct diplomatic alliances with their Indian neighbors as long as there continued to be a demand for furs. For the Dutch inhabitants of New Netherland, it was only after fur supplies disappeared, first to the south along Manhattan Island in the 1640s and later after the English takeover of Albany in 1664 that conflicts over land set off a number of bloody skirmishes between the colonists and the Indians (Schrire and Merwick 1991: 14-15). "In the end, the decline of Iroquois power was brought about not because of two centuries of acculturation, but due to the shift in the geopolitical balance of power brought about by the surrender at Yorktown" (Mandzy 1992: 134). Such is the legacy of the Five Nations Iroquois.

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