

New York Indians in Milwaukee

Abstract

This original concept for this study was simple; conduct a study of the Indian experience in Milwaukee with a focus on the years between 1900 and 1950 to counter the idea that Indians were an anachronism in modern life- especially in cities. However, the dominating and overwhelming presence of Wisconsin Oneida in the city of Milwaukee over other long-standing tribes in the Wisconsin area, begged the question as to why the Oneida seemed willing and able to exploit the city while the other long-standing Native groups were not. When I tried to connect all the activity of Oneidas in Milwaukee to the personal understanding of community members and the literature on the Oneida, three things stood out that are interrelated.

One is a pervasive, academic and community narrative that describes the Oneida of Wisconsin as those among the Iroquois who desired to become white, while another is unrelenting claims by the Oneida of their contribution to the American Revolution and their commitment to the American project. And finally, there is a profound lack of anthropological attention of traditional aspects of Haudenosaunee culture such as leadership, diplomacy, alliances, expansion, and adoption- all of which the Oneida have practiced with the urban environment. I hypothesize that the Oneida, rather than becoming white, allied themselves to the Americans when other options of autonomy had closed, and that the urban Oneida who successfully exploited cities were simply exhibiting traditional skills they have been using with other Indian groups and Europeans for a documented 450 years- although in the urban setting these skills appear white to anthropologists and historians rather than a refined traditional practice. I propose a case study of the Oneida of Wisconsin in Milwaukee and other cities that will challenge the current academic understanding of Oneidas and whiteness, while expanding our ideas of traditional cultural categories.

Introduction

"At one time we wanted to be white people" was how an Oneida tribal member recently explained to me the tribal division and move to Wisconsin beginning in 1822 of a group of Oneida, one of six member nations of the Iroquois Confederacy- the Haudenosaunee of the New York area. My fellow tribal member's comments reflect an evolving historical narrative within the community of Wisconsin Oneida where tribal institutions encourage cultural revitalization through the restoration of "traditional" government like the clan system, ancient ceremonies, and a re-elevation of the role of corn and agriculture. However, a narrative on antiquity and culture leaves little room for the history of the urban experience for Oneida people, and given my fellow tribal member's disparaging comment, the problem is more than a lack of information.

Voluminous anthropological work on the Iroquois describe the Oneida experience as one of gradual acculturation in the 19th century, with a concurrent forfeit of identity, imposed on the community due to the loss of communal land holdings, first in New York, and again at the end of the 20th century in Wisconsin. With the lack of information on urbanism and Indians, current historical tribal projects take their cue from these works, and what little attention is paid to the urban environment is negative, and implies again,

that those who moved to urban centers were much less culturally connected as there is no evidence of "traditional" practices in the city. Within this context, urbanism means White as it is assumed that successful urban adaptation is an embracement of white society over Indian society by Oneida tribal members.

After reviewing the literature of the Oneida, and examining primary resources such as treaty testimony, interviews, surveys, census manuscripts, and Iroquoian material culture, I believe Oneidas used the urban environment primarily for its resources of work and education as well as a place to express expansion and leadership and to build alliances, and that the majority of those who migrated were no more estranged from their culture than those on the reservation. Furthermore, I argue urban migration was not, and is not, antithetical to Oneida traditional values, as Oneidas in the city continued to use the skills they have practiced for hundreds of years in diplomacy and expansion- not just for themselves, but primarily for the benefit of the tribe as a whole. Iroquoian values before and after contact are described in the literature as fundamentally instrumental, encouraging the expansion and strength of the nation through leadership and reciprocal, or kinship obligations, alliances, travel, and adoption. These values and skills have been crowded out of not only tribal historical projects, but the general Indian literature which more typically looks for remnants of Iroquoian culture such as council protocol, ceremonies and curing practices.

However, the historical Iroquois Confederacy in the literature were best known for their mediation (some would say meddling) with other Indians and imperial Europeans, and their often-violent methods of incorporation or intact adoption of outside groups. Indeed, historical proximity of the Iroquois to nascent America is one of the reasons for the volume of work on the Iroquois. After 450 years of documented diplomacy with other Indian nations and European nations, Iroquois people, for better or worse, think of themselves as "Big Men," those self-selected men who were "raised up" outside of the hereditary leadership process through oratory, or military skill, and who influenced the people in a good direction or brought useful alliances to the League doorstep. These "Pine Tree Chiefs" and War chiefs are the direct ancestors of the group that supported the American Revolution, organized the move to Wisconsin, and whose descendants led the way to Milwaukee and other cities advancing the causes and needs of the tribe, while organizing and speaking for other Indian groups in the city.

These leaders felt a congruency with the emergent American scheme in the late 19th century that, coupled with a severe contraction of their collective and personal autonomy, led them to choose Americans over their traditional alliance with the British. Constant demands on the Haudenosaunee to choose a side- whatever side- coupled with widening Indian/colonialist population trajectories weakened the unifying strength of the Haudenosaunee League, and federated Indian brothers devolved into village constituencies with increasingly conflicted loyalties and obligations that had been modified through the structural obligations of the League. By the time of the American Revolution the Haudenosaunee land base, particularly the Oneida's, was under intense pressure from settlers and land speculators and they became the new eastern flank of the Iroquois exposed to colonists. The Oneidas, like the Mohawk and British before them, developed relationships with the emerging power in the New York area- the Americans.

Additionally, the Oneida were the nation within the Confederacy appointed to host newly adopted tribes, and their adoptees by the time of the Revolution, and immediately after, was a series of nations who had been forced to remove from their more eastern homelands and were resigned to the strategy of accommodation over resistance. In the absence of a strong Confederacy the Oneida reconstituted a set of alliances on the eve of the Revolutionary War with the other pro-American groups such as the Tuscarora, members of the "praying" mission of Caughnawaga, principal chiefs from the town Oquaga, and other warriors from the Onondaga and Mohawk. Immediately following the War, amalgamated Christian tribes from the eastern coast such as the Stockbridge and Brothertown, who had been allied with the Oneida for many years prior, moved on to Oneida land, receiving land grants. The more eastern groups had channeled their Native notions of adoption and incorporation by embracing "the offer" by whites of Christianity and farming, while hoping as a group to survive the imperial wars taking place on their former homelands. It is with these groups the Oneida form an alliance during the unstable time of the Revolution, and later, intermarried and lived with the Oneida as relatives in Milwaukee in the 1920s and 1930s forming an enduring alliance between them that exists yet today.

Although Oneidas are often reported to have traded their traditions for Christianity, not much is said of their ability to work the urban environment to their advantage, while collectively fighting to maintain and grow their community. The descendants of those who supported the American Revolution emigrated to Wisconsin and then to Milwaukee. When faced with nearly losing everything twice due to land loss, they responded with migration first to Wisconsin- and then to urban areas- but primarily Milwaukee, because it was close enough to exploit with relative ease, and not so far away from home that one became too alienated from kin, nation and identity. In Milwaukee and other cities like Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles, Wisconsin Oneida used the skills they have been practicing for hundreds of years, such as diplomacy, leadership, and alliances, while unconsciously promoting the values of the Haudenosaunee such as expansion and travel. Urban Oneida receive no recognition for these skills as historical and anthropological studies do not list or study these cultural traits, perhaps because they seem like assimilated traits to non-Indian academics who are unintentionally looking for difference.

Historical Method

Anthropologist William Fenton, the most well-known and prolific non-Indian of those who have studied the Iroquois has said,

"The prophet who would succeed among the Iroquois must speak in ancient tongues, he must use old words, and he must relate his program to the old ways. He is a conservator at the same time he is a reformer. All of the Iroquois reformers have been traditionalists. This is one of the reasons the Iroquois culture has survived so long."

We can appreciate Fenton's words although many Iroquois traditionalists have publically fought with Fenton and his mentees since the 1990s, and that fight itself became fodder for a few journal articles. Fenton, the "Dean of Iroquoian studies," fathered a group of anthropologists, ethnologists, and historians in the 1950s called "Iroquoianists" through

today who narrowed their studies to the Haudenosaunee, producing a body of work so large the Iroquois have been called the "most studied," "over-studied," or a "model" of how to study any one group of people. The method Fenton developed is concerned with the "problem of stability." Growing up in upstate New York, Fenton meets many Iroquois people and he is fascinated by the fact that despite all the wrenching changes they have been through, the Iroquois people he meets exhibit cultural continuity. The method he develops to probe this continuity, or stability is "upstreaming." Upstreaming uses information from a present, or more known situation and applies it to the more fragmented and murky past. One of the best-known examples of this method in an urban environment is a study of the relationship between the work-party methods of Mohawks who are legendary in "high steel" to the war-party techniques of the Mohawk's less-known past.¹

Connecting the Revolutionary past and urban present situations of the Oneida has explanatory power for both periods (what one author has called "downstreaming"). Upstreaming the situation of the Oneida in urban areas, particularly Milwaukee, illuminates what may have happened in the less-documented time of the Revolution, and explains why the Oneida and their alliances would turn against the British, while the balance of the Haudenosaunee were unwilling to support the Americans. Constant claims of the Oneida of their service and friendship to America have gone unrecognized, not just by the American government, but by Fenton's mentees who instead focused on the Oneida leaders "positive attitude" towards whites, ignoring I believe, their own upstreaming tenets. For instance despite anointing white missionaries and rogue warriors as the main protagonists in the move to New York, Oneida oral tradition valorizes women and Oneida- not white leaders. There is little upstreaming evidence in Indian traditions that white individuals were the loci of belief or inspiration, although there is evidence that white institutions such as Christianity and capitalism were incorporated, sometimes with enthusiasm, and sometimes with resignation. I hypothesize the Oneida made a political, economic, and hence, a spiritual decision to join the Americans as brothers, not with a chain of friendship as was offered by the autonomous Confederacy to imperial powers in the past, but as adopted brothers to the Americans when Iroquoia was overwhelmed by white pressure and population dominance in recognition of their new conditions.

Upstreaming is also in a sense "downstreaming" because the method connects two time periods through items of stability that can imply what was important in the past will be reflected in the present. In the case of urban Oneida the items that connect the two periods are themes such as the Revolution, but also the values or skills of expansionism, leadership, diplomacy, adoption, travel, and alliances that have been long-documented cultural precepts of the Haudenosaunee shown in traditional teachings, the five League wampum protocol belts, and ancient metaphorical stories and images of these Indians. In the urban environment in Milwaukee there is evidence of these Haudenosaunee cultural precepts as Wisconsin Oneida leadership managed reservation/federal issues from the city, reached out to other groups in Milwaukee such as socialists, churches, universities and the museum, all the while living around and

marrying Indians from their post-Revolutionary alliances like the Stockbridge and Brothertown.

Additionally, the Wisconsin Oneida blended Indian/white traditions both on the reservation and in the city which is further upstreaming evidence of the American effect rather than the white effect. For example, the reservation established their pow-wow on July 4th following years of "open houses" by the twin chiefs of Oneida reservation on the day, while urban Oneida incorporated American culture like piano singing and ballroom dancing into their traditional Indian gatherings since the 1920s, and publically argued their loyalty and commitment to America as early as the 1930s when very few Indians were living in Milwaukee.

Most important in this study using the method of upstreaming is the refutation that the Oneida wanted to become white. This little-challenged theory of Iroquoianists holds that Oneida war chiefs looking for prestige outside the hereditary system ignored the needs of the nation as a whole, and pulled the Oneida into the American system, which officially "doused" the ancient Confederacy council fire as the nations could not agree on whom to support. These Oneida leaders are said to have been "devoted" to white missionaries and influenced by their "nefarious" aims for either American glory, or for their ambitious plans as leaders of an Indian empire in the Wisconsin area. However, even Iroquoist Barbara Graymont whose book remains the last word on the Iroquois and the Revolution notes this only as an "interesting theory" that has not been seriously tested since the original claim in 1974, but has been recycled and embellished in studies over the years.²

Knowingly or not, traditional Oneida have accepted this notion of betrayal and whiteness and have begun a fervent search for "traditional" practices to counter the Oneida storyline of un-Indianess. Some holes have pierced this turn-to-white narrative, and even within the secondary literature it is possible to piece together a far different story than the Oneida betrayal to the Iroquois Confederacy through slavish devotion to whites. However, the plot-line is still alive in recently published works, unchallenged, with critical implications for the economic and cultural well-being of the Wisconsin Oneida community. For instance, recently, the New York Oneida community has begun to insist that the Wisconsin Oneida became so assimilated that they do not deserve to be part of the land claim suit the three largest remaining Oneida settlements have been jointly pursuing (the first land claims suit in U.S.) since 1916.

Arguing through the upstreaming method is difficult as it requires a comfortable familiarity with both long stretches of history and the cultural characteristics of the group under investigation in order to glean those items of cultural stability. With a focus on the Oneida, the following brief Haudenosaunee historical narrative divides into roughly three time periods in order to help the reader assess the hypotheses of the proposal. The first section is about 500 years of Iroquoian history up to the point of the American Revolution with an emphasis of those characteristics that are later evidenced in the Wisconsin Oneida in the urban environment; the second section is the period of time that forms the actions of the individuals and groups that come to support the nascent American idea, and the third moves quickly forward to the Oneida in the urban setting where the reader will begin to see some continuity of culture using previously unexplored

categories such as alliances and leadership.

Following the historical narrative, the literature section will both survey the importance and impact of Iroquoian studies, and then introduce the new categories of culture such as leadership or adoption that will be further explored through this proposed study. This section uses the work of the Iroquoianists, the literature written by Haudenosaunee traditionalists, as well as Oneida oral traditions and their material culture to make the case that these unacknowledged cultural precepts are ancient, traditional, and ignored by Iroquoianist authors, and traditional and progressive Oneida historians alike. Reflecting William Fenton's belief that those who wish to be heard among the Haudenosaunee "must speak in ancient tongues, he must use old words, and he must relate his program to the old ways," this study will use the language, stories and material culture recognized by the traditional Oneida coupled with the information and analysis of the Iroquoianists to argue the Oneida urban experience was not simply an act of assimilation.

Historical Narrative

Pre-Contact to Early Contact

The Oneida of Wisconsin are one of the original five Native groups that belonged to the Iroquois League, or the Haudenosaunee- "People of the Longhouse." The Longhouse is literally the long, large housing structure that held 10 or more families living physically together, but who had relative autonomy over household decisions. The Longhouse is a physical, geographical, and metaphoric representation of a social structure that is expressed from the micro level to the macro. One can move from the micro, or household level, to the clan, village, the tribe, and to the Iroquois League, all while practicing the interdependent principals of autonomy and consensus- in the sense that tribal, village and personal autonomy were completely respected (people from all nations were free to make decisions that were different than those of their tribal group such as during the Revolutionary War), while their obligations and duties under the clan system was absolute.³

Men assigned by women met at the League level in a manner best described as an "attuning" towards unity and consensus - to be of one mind over matters that affect all. For instance, the Thanksgiving Address that precedes each intra, or inter-nation Council is a long list of that which is to be appreciated, ending each section with the refrain "now our minds are one." Over time the Iroquois learned to leave alone matters that reflected deep divisions, thus preserving the attitude of unity. Unity was not an altruistic motive however, as a deep, if spare unity of many people and groups provided for the health of all through ties of related people, and knowing one's place in the world through connections that spread beyond their household, village or tribe was necessary, and not just a matter of good manners. A useful analogy is to imagine Iroquois society as a body whose health relies on the robustness of alliances or relatives that spreads outward in connections whose obligation to the community is clear. The body is central, but expansion through alliances allows the body to pull in the resources that keep it healthy.

Ancient Haudenosaunee looked outward, and their cosmology of expansion and outward-looking is reflected in their metaphoric language and cultural adaptations for incorporation. Starting with their alliances between the Five Nations, they developed the

Great Law of Peace that intertwined the groups based on clan relationships. Through their "longhouse" or "whole house" they could "extend the rafters" to include all who would take "shelter beneath the White roots of peace" and the "spreading thistledown" of the "ever growing" "Great White Pine" that shelters the heart of the body politic. The Haudenosaunee idea of peace and prosperity was dependent on the encouraging all in their world to take part in their society whether by becoming incorporated as a captive, joining them intact as a new group, or by having an alliance with them through the "Chain of Friendship."

The alliance of the Five Nations was the original application of their kinship system that ties and binds ever-outward and was logically extended to Europeans using the metaphoric device the "Covenant Chain." The chain of friendship was extended to any individual or group who would temper and *increase* the communion and health (prosperity) of peoples while preserving their inherent rights of freedom. The chain could be "rusty", and need "brightening" or "polishing." A system of alliances makes strangers' family and the political arrangements the Haudenosaunee sought from contact on are best viewed within the context of this desire for both freedom and prosperity through pragmatic familial ties, rather than as affection for any particular group or their ideology. The example of the Covenant Chain is an exemplar of the twin nature of autonomy and obligation that so defines the Haudenosaunee world view. Clear and consistent obligations to one's sister, her children, to village council, to intra-tribal Grand Council, or to imperial associations meant all individuals were taken care of and therefore all peoples had more freedom to pursue personal needs such as dream quests or skills specific to the individual or "party" (usually called factions) like diplomacy or negotiation- always with the health of the body politic in mind.

