

Reverend Samuel Kirkland and the Oneida Indians

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The Oneida Nation History Conference

Late in January 1787 a group of Oneida and Stockbridge Indians gathered at Old Oneida for a day of festival and friendship. Throughout the long, bitter cold hours they listened to a holy man, someone who berated them for past wrongs and challenged them to live lives of purity and sobriety. At the end of what would have been for most of us an exhausting round of preaching and confession, the assembly broke into spontaneous song. "Their musick," wrote the holy man, "was inimitably sweet and harmonious." The songs did not end until well past eleven and even at that late hour some of the Oneida faithful kept the holy man awake with their testimonies and questions.<sup>1</sup>

This marathon revival meeting - something straight out of television evangelism - was nothing new for either the Oneidas or their energetic preacher. Both had been accustomed to strenuous displays of faith and belief. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland was much more than a long-winded missionary intent on boring his listeners until they accepted a new faith. Kirkland was, for all his strangeness, a central figure in the development of Oneida Christianity. By fits and starts he and his converts fashioned an Indian Christianity that was at once Oneida and orthodox. Kirkland did not plan that his converts would remain Oneida but they did. In the process the missionary and his congregation played out one of the most important encounters on the American frontier.

Historical reputation is like the stock market -- bullish and up one day, bearish and down the next. So it has been with the reputations of those European clergy who sought converts among the native peoples of the Americas. For generations the missionary was a frontier culture hero, someone who supposedly brought salvation and civilization to Indians lost in sin and barbarism. In the past twenty years the way we see the missionaries - their plans, goals, and deeds - has changed dramatically. In fact there has been a remarkable role reversal. Once the selfless hero, the missionary has become the self-seeking agent of western imperialism and aggression. From the ranks of honor, the missionary has slipped to join the backcountry thugs and bullies who pushed their way from one hunting ground and corn field to the next.<sup>2</sup>

It would be easy to put Samuel Kirkland in company with the unscrupulous and the greedy who shouldered Oneidas out of the way after the American Revolution. After all, Kirkland believed that Oneidas had to cease traditional ways and accept Euro-American cultural values. He did not hide the arrogance that led him to think that the best Oneida mind was still only an "Indian" mind. So at first glance Kirkland might find his place among those who hassled and hustled the Oneidas at a time when they needed friends, not preachers.

But the Oneidas who knew and loved Kirkland would have dissented from that harsh and modern judgement. The Oneida men

and women who were active members of Kirkland's congregation saw him in a very different light. They surely recognized his rigid ways and inflexible character. And perhaps they regretted his wholesale condemnation of traditional wisdom and ways. But when Gnondiyo or Shenandoah called Kirkland "friend" or "father" there was more than just Iroquois courtesy in the air. The Oneida faithful saw Kirkland as a spiritual director, a guide in the midst of troubled times.

It had not always been so. In 1764 a young and inexperienced Samuel Kirkland came to the Seneca homeland to establish a mission. He was fresh from training at the hands of Eleazar Wheelock. Wheelock was the founder of More's Indian Charity School, an establishment committed to training both Indians and whites for mission occupations. Kirkland attended the school in 1760 and 1761 and was deeply influenced by Wheelock's mission ideas.<sup>3</sup>

Kirkland's Seneca mission was nothing short of disaster. His heavy handed, pompous ways offended warriors and sachems alike. Early in April 1765 prominent Senecas met with Kirkland to protest his preaching and his behavior. Speaking for others, one sachem blasted Kirkland and the entire mission. "Brothers," he declared, "it is time we were roused up. . . . We must look about and look forward and see what will befall us, if we don't take seasonable care to prevent approaching evils." Whatever "approaching evils" the Seneca had in mind, he was certain that they were carried by Kirkland. The sachem asserted that Kirkland

was possessed by some "evil design" that drove him to subvert traditional ways. "You may be assured," insisted the Seneca, "that if we receive this white man and attend to the Book which was made solely for White people, we shall become a miserable abject people."<sup>4</sup> Kirkland may have been insensitive but he was not blind to the realities of Indian country. No missionary, no matter how dedicated, could make headway against such spirited opposition.

In May 1766 Kirkland abandoned his Seneca mission and returned to Lebanon, Connecticut. Kirkland had a tenacious character that could run to stubbornness on occasion. He was not about to give up what he saw as a call from God. If the Seneca door was closed, others were sure to open. In consultation with Wheelock it was decided to send Kirkland to the Oneidas. Both missionaries believed that the Oneidas had been less tainted by French Catholic beliefs and would more readily accept Kirkland's teaching. And Oneida was well situated as a base for future missionary enterprises. With Wheelock's help, Kirkland was commissioned by the Missionary Society of Scotland and granted a sum of £20 per year. The commission made him an official missionary; the woefully inadequate salary sentenced him to near poverty.<sup>5</sup>

The Samuel Kirkland who began his Oneida mission in early August 1766 was no garden variety frontier preacher bent on saving a few lost souls. Instead, he was part of a religious movement that swept through the English colonies on the eve of the American

Revolution. Revivals of one sort or another had long been part of colonial life. Awakenings periodically shook the religious landscape from Connecticut to Virginia. No revival was more powerful than the Great Awakening of the 1740s. That sacred earthquake shaped Samuel Kirkland's beliefs and behavior. Both Kirkland's father Daniel and his teacher Eleazar Wheelock were what opponents of the awakening derisively called "new lights." The "old lights" defended sober, orthodox, and communal ways of belief. Not so the new lights. They emphasized the notion of the solitary believer standing naked before an all-powerful, all-knowing God. Family and community meant nothing as the sovereign God tried and tested each sinner. The new lights had a deep concern for personal, inner faith. Lost souls had to shuck off evil ways, confess faults, and stand alone to accept God's judgement. New light theology demanded a constant round of rituals to repent, confess, and be re-born. Only then could there be personal regeneration and salvation. Kirkland's theology of the solitary sinner and the angry God stood in stark contrast to more communal Oneida ways.<sup>6</sup>

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Considering his previous Seneca failure and his unattractive theology, Samuel Kirkland should have met with nothing but disappointment at Oneida. And surely his first weeks were not especially promising. Kirkland settled in Oneida country some sixteen miles from Ft. Stanwix (present-day Rome, New York). There he built a house and hacked out a path to the fort. Having established himself at his mission post, Kirkland may have thought

that eager listeners would soon come flocking to him. His apprenticeship among the Senecas should have taught him patience and lower expectations.

In fact Kirkland came to the Oneidas at a particularly troubled time. Oneida life was wracked by problems both internal and external. The endless round of forest wars had taken their toll on Oneida ranks. Despite the steady adoption of captives, Oneida numbers were not gaining. A declining population seemed to intensify the factionalism and political squabbling that was now so much a part of village life. Long before Kirkland arrived, Oneida politics was marked by bitter divisions between warriors and sachems. Chafing under the restrictive leadership of the sachems, warriors young and old allied themselves with Kirkland. The missionary quickly grasped the significance of the sachem/warrior split, writing that warriors paid little attention to the wishes of the sachems.<sup>7</sup> Kirkland did more than simply understand factionalism. He gave the warriors an ideological foundation for their politics, a sense of legitimacy that further intensified the bickering.

Thinning ranks and political in-fighting were only two of ~~the troubles that plagued the Oneidas. Poverty - the gaunt face~~ of hunger - was ever-present during the 1760s. One of Kirkland's converts put that hunger in memorable words. "The scarcity of provisions in our Nation and everywhere around us, and among the White people too! - We are afraid we can't keep together and our Nation will be broken up and dispersed."<sup>8</sup> A second convert, an

elderly man near starvation, saw the hand of an angry God in his suffering. "I sometimes almost believe," he cried, "the great God has put his curse on us."<sup>9</sup> And Kirkland himself, surrounded each day by the unmistakable signs of privation, gave what he could from his nearly empty larder. Listening to Cneidas sing and pray in these times, he could only write, "the burden of their song is their poverty."<sup>10</sup>

Kirkland might have added that the burden in the Cneida song was made heavier by the presence of alcohol. David Kunjaukoo, a sometime Iroquois christian, put the liquor question in deeply personal and emotional terms. "I believe I have injured myself by Rum. It is a murderer. I know not how I came to love drink for from my youth I was always averse to it as you well know. I believe the divisions, disturbances and unusual thirst for drink which has almost destroyed our town, first set me into it."<sup>11</sup>

Faced with all these problems, both Kirkland and many Cneidas believed that some dramatic transformation of tribal life was necessary. Some Cneidas turned to a renewal of old ways and a revival of the white dog ceremony. Kirkland had a dramatically different approach to Cneida troubles both spiritual and material. Like most missionaries, he believed that religious conversion first required cultural transformation. Cneidas had to become more like the best of their white neighbors before moving to the higher ground of personal salvation. That meant radical changes in daily life, economy, and politics. Kirkland was no slogan-maker, but he might have easily proclaimed, "more ploughing, less hunting;



more praying, less dancing; more sobriety, less carousing.