Balance is a guiding philosophy and is expressed in most Haudenosaunee tales, which like many ancient stories are flexible enough to be reinterpreted as times change, and can be contrasted to History, which is more a fact-based, chronological interpretation of events. The preoccupation with balance through social relationships can be traced to life before the Kaianeraserakowa- the Great Law of Peace which was brought to the Haudenosaunee when they fell into constant war, blood feuds, and cannibalism in very early times. Deganawidah - the Peacemaker- joined with Hiawatha and Jigonsaeh (a symbolic woman as one who had control of the food/health of the people) to give up war, and give the deer and corn an elevated and proper place as sustenance over humans. The Great Law was the foundation for the association of groups formed by the Peacemaker to end warring and cannibalism and to promote peace and prosperity between them. The primary concepts of the federated League were Ne' Sken no, or Health; Ne' Gai'ihwiio or Rightousness; and Ne' Gashasde sa- Popular Sovereignty. Health is often referred to as Peace, or the ability for prosperity of the people through Peace after much warring, Righteousness, or ethical behavior in implementing social justice, and Popular Sovereignty, or bowing to the will of the people and the concept of public safety, or defense.

First to accept his message was the Mohawk, then Oneida, Seneca, Onondaga, and Cayuga. Their order of acceptance of the Law is reflected in the number of feathers they wear on their heads during ceremonies or social dancing. The Peacemaker had

particular difficulty persuading a fierce, Onondaga warrior to the Great Law. Snakes, representing Tadadaho's "bad mind" were combed out of his hair (the comb is significant Iroquois symbol), and he was made Firekeeper and Onondaga became the central fire of the League. As Central Fire the Onondagas meditate the issues brought to the Council meetings. The Mohawk preside over the eastern "door" of the house, and the Seneca guard the western door. Both are the "elder brothers" of the five groups hence their protective physical positions and their right to bring issues to Council. The younger brothers are the Cayuga and the Oneida who react to issues brought forth to Council, and the two sets go back and forth ("toss it back across the fire") until an issue is settled. Their council positions matched their geographical settlement in the New York area.

In order to unite the warring groups, the Peacemaker instituted a clan system called "moieties" by anthropologists from the French word *moitie* meaning "half." Power is equalized by clans (which also were further sub-divided) facing each other across the council. In this way one's representation was theoretically no more encouraged by nation than by clan, which cut across all nations. Iroquois people date the League to about 1100, while the more political form witnessed by Europeans at contact is thought to have developed due to contact around 1450- the over-all date preferred by Iroquoianists. Matters of the League were generally centered on the Condolence Ceremony that was conducted in Council whether with Europeans or other Indian groups- and any group can call a Council whether White or Indian. The ceremony reiterated the agreements between all alliances, "wiped the tears" of those who grieved a death, and "raised up" another chief (fifty in all) in their place if necessary, plugging the holes in their intertwined clan system with roles for newcomers with families, with obligations and duties, while relieving the vengeance of those who had lost part of the "body" that would cause imbalance if not "covered" by a new replacement.

The early Haudenosaunee were very concerned with population numbers as groups with low numbers were not healthy. Low population numbers meant obligations would be unfulfilled at the household level, representation would be poor, or perhaps vacant at the League level such as before the Revolution, and Haudenosaunee health or strength in relationship to the outside world would be tenuous if numbers dipped too low given that population dominance can more easily persuade both friends and enemies to negotiate.

The Oneida village world was similar to other Haudenosaunee nations in that they were socially and politically centered on the matrilineal unit of a matron and her descendants. Ties were strongest between a woman and her daughter, and sons stayed close as they were expected to take care of her children as well. A spouse is often temporary, but a brother or a son is forever. Uncles and aunts were as important, if not more important than fathers given their place within a particular line. Grandparents were indulgent and affectionate. Clan mothers chose partners for daughters and sons at the household level, while clan matrons choose chiefs and could (and still can) remove them at the tribal level. Oneida lineages were exogamous (marry outside one's lineage) through the clan system so there existed a wide, intricate network of social obligations, or reciprocity based on marriage as well as blood, and clan relationships. This exogamous nature of ties played outward to serve as bond between the clans, between nations of the

Haudenosaunee, and symbolically in non-kinship contexts such as relationships with other Indian and European nations.

The Haudenosaunee are a matrilineal society in that federal matters to discuss are hatched in the village councils under clan matrons, and are handed to clan-matron-appointed men to discuss in Grand Council. So for instance, women were responsible for "putting the horns on the chiefs," as they give direction to the activity of the men. This "facing" of genders is in keeping with the facing of clans as an effort to balance gender differences as well as nation differences. Women logically preside over the "clearing" or village, the realm of household and sustenance, while men preside over the forest- the realm of hunting and diplomacy. Within the clearing women ran things, while men constantly searched for a "fire" or sustenance from women. Horticulture was controlled by women under the direction of elderly women on fields that belonged to specific "matrilines" who then controlled the distribution of crops, and food in general. In the longhouse a matron cooked food in a "single pot-" an important metaphor for most eastern tribes- and distributed it to others who carried it home for those in their biological unit.

Men concerned themselves with hunting and trapping. They carried on an active trade cycle with neighboring tribes and then later with Europeans. Men were responsible for doing the heavy work such as building and maintaining longhouses and protecting the stockade (fencing around the longhouse), clearing land for crops, as well as making containers and tools for the village. They conducted the Edge of the Woods ceremony for instance, where all participants cleared the channels of communication in order to come to one mind about matters before entering the village. Male leaders fell into one of three groups: village chiefs or Peace Chiefs, Warrior Chiefs, or Pine Tree Chiefs. No Chief is more important than any other in keeping with Haudenosaunee notions of balance- "all trees are the same height." Peace chiefs were usually older ("trading the hatchet for the staff") while a Warrior's duties were primarily to find adoptees for the holes in the clan matron's line. Although the hereditary system provided the leadership for the village, a later adaptation allowed that young men could rise outside of it through military or oratory skills- often through the recognition of women in the village- and were given the life status of Pinetree Chief (lalutan' une?- "he guards the tree) in reference to the Great White Pine where hatchets and other symbols of war are buried between the member groups. While all these leaders had prestige and were allowed to keep some of their booty or items acquired from their influential ties, they had no authority over people so they needed oratory skills or strong ties of influence ("a friend between them") to contrive consensus or direction of their parties.

From 1600 to about 1700 Oneidas lived in one village with "tribe and community being nearly synonymous." Before 1900 population was probably less than 1,000 among the Oneida who were "the least populous, the proudest, and the most insolent of all" the Iroquois (according to a French priest in 1645). Warfare was intermittent affair over territory with Algonquin Indians but with the introduction of the fur trade in mid-century "warfare became the paramount activity of the tribe" as they fought along-side with other Iroquois for trade dominance. Population depletion was a concern during this time as the women in the village needed to maintain the economic and social roles and

responsibilities of obligations in maternal lines. The desire to replace dead relatives in social roles led to "mourning wars" where clan matrons "cried out" for captives to adopt inside the tribe, and warriors, whose main duty was to find adoptees, tried to feed the demand. In this time period, Haudenosaunee strength radiated outward so that the "Oneidas alone took furs, booty and captives from the St Lawrence River Valley to the Carolinas, and together with other Iroquois their influence extended west to Green Bay and Illinois, while to the south they held control through Pennsylvania."⁴

Post-Contact- Loss of Autonomy for the Iroquois and Oneida

Early in the 18th century white settlement in the up-state New York area close to the Haudenosaunee bloomed and the objective of Europeans changed from fur trade to land acquisition- usually as a way to pay for service to the Crown and increase their sway over other imperials on the continent. By the 1770s the most eastern group- the Mohawks- were dispossessed of their land and they spoke to the Oneida about moving to their territories, but later split into groups and moved to Upper New York and Canada. The Mohawk were intermarried and very connected to the British, while the other elder brother- the western Seneca- were somewhat connected to the French and desired friendships with western Indians connected to the Franco/fur trade. Although the Mohawk moved out, they remained part of the Confederacy and attended to their duties. There was no discussion of assimilation of the Mohawk because ancient Haudenosaunee balance would be disrupted. Similarly in the 1600s when disease killed two-thirds of the Oneida population the Mohawk helped them repopulate by living with and marrying Oneidas. To reinforce their numbers over the years the Haudenosaunee, through war (captives) or invitation brought in Conoy, Delaware, Huron, Mesquakie, Nanticoke, Saponi, Susquehannock, Tutelo and others. The Tuscarora were eventually incorporated intact as a group, without a vote, but with a voice in Council through the Oneida, and the Iroquois became the "Six Nations" as of 1722, but most Tuscarora settled around the Oneida after the Revolutionary War.

In the academic literature it is generally accepted that within the Oneida community the dialectic between the needs of women or the village, and the desires of men using forest diplomacy resulted in an emphasis on the skills of the warrior at the expense of the sachem, or Peace Chief as white contact increased. These younger men were drawn increasingly into the realm of the "forest" with its diplomacy and relationships with European crowns and merchants, and the missionaries that worked for them. These authors usually say they did this for community and not for individual accumulation, but the contradiction between new circumstances and old customs resulted in a change in status for younger men in charge of dealing with increasingly white alliances over Indian. As the forest world came to dominate the village, it has been argued the status of women degraded concurrently. The League, which never preformed ideally as there were endless inter-League disputes to negotiate, began to serve a more political function. The demands of Europeans for a central force of authority put focus on what came to be called the "Confederacy" (instead of the League), and its' Council meetings became a place for whites to focus on their economic interests, rather than the important recitation of wampum belts that renewed the agreements between alliances at every Council facilitating the attitude of unity.⁵

Revolution Comes to Iroquoia

"The Central Fire is extinguished..."

The support for the Revolutionary War of the Americans by the Oneida has never been well explained in the literature. Iroquoisist Barbara Graymont in 1972, and again in 1988 merely says it is "difficult to sort out," while traditionalist Barbara Mann in 2005 feels it was "act of self-preservation" by Oneida males, who ignored the female order of neutrality from most of Iroquoia. Mann adds that those Oneidas who professed loyalty were "lap dogs of the Americans." Both Mann and Graymont agree though, that the famous Council Fire was not "doused forever" due to the support of the Americans by the Oneida, but was "covered" because agreement could not be reached within the League and therefore each alliance was free to go in the direction that made the most sense for them. The Fire could be renewed when another matter was brought before them as it was in 1779 at Canadesaga. The Central Fire of Grand Council had been covered several times in the League's history due to an inability to agree, and the 1777 matter was such a time. However, Onondoga, the keepers of the Central Fire, had lost three principal headmen through disease in the winter of 1776-77 and they reported through Oneida at Fort Stanwix that "We have lost out of their Town by Death ninty [sic] out of which are three principals Sachems; We the Onondauguas Do now inform our Brother that there is no longer a Council Fire at the Capital of Six Nations. However we determined to use our feeble Endeavours to support peace through the Confederate Nations But let this be kept in Mind that the Central Fire is extinguished...and can no longer burn."⁶

In the literature the Oneida defect from the Confederacy because they have become devoted to white missionaries over their relationship with fellow Haudenosaunee, and that the Oneida defection put the final nail in the coffin of the weakened Confederacy- "covering" the fire forever. None of this information adds up to a logical explanation for the events that split the unification of the Haudenosaunee because the arguments about Iroquois dissension are contradictory allowing for authors with different agendas to imply motives of Indian people. Traditionalists like Mann emphasize the durable nature of the Fire, the Council, and Haudenosaunee autonomy, but it is impossible to ignore the fact that the Six Nations never recovered the level of agreement or coexistence that existed prior to the Revolution, while Iroquoianists like Graymont seem unable or unwilling to discern the motives of those who supported the Americans preferring to relate a monolithic "Iroquois" story although the Haudenosaunee were never in that much agreement when it came to war. What does come through the literature is the unstableness of the time, the fragility of the League, and the resoluteness of those that support the Americans.

Honyere Doxtator

With the Mohawk dispossessed of their land by 1770, the Oneida became involved in the activities of the central white group of the time living in their area. Like the Mohawk before them who became fast friends with the British- intermarrying and adopting with them- the Oneida formed relationships with those whites at their door-step. They had long leased tracts of land to colonists who were "poor" and in desperate circumstances, and the Oneida wanted to become landlords "like their white brothers." They also had alliances with other groups such as the Tuscarora who had been granted

land by them, and had dealings with the Stockbridge, and Brothertown- all of who leaned towards the Americans after years of resignation and accommodation. And too, the Rebels used words and had notions of liberty so like their own Iroquoian precepts. Current Haudenosaunee academic work has blossomed around the idea that America borrowed, or was at least inspired by Iroquois ideas of autonomy and freedom, if *not* by their ideas of unity and obligation. Elaborating this theory will be part of this study, but there is already ample evidence to support the suggestion that the development of an American character of freedom and liberty was at formed in part by over two hundred years of diplomacy between the Iroquois and the British- some of whom became colonists who eventually rebelled against the Crown.⁷

The Rebels organized the Continental Congress which appointed Indian commissioners, and as soon as the Tyron County Militia was formed in 1775 Oneida men enlisted and began serving in an intelligence capacity. Honyere Doxtator was the leader in this effort and he recruited many other Oneidas from his settlement- many from his family- as would have been typical in village politics. Wisconsin Oneida tribal historian Loretta Metoxen has created a genealogy tree showing most Wisconsin Oneida descend from this one man- Honyere Doxtator- or Tewahongaraghkon and his wives. At least two of those wives are known through Doxtator family history –Dolly Colbus and Lucy Tauder. Honyere was a captain in the Revolutionary War under Jacob Klock and Nicholas Herkimer. Honyere lived in the Oneida settlement of Orisata-aak- or Oriskany and became friends with white colonists in the Tyron County Militia who were living close by then to the settlement. Other academic accounts during this time point out the proximity of white colonists to the Oneida as the Mohawk have been dispossessed of their land on the eastern flank of Iroquoia, and have suggested that as white settlement encroached on Iroquois lands, new relationships between Oneidas and whites were formed. Indian/White relationships were not new to the Iroquois of course, but what was new was the declining effectiveness of the League of the Haudenosaunee.⁸

Honyere was not a chief, but appeared to be a person of some importance as many of his family continued to seek service and stature beyond Honyere, which has become the modern proxy of hereditary status- a familial and generational promotion of individuals to community service without the official title of chief.⁹ As soon as the Militia was established in 1775, Honyere and others enlisted, and many rose to the rank of officers- Honyere became captain and his brother a lieutenant. On June 29, 1775 the Tyron committee held a conference (not a Grand Council -already in decline) with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and with leaders from the settlements of Caughnawaga and Oquaga. The Oneida went to Albany and encouraged the Americans to “rekindle” the Central fire there in order to draw the “Six Nations” and the Americans closer. Americans at the Council in Albany in August asked only of the Iroquois their neutrality, while hinting at the improved trade and gifts forth-coming from them if victorious.

The Cayuga and Onondaga chastised the Oneida for paying more attention to the Fire in Albany than the ancient Fire in Onondaga due to their “well-known attachment” to the colonists, and most of the rest of the Haudenosaunee told the Oneida and their allies would betray them in time. The Oneidas however, already felt betrayed as they have given up the important Oneida “Carrying Place” portage in the treaty of Fort

Stanwix of 1768 between the Iroquois and the British through William Johnson, long friend of the Mohawk and Iroquois as a whole. The Oneida- like all other Haudenosaunee groups- were continually and increasingly disappointed in their inability to negotiate decent, profitable trade relationships through the British. This was a grave problem when one considers the Iroquois tenant that “the trade and the Peace we take to be one thing,” as peace and prosperity are intertwined in the Great law. While the Mohawk relied on British trade connections in their new homes, the Seneca began to strike deals with the French and the Onondaga were interested too. William Johnson’s death in 1774 would have pulled hard at the old loyalties under new conditions although an Oneida chief was chosen to lead the Condolence Ceremony to raise up a new chief (Johnson’s nephew Guy Johnson) in his place.¹⁰

Although Tuscarora settled around the Oneida as early as the 1720 it was not until just prior to the Revolution that Oneidas fully embraced the strategy of whole-group adoption (perhaps because the League had less influence to pressure groups to incorporate as individuals by this time) for their own safety by reconstituting a confederacy of sorts by forming an alliance with several non-Confederacy groups and individuals of influence. The League was always better in concept than reality (like American democracy), and the inability of the federated League practicing reciprocal obligations to survive the practice of personal accumulation of capitalism doomed many “traditional” groups around the globe- and not just the Iroquois who had little with which to practice expansion, having run out of resources and people to aid in their growth. The centralizing strength of the League of the Haudenosaunee became ineffective in resolving disputes by the time of the Revolution. The fur trade was long gone in the east as Indian land diminished, and hunting became poor. The Iroquois ran out of tribes to raid for adoptees and internally village clan matrons had diminishing recourse to “dry their tears” as they tried to plug holes in the system of obligations that is the heart of the Haudenosaunee societal organization. Grand Councils became more hurried affairs and increasingly the belts and the ancient agreements between ‘brothers’ of all nationalities went unread and chief positions went “uncondoled,” as they became places to negotiate White economic interests. By 1775 Haudenosaunee resources were scarce, the eldest brothers the Mohawk were gone, Americans were gaining ground, and the Central Fire of the Haudenosaunee was becoming irrelevant within the new world order.