Kirkland was not alone in these demands. Onondiyo, one of the mission's most ardent supporters, once exclaimed that "the God of the white people must be the God of the Indians also."<sup>12</sup>

Supported by warriors like Shenandoah and Onondiyo, Kirkland preached the gospel of the plough and the book. He was convinced that a complete reliance on farming would end poverty and elevate Oneidas in the eyes of God and their white neighbors. If Oneidas were busy tilling the ground, Kirkland was sure they would have less time for contentious politics and demon rum. And many Oneidas, fearful of the future, shared this sober vision.

Farming and prohibition were important parts of Kirkland's Oneida program but its centerpiece was Indian education.

Missionaries had long believed that the school was every bit as important as the church in the war to gain converts. Education could erase the Indian past and prepare native people for a Christian, white world. Kirkland and many of the Oneida believers saw the classroom in just this way. While native people today see education as a means to rescue and advance a cultural legacy, Oneida Christians in Kirkland's time hoped that a European curriculum would prepare their children to cope with a hostile world. The Oneida chief Laulense put it best. He had come to present his son Isaac for the first session of Kirkland's Hamilton-Oneida Academy. "The strongest wish of my heart," he said, "is this, that he [Isaac] may attain the knowledge and love of God, that he may possess true goodness in his heart, that he may get

into that path, which will certainly lead him to a happy life in the next world."<sup>13</sup>

Influenced by Wheelock and More's Indian Charity School, Kirkland had long planned an Iroquois academy. In 1791, in the wake of the destruction wrought by the American Revolution, Kirkland presented his "Plan for Education for the Indians." The missionary envisioned his Hamilton-Oneida Academy as a small school with only two students each from the Oneida and Seneca tribes and one each from the Onondagas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras. He intended to take no Mohawks! The course of study Kirkland planned reflected his notion about the future for Indians in general and the Iroquois in particular. Indian students were to study reading, writing, and agriculture. Like Wheelock, Kirkland believed that learning English was an essential survival skill all Indians needed. Instruction was to be in English and white students were to be admitted to provide role models for Indian pupils. Throughout the 1790s Kirkland pursued his dream academy. In 1792 the school was chartered by the state of New York. But funding remained elusive. It was not until July 1794 that the cornerstone was finally laid. The ceremony was a time for speeches and prayers, but of course no Indians sat on the academy board of trustees. For all Kirkland's commitment to Indian education, the plan was dogged by one disaster after another. A fire destroyed the first building and despite a prompt rebuilding the school faltered. In the late 1790s the fortunes of the Hamilton-Oneida

suddenly changed. But the price was a dramatic shift in direction. The school now became an institution for white students only. Like Harvard and Dartmouth, colleges that had promised Indian education, the Hamilton-Oneida Academy lost its original mission.<sup>14</sup>

Kirkland and other missionaries believed that what they called "civilization programs" - education, agriculture, and moral reform - were essential foundations for Christian life. But of course the real mission goal was conversion. To that end Kirkland preached hundreds of sermons and answered thousands of often penetrating questions. In his preaching to Oneidas and their neighbors Kirkland remained faithful to the themes in new light theology. Over and over he spoke about the need to confess personal evil and accept the transforming grace of a just yet loving God. Kirkland never preached pabulum nor did he sugar coat his message in order to win converts. His was a harsh, unflinching indictment of what he saw as the shortcomings in Oneida life.

How Oneidas responded to Kirkland is worth considerable attention. Those he and his supporters labelled "the Pagan Party" either ignored the missionary or did what they could to disrupt his meetings. Oneidas who sat through the long sermons had reactions much like those whites who attended similar awakenings. Oneida meetings were punctuated by much weeping and singing. Some sighed while others groaned at the mention of a particular sin or moral fault. On occasion an Oneida might fall to the floor as if in a trance. When Kirkland asked about such behavior, he

was told that divine power had struck and "carried them quite beyond themselves."<sup>15</sup>

Preaching, singing, and praying were supposed to be the means to conversion. And when conversion came for an Oneida it carried a special agony. Accepting Christianity meant at least a partial rejection of much that was old and familiar. Kirkland did not ask his followers to commit cultural suicide but he did ask them to be a people set apart. And the emotional price could be very high. A middle-aged Tuscarora man said that Kirkland's preaching made "a hole and a sore" in his heart.<sup>16</sup> An Oneida woman declared that her old mind had been killed by the new light. For some of Kirkland's hearers it seemed as if God had two minds. They had been given one set of teachings by French Catholics and a very different set by the Protestant Kirkland. The Oneida chief Tagawaron put the dilemma eloquently. "You white people tell us two different commands of God, as though God had two minds." Tagawaron admitted that he had been persuaded by the teachings of the Canadians. Now hearing Kirkland, he was confused. "We don't think that your way is wrong," said the sachem, "nor do we say the old way is wrong, but both right." Desperate to make sense of competing theologies and practices, Tagawaron pleaded with Kirkland to "tell us the very pure word of God without any mixture of human invention."<sup>17</sup>

Samuel Kirkland never intended that his congregation hear comforting words. His sermons were never soothing and only rarely did he offer reassurance. Kirkland was self-righteous, arrogant,

and not a little pompous. His temperament was as uncompromising as his sermons. What he gave the Oneidas and their neighbors was forty years of often unrewarded labor. What was the measure, the result of that labor? Kirkland did disturb the peace. He angered many sachems who rightly saw him as a threat to their power. What Kirkland wanted was to give the Oneidas a life boat, a set of survival skills for the coming storm. He wanted them to change in order to survive. Kirkland did not expect that either the change or the storm would be easy to ride out. Kirkland's friend Shenandoah often spoke about the need for "a general reformation."<sup>19</sup> An Oneida woman whose name Kirkland did not record put it all in more personal terms. She had heard the missionary speak about the biblical character Nicodemus and the need to die and be born again. The notion troubled her and she "made trial of every thing [her] heart could devise." Finally she accepted by faith the strange idea and proclaimed "now my heart rejoices in that way." This woman had not ceased being Oneida. What she had evidently found was a way to accept and made sense of a world increasingly narrow and hostile. As she said to Kirkland, "my old mind seems to be dead and I seem to be alive in God."<sup>20</sup> Nothing could have pleased Samuel Kirkland more than this.

Reference Notes

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2. James Ronda and James Axtell, eds., Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).
3. Pilkington, ed., Kirkland Journals, p. xvii. See also James Axtell, The European and the Indian (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), pp. 87-109.
4. Pilkington, ed., Kirkland Journals, p. 24.
5. Ibid., pp. 40-41.
6. Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 1-15.
7. Pilkington, ed., Kirkland Journals, p. 67. The best analysis of Oneida factionalism is in Jack Campisi, "Oneida," in Bruce Trigger, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), pp. 482-83.
8. Pilkington, ed., Kirkland Journals, p. 164.
9. Ibid., p. 167.
10. Ibid., p. 164.
11. Ibid., p. 344. See also pp. 298, 391.
12. Ibid., p. 227.
13. Ibid., p. 271.

14. Ibid., pp. 189-193.
15. Ibid., p. 251.
16. Ibid., p. 69.
17. Ibid., p. 74.
18. See the angry exchange of letters in 1775 between Kirkland and Guy Johnson in Pilkington, ed., Kirkland Journals, pp. 105-110.
19. Pilkington, ed., Kirkland Journals, p. 298.
20. Ibid., p. 69.

Bibliographical Note

Samuel Kirkland has not yet found a modern biographer. That gap has been only partially filled by the 1930 publication of Kirkland's journals, ably edited by Walter Pilkington. Also valuable for Kirkland's mission are the following collections:

James Sullivan et al., eds., The Papers of Sir William Johnson, 15 vols. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921-1965.

Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 15 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1853-1887.

The Eleazar Wheelock Papers, Dartmouth College Library (microfilm edition)

The Papers of the Continental Congress, Library of Congress (microfilm edition)

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Essential background for Kirkland's mission can be found in Jack Campisi, "Onsida," in Bruce Trigger, ed., Handbook of North American Indians: Northeast (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1973) and Barbara Graymont, The Iroquois in the American Revolution (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972).



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### Education

BA., 1965 Hope College, Holland, Michigan

MA., 1967 University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Ph.D., 1969 University of Nebraska-Lincoln

### Employment

Assistant Professor, Department of History, YSU, 1969-1975

Associate Professor, Department of History, YSU, 1975-1980

Professor Department of History, YSU, 1980-present

### Publications

#### Books

Lewis and Clark Among the Indians.  
University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

John Eliot's Indian Dialogues: A Study in Cultural Interaction.  
Greenwood Press, 1980

Indian Missions: A Critical Bibliography.  
Indiana University Press, 1978.

A Teacher's Guide to the American Revolution.  
Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Committee,  
1975.

#### Books in Progress

Astoria and Empire: The Clash of Cultures and Nations in the Pacific Northwest.

The Delaware People: A Three Hundred Year Bibliography.  
to be published in 1985 by Scarecrow Press.

### Articles in Scholarly Journals

- "'A Chart in His Way' Indian Cartography and the Lewis and Clark Expedition," Great Plains Quarterly, January, 1984.
- "'The Names of the Nations': Lewis and Clark as Ethnographers," We Proceeded On The National Journal of the Lewis and Clark Foundation, November, 1981.
- "Frazer's Razor: The Ethnohistory of a Common Object," We Proceeded On The National Journal of the Lewis and Clark Foundation, August, 1981.
- "Generations of Faith: The Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard," William and Mary Quarterly, July, 1981.
- "Hendrick Aupaumut and the Struggle for Stockbridge Indian Survival," American Indian Culture and Research Journal, Fall, 1979.
- "Beyond Thanksgiving: Francis Jennings' Invasion of America," Journal of Ethnic Studies, Summer, 1979.
- "The Sillery Experiment: A Jesuit-Indian Village in New France," American Indian Culture and Research Journal, Summer, 1979.
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### Essays in Collections

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- "Black Robes and Boston Men" Chapter One in a new Indian history textbook edited by P. Weeks and to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

"Lewis and Clark and Enlightenment Ethnography," in W. Willingham, ed., Exploration and Science in the Pacific Northwest, Portland, 1984.

"Lewis and Clark and Native American Cartography," in G. Moulton, ed., Mapping the Northern Plains, University of Oklahoma Press, 1985.

"'Singing Birds': European Perceptions of the Delaware People," in H. Kraft, ed., The Second Delaware Indian Symposium, Harrisburg, 1985.

#### Papers Presented at Scholarly Conferences

"Red Men and Black Robes: Jesuits, Indians, and Culture Contact in New France," Ohio Academy of History, April, 1974.

"The Missionary as Cultural Revolutionary: Two 17th Century Examples," Great Lakes Regional History Conference, May, 1975.

"'We are Well As We Are': An Indian Critique of Early American Missions," Ohio Academy of History, May, 1975.

"New Directions in the Study of Colonial Indian-Mission Relations," Case Western Reserve University, History Research Seminar, October, 1975.

"The Christian Mission and Native American Cultures," American Studies Assn., International Convention, November, 1975.

"Red Founding Fathers--Indians and the Crisis of the American Revolution," Ohio Social Studies Assn., April, 1975.

"The Perils of Ethnocentrism and Ethnohistory," Great Lakes Regional History Conference, May, 1976.

"An Ethnohistorical Perspective on Indian Missions," Mid-America Regional History Conference, September, 1977.

"Francis Jennings and the Indian Invasion of Academe," American Society for Ethnohistory, National Conference, October, 1977.

"The Invaders and the Invaded," American Historical Association, National Convention, December, 1977.

"Expanding Horizons in American Colonial History: A Comment," Organization of American Historians, National Convention, April, 1978.

"The Lamb in the Wilderness: Indian Responses to Moravian Missions in the Old Northwest," Ohio-Indiana American Studies Conference, April, 1978.

"Indian Leadership in the Early 19th Century: The Case of Hendrick Aupaumut," American Historical Association, National Convention, December, 1979.

"Godly Ministers and Pious Children: The Christian Indians of Martha's Vineyard," American Society for Church History, National Convention, December, 1979.

"Ethnohistory and Exploration: Lewis and Clark and the Teton Confrontation as a Test Case," Laurier (Canada) Conference on North American Ethnology and Ethnohistory, October, 1980.

"Singing Birds": European Perceptions of the Delaware People," Delaware Indian History and Culture Conference, March, 1981.

"The Names of the Nations": Lewis and Clark as Ethnographers," Lewis and Clark Foundation, National Convention, July, 1981.

"American Indian Education Past and Present: An extended Commentary," Western History Association, October, 1981.

"Lewis and Clark as Pioneer Field Ethnographers," Western History Association, October, 1982

"Ohio as Found: An Experiment in Historical Geography," University of Dayton/OPH Symposium, November, 1982.

"Buffalo and Bundle: The Indian Search for Power on the Northern Plains," Wright State University Humanities Lecture Series, January, 1983.

"Lewis and Clark and the Rise of Western Ethnography," College of William and Mary, February, 1983.

"Vermillion Seas and Shining Mountains: Some Thoughts on the Exploration of North America," Institute for Early American History and Culture, February, 1983.

"Toward Pacific Margins: Rethinking Western Exploration," Simpson College (Iowa) Visiting Scholar Lecture Series, March, 1983.

"A Chart in His Way': Indian Cartographers and the Lewis & Clark Expedition," Center for Great Plains Study Symposium on Mapping the Northern Plains, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, April, 1983.

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~~"The Great Mart of this Country': Native American Trade Networks and the Lewis and Clark Expedition," Second Laurier (Canada) Conference on North American Ethnology and Ethnohistory, May, 1983.~~

"Lewis and Clark and the Enlightenment Ethnographic Enterprise," Lewis and Clark College/NEH Symposium, February 1984.

Invited Participant, National Endowment for the Humanities 1992 Columbus Quincentennial Planning Conference, Wingspread Center, October, 1984.

"Astoria and Empire: The Origins of the Pacific Fur Company," Fifth North American Fur Trade Conference, Montreal, May, 1985.

## Research Grants and Awards

- 1972 YSU Research Council Faculty Grant
- 1974 YSU Research Council Faculty Grant
- 1975 National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend
- 1975 Newberry Library Research Associate
- 1975 Ohio American Revolution Bicentennial Commission Research and Publication Grant
- 1975 Watson Distinguished Professor Award
- 1979 University Distinguished Professor Award
- 1979 YSU Research Council Faculty Grant
- 1980 Major Grant YSU Research Council
- 1982 University Distinguished Professor Award
- 1982 University Research Professorship
- 1984 National Endowment for the Humanities Travel to Collections Research Grant
- 1984 University Research Professorship
- 1984 Nomination, The Pulitzer Prize in American History
- 1984 Nomination, The Ray A. Billington Prize in American Frontier History

## Scholarly Organizations

Organization of American Historians  
Institute for Early American History and Culture  
Western History Association  
American Studies Association  
Society for Historical Archaeology  
American Society for Ethnohistory  
Ohio Academy of History  
~~Phi Alpha Theta, National Honorary Society in History~~

## Book Reviews in Scholarly Journals

I have reviewed books in the areas of American Colonial history and American Indian history for the American Historical Review, The Journal of American History, The William and Mary Quarterly, The American Indian Quarterly, The Journal of Ethnic Studies, Ethnohistory, American Indian Culture and Research Journal, Ohio History, Labor History, Choice, and Reference Quarterly.

## Courses Taught

Undergraduate: Lower Division, American History Survey, 1400-1877

Undergraduate: Upper Division, Colonial America  
The Era of the American Revolution  
Comparative North American Frontiers

Graduate

Seminar in Historical Methods

Seminar in Colonial North American Indian Ethnohistory

Seminar in Colonial North America

Seminar in the American Revolution

Tutorials in Early American History

Other Scholarly Activities

Panelist and Consultant, National Endowment for the Humanities

Manuscript Referee, University of Nebraska Press  
William and Mary Quarterly  
Ethnohistory  
Pacific Historical Review