New Alliances for the Oneida

In June of 1775 the Oneida simultaneously took several actions. They officially declared the neutrality of the Iroquois, offered their service to the newly formed “Patriots” within the county militia of Tyron County- signing up as quickly as their white neighbors, and formed an alliance with Indian groups other than those within the Confederacy. Ironically, the interpreter and signer of the declaration of neutrality for the Confederacy is Jacob Reed an Oneida, pointing out both the familiar Iroquoian strategy to avoid trouble while preparing for its possibility. From 1775 to 1777, the Oneida appear to have served mainly as spies for the Patriots- “warning of intended hostile acts, and urging the Americans to secure the countryside.” In June of 1776 Oneida warrior chiefs surprised their pastor Samuel Kirkland by confiding that they had formed a defensive alliance with the Tuscarora, Caughnawaga and Oquaga settlements in case of attack and

were resolved that if the others join the Kings party they would die with the Americans in the contest.”¹¹

The settlements that forged this alliance were an interesting mix. The Tuscarora had joined the League in 1720, but did not move into the area fully until the 1780s. The Caughnawaga (Praying Indians of Quebec) settlement was formed around 1667 by the French after many Mohawk and Oneida converted to Catholicism and left the League although they remained allied. Caughnawaga is the only Mohawk settlement in America, and the only reservation with territory on both sides of the U.S./Canadian border. Oquaga was a settlement (“a melting pot for the Six Nations,” or “the cosmopolitan Indian town”) in southern Iroquoia with a fort and a mission that schooled many Oneida and Mohawk children. Although primarily a town that supported the British, Oquaga was represented by two important Oneida chiefs and was home to James Dean- a white interpreter who grew up among the Oneida in Oquaga and was considered very fluent in their language. Dean was an associate of the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, the missionary to the Oneida who was said to have won over warriors in his dedication to the American cause. Oquaga was considered a military base for the British as it was also home to Joseph Brant, a Mohawk who a major role in rallying support among the Iroquois for the British, so the alliance of the Oneida was not with settlements in whole, but with specific groups and individuals within any particular settlement.¹²

Oneidas, along with their alliances of groups and individuals provided intelligence, fought in several battles, and participated in many campaigns during the fight for American independence. Honyere Doxtator and Oneida warrior chief Skenandoah functioned as spies for the Americans prior to 1776, while Honyere and about 60 others made a difference in the Battle of Oriskany in 1777 holding the British to a stalemate. It is this battle where traditions hold Honyere’s wife Dolly fought alongside men loading her husband’s gun in between her shots when he was shot in the wrist. After accepting the war belt from General Phillip Schuyler, 150 allied Iroquois fought in the Battle of Saratoga demonstrating to the French the possibility of American victory over the British. The alliance also fought in the Battle of Wyoming Valley, and Barren Hill under Lafayette in 1778 and the Battle of Newtown in 1779. When Washington suffered defeats in Philadelphia and was in winter quarters at Valley Forge starving, Oneida and Tuscarora oral tradition hold that Oneidas came with 100 bushels of corn supplied by Polly Williams and her brother-in-law Skenandoah. Polly was said to have cooked and fed the army without accepting payment, but was later awarded a shawl and hat for her services, and the shawl is with the New York Oneida today. Another of Honyere’s wives was said to have picked up a sword that General Washington threw down in disgust after a battle loss, thinking to surrender, but she “rebuckled” the sword on him, and then rode 40 miles for reinforcements. She was supposedly awarded a personal land grant for her gallantry.¹³

After the war the British discarded their Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca allies quickly as did the Americans of their Oneida and Tuscarora allies. At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War the border between America and Canada was drawn through Iroquois country in the Treaty of Paris (1783) without their consultation. Determined to destroy the Tory element within Iroquoia, Washington ordered the total

destruction of Iroquois lands in 1779. Sullivan's brigades torched about 40 villages destroying at least 160,000 acres of corn, thousands of fruit trees, and nearly every home of the Iroquois under the theory that "nits make lice." As predicted by their League associates, Oneidas and their allies fared no better than other Haudenosaunee and they fled to Schenectady, returning to find their homelands burned to the ground. Between 1785 and 1842 New York State entered into over 30 treaties with the Oneida Indians and they were defrauded of somewhere between 5 and 6 million acres of homelands, with most lost before 1820.¹⁴

Intra-territorial and boundary claims between the American charters (states) bordering New York gave the Yorkers good reason to attempt to negotiate with those Indians in their region that cemented their claim to the area over other colonies. The Oneidas- as the most eastern group- were logically the first for fraud. Although not allowed to negotiate with Indian tribes without the presence of federal officials (primarily because the federal government needed land to pay war debts), New York threatened the Oneida with loss of protection if they did not sell land. To keep the peace Oneidas first sold 100 acres (and were never paid the full amount), and New York gained preemption to a vast area where they had the most tenuous claim. The Oneida then nearly lost their land in a private lease between the Livingston Company and a few Oneida, but for their own self-interest the New York legislation threw out the agreement and empowered Governor Clinton to negotiate with the Oneidas, Cayugas and Onondagas.

Clinton told the Oneidas that he wished to only protect their lands from whites, and suggested the if Oneidas lease their land to the state they would receive an annual rent. Good Peter (originally from Oquaga) - the Oneida chief who brokered the deal- was grateful to Clinton and thanked the commissioners for saving their home. When Good Peter found out the deal was not a lease but an "instrument of cession" he said: "We had expected from the Governor's love to us, his intention was to recover our lost and drowned country, and restore it to us- saying- 'Here brothers, take your lost country, and repossess it.' He did not say 'I buy your country.' Nor did we say- 'We sell it to you.' Later treaties gave power of attorney to a small segment of the tribe, who then signed in the name of all Oneidas.¹⁵

Reverse Adoption or Accommodation vs. Resistance

By the time of the Revolutionary War, the Iroquois as a whole had survived four waves of imperial interest- the Dutch, the French, the British, and primordial Americans, or colonists. Their circumstances had slipped from robust autonomy to relative dependency. This is not the dependency of using metal pots over earthen ware however, but a dependency born of extremely low population numbers, especially when compared to whites, and community devolution into parties without robust, sovereign leadership. Haudenosaunee strength diminished in a manner the Peacemaker could have predicted- from the loss of unity from within the League of the Haudenosaunee. Arguably, this loss of unity was not just the result of lack of will under new economic choices. In that case one would expect Iroquois people could be "peeled off" one-by-one, defecting from the League and assimilating as individuals into the new economic reality. But that is not the story in the record. Instead we see groups amalgamating and remaining Indian. For instance the Stockbridge are an amalgamation of several east-coast groups from the

Hudson River area that were removed to Massachusetts and became reverently Christian. Their leader of the time (1805) Chief Hendrick Aupaumut spent most of his life was devoted to the American cause, and to convincing more western tribes to try accommodation rather than resistance, because from his position he saw no alternative. In his memoirs Aupaumut offers:

“All the [Indian] nations who thus rejected Civilization and Christian religion, and embraced the wicked practices of the white people, were poor, and finally became extinct from the earth. But on the other hand, all the good Indians who accepted the offer of the good white people were blessed. So far as they were faithful, they prospered, and the remnants remain to this day.”

Although likely born to Mahican (Mohican) Christian parents in the mission town of Stockbridge, Aupaumut was not ignorant of the dealings of whites:

“In all my arguments with these Indians [more western], I have as it were oblige to say nothing with regard of the conduct of the Yorkers, how they cheat my father, how they [have] taken our lands unjustly, and how my fathers were groaning as it were to their graves, in losing their lands for nothing, although they were faithful friends to the whites...I say had I mention these things to the Indians, it would aggravate their prejudices against all white people.”

Aupaumut was resolute in support for the Americans although American support for Indian groups in the record -Christian or not- was irregular and unreliable. However, Aupaumut and others like him who chose accommodation over resistance understood the tenets of adoption even if his white counterparts did not; when you joined with brothers they remained brothers in obligation, and that obligation was complete as it was not really a choice but a last resort. Indeed, leaders like Aupaumut believed Christian Indians were more virtuous than worldly whites, partly because he considered Indian fellowship similar, but superior to Christian fellowship in that one was never bereft in their society.¹⁶

As the nurturing brother of the Haudenosaunee, the Oneida were responsible for the “new strings on the cradle” of the League, and they were tagged to shore up the eastern side of Iroquoia with the more acculturated “New England Indians” and “Connecticut Indians”- including the amalgamated Stockbridge and Brothertown, (includes the Mohegan, Pequot, Narragansett, and Montauk) who were given land tracts around Oneida settlements immediately after the Revolutionary War. These more eastern native groups had adopted Christianity as a method of accommodation- a strategy to survive as collective Indian groups. This method of accommodation looks somewhat like adoption in reverse- that is those Indians facing overwhelming white pressure were not adopted by Americans, but they used their idea of adoption to *adopt themselves* to Americans who favored Christianity and farming as proof of their assimilation. However, Indian accommodation was always on their terms in the sense that they re-incorporated as Indian groups rather than individuals, and they preferred to modify white precepts to reflect the vitality of the community who finds vitality and strength in numbers. An example of this modification is Christian hymn singing in their own native language- still important and practiced by the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brothertown.¹⁷

Oneida Move to Wisconsin –

Daniel Bread

Although desire for land was the primary outside pressure on Oneidas following the Revolutionary War, their internal structure was ravaged creating other problems. Oneidas were surrounded by whites- outnumbered due to disease and starvation, and suffering from social disintegration which took the form of fighting, gossip, witchcraft and alcohol- the very evils the Seneca Handsome Lake and his Code tried to reduce among the Iroquois during this time. Oneida population plunged to 600 in 1800 while white population in the area increased from less than 2,000 in 1790 to 83,000 by 1825. More people than the Oneida were in trouble. All Haudenosaunee groups were dealing with epidemics of yellow fever and tuberculosis, and after Washington's call for the destruction of Iroquoia there were no food stores available for either whites or Indians. Pressure to cede land was constant and insistent whether through private enterprise or government force, and usually they were one and the same. Individual farming was a foreign concept to the Iroquois who relied on matrilineal crops within the clearing that was shrinking by the day, and although the Oneida wished to be "landlords" like their white brothers, speculators had bigger dreams for the transportation possibilities the Oneida land held. Starvation was the primary problem of these years however, and whites in the area were in similar circumstances. Their minister Kirkland related a visit from one elderly Oneida in 1789:

"Father," said he, "I am almost discouraged. I am afraid God is angry with us Indians. We are reduced to extremity. Never was such a time with us Indians. We are very hungry and almost starved. I sometimes almost believe the great God has put a curse on us. It may be for the sins of our forefathers and that is the reason we can't [sic] live like white people. But I am not angry with the great God. We Indians are poor creatures. We don't conduct wisely. My family have not tasted any bread, or meat, for many days; nothing but herbs and sometimes small fish. I am so weak I can't hoe my corn. I have been travelling all day among white people, but they can't give me any thing. I have two shillings in money but they won't look at it. I did not like to come to you, because you help so many, but I can't go home to my poor children, unless I carry them something. You will help us if you can because you pity Indians."¹⁸

Many Indian groups, especially those east of the Mississippi, divided into "pagan" and Christian factions following the Revolutionary War. Pagan constituencies felt if Indians had attended to the customs of their ancestors perhaps they could have rode out the consequences of white contact, while the Christian factions argued the difficulty in navigating the new world with strategies and beliefs formed within a different economic order. Just as Americans are broadly divided by liberals and conservatives, so too are the Haudenosaunee divided by progressives and "traditionals." Oneidas (and many other east coast groups) call their factions "parties" (unlike Iroquoianists who invented "faction") and progressive members of the "First Christian Party" were officially partitioned from the members of the "Pagan Party" in New York by 1805. This division was re-established in Wisconsin where they settled into two main communities (through constituencies from

eight "neighborhoods") that, under the leadership of their Christian leader Daniel Bread, were able to function with some form of unity with Wisconsin's white Indian agents.¹⁹

Daniel Bread or Tekaya'tilu was born in 1800 in New York and had made a name for himself in the 1814 Battle of Sandy Creek along with a military detachment of over 120 irregulars- mostly Oneidas and a few Brothertown, Onondaga, and Stockbridge Indians. Bread was only fourteen but had grown up hearing of the exploits of Oneidas in the Battle of Oriskany, and of their admiration and affection for Marquis de Lafayette who recruited Oneidas for the Battle of Barren Hill in Pennsylvania in 1778. Bread came of age during a period of social and political crisis for the Oneida, and he is the main figure responsible for their success in establishing a new home in Wisconsin.

As a Pine Tree Chief Bread was known for his military exploits, his oratory skills and written speeches (one was reprinted in "Last of the Mohicans"), and as a "runner" for the tribe- a very trusted person who serves the village council as a "conduit for the conduct of essential business for the tribe." Bread, in agreement with nearly every member of the Oneida, did not want to leave his homelands. In 1809 chiefs of the First Christian Party wrote to Albany officials pleading for a moratorium on land cessions, and asked how would they would "like that we [Oneidas] should buy the town of Albany from a few of any white men we could persuade to sell it. And if we then come and take it whether you be willing or not[?], [concluding], "We feel when we are hurt, just like white men."²⁰

Hurt or not, Oneidas, along with most Indians in any vicinity of land speculation, were considered an anachronism in modern life, and threat to the welfare of whites who were encouraged to settle on the "frontiers" of Indian boundaries to hasten Iroquois assimilation and land cessions. Oneida and other Iroquois land cession profits fueled the Empire State's rise as New York turned around and sold their acreage for 7-10 times what was given to the people, sometimes within the same week. The Oneida were some of the first pushed out by the newly federated America that ironically mirrored the federation of Haudenosaunee groups (see literature review) although they had wished to rent land like whites, a similar strategy to adoption. Reminding the government of Oneida's service to the American cause, they asked for time to prepare for their move. The Pagan Party converted to the Second Christian Party, and both parties converted to Episcopalian through a new minister in their midst- the Reverend Eleazer Williams- a Mohawk who took over after Samuel Kirkland's death in February of 1808.

Although Williams is generally credited with the move of those Oneidas under his spell, current accounts tend to downplay the effect of missionaries while increasing the attention of Indian action. Iroquois people seek out and respond to "a friend between them" as leaders or as those who can get them what they need from those in control and are willing to go along with their program, and it does not seem logical that a whole community would move from everything they had known just because of one man's desire as it is usually written (also discussed in later section). From an upstreaming point of view, oral tradition does not hold any missionary, as especially esteemed, and Oneida tradition remembers Williams as Bread's "assistant." Oneidas are on record of being adamant against leaving and fought amongst themselves about the cessions and moving according to treaty addendums. Additionally, tribal historian Gordon McLester is looking

at treaty information that the move to Wisconsin was acceptable due to prior relationships developed between Oneidas and the more "western" Indians that is contained in a speech Bread gave during negotiations. This study has found some additional support for the possibility due to Indian-forged relationships in the previous century at the time of the Iroquois 1701 Grand Settlement in Detroit- an attempt to negotiate with western Indians in the fur trade, but also there is an equally compelling argument that the Stockbridge may have "prepared the path" for the Oneida. These hypotheses will be part of the studies' investigation, and the Stockbridge alliance is expanded in a later section.

Most accounts of the move to Wisconsin gloss over the lead-up and move to Wisconsin saying Williams "quickly converted" the First Christian Party to Episcopalians and the Pagan party to Christians and they moved to Wisconsin only to lose most of their land during allotment. Authors seem in a hurry to move from one set "nefarious" bad dealings and characters in New York to others in Wisconsin as evidence of a good yarn rather than tell the story of the move from the Oneida perspective. The alliance of "New York Indians:" the First and Second Christian Party Oneida, Brothertown, and Stockbridge Indians, eventually agreed they had little choice but to move and negotiated three treaties with the Menominee and Winnebago over a eleven-year period between 1820 and 1831. The Wisconsin Oneida homelands were not secure until 1838 and even then there was a new threat of being removed to Kansas in the 1840s. Speculators in New York like those of the Ogden Company wanted them out, while speculators in Wisconsin like founding father James D. Doty were part of, and backed by, the same actors of New York who had re-channeled their speculation from furs- to transportation, timber, and land- first in New York and then westward- down the Great Lakes to Michigan Territory. These actors interceded, colluded, and fought with various federal officials under the emerging policy of removal (although voluntary removal at this point was preferred) as to the best place to dispose of the Oneida and other Iroquois, occasionally cancelling each other's desires out such as when the Ogden Company fought to have the Oneida's first removal agreement upheld, while Michigan Territory speculators like Doty attempted to renege those treaties of 1821 and 1822 between the New York Indians, the Menominee, and the Winnebago by manipulating the Menominee.

Bread and a small group of First Christian Party members were chosen by the tribe to explore and negotiate with the Menominee in 1820, but they became stuck in Detroit with no passage "up the lakes" and therefore no ability to secure a land trade as agreed between them and New York. They sent a formal protest to Lewis Cass the Territory's governor asking him and President Monroe to "remove these obstacles out of the way that your children might benefit and gain respect for the rule of law." Leaders of the First Christian Party and Stockbridge negotiated treaties in 1821 and 1822 with the Menominee. In the original treaties the New York Indians received the right to jointly occupy 4 million acres with the Menominee similar to an offer they had extended to other tribes like the Ojibwa and Sac, and the Siouan group who kept returning home here in Wisconsin despite removals- the Winnebago, or Ho-Chunk. Speculators protested, because they (perhaps rightly) assumed the large tract would beckon all the New York Indians and possibly others on the east coast to settle a new Indian Nation in the heart of

the country that was fast becoming more popular with speculators than their original homelands.

While the debate raged, Bread negotiated with New York to sell two tracts of land to enable them to purchase lands in the Territory and over 100 Oneidas and as many Stockbridge moved to Green Bay led by Bread and his family in 1829 where he learned Chief Oshkosh and the Menominee were challenging the legitimacy of the original treaties negotiated by Williams. Most accounts implicate "trappers," or the white spouses of the Franco-Indian relationships that led to the establishment of a quasi-Indian group- the Métis as the noisiest agitators against the Menominee-Oneida agreement. A white theologian and journalist Calvin Colton visited the relocated New York Indians in 1830 and noted the controversy was a conscious policy whereby "one set of Indians was set in array of the other, for the destruction of the rights of the both" as the ultimate goal of converged interests was to create a state out of ceded Menominee lands of Michigan Territory. While this continued an Oneida- Neddy Archiquette- led another group to Green Bay settling at Little Chute on the Fox River. In 1825 another wave settled at Duck Creek and eventually the two communities merged and the Duck Creek settlement remains the loci of the Wisconsin Oneida Reservation.

Knowing that speculators wanted Iroquois out of New York, Bread used their need for Oneida removal to argue against tampering with Oneida agreements with Menominee (he often followed the fight to Washington at his own expense) and to secure additional funding to move more New York alliance Indians to Green Bay to bolster their settlement. After two prior treaties with the Menominee a third was finally settled, and the Oneidas in 1832 ceded 200,000 acres on the northeastern side of the original tract for 500,000 acres on the southwest side from Duck creek to Lake Winnebago. On October 29th Oneida, Stockbridge and Menominee leaders shook hands over the deal at John Arndt's tavern in Green Bay, agreeing to "forget and forgive."

In 1836 John Freeman Schermerhorn- the Indian agent responsible for removing the Cherokees became the agent for the rest of the Iroquois removal and although he did not finish his tenure due to the experiences of the Cherokee, his activities influenced the New York Buffalo Creek Treaty of 1838 that reduced the Oneida land base in Wisconsin- again. With Wisconsin Territory established in 1836, the Indian Territory of later Kansas became the next logical place to dump Indians east of the Mississippi. The Five Civilized Tribes, the Delaware, Shawnee and Ohio Seneca (Wyandots), and the Cayuga were already removed there, and the Seneca were defrauded of all remaining lands other than a one-mile reservation to the Ogden Land Company while relinquishing their rights to Menominee land for a 1,824,000-acre reservation in Kansas. The Oneida had their own treaty arrangements for many reasons, but most important is they were promised different conditions than other Iroquois groups from the newly formed America under George Washington, agreements which were re-negotiated with three different presidents, but they were none-the-less held to the agreements between the Seneca and the federal government.

Quakers interceded on behalf of the Seneca and helped negotiate an amendment to the treaty- the so-called "Compromise" Buffalo Creek Treaty of 1842 regaining the Allegany and Cattaraugus for the new political entities of the Seneca, but not Buffalo

Creek (which had become the center of Haudenosaunee society after Sullivan's march) and Tonawanda Reservations (in 1856 the Tonawanda Seneca were allowed to buy back a small part of their reservation from the Ogden Company). Because no more New York Indians were to settle in Wisconsin Territory the Oneida reservation lands were reduced to 65,654 acres or 100 acres for every member in Wisconsin at the time under the terms of the treaty. Indian claims stemming from the Buffalo Creek Treaty were not settled until 1890- although the Oneida and other Iroquois groups claim these agreements do not affect their original claims of illegal New York ownership of Iroquois lands because the treaty does not extinguish those original New York claims, only the early agreements between the Menominee, Ho-Chunk, and the Oneida.

Oneidas in Wisconsin

Oneida, Stockbridge and Brothertown individuals migrated in waves to Wisconsin sailing on lake packet boats from New York to Detroit, up through Lake Huron and then down through Lake Michigan to La Baye, or Green Bay. The first wave was made up of about half Stockbridge and Oneida, and traditions claim the Stockbridge and younger chiefs of the First Christian Party wanted to move more than most Oneidas, but that inter-marriage with Stockbridge and deteriorating relationships with New York appointees persuaded the Party to move. Most of the remaining Oneidas moved to either Green Bay or Canada convinced by New York officials who according to tradition similar to the Wisconsin Oneida, threw money for their New York lands at leaders who were told to pick it up and leave as soon as possible, "or suffer the consequences." In Wisconsin Oneidas settled into two distinct groups as in New York with constituencies from eight different neighborhoods identified by Basehart in 1952:

1. latinatakuha-ka "the village people." People of the south end, centering on the Methodist Church.
2. katsya?ohaleha-ka- "fish-out up people." A settlement in the southwest of the Reservation. The name is said to refer to a wooden fish nailed to a pole.
3. tatsmaha-ka "Dutchman's people." People near the south boundary of the reservation.
4. tiksaha-ka "Dixon's people." People living in the part of the reservation near the town of West De Pere. The name is derived from the surname of the white proprietor of a favorite trading store.
5. talu?kowanha-ka "Duck Creek people." The settlement centering around the Protestant Episcopal Church.
6. latihulahela?a-ka- Their guns are set up people." People of the north-central part of the Reservation. The name is said to refer to a trap for deer which made use of a trigger device for discharging a gun.
7. tekahsokaha-ka "people between its lips." A group in the northeast corner of the Reservation. The name is said to be based on analogy with Green Bay and its peninsula conceived as lips.

One was conceived as either a Southender or Northender with the First Christian Party falling mainly in the Duck Creek settlement- Northenders, and the Methodist Party represented by the Southenders. According to Campisi much of social and economic life centered on these neighborhoods. The neighborhoods both competed and cooperated. They helped each other build roads, clear fields, plant and harvest crops, while they

competed to represent each party as the better one. Campisi understands this form of activity as a continuation of the factions that were the result of social disintegration in New York although another interpretation is possible.²¹

Parties and Representation

Reading through the material on the Iroquois one begins to suspect that “parties,” or factions were the norm of Haudenosaunee life rather than the exception, while the lack of leadership of constituencies was the primary problem that resulted in social disorganization. Indeed Iroquois people often tell this to ethnographers although ethnographers do not give the idea much validity (see Hauptman 2007, pg 117). A good example of this theory is the relative peace between people on the Oneida reservation after the move to Wisconsin until the era of allotment at the end of the century. Between the years of 1832 to 1852, Daniel Bread and his Methodist counter-part Jacob Cornelius unofficially and officially forged a pact to administer to the health of the nation while competing to be considered the superior faction that benefited the nation as a whole. This duality of social competition/cooperation between constituencies under Bread and Cornelius is similar to the claim of Campisi and Basehart when discussing neighborhood factions, and can be extrapolated to clarify the nature of the Haudenosaunee League and its success and failure as an institution elaborated in the following sections. The academic theory that the League broke apart due to their inability to agree on the American Revolution or how to deal with whites is difficult to reconcile with the historic social nature of the Haudenosaunee as described by those same authors, who always describe Iroquois social relations that are competitive and aggressive, yet autonomous and flexible, and operating within familial lines, or philosophical lines that are handed down through families.

The Indian to English translation of different social positions into “parties” begs further study as most east coast Indians used this word to express their social differences, and the dictionary associates parties and leagues as coming from the same language wellspring. Indian parties are groups with a “voice” (another word used to describe Iroquois community membership) and who are represented by a dedicated leader and is dealt with at the village level, while the Grand Councils were for national issues. In the pre-contact period parties did not compete for control as League structure already determined and balanced representation, but those who brought more to the league doorstep had superior rights such as the Mohawk with their “bright” chain of friendship with the English, and who were usually referred to by fellow Haudenosaunee as their “eldest” brother-and who were said to have the most influence if not representation.

Given the data, more logical is the idea that Haudenosaunee social character is by personality and temperament a collection of lineages that both cooperate and compete-not generally for individual economic accumulation- but for the status and influence of the line that brings the most to the whole of the confederacy. This kind of arrangement explains the non-coercive quality of Haudenosaunee society who had neither hospitals nor police, but was able to negotiate their internal problems through clear familial obligations. This theory also seems to be more in line with upstreaming tenets by looking at a current arrangement to guess at a lesser-known fragmented situation in the past. In this case the relative peacefulness of the era of Bread and Cornelius could either be

because, as contemporary authors argue, Oneidas “learned the lessons” of the past from their dealings with whites in New York and cooperated, or because this kind of cooperation between leaders was long-recognized form of cooperation- that had the caveat of requiring robust representation, which formal Iroquoian structure had supplied. Perhaps it was a bit of both. In any case the easy way authors relate “they brought their divisions with them” throughout pieces may mask a deeper social strategy less obvious that is always assumed to be social disintegration.²²

Oneida Independence Day

The two chiefs cooperated but just as with the Mohawk and the League, the First Christian Party chief was recognized as the general leader of the tribe as a whole, and the party controlled two-thirds of the political positions. The former Pagan Party became Christian and changed their name to the Orchard Party before leaving New York, and Bread formed an alliance with his former rival. Bread led two groups of Orchard Party emigrants from New York to Michigan Territory in 1833 and 1834. The two jointly petitioned the federal government for payment of annuities under the Treaty of Canandaigua, and claims for compensation under the Treaty of Buffalo Creek. Both leaders supplied relief for struggling members of each party arriving from New York with most staying at one chief's house or the other until they became settled as was traditional under the more restrictive clan system in New York. Most importantly, the chiefs cooperated to avoid tribal fissures, taking joint stands against removal from Wisconsin to Indian Territory, supported several sub-agents at Green Bay favorable to Oneida interests, and were unified in their opposition to the appointments of those considered enemies of their people. Additionally, both men signed the 1838 Treaty of Buffalo Creek- one of the few unified agreements between Oneida groups during removal from New York. Like other ethno-historians Laurence Hauptman perceives this cooperation as forced upon the leaders due to “Oneida weakness” of position in Wisconsin rather than any ancient precept of alliances.

In Hauptman's new book *Seven Generations of Leadership* (2008) he suggests Bread, in a method usually ascribed to the Wisconsin Oneida, “adapted” a core Haudenosaunee ceremony the Condolence Council to their new setting by holding a yearly event on July 4th (Karim Trio makes this same claim in his dissertation earlier without acknowledgment from Hauptman). On Independence Day the two chiefs would make formal addresses to their own community and the wider Green Bay community in a “conscious diplomatic attempt to win friends in a hostile world, to sooth Oneida-white relations, and to build bridges with key members of the surrounding white community.” “These Indians recalled their glory days and reminded their own people and outsiders of the need for ties to bind them.” Hauptman quotes Fenton in asserting that one of the major reasons for presenting these rituals to the wider public was to “manipulate the forbidding white world to their advantage.” While that may be true in part, the same ritual was extended to other Indian groups as well, as the formality of the procedure was also about familiarizing the public to the manner in which Haudenosaunee people lived to not only gain acceptance, but to pull them into the fold as resources in their ever-expanding body-politic. Through “chains” of friendship new people were drawn to the “spreading thistledown” surrounding the tree of peace established in Wisconsin. In other

words, from an upstreaming point of view Iroquoian expansionism was best served by formal ceremonies where people were coerced, in a more-or-less friendly manner, to have "minds as one" with the Iroquois- which is the primary purpose of most Haudenosaunee ceremonies.²³

July 4th morphed into a new "open house" event as the date of the reservation's annual pow-wow established in 1973, becoming a more modern "adaptation" likely to draw urban Oneida and whites both who were attending dance events in Milwaukee 80 years prior, and pow-wows 30 years earlier than the first one on the reservation. The Chief's open differed from city events in that social dancing (much different than competition pow-wows favored in cities) followed ceremonies, then there was a generous feast concluding with well-attended, civil, yet fierce Lacrosse matches between the Northenders and Southenders.

Civil War, Allotment and Boarding Schools

"The 't's' and 'd's' and 'b's' and 'p's' are hard for the beginning Oneidas. They turn the tine-cups into 'din-cups,' and tables into 'dapples.' Ponies are 'bonies' and pigs are 'bigs.' They try so hard however, that they will soon do better." *Indian Helper*, November 14, 1890.

Cornelius Doxtator, descendent of Revolutionary veteran Honyere Doxtator, enlisted in the Company F of Fourteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry at the age of 45. Doxtator followed a long line of warriors in the Haudenosaunee tradition of fighting nationalistic wars for money and room and board. Two of Doxtator's ten children enlisted in the Iroquois tradition- that is, older relatives enlisted and came to serve in the same companies as their younger counterparts in order to look out for them. This is the same system observed in the "Mohawks in High Steel" study comparing Mohawk war party structures to work structures. Iroquois warriors blend duty, gender notions of masculinity, and economic reasoning into their role as warriors, merging patriotism and economy easily and they would argue, necessarily. The Civil War bounties paid to fulfill district quotas was a familiar way to make a living for a warrior who followed the money in several wars, enlisting in the War of 1812 in Vermont for instance when they heard they paid a larger bounty than New York. By 1860 Oneida population rebounded to 1100 from about 600 three decades earlier and the tribe was still in control of its 65,000 acres.²⁴

However, by the end of the century the Oneidas were dispossessed of nearly all their land, and through war losses and small pox lost about 5% of their population, most of them men. Out of the 1100 tribal members, 142 served in the Civil War with 65 deaths and many more seriously wounded. Although the push for removal remained constant, it ceased during the Civil War, but was replaced immediately following the war with policy makers at the federal, state and local level pushing for allotment of Oneida reservation land, and schools to assimilate Wisconsin Indians like the Oneida. Although information about the Oneida is more bountiful than most Indian societies, there is very little written about them between 1860 and 1900, but what there is speaks of pressures on Indian forest resources in Wisconsin for timber, and of continual land pressures, usually in the form of low-leasing agreements to surrounding whites. The reservation was allotted on June 13, 1892, while the Burke Act of 1906 allowed for the end of trust restrictions, and 1917 laws determined the rest of the reservation land was available for taxation. As in New York

whites and a few Oneidas helped separate others from their homes in collusion with other interests. By Between 1860 and 1934 the Oneida tribal land fell from 65,000 acres to 90 acres, with 700 acres of individual allotments.

Oneidas who attended the Indian Industrial School at Carlisle under Captain Richard Henry Pratt, or its counter part the Hampton Institute usually pushed for allotment as well believing the time of reservations was over for Indians. Although the boarding school situation is generally described as horrendous for Indian youth, Oneidas (and Stockbridge) were accustomed to attending schools of whites as they had under Samuel Kirkland in New York whose Hamilton-Oneida Academy became Hamilton College, and they responded better than other Indian groups. Of the nearly 10,700 Indians that attended Carlisle between 1885 and 1918, 500 were Oneida. However, of the mere 758 who *graduated* from Carlisle, 118 were Oneida- almost entirely Wisconsin Oneida. Due to their scholastic success, a Carlisle opened in Oneida in 1893, but closed in 1918. Additionally, between 1886 and 1923, 193 Oneida graduated from Hampton Institute. Oneida families used the schools for the educational attainment offered, and as an economic "patch" because it met the basic needs of their children for years when making a living was extremely difficult.

Oneida youth were taught in a military style with which they were already familiar. Girls learned domestic arts, and boys were assigned a trade when they came. Extra-curricular activities made more lasting impressions with both boys and girls who enjoyed formal debating societies, a nationally-known marching band, and they became all manner of athletes. Oneidas struggled with the language, although less so than other Indians at the school. They graduated at higher rates with more students trained in professions, and with more who went on to secondary schools than any other tribal group. Students at Carlisle went to "Dawes bill" meetings where they learned about the advantages of the Act with some like Julia Powlas who assisted the special agents in Oneida with allotment. Oneida students usually availed themselves of the "Outing System" where students lived and worked in non-Indian homes earning a minimum wage- of which they were expected to save half their pay. As one author reported, Oneida student's track record was impressive at mid-century. "Edwin Scanandore was living in Carson City, Nevada working in business. Mrs. Otto Wells (nee Mary Parkhurst) and her husband were teaching at the Rocky Mountain School, Oklahoma. Martin Archiquette worked at the Menominee Boarding School. Leila Cornelius had been appointed to a position at the school in Fort Belknap, Montana. Carrie Cornelius took a position at the Hoopa Valley Agency School."

When faced with a changing world Wisconsin Oneida rarely recoiled and usually embraced the "good offer" as Aupaumut considered the various white attempts to help these northeast Indians. Capitalistic America had some congruency to Iroquoian/Oneida aspirations of greatness, expansionism, autonomy, leadership, and self-improvement although they prefer an appreciative audience to witness their achievements, and their own tribal members are the most suitable of all audiences. Iroquois people find more satisfaction showing and bringing their forest "booty" of education, influence, or alliances back to the whole of the village where it can properly be used and appreciated, which also creates social cohesion. If a tree becomes important in the forest and nobody

is around to appreciate it, is it really important? Iroquois people in their "parties" fight, sometimes viciously, to become those that bring the most to the whole as did village members to the clearing, or Confederacy members to Grand Councils in the form of their Indian and non-Indian relationships in "chains of friendship."

The example of the Oneida moving outward into the wider world earlier and with more energy and willingness than most of their Indian counterparts, not to mention other Oneida counterparts in Canada during allotment matches the decisions and strategies of the Wisconsin Oneida ancestors in New York during removal. Authors have ascribed their willingness to assimilate due to their "attachment" to whites, but ancient Iroquoian traditional precepts and cultural values expressed and taught to others and documented for over 450 years reveal a people who are competitive, ambitious, and who prefer prominence to reticence. Their strategies to practice and further these societal skills such as expansion, leadership and adoption long-used by the Haudenosaunee prior to white contact have been overly-interpreted as assimilated. There is little in Haudenosaunee history that would predict any other course for those descendants of the men and women who fought to bring the most influence to the League, supported the Revolution- picking the winner of the five wars they over-enlisted for- and who embraced every "good offer" whites either tendered or demanded, while straining to keep a cohesive community together that appreciated and understood their priorities and world view. Similar to their move from New York, Oneida brought this same ethos to the urban environments they migrated to after allotment of their reservation rendered them homeless.

Urban Oneida

Early Indian Milwaukee

The Milwaukee area was home to different Indian groups over the years according to Nancy Lurie (1996) such as the Huron, Miami, Illinois, Potawatomi, Ottawa, Fox, Sauk, Kickapoo, and the Mascouten. Algonquin-speakers like the Menominee are likely the oldest inhabitants-perhaps as long as 10,000 years, while Ojibwa settlements extended west along Lake Superior in the 1600s. Siouan-speakers such as the Ho-Chunk likely moved up the Mississippi Valley, although they lately have been claiming thousands of years of inhabitation and ownership of mound-building effigies in northeast Wisconsin such as those in the Trempealeau area. The Potawatomi expanded from their aboriginal homelands in southwestern Michigan in about 1670, and their tribal estate eventually embraced the western shore of Lake Michigan from the Door Peninsula and included portions of Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan.

The Potawatomi made alliances and intermarried with Menominee, Ojibwa, Ho-Chunk, Ottawa and others- mainly to fight the Iroquois- creating lasting relationships, and representatives from all three tribes signed land cessions of the Potawatomi including Milwaukee. The Medicine Society or, Midewiwin who have branches in America and Canada is primarily an Ojibwa group, but its current make-up reflects these ancient alliances, and its largest sect -Three Fires in Wisconsin- is composed of Menominee, Potawatomi, and Ojibwa. The only activity of the Iroquois was to thwart early French interests in the area due to "mourning wars" of the Iroquois, whose pursuit of adoptees and furs extended to the area around 1640, forcefully absorbing nearly the whole of the Huron nation, and chasing out many groups such as the Fox and Sauk. The

Haudenosaunee also briefly established the "Grand Settlement" of 1701 in Detroit with the area Indians to bring furs back east although the French Crown prevented the agreement from fruition.²⁵

Jane Doxtator in Milwaukee

Oneida girls usually married early, some by the age fifteen, so it is not surprising that some of the first Indians in Milwaukee registered by the census takers were young Oneida women either working as domestics in private homes or in institutions such as the Milwaukee County Infirmary in the 1920 city census. Oneida girls had few options as did most women at the turn of the 20th century and in many respects the story of Indians in Milwaukee in the early part of the century was one of young Oneida women making their way in the city. This is contrast to most anecdotal accounts in academic pieces that assume men followed an Iroquoian pattern of "forest" work-leaving the reservation in groups- and working for a time, many living together, and then coming home again to the village with resources. The official record in Milwaukee speaks differently begging the question, is the urban environment the clearing or the forest?

Jane Doxtator was the daughter of Henry "Duke" Doxtator, the son of Cornelius Doxtator who fought in the Civil War, and a descendant of Honyere Doxtator who had fought in the American Revolution. Henry has a fairly well-known allotment story tradition in Wisconsin because when he lost his farm and land to taxes he braced himself against the door as the sheriff broke it down with an axe, wounding him in the hand. Jane moved to Milwaukee at some point, eventually and ironically working for Marion Ogden, a descendent of the Ogden's of New York, who were instrumental in removing the Oneidas to Wisconsin. In an unpublished memoir titled "A Wisconsin Indian Today," Marion discusses enticing Jane from another "home" in 1925 where she had been working "steadily" as a housekeeper. Jane was busy in this other house from morning to night with only her spare time to clean the kitchen and Marion tells her in her home there will be a time planned for all her work, and rest time in the afternoon. Jane tells her she will try her, but "remarked before she left, 'maybe we will fight all the time'." Marion does not know what anyone would fight about with Jane but she makes allowance for the fact that Jane's English is different and that "our words occasionally mislead her curiously and there are times when her words have led me to a strange groping."²⁶

Jane loves to "keep a house in immaculate order" that Marion had never seen excelled. She thinks the "fight" in Jane may have been due to thoughtless whims of employers such as when Marion was on vacation a member of the household "imposed, although "quiet" Jane confided only in Marion. "This Indian woman belongs to no union but her competence has taught her to think that she has certain working rights that must be respected." Marion goes on to say their most difficult day is when the tax paper must be made out and paid. Jane's income total is different than Marion's and Marion finds "the saddest element is her bitterness and feeling that the Government always wrongs her and her people." Marion is a healthy skeptic but believes Jane and tries to help.

"Her ancestors owned acreage in Oneida, New York. They are in the Treaty Book and as I was particularly interested in following their rights at one time, I made an inquiry in the town as I was driving through and I learned that I could easily place that property today by the description in the Book. About 1805 there

was a group movement of the tribe to Wisconsin. Many members sold their property to the Government, I think, but Jane's family did not sell. They must have each made a lease. It was this property that I tried to follow up, but I am afraid that, as so often happens with untaught people, a paper had been signed that gave title to others."

Jane tells her she attended a school in Tomah for four years until her mother needed her at home, but that the students did not learn a great deal about efficient work because their work was done in sections, so that one girl made a sleeve while another stitched it in. It was her mother who "laid a firm foundation" for her housework ethic- an anecdotally familiar Oneida preoccupation with cleanliness. She attempts to draw the story out of Jane's loss in Wisconsin (takes eleven years) which was due to a tax matter on her father's property. Her brother came to Milwaukee to the Federal Court and was told they must not leave their property. A white man who knew of the profitable farm had begun buying up the taxes when he knew of the change in the law. The sheriff told them to leave and broke down their door (confirming the Oneida tradition about Henry Doxtator) and took them to jail. Henry went to live with children, and Jane came to Milwaukee to work. Marion says Jane is intensely loyal to her people and her church, but Marion says the "Oneidas at home are most forlorn now" and "Jane says hopelessly, 'Indians have no rights'." Jane lived and worked for Marion for 27 years until she essentially retired and moved back to the reservation in 1952- a familiar cycle of city-to-reservation for urban Oneida.

Jane Doxtator's story is emblematic in many ways of the successes and troubles for Oneidas over the years in both New York and Wisconsin, speaks to the Oneida's difficult relationship with the government, and is representative of those Oneida that came to urban areas. Firmly locating Jane and her ancestor's choices and strategies that are documented for over the 250 years in the record by following her back "up" the stream to revolutionary times will provide the finished study a living family to bring clarity to the long stretch of history necessarily included as well as the events pushing and pulling Oneidas, especially given the prominence of her relatives in ancestral New York and Wisconsin.

1900-1940

There is little documented Indian residency or activity in Milwaukee other than ceremonial visits by Chief Oshkosh for example, or a "massacre" scare prior to the 1920 Census. In 1920 Indian population is 24 out of a total Wisconsin Indian population of 9,611. Comparatively, Negro estimates for the same period are 2,229, and Chinese have 65 people in the city. Among cities in Wisconsin, Milwaukee had a much lower number of Indians than Green Bay in 1920 (75- 66 in 1910) or Superior with 69 (133 in 1910) indicating Indians were traveling to cities closer to home. All other cities in Wisconsin were home to less than 31 Indians in 1920. Not all individuals are revealed using the ancestry subscription program, but of those 22 that were described, 9 were Wisconsin Oneida based on surname, place of birth and place of birth of parents making them the largest Indian group from Wisconsin in the city. The other Indians in Milwaukee are from outside of Wisconsin living primarily in mixed Indian/Black marriages (4 Indian women with Black men, two Indian men with Black women) with children (listed as Mullato, not Indian) from Tennessee, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Canada or Indiana for example. Of the

small group from Wisconsin, seven are Oneida women working as waitresses in institutional cafes, or as laundresses and housemaids, and two Oneida women appear to be "inmates" at the Wisconsin Industrial School for Girls in ward 18.

The 1930 census shows an explosion of Indian population in Milwaukee from 24 in 1920 to 291 in 1930. Of the 291 Indians in Milwaukee, only 193 individual manuscripts were available and of those 113 were Wisconsin Oneida with nearly all parents of respondents born in Wisconsin. Of the remaining 80 available for further information, 23 were Stockbridge, 9 were Chippewa, 3 Menomonee, and 1 was Cherokee. The other 44 did not have a tribe listed. This explosion of Indian population and Oneida over-representation was likely due to the effect of allotment on the Oneida. As mentioned before Oneida common land had fallen to just 90 acres by 1934 with 700 acres in individual allotments so migration to urban areas was logical. Some cities in Wisconsin increased their populations of Indians such as Green Bay with 113 in 1930, Superior with 143 and Fond du Lac was a new contender with 78 (27 in 1920). All other cities had less than 30 Indians showing a drop to urban centers close to the reservation, and growth in those further away. Following that, counties including large reservations lost Indian populations in the 1930 census except Shawano, although the overall number of Indians in Wisconsin went from 9,611 in 1920 to 11,548 in 1930, implying an urban migration for more than just the Oneida, and describes the pull the largest city in Wisconsin had for Indian people.

The majority of Indians lived in Milwaukee County, with enclaves of Oneidas the 2nd, 3rd and 5th wards. The largest, in the 5th ward, was about 45 Oneidas and Stockbridge as renters- some in the same building with their families. Most were listed as laborers working for the Gas Company or in construction. The Stockbridge families of the Moons and Howes were living with the Oneida Websters, Houses and Schylers. Another enclave in the 17th ward was a mixture of Oneidas whose three heads of household also worked for the Gas Company. An Oneida Peter Powlas owned the building where these families lived. Another homeowner was Tony Doxtator (Stockbridge) a construction engineer in Wauwatosa with his wife and children. Because no other Indian group is represented in large numbers (assuming the other "lost" 100 follow this same pattern) little else stands out in the 1930 population increase in Milwaukee other than the dominance of Oneidas and Stockbridge.

The Oneida tribal area manager for culture and history told me in 2003 that she thought early Oneidas in Milwaukee primarily consisted of groups of young men living in rooming houses that worked and came home often. She commented again on Milwaukee in an entry in the Handbook of the Haudenosaunee (2000) saying "As young folks we went to Milwaukee and found we couldn't handle city life. There just wasn't a future." The record of early Milwaukee Oneida settlement and success reads quite differently. Starting with 9 young women living, working or possibly doing time in Milwaukee, they were followed by families with good jobs and independent women working in an expected vocation such as a domestic, teacher, nurse seamstress or waitress. There must have been a substantial and successful Oneida Indian presence in Milwaukee to have resulted in the formation of what was claimed in the Milwaukee Journal as the first Indian organization in the city in 1929- the Milwaukee Council fire of

American Indians- a name similar to one in Chicago during the same time period. The organization was sponsored by the Lapham Park Social Center in the 5th ward, one of six social centers in the city designed by the Socialists to integrate immigrant communities and attune young people towards the party. Three Oneida women are the officers of the intertribal organization which held an event that attracted 200 Indians including the usual Wisconsin groups and Osage, Pueblo, and Sioux. Oneida member Kitty Hill's grandfather was a prominent socialist married to an Oneida woman in Milwaukee so there may be a direct connection to the tribe in initiating this event.

Another documented source on early Indians in Milwaukee- the Ritzenthaler interviews of the late 1940s provide additional evidence of the Oneida's willingness to harvest the urban environment's harvest of resources.

Ritzenthaler Materials

It is too bad Jane Doxtator seemingly ducked out of an interview with Milwaukee Public Museum's (MPM) anthropology director Robert Ritzenthaler for his study "Indians in an Urban Situation" that was published in 1955 with Mary Sellers. There is a note on an empty interview form that she was never home when the study associates came to call.

The Ritzenthaler/Sellers study materials are housed at the Milwaukee Public Museum after being winnowed from the Milwaukee Public Library collections where they were originally donated. They have seen little use by a researcher until this study according to the current anthropology curator. These materials along with others such as Marion Ogden's memoir given to this author from a friend of Marion Ogden, census manuscripts, population tables, interviews Ritzenthaler conducted in the 1940s with reservation Oneida, recently discovered Oneida-led WPA biographies in the UW-Madison's basement, news articles from the Wisconsin Historical Society, Nancy Lurie's personal papers and notes in the UWM archive, a long interview with Opal Skenandore an early traditional dancer, as well as short discussions with Milwaukee Oneida, make up the bulk of the primary data used to elaborate on the urban Oneida in this proposal. It was the information in these materials and the overwhelming dominance of Oneidas in the all the public records focused on Indians in Milwaukee that prompted an investigation of the Oneida as a case study over a general study of Indians in Milwaukee- which would have been easier to accomplish.

Although this proposal has a brief "sources" section, the Ritzenthaler study materials is more than information. They are an anthropological window into the condition and problems Indians faced in the city, revealed not just through their own words, but also in the attitude and method of those that study them. Ritzenthaler's 1955 article is more descriptive than explanatory, but is one of the few conducted in the country on urban Indians at the time (started about 1950), and remains unusual in that there are very few case studies of urban Indians in a particular place. Ritzenthaler completes about 75 interviews out of the 140 households he targeted. By Lurie's recollection Ritzenthaler was disappointed by the lack of cooperation of the urban Indian community (Lurie 1995) and he amusingly associates this lack of cooperation to "Hallowells's theory of "Chippawa pattern of indirect aggression" in his piece.²⁷ Ritzenthaler gets his original list of names and addresses for the study primarily through

Oscar Archiquette of the Oneida Nation and an informal organizations' membership list- the Consolidated Indians of Milwaukee. He enlists the help of the University of Wisconsin Extension in Milwaukee – the School of Social Work to actually conduct the interviews, with 18 students on the project. "Government cards" were sent three days before interviews to 306 households. He completed 75 of those 306 for 25% coverage.

Ritzenthaler guesses there are about 1,000 Indians in Milwaukee in 1940, although census data reports Milwaukee with 260- within the top ten in country at the time- and only New York crosses the 1,000 mark. Ritzenthaler is aware Indians are severely undercounted in the urban situations based on an article of anthropologist Sol Tax found in the materials box- and that he quotes in his article. Also there is a letter in the material from a professor at University of Minnesota (intercultural ed.) in 1953 that says that while the census puts Native population in the Twin Cities at 589, enrollment in one small Minnesota American Indian organization had over 120 families, and many observers put the number of urban Indians there at closer to 8,500.

There are push and pull factors in undercounts. The problem as Ritzenthaler explains it is that the census does not ask race. Enumerators are expected to use observation despite lack of training, and Indians themselves do not always wish identification. I have found too, that sometimes Indian people are reluctant to give direct information, and as another older Oneida woman told me, sometimes her family would use the census moment to "start over," referring to the tendency to inflate or deflate blood quantum when asked depending on the situation. Jane Doxtator's issue with the government and taxes is one example of the likely push factors of Indian undercount, as Iroquois are reluctant to allow government or other officials to observe, count, or map as this usually preceded removal or land grabs.

Ritzenthaler's interview instructions are illustrative of why his study was hard to conduct. Interviewers are advised to explain the study only if necessary, and to offer "the Indian" a cigarette at the start and to keep them supplied during the interview, and to offer two packs when the interview is completed if they want. He also instructs interviewers that they will "discover that Indians like to laugh and even corny gags will go over and aid in establishing an informal relationship," and to take note of the number of humorous responses that "seems exceptionally clever or revealing." Interviewers also had to rate the living conditions of interviewees according to a 5 point scale from "single family houses with large lawns...and trees", to "slum areas", with "houses little better than shacks... areas that have social stigma of a place where no one would like." They are on alert for linoleum vs. carpeting and should assess the pictures on the wall as evidence of their life and status. The survey asks about blood amount, spouse's tribe and the usual personal statistics, schools, churches, housing, where they lived prior and when they came to the city, their work, salary, bars and events attended, and who they are friends with (white, Indian?), but there is little room for interviewees to contradict or add information.

Ritzenthaler's dependency on Oscar Archiquette- then the tribal chairman of Oneida- for informants is as revealing as any conclusions of the authors in their descriptive piece. Archiquette supplies him with a 9-page list of names (161 total) with addresses, blood quantum, number of children, occupation, company and duration of

employment, and the status and race of the spouse. In his piece, Ritzenthaler credits Oneida and Stockbridge dominance in the city over the Menominee or the Ho-Chunk to acculturation although Archiquette does not, and Ritzenthaler overlooks the fact that this most acculturated Indian in the city is a tribal chairman with a firm knowledge of intimate information on tribal members.

Of the 75 interviews 40 are with Oneida people, with the rest split between Ojibwa, Menominee and Ho-Chunk. Oneidas were as likely to be "not home" when the interviewer came knocking, but their over-representation may be due to Archiquette's influence. Most Oneidas were full-blood and a substantial number were "half." Nearly all were Protestant- Episcopalian- except for two who are married to Catholic Ojibwas, which signals the prominence of First Christian Party members (the second largest party was Methodist) migrating early to Milwaukee who similarly were the first to leave New York. Oneidas were in Milwaukee the earliest compared to the other Indian interviewees (about 1920), and were the few members who were born in the city (native natives?). Compared to other Indians they rarely visited the reservation, except nearly all went home to vote in tribal elections and two insisted the reservation no longer existed. Only a couple could speak the Oneida language, and few had Indian friends. The majority did not wish to return to the reservation, and many spoke to the difficulty finding jobs around the reservation, "companies close to home won't hire us-" as noted in the article by Ritzenthaler- and indeed the overriding reason they came to the city was work. Although they are asked 5 different questions about racism, they did not believe they faced discrimination in the city although one said he could not get into the Moose Lodge, and another said he could not buy a particular house. Taken together these comments imply not an absence of racism, but a form different from the specific type they experienced as a group around the reservation if we remember the calls for their removal continued until well after WWI.

Another revealing area in the study materials is Oneida people's lack of support for a formal Indian organization in Milwaukee. Reading Ritzenthaler's materials, one gets the sense a major goal of his project is to identify support and likely leaders for a formal organization, and Nancy Lurie's archived papers has several letters written by her using the study to encourage philanthropic donations to establish a formal "Consolidated Indians" which was held in Indian people's homes rather than a neutral building.²⁸ Her efforts resulted in its establishment at the Bruce Street location (off National Avenue) where it still holds meetings today as United Indians of Milwaukee. While other groups complained about Oneida dominance at the intertribal organization, Oneidas themselves resisted the idea of "special considerations" for Indians. In one of the few areas they chose to make personal comments they rejected the idea of a formal organization saying they did not like: "separateness," "isolation," "sub-groups," "out-groups," "Indians outgrew the reservation," "the goal is to be part of something, not separate from." Where Ritzenthaler reads this reaction as acculturated it also reads typical Haudenosaunee who always resent being isolated or prohibited from complete participation in the world whether economic or social, and who always desire expansion.

In 1939 Consolidated's long-running chair, Oneida Al Smith, wrote to the Milwaukee Journal complaining about a supposed Cherokee chief who had commented

in the newspaper that "Hitler was on the right track" and that Indians were actually Aryans. Smith's letter to the editor questioned the chief's credentials and added that the Indians- speaking for all as usual, but meaning Oneidas specifically considering the support most the area's Indians had for the British, had been loyal and patriotic to the American cause since the Revolutionary War.²⁹ Consolidated encouraged social dancing of an American nature with ballroom dancing and square dances and only in its last years did it help sponsor pow-wows with Menominee, Ho-chunk and Ojibwa singers (drums).
1940- 1980

After the WWII intertribal events in Milwaukee began to follow a pattern of cultural merging between Indians groups, and between Indians and whites. An event might begin with ballroom dancing and then break for an hour of traditional dancing perhaps someone would sing or play the piano. Many of these occasions were at Bohemian Hall (now the Rave). There were "pow-nics" at Heidelberg Park- a cross between a picnic and a pow-wow, and finally the more familiar form of pow-wows were held at Croatian Park in the 1960s. Opal Skenandore- an Oneida- was a very active participant in these events and became a nationally known "Hoop Dancer," a person who tells stories by manipulating up to two dozen hoops into various shapes. Opal could lean over backwards and pick up a feather on the ground with her teeth!

Cherry-picking was also a yearly occurrence as Oneidas in particular migrated up north in summer to pick the crop. Paul Zakhar remembers staying in large barracks partitioned like a Longhouse with blankets and pallets for individual families. Although they could hear everyone's conversation his mother always halted any out-load reference by putting her finger to her lips saying quietly "it's none of your business." As he grew he stayed with older boys and men in another structure and he remembers how gentle people were with him although his mother also took the opportunity to drink as did others. There were jigging contests in the local bars during cherry-picking and currently, a popular stage at Indian Summer festival in Milwaukee is jigging. The Indian Women's Guild organization was comprised mainly of Oneida women but included Stockbridge and a few Ojibwa, and the group met once a month holding prayers, a lunch, and they worked on "safety-pin rugs" to raise money for an "old folks home" in Oneida saving \$135 by 1952. These were held at All Saints Cathedral close to the 5th ward that had seen much Oneida residence over the years, although most Oneidas attended St John's Episcopal Church on 26th and Mineral.

By the 1960s activism around the nation and world galvanized Indian people in Milwaukee. Opal Skenandore remembers there were two kinds of Indians in Milwaukee then – those who were "cultural" and those who were "political." She witnessed the gradual evolution of social activities during these years describing the first traditional outfits made by Consolidated as generic "Jay Silver Heels" garments. Ruth Baird- an Oneida married to an Ojibwa- helped Milwaukee Indians construct them and they remained with the organization except for events which is quite counter to the very personal nature of pow-wow outfits today.³⁰ There is a sense in the record that Oneidas needed other tribes to help them construct an idea of what traditional meant or looked like in this area, turning to Ojibwas, Menominee and Ho-Chunks to sing, drum, make

clothes and teach them to dance, and Paul Zakhar remembers attending some discouraging lessons: “come-on, move your arms around more!”

In the 1960s the city’s pow-wows were held in concert with a white hobbyist group named after what is thought to be the well-spring for pow-wows as we know them today- the Helushka Society or as the white group called themselves- the Hay-lush-ka Society. The Helushka Society (also called Grass Dance) is from the Omaha region who gave a land grant to the Ho-Chunk, only half of whom the government were able to force out of Wisconsin for good, and the tradition worked its way east through relatives here in Wisconsin. Intertribal Helushka innovations combined with the area’s Ojibwa Drum Religion, which is thought to precede the more western form of intertribal socials. As Grant Arndt describes in his article in the Wisconsin Historical Society’s magazine (Spring 2008), the ferment of intertribal relationships forcing by removal and mixing of different groups either by compulsion or by land-grant from more western tribes as with the Oneida and Menominee, pushed Indians into new forms of intertribal occasions where gifts were exchanged and alliances made formal, reducing conflict between pressured groups.³¹

Pow-wows held in Milwaukee were first sponsored by the hobbyist version of the Society but over time Milwaukee Indians insisted on more input into the events gradually taking them over making them more traditional and removing beer vendors that provided the white group with good income.³² Oneidas, or Iroquois people mixed with other groups both white and Indian through the Condolence Ceremony often held during Grand Council and is reflected in the Oneida reservation’s “Open House” held at a leaders’ home on July 4th as described in the earlier section. Oneida people do not have a pow-wow tradition although they have their own social dances and they had to learn from the area’s Indians about evolving intertribal sociability in Wisconsin.

On the political front however, Oneidas dominated. Continuing their control of early Indian organizations, Oneida Herb Powless was the Milwaukee Chapter Chairman for the American Indian Movement, and his sister Marj Stevens launched an Indian school in her living room in 1970. Stevens’ husband Ernie Sr. was a director of a large L.A. intertribal group in the late 60s and her son Ernie Jr. has been National Gaming Commission chair for the past 6 years, and her mother recently published a two-volume Oneida dictionary. In the same social proxy for hereditary importance as with Honyere Doxtator and Daniel Bread, Herb Powless is the son of one the powerful Oneida chair Purcell Powless. Purcell is the longest running chair of the tribe (1967-1989) who oversaw its resurrection during the gaming years, and is brother to lawyer John Powless who has bequeathed controversial benefits on tribal members such as the education fund, which absorbs half of the tribal profits and the recent large per-capita payout to help non-reservation members- some say after seeing the Milwaukee panel including his brother at the tribe’s last history conference.³³ In any case he thanked the “Milwaukee community” for their signatures on his petition for benefits.

Marj was part of a University Of Wisconsin-Milwaukee student group, the American Indian Information and Action Group or AIIAG. The group published a newsletter around 1970 (no postmarks or dates in archived materials) called “Smog Signals” where they discuss a recently-formed welfare mother’s committee who “met”

with John Red Horse of Minneapolis AIM to discuss starting a school “related to the cultural background of the child.” A three-day “Freedom School” event at the Civic Plaza had convinced the mothers the necessity of organizing a school just for Indian children. Marj has said the point of the Freedom School was to provide clothes, shoes, and books for most Indian kids whose poverty made it difficult for them to participate in the mainstream school system, and high drop-out rates for older Indian children combined with the social activism of the time caused them to consider the benefit of a school that was more culturally relevant to Indian children, although what that specifically meant was not defined.³⁴

What Was The Point?

By now the reader is forgiven for wondering where this long recitation of history is leading. The recitation has several goals. The main goal is to familiarize the reader with the arcane and historically long trajectory of the Wisconsin Oneida from New York to Wisconsin so that categories of “stability” such as leadership, alliances or expansion convincingly demonstrates the need to challenge and enlarge academic concepts of just what constitutes “traditional.” These categories are expanded in the following section in order to limit and focus the huge amount of literature available for review. Another purpose of this recitation is it mimics the formal procedure of the Condolence Ceremony by introducing others to the Haudenosaunee world view, pulling them in, adjusting (in a somewhat forceful manner) their orientation to particular societal values and strategies, which is an expansionist strategy. Additionally the Oneida story has never been pieced together whole from all the available sources and will provide the dissertation with a valuable narrative. Finally, it was important for the author – who would have had difficulty naming the six confederated tribes in 2003- to provide some connection to the Oneida cultural estate, at the least demonstrating a working knowledge of Oneida history and beliefs. William Fenton may be on the Haudenosaunee short list of “intellectual trolls,” but he had a point (as quoted in the method section) when he said all successful Iroquois reformers are traditionalists who speak in ancient tongues, and relate their program to the old ways, so this author must show historical competence.

Literature Review

The Problem of Veneration

The combined literature of the Wisconsin Oneida, and by necessary extension the Haudenosaunee, is voluminous and venerated, possibly because what is venerated becomes voluminous. This veneration may less to do with reverence for the Haudenosaunee than with their role in early American history and New York history. The Iroquois have a very long, intertwined past with anthropologists, historians, and primordial Americans like Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, and Thomas Jefferson. The Iroquois Confederacy was studied and written about before America was even a concept (see Coldwater Colden 1688-1776), and traditionalists argue that Iroquois precepts were built into the Albany Plan of the Union- the first blueprint of the American government written by Franklin- what has become known as the much-contested “influence theory.” The hard, academic category of “anthropology” was conceptualized around the work of ethnologist Henry Lewis Morgan’s 1851 study, *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois*. Morgan began his investigation of the Iroquois in order to establish rules for a

New York club called the Gordian Knot- later called the "Grand Order of the Iroquois." Morgan's 1851 study, and to a greater degree, his 1877 book *Ancient Society*- along with copious notes by Karl Marx on both, inspired Frederick Engel's *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1883). Feminists too, such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage and Lucretia Mott, used the Iroquoian ideal of equality for women, all whom lived in the New York area.³⁵

Yorkers

From Benjamin Franklin forward, Americans have been interested in the non-coercive society of the Iroquois, but it seems those most interested in the Iroquois such as Morgan, Fenton, Franklin or feminists, and more recent authors like Campisi or Hauptman are people from the New York area. Usually in the forward to a book on the Iroquois the author talks about growing up in the area and of his or her curiosity with the Iroquois people they meet. It was surprising the past UW Milwaukee Sociology chair could name all the tribes of the Six Nations as well as the date when the Tuscarora joined. This was less surprising when one learns he is from New York. The author of "Sisters in Spirit, Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influences on Early American Feminists" writes that although early feminists lived in very different worlds than their Iroquois sisters, they were only "one person away from direct familiarity with Iroquois people."³⁶ In other words the influence of Iroquois is perhaps not only about how they inserted their governmental structure into the constitution, but is also about how the weight of their society, both when strong and weak, forms the character of leaders that emerge from the east coast. It is rare to hear of an "Iroquoianist" author originating from the south, or west.

It is debated who came up the term "Iroquoianist" (traditionals tend to call them Fentonites, but these authors use the word to refer to themselves: see Foster, 1985) but it follows in the tradition of Morgan's Grand Order of the Iroquois club, or dressing as Mohawk at the first "tea parties," or for that matter the Tammany power structure in New York. Fenton may be concerned with stability within a group, but from a Haudenosaunee point of view the problem is that the relationship between Yorkers and Iroquois is ancient. Iroquoianist authors have devoted themselves exclusively to the Haudenosaunee almost in pact, meeting each other in several different conferences dedicated to New York history, early American history, the ethnological method, and of course the Iroquois. Iroquoist history does not usually devolve into individual tribal histories like Cayuga or Tuscarorian history although some Iroquoianists specialize in a few tribes like Hauptman (Seneca, Wisconsin Oneida) or Campisi (Wisconsin Oneida, Pequot, Brothertown). No, it is the whole of Iroquois that interests these white authors, who use Iroquoian societies to contrast their own, regardless of what might be important to those within the various Iroquois communities.

For instance the alliance between the Stockbridge (Mohican/Mohegan) and the Wisconsin Oneida has received no attention although it is one of the most recent, having formed during their traumatic move from New York, and is expressed in the urban environment as well. As their tribal chair for the last 25 years tells me: "There are a lot of strange political twists among the Tribes residing in Wisconsin and I suppose it would come as no surprise to you that our two Tribes work together better than any other mix of

Tribes.”³⁷ And, “while some things are played pretty close to the vest it may be revealing how many matters are not necessarily discussed but thought about in very similar ways.” While this will be discussed a bit more later, the point here is this alliance holds no interest to Iroquoianist authors who seem obsessed with the original Confederacy although it is very much in the interest of the Wisconsin Oneida to build strong relationships with others, especially a group with current authority to build a casino in New York when the Wisconsin Oneida cannot. Using their own methodology of upstreaming, our last alliances should provide a window into former, more ancient ones just as was argued with the Mohawks in high steel theory, but it takes a serious amount of digging to piece together what happened between the Stockbridge and Oneida, either here or in New York, and one has to go outside the Iroquoianist literature to do so.

Iroquois Are “Over-studied”

Iroquoianist author Daniel Richter summed up the difficulty in producing a book on the Iroquois, and in 1992 says; “These peoples of the Longhouse are the most studied of all American Indians; indeed, many would say *overstudied*” (italics original). He also goes on to describe the vast holdings -not just of Iroquois literature in general- but the burgeoning specialty studies in several disciplines that made him remark that it felt like the “height of presumption- even folly- to survey a subject to which scholars have devoted lifetimes of research and on which so much was already in print,” but of course he does. More specifically, Laurence Hauptman, who has co-authored several books on the Wisconsin tribe with tribal historian Gordon McLester III and many books on the Iroquois on his own, claims in the opening of their 2006 book about the Oneidas in the allotment period that “[t]he Oneida Nation of Indians of Wisconsin has one of the most documented histories of any Native American community.” The difficulty in writing about the Oneida is of course the volume to contend with when making references, but also the difficulty in passing the intellectual bridge many Haudenosaunee people claim they have to cross (hence the troll analogy) to study their own history.³⁸

Traditional versus Progressive

The growing activism of Iroquois people both academic and lay (which Richter also mentions), to recover their history from a Native-centered perspective has added to the volume. “Traditionalists” like Wisconsin Oneida Carol Cornelius, John McFadden or John Mohawk (latter both Mohawk) attend to revitalization of Oneida culture with like-minded Iroquois from Canada, while the “progressive” historians like Gordon McLester have reached out to white academics (Iroquoianists) through history conferences over the past 30 years and tried to influence their work. Ironically the traditionalists are academics with degrees, while the progressives are lay, or “citizen” historians. The disagreement between the camps, and the anger of Iroquoianist authors challenged by the new activism of traditionalists centers around just what constitutes Iroquoian history, and led to a flurry of articles in journals studying the conflict between “Iroquoianists” and Iroquois themselves. In her 1992 article looking at this phenomenon, Gail Landsman recounts a 1988 “Annual Conference on Iroquois Research” where an opening remark referring to the controversy surrounding the “influence theory” was “why does this bother us?” Iroquoianists thought Haudenosaunee people were trying to force land claims, or that the group promoting the “influence theory” were not “real” traditionalists, but an attempt of a

small rogue group (sound familiar?). Another historian asserted, "It's a damned lie, and I won't tolerate it, and another insisted "They're on my turf now." That historian complained that Indians "always say you can't write their history because you are not Indian," so now, "Indians cannot now claim they can write *my* history."³⁹

I witnessed some of this conflict at an Oneida history conference where I presented a panel of urban (Milwaukee) Oneidas. At the conference an Oneida historian (PhD) in the traditional mold opened the conference with the "At Woods Edge" observance which visitors are met at the edge of the village by leaders who perform a ceremony that opens the lines of communication between them before entrance to the village. She followed our hour-long handshaking by chastising the attending White historians and anthropologists as being "tall men with cameras" who come to the reservation, and who have made their careers using the tribe's personal history. Another lay historian of the more progressive camp (sister of the man who brought me there) grabbed the microphone and defended the Iroquoianists as people who have long been friends, and "who have provided testimony" from their research in many courtroom settings that resulted in favorable decisions, and "besides, none of them is very tall" (true).⁴⁰

After the break the progressive woman introduced the most noted ethnologist-Jack Campisi- with a picture of him at about 7 wearing cowboy clothes and hat, and pointing his guns- at a room full of Indians. We roared, and he fumed, blaming his wife (they usually bring their wives too) for the betrayal, who now "might have to walk home." The traditional historian spoke to me about it during another presentation of mine where she pointed out how "assimilated" the progressive woman's defense had been of the white anthropologist, but I wondered, given the nature of the traditional ceremony to keep communication open, who was more traditional? Also, the other woman had used a traditional form of combat with American Indians- humor, or teasing, to put someone in their place without direct insult, and humor also binds people over shared perceptions. As a side note, I have been welcomed warmly by important Oneidas of both camps and was completely ignored, other than the handshake, by the Iroquoianists at the conference, and I was the only panel facilitator not invited to the Iroquoianist dinner at the hotel that night.

Oneidas are White

The literature describing the reasons for the division and move of two Oneida groups from New York after the 19th Century usually positions the Wisconsin Oneida as the whitest group between them, and their move impulse is credited to the missionaries who were present although two different missionaries tenure overlap the Oneida preparations. Despite the volumes written about the Iroquois, Jack Campisi is the first to look exclusively at the Oneida (most work has focused on the largest and less "acculturated" groups like the Mohawk or Seneca) in his 1974 dissertation that compares the three communities that resulted in their push from New York. A small group were left behind or stayed in New York, and two different groups- one more traditional moved to Canada and one more progressive moved to Wisconsin. While Campisi does not directly say Oneidas "turned white" many of his conclusions lead other authors to assume they did. Some quotes from his dissertation include:

“...early adoption in Wisconsin of anglo-american system of kin reckoning was consonant with the generally positive attitude toward white society held by Oneida leaders.”

...the Wisconsin faction challenged the system of power allocation, and with it, aspects of the kinship system.”

...the Wisconsin faction left taking with it strong pressures to assimilate.”

“After their move to Wisconsin they exorcized most of the traditional Iroquois belief; those few remaining were incorporated into Christian dogma”.

Picking up on this theme and claiming Campisi’s dissertation as one of the three main places to understand the Oneida, UW-Milwaukee’s Reginald Horsman in 1988 expands on Campisi’s argumentative thread on those Oneida who moved to Wisconsin this way:

“These first Oneidas who moved to Wisconsin in the 1820s and 1930s were those who looked most favorably upon white society, who were most under the influence of Christian missionaries, and who were the most willing to adopt white ways.”⁴¹

One can see why my fellow tribal member began her story of the Wisconsin Oneida with “At one time we wanted to be white people.” Horsman and many others who write of the Oneida emphasize the role of white missionaries in leading the Oneidas down a treacherous path away from the Confederacy and towards Whites who would doom their Iroquois fellowship. Iroquois leaders are rarely mentioned by name and often the only picture accompanying the article such as Horsman’s’ is one of a missionary despite the fact that numerous paintings and photos of Indian leaders are available. Daniel Bread for instance receives no mention until Hauptman and Mc Lester’s 2003 book although they credit him as being most responsible for the tribe’s ability to settle and resist further strong pressures to move again. Ancestors of the Wisconsin Oneida have been described in academic books and articles as “lap dogs” for whites in New York, “good Indians,” or “the good friend of the white man,” none of which is presented as a compliment, and in one the chapter on the Oneida is entitled “Good Indians at the Crossroads,” with a sub-heading “Trust me.” The inference is always the same. Oneidas who chose the American side of matters were the whitest among not only the Iroquois in general, but among the Oneida specifically, and as trusting Indian saps they had unwittingly doomed their nation and the Confederacy. What had been described by these authors as pragmatic, expressive chains of friendship with Indian and non-Indian allies in the 17th and 18th centuries began to be called a new concept in the literature as Indian autonomy waned- assimilation and acculturation- quite the opposite of stability.

Urban Iroquois Literature

Of all the books and articles written about the Wisconsin Oneida, and by extension the Iroquois, very few look at the role of the urban experience, and no author is even remotely suggesting that traditional values may play a role in the success of Oneidas in the urban environment. In general the literature actively argues that Oneidas were acculturated, assimilated, and bereft by the turn-of- the-century of their original culture and traditions. There is slim academic work on the Iroquois and/or the Oneida in urban

settings other than the "Mohawks in High Steel," and Robert Ritzenthaler's and Mary Sellers' journal article, "Indians in an Urban Situation" in 1955.

In 1996 Nancy Lurie suggests the reason Oneidas are first, and largest contingent of urban Indians in Milwaukee, is because "[w]ith their reservation on the boundary of Green Bay, the Oneida were old hands at urban adaptations, so it is not surprising that they led the way to Milwaukee."⁴² She has also made a similar argument to this author and at several presentations that Oneidas were prominent in the urban environment because of they had dealt with whites for centuries, and that because they had moved from New York to Wisconsin, it was easier for them to move to Milwaukee or other urban centers, which comes the closest of any writer to suggesting a traditional skill is responsible for their urban success. Laurence Hauptman's latest book "Seven Generations of Leadership" (2008) edges closer and he gives examples of leaders of several east coast tribes including the Wisconsin Oneida and for the first time the Tuscarora are described in some detail (they were considered acculturated by Iroquoianists and even I do not know what happened to them after dozens of books), and cities are included as a place with a tribal community. In discussing where Iroquois people reside in his introduction Hauptman says: "Approximately one hundred thousand Iroquois live in these communities or in major urban centers stretching from Montreal to Milwaukee and beyond." Traditional Iroquois are finally, if weakly, associated with the urban experience and perhaps the panel of very active Wisconsin Oneida he witnessed at the Oneida history conference in 2006 such as Herb Powless and Marj Stevens with their powerful family connections (Hauptman's panel included Marj's mother), who all once lived in the Milwaukee, but who all live on the reservation now, induced him to include a city.

New Categories of Traditional Culture

I presented my research at a conference at the Indian Community School in 2008 in Franklin with a focus on urban Indian wellness. From my position the well-being of the Wisconsin Oneida was severely damaged by constant implications and direct statements that they were bereft of their culture, and the academic position that they were acculturated and assimilated, or white, was mainly responsible. I argued then as I do in this paper that as traditionalists try to push "Iroquoianists" off the literary reservation, so-to-speak, they unconsciously buy into the Iroquoianists' argument about what it is to be traditional. This white effect on the Oneida has doubled-down on urban dwellers that have never been able to rouse the interest of Iroquoianist or traditional authors as being a place where traditional strategies have ever been practiced (neither Nancy Lurie or Robert Ritzenthaler are Iroquoists).

Anthropologist William Starna will spend a whole article tracing the evolution of gender seating in the Longhouse that exists in 11 of the 17 Iroquois communities (of course on the reservation), but absolutely no brain time or paper is wasted on researching culture in a city as by implication looking for stability in Iroquois communities that are acculturated is a contradiction.⁴³ If stability is the "problem," then degradation is assumed in acculturated communities- so there is little to upstream. Stability assumes Iroquois communities are in the stages of decay, with "remnants" that can be reconstituted by these authors, and communities are not conceived as societies responding to new conditions and perhaps emphasizing one set of values and skills over

another. In the Indian Community School presentation I rolled out a series of traditional categories backed by the language, protocol and imagery of the Haudenosaunee in an effort to move along this stagnant show-down between traditionalists, progressives and Iroquoianists. The list that follows shows what I will be looking for in the data already available on the Wisconsin Oneida, and from new sources like interviews and material culture. This list is comprised of Haudenosaunee precepts found in the both Iroquoianist and traditionalist literature and is backed up by enduring (still used today) Iroquoian imagery in their material culture. The first three categories will offer deep explanation and examples while the remaining categories or these are more of suggestion of their relevance to the project of associating the past with the present.

Leadership

The value to Haudenosaunee society of good, strong leaders is always recognized in the literature. "The thickness of their skin shall be seven spans-which is to say that they shall be proof against anger, offensive actions, and criticism," Deganawidah (Peacemaker and inventor of the Great Law and the League) decreed of league Sachems. "Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgment in their minds, and all their words shall be marked by calm deliberation." An Iroquoian leader had to be tough to survive the fierce competitiveness of the Iroquois world as the autonomy of the individual, the clan, the village or the nation is as resolute as their dedication to the League of the Six Nations. One resides in the other in that without a robust confederacy with checks and balance, autonomy at all levels is threatened. The Iroquois in their creation story were trying to end years of bloodshed in the past. "Everywhere there was peril, everywhere mourning..." Feuds with outer nations, feuds with brother nations, feuds of sister towns and feuds of families and clans made every warrior a stealthy man who liked to kill." No one was safe and no one prospered.⁴⁴

Iroquois leaders had to negotiate all the policy differences and various constituencies that are common in Haudenosaunee life through their superior outward connections (like Mohawk and English) or their persuasive oratory skills within councils at every level, and a leader's ability to compel consensus within a society with competitive parties was, and is, highly valued. William Fenton has said all the documents and his fieldwork he produced convinced him that every villager, in order to have their views respected promoting equality for all, needed to pull down leadership a notch or two- or more, and describes Iroquois society as "anarchic."⁴⁵

As Hauptman explains in his 2008 book on Iroquoian leadership, "As a result of their unique views based on their cosmology and their reading of past history, the Iroquois see themselves in a leadership role in the native American world." He points out that the first three Indians who were commissioners of Indian Affairs were Iroquois, (one-Robert Bennett is Wisconsin Oneida), and Iroquois people began most of the intertribal organizations in the country including the Society of American Indians, American Indian Federation, National Congress of American Indians, National Indian Youth Council. Wisconsin Oneidas chaired the first and largest intertribal organization in Los Angeles (Ernie Stevens Sr.) and two others have served as national gaming chairs for over 15 years (Rick Hill, Ernie Stevens Jr.- current chair). Norbert Hill Sr. initiated the Great Lakes Intertribal Council and was so comfortable at the BIA, it took a visitor a day

to realize he did not work there. Another Wisconsin leader was Minnie Kellogg (nee Laura Miriam Cornelius- related to Daniel Bread) whose intelligence and oratory skill convinced many members of all the Iroquois communities including the Stockbridge and Brothertown in the 1920s to pursue a collective land claim against New York by selling shares in the "Six Nations Club." Her effort, like the woman, was flawed and failed but not before raising at least \$60,000 and awareness among Oneida of their common tribal estate.

Oneidas in Milwaukee display robust leadership ability to the point of domination as well. In Ritzenthaler's interviews informants complain about the dominance of Milwaukee Oneida in running organizations and the record bears this out. Oscar Archiquette runs the tribe from his home in Milwaukee and runs Milwaukee Indian activity such as supplying most of the informants for Ritzenthaler's survey from the reservation. Archiquette reportedly saves the tribe from termination from his outpost in Milwaukee where he prefers his children to attend school, according to Laurence Hauptman in "Learning the Lessons of History: The Oneidas of Wisconsin Reject Termination." The amount of leadership from the Wisconsin Oneida in Milwaukee is extremely disproportionate, relative to their group size compared to other tribal groups from Wisconsin similar to the record of boarding school graduation. During the time of the Ritzenthaler interviews Wisconsin Oneida population was about 1700, while the Ojibwa was over 6,000, Menominee at 3,000, and Stockbridge around 500, yet they initiate most of the organizations such as the 1929, 1937 and 1969 intertribal organizations in the city, and control nearly all the "head" positions available to Indian people in the city. Much of the Indian activism in Milwaukee during the 1960s and 70s were preformed by Wisconsin Oneida such as Herb Powless as AIM chairman, Marj Stevens and Mindimoya (Marilyn Clark) with AIIAG, and Marj Stevens Indian Community School prototype launched in her living room.

Hauptman's book on Iroquois leadership is the answer to his upstreaming methodology to "reveal why the Six Nations have survived as a distinct people" and he wrote the biography because he believes leadership "was a major factor in cultural persistence..." The type of leadership evidenced by the Wisconsin Oneida in Milwaukee and other urban centers is supported in the record as not primarily acculturated, but as an expression of an ancient precept of leadership.

Alliances -Linking Arms

"He took hold of the Frenchman, placed his arm within his, and with his other arm he clasped that of the Algonquin. Having thus joined himself to them, 'here, he said,' is the knot that binds us inseparably; nothing can part us... Even if the lightning were to fall upon us, it could not separate us; for if it cuts off the arm that holds you to us, we will at once seize each other by the (other) arm.' And thereupon, he turned around, and caught the Frenchman and Algonquin by their two arms- holding them so closely that he seemed unwilling ever to leave them." *Jesuit Relations*, 27: 261.⁴⁶

"Alliance was a goal desired by Iroquois people in relationships with everyone in their universe." Mary A. Druke has written extensively on Iroquoian diplomacy and continues, "With the potential of all persons, including other-than-human ones, to use

power in harmful ways, it was advantageous for Iroquois as individuals to make personal alliances in order to convince other persons to exert power for them,” and “persons who had no friends, kin, or alliances- faced grim prospects.” She, like Fenton and Richter, believe alliances begin with the individual and radiate outward so that the strongest relationships are unsurprisingly those that are geographically or familially close. Coalitions or “parties” as Iroquois people usually describe their factions could extend their influence- not by being subsumed under others, but by joining together as allies, mimicking the manner of the original confederation of the League. She importantly reminds us leadership is really a set of leader/follower coalitions as one is not a leader without adherents. Leaders were the “pivot” point on which alliances were initiated and maintained, and not owners of that party. Alliances were “alive” and if they were not attended to, or improved, an ally may become an enemy, just as an enemy sometimes became an alliance. Frustrating Europeans, the alliance itself was the focus of Iroquois ceremonies and not the economic details of agreement that the European partners hoped would bear fruit.

To the Haudenosaunee the relationship was the hard part, and most ceremonies are appeals to open the “channel,” between them, to have “minds as one.” As declared by a Mohawk at an Albany council prior to the Revolution: “Brethren you know that we have no forcing rules or laws amongst us,” so the alliance was the commitment, and not the benefits that may flow from it. Alliance imagery is as varied as the goal conceived between coalitions. They have been interpreted in English as Covenant Chains- a series of links reflects connected individuals as described in the opening quote, or groups- the most ancient being the Hiawatha Belt signifying the relationships of the original League. “Chains of friendship” were extended to any with a peaceable (“the trade and the Peace we take to be the same”) intention who followed the White Roots back to Onondaga. The two-row wampum belt (one of five main protocol belts that reveal Haudenosaunee precepts) expresses the autonomy of the League with an alliance as the two rows run parallel- on the same trajectory, but on different paths. One did not have to subscribe to the Haudenosaunee world view to have a relationship with them, but fellowship was more an abstention from fighting, a declaration of not-enemy, an invitation to bond whose acceptance or rejection that told the Iroquois where they stood.

Hence, the attention to bonds in the Condolence Ceremony with gifts that physically, like a signature, or key to the city, “brighten” or “polish” a “rusty” chain, or relationship. Having “minds as one,” or an “attitude of unity” meant that the allied groups would come to see things in a similar manner and the fruit of the relationship would flow from the unity, rather than unity being the result of some specific goal because the Haudenosaunee could not compel anyone to adhere to anything. A good example of the importance and enduring nature of alliances and the direction of the dissertation work is the unity between the Stockbridge and Oneida.⁴⁷

Oneida/Stockbridge Alliance

It is difficult in the literature to discern why the two groups came together in New York or how they came apart in Wisconsin, and what began as a simple quest to provide a brief description of what happened between them in Wisconsin has broadened into an examination of what must have been a relationship of some magnitude coming after

Sullivan's burning of the homeland and the two tribes removal from New York, and that is reflected 100 years later in their marriage and settlement in Milwaukee and in cooperation between the tribes on important issues. Nobody has focused on this alliance including the tribes themselves although their obvious close association in Milwaukee is attributed to their similar "acculturation" by Ritzenthaler rather than alliance. As described in a preceding section Reginald Horsman limited the argument by focusing on the Reverend Eleazer Williams over the influence of the Stockbridge, whom I hypothesize are most responsible for majority of the Oneida leaving New York. Horsman's essay focusing on Williams supplies the bulk of the information used in this section, although he comes to a far different conclusion.

The opening and closing lines from Horsman's essay in a Hauptman/McLester book on the journey from New York on the "Origins of Oneida Removal" asserts that one man was primarily responsible. "The individual who was of greatest importance in the removal of the Oneida to Wisconsin ("...while the rest of the Six Nations remained...") was Eleazer Williams..." "It was the coming of Eleazer Williams that provided the major impetus for the emigration..." The Oneida made a land-grant to the Stockbridge ("accepted their hospitality") in the mid-1780s and another group from the New England area, the amalgamated Brothertown Indians. Horsman says both groups were more assimilated into white society at the time than most other Indian groups. He believes "some of the strongest support for removal came from the small group of Stockbridge Indians" and their missionary John Sergeant and their chief Solomon U. Hendricks, son of Hendrick Aupaumut – the Stockbridge chief quoted in another section in this paper whose diplomatic negotiations with more western Indians was considered key in quelling Indian resistance in the area, and federal officials were anxious to have them live in Wisconsin where more groups had sided with the British. "In advocating removal, Hendricks and Sergeant were *joined* by Eleazer Williams" (*italics mine*).

The motive driving Williams appears to be not merely the removal of the Oneida and other "New York Indians," but the possibility that he could use their move to persuade the whole of the Iroquois to resettle in the area of what may become a new Indian state where Williams could play an important role. As a St. Regis Mohawk, Williams' actions should be seen as not just the typical motives of an assimilated missionary, but also as a leader in the mold of Minnie Kellogg, who, while able to convince many to follow their ambitious dreams, they fell far short in execution. The point is that Williams' is being portrayed as yet another individual, who like Kirkland, the Americans, and the Yorkers, could win over these 'trusting' New York Indians leading them like buffalo off a cliff. But if what could be termed "affection" between the Oneida, Brothertown, and the Stockbridge persists to this day, and Williams is remembered as Bread's assistant, the more logical place to locate the influence that led the Oneida to Wisconsin is the close, reciprocal relationship between the tribes, and not a lone, soon-discredited Mohawk, no matter who backed his ambitions.

Stockbridge tribal president Robert Chicks believes the tribes were close for at least a generation or two prior to that. "The move that brought the Munsee to upstate NY wasn't just a matter of convenience as I believe it was part of an evolving sequence of events that had already been agreed to between Oneida and Stockbridge [and included the

Munsee and Brothertown].” “In the brief period that followed was a respite for the trek westward.” This alliance held up over a very long period of time and here in Wisconsin too perhaps because the two tribes are “interlopers” as Chicks puts it, or because they “learned the lessons” from the past as Hauptman believes, but it is evidenced in the Indian Reorganization Act policy period as well, and Chicks continues:

“In reviewing the old ICC [IRA records] records I found it interesting how strong the Stockbridge and Oneida (WI) alliance really was. And of course how much different their views and position was from the NY Oneida. I can find no record of any formal meeting or discussion between Stockbridge and Oneida prior to the ICC hearings but there must have been at least some sort of meeting with an attorney and there just had to be informal discussion among our Tribal members on this subject.

Not many folks are around any longer from that era and memories have faded a great deal but I have this sense that the notion of a monetary settlement must have had some appeal during some very tough years; but that it was uniform [rejection] must point to a greater consensus [between them].”

This affection or relationship between the tribes in Milwaukee has been credited by Ritzenthaler to a “correlation between urbanization and acculturation... The Oneida and Stockbridge are by far the most acculturated tribes in Wisconsin and have provided the largest contribution relative to their size in the state.”⁴⁸

Additional evidence in the record of the Stockbridge influence to remove over the influence of Williams are the facts that the Stockbridge had the most compelling reason to leave New York as their land grant from the Oneidas was not their ancestral land; they sent the most delegates on the exploratory trip in 1821 (6 out of 20 compared with 3 Oneida); they paid the majority of the money to secure the land grant from the Menominee (\$1500), and their senior delegate John Quinney usually spoke first in treaty testimony, which in Indian custom means something. Based on further research, I advance another theory in this proposal to be explored more fully in the dissertation that the Stockbridge not only influenced our desire to leave New York, but also they influenced the temperament, values and skills of the Oneida through early Hudson river contact, at least two generations of intermarriage and co-schooling in New York on Oneida land grants, and their leadership in astute negotiations over many years time to settle the treaty arrangements in Wisconsin, echoing their treaty negotiations with “western” Algonquin relatives in this area for over a hundred years prior to their move here. Evidence of the Stockbridge/Oneida relationship strength is that it pushed forward to urban areas reflected in their close settlement in Milwaukee where members live, work, join clubs and inter-marry while avoiding other Wisconsin groups.⁴⁹

Richter says that “among the few neighboring peoples with whom all autonomous villages of the Five Nations seem to have been regularly at peace during the period when Europeans first arrived on the Turtle’s Back were the Neutrals and Wenros to the west and the Mahicans and River Indians to the east. Each sat astride trade routes to the sources of exotic commodities associated with spiritual power that were not available in the homelands of the Five Nations (shells or wampum came from the area of the Mahicans- or the later Stockbridge). Translated Stockbridge stories from 1914 tell of conflict between the Sturgeon (Stockbridge) and the Rattlesnakes (Oneida) who endeavored to keep the peace between them despite the occasional raid by the Oneida

when the Stockbridge were living on the Hudson pushing the cooperation between the tribes as far back as the 1600s. The Oneida narrative has been the Oneida leading the Stockbridge out of New York as their host tribe. It is no small thing to completely reverse this idea by elevating the Stockbridge above the Oneida as ones who “cleared the path.”⁵⁰

Other Alliances

The dissertation will also look at the other settlements that were allied with the Oneida during the build-up to the revolutionary War. The process that sorts the Haudenosaunee into pro- or anti-American constituencies when the League fire was “covered” after the deaths of the principal headmen of the Onondaga must be the primordial headwaters of change for the Oneida. This would be the first period that shaped what would be called “white” and acculturated, or assimilated by historians and anthropologists who usually give credit to missionaries as change agents rather than other Indians. However Kirkland is only advised about the alliances after they have been made and is not part of the discussions leading to the new pro-American confederacy. Additional research will focus on the Oneida’s relationship with the “cosmopolitan” town of Oquaga south of the Oneida settlement in New York may offer some parallels between it and Milwaukee. Although a “mixed” town of pro- and anti- American activity during the Revolution, Oquaga was one of the allied centers for the pro- American Oneidas- it appears mainly because it was a center of commerce and trade, as well as a place where Oneida and Mohawk children were sent to school. This kind of pattern echoes Wisconsin Oneida using Milwaukee for education and work while maintaining a communal community “home.”

Expansionism

“A primary strategy of the League was peace through expansion. This was not a western-inspired view, but one inherent in the Great Law, itself. In giving the Great Law, the Peacemaker had begun by planting the sacred council Tree of Peace (an eastern white pine) and noting that its shining white roots spread out to the Four Winds. Nations interested in joining the League might follow one of its four Shining Roots back to Onondaga. Once in Onondaga beneath the Tree of Peace, new nations might petition for entry and come into the League on equal footing with the original nations. Clearly the League was created to expand.” Barbara Alice Mann- 2000.⁵¹

Many authors both Iroquoianist and traditional discuss the expansionist and adaptable nature of the Iroquois, but ancient Haudenosaunee expansion precepts have not been associated with the traditional Haudenosaunee values whether in the urban environment or on the reservation. Expansion requires resources of people, material and alliances that are abundant in cities if there is leadership and adherents to mine it. Three main factors drive the expansionism in Iroquois life: the founding precepts of the Iroquois shown in material culture, population concerns in the early years, and the congruency between growth and European capitalism that emphasized and encouraged specific Haudenosaunee values over others. So, forest skills of the war chiefs were encouraged over the village skills of peace and consensus.

*Protocol Belts*⁵²

Evidence of expansionist precepts is found in Iroquois material culture and imagery. The Iroquois- according to the Peacemaker were to live in a “large extended longhouse,” a metaphor for the original five united Haudenosaunee groups where doors

were guarded by the Mohawk and Seneca. "Nations adopted and new laws passed in council were referred to as 'rafters,' added to the longhouse."

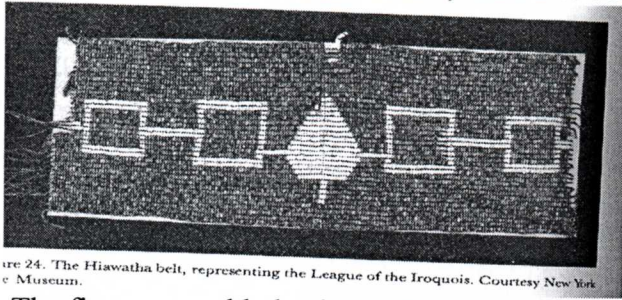


Figure 24. The Hiawatha belt, representing the League of the Iroquois. Courtesy New York State Museum.

The first protocol belt- the Hiawatha Belt symbolized the League's original five groups by the tree of peace symbol in the center as Onondaga fire, and the four other groups joined by links to it, with a link open at both ends to signal expansion possibilities. The Hiawatha belt is the founding belt, the "constitution" of the confederacy.



The Wing, or Dust Fan Belt is the widest protocol belt (31 ½ in, by 14 ½ in) and its symbolic purpose was to protect chiefs from harmful thoughts or from dust that might cloud their vision and ensures prosperity and happiness. "It symbolizes an everlasting white pine tree growing so tall that all nations of the earth could see it, come toward it, and take shelter beneath its branches, provided they bury weapons of war beneath the tree."



The Invitation to Join the League Belt was delivered to other nations to invite them to receive the laws of the Great Peace. It has five hexagons on a black background with four, short white rows of white wampum "that symbolize the roots of the Great Tree of peace, or the paths that lead to the tree, open for all nations to seek peace."

Traditional people focus on other aspects of the protocol belts, but have little say about the expansionist nature of the designs. However, most Haudenosaunee beadwork extends out, ending mid-design where the item ends, and does not stay within the frame of the item being beaded unlike Ojibwa beadwork for example. There is much in the material culture literature that supports the notion of expansion and a deeper cultural discussion connected to urban activities will be part of the finished study.

Population Concerns

Population concerns were a factor that encouraged expansionist ideals of the Iroquois- particularly those who were closest to its epicenter in the east like the Mohawk and later, the Oneida. "Mourning Wars" is the name given for the primary occupation of warrior chiefs who needed to bring back captives to replenish the losses in the village due to war or illness. Population dips were frequently recorded by the French in the early part of the 1600s when it was theorized the Iroquois lost nearly two-thirds of their allied members. Because societal balance was as important as expansion, groups did not assimilate into each other such as when the Oneida came close to extinction, but Mohawk men helped increase their numbers preserving the younger brother's representation in council. Although each group was competitive in striving for dominance; personal, lineage, village, and tribal autonomy could only be preserved by the adherence to the carefully structured checks and balance of the Peacemaker's vision for a healthy society. Expansion was not an option for the Haudenosaunee, but a necessity.

Capitalism

One congruency between the fledgling American society and the Haudenosaunee was/is capitalism in the sense that the body politic either grows or dies. There is no end to the needs of growth because a confederacy is strong if it dominates, and it dominates if it is expansive. However, while the battle for Iroquois growth over Euro-American growth was inevitable as the Iroquois were unlikely to just give up autonomy, it was doomed as Indians lost the population battle before the Revolution, and their society was a flooded soon after by colonists. Strong alliances with Euro-Americans could have made the difference but both New York officials and settlers wanted Indian land, preferably for free, and without numerical domination or abundant resources the Iroquois had little to offer those whites who could be allies. Settlers and New York officials both wanted land and the Iroquois attempted to control that resource as "landlords" but an early and weak federal system fell to the "states rights" insistence of the Yorkers. Although there is congruency between Iroquois growth and Euro-American mercantile capitalism, the emphasis on the forest economy dismantled the balance of the original League. Deborah Doxtator's unpublished dissertation argues that "the two previously separate 'sides' [of the clearing and the forest] brought about a fundamental shift away from the clearing as the economic center." "Increasingly the reduced resources of each community were directed towards external Euro-North American markets as reserves became colonies of the surrounding Euro- North American economies."⁵³

The point here is that the Haudenosaunee acted very much like capitalists even prior to population domination, stripping the area of nearly all the fur-bearing animals in the 17th century and waging war in the west to capture that market for their own. When that failed due to the French, they turned to their last resource- land- usually buttressing their hold on it by adoption, although by then, perhaps due to a weakened League, those groups no longer came as captives who must become Haudenosaunee, but were incorporated whole as nations or tribes like the Tuscarora, Stockbridge and Brothertown. When denied the opportunity to exploit their land by New York officials who needed to project their tenuous hold over the area from other North American land-grabbers like Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, or the federal government, those tribes most east were

forced to sell what remained and move. Groups who chose resistance like the Tecumseh's coalition were decimated as Aupaumut predicted.

Adoption

Oneidas have a particular skill for adding "new stings on the cradle." In the literature and traditional teachings they have been assigned the nurturing, or female role of adoption among the Iroquois and with the need of the Confederacy to shore up the most eastern flank after the Mohawk are chased out, the Oneida served in that capacity for several generations before leaving for Wisconsin. The Wisconsin community is by far the largest of all Oneida settlements (17,000 to New York's 2,000, and Canada's 3,000) and is the largest of all single Iroquois communities. Many authors put this accomplishment down to acculturation and the change from matrilineal decendency to bilateral decendency, but this is a false theory both because there were very few barriers to adoption prior to land squeezes, and also because in the other Oneida communities membership roles were determined by who had bought land in the new locations- and usually decendency was traced down the father's side based on those original purchases in all three communities. This is not traditional.

At the time of the Revolution the majority of the Oneida sided with the Americans as did the Tuscarora, portions of the Oquaga settlement, the more northern Catholic Caughnawaga settlement (allied but removed from the League), and various warriors from the Onondaga, Cayuga and Mohawk. I hypothesize that when the League was weakened both by deaths and strategy differences, the pro-American Iroquois re-constituted a confederacy that was in line with their adopted kin, and their relationships with the surrounding colonists. The differences between those in the Confederacy may have been due to geography as the Seneca were influenced by French and western Indian ideas of *resistance* compared to eastern Indian alliances who had new ideas of *accommodation*, usually sold by Stockbridge chief Hendrick Aupaumut even before the Stockbridge removed to Oneida after the War. As Richter says, "Indian adoptees knew the rules. Most neither displayed extreme loyalty nor itched to flee; instead they settled into a life of external conformity and made the best of their lot. They had no choice, for their lives depended on it."⁵⁴

For the dissertation the adoption question needs more information to determine how important this method affected their decision to become American, and how the method may have affected their decision to move from New York, and whether this strategy can be at all ascribed to those who migrated to Milwaukee.

Race

Race is an issued reflected in the Indian community through the surveys of Ritzenthaler in Milwaukee, and pushing back up the stream as well, although race is rarely part of any historical discussion of Indians or the Iroquois. James Oberly notes the Stockbridge were accustomed to "multi-racial settings" in New England when many free Blacks married Algonquin women and that "the mixed-race New Jersey Brothertown came to live among the Stockbridge" in Massachusetts. Belknap and Morse noted the presence of free Blacks at the Oneida-Stockbridge villages in their 1796 visit, however, Stockbridge and Brothertown land grants from the Oneida in New York specifically

barred Negro children, and the Stockbridge struggled with racial divisions after moving to Wisconsin. In Ritzenthaler's surveys Ojibwa people- who were also Midewiwin practitioners who offer the interviewers the Ojibwas word "muhqcewaas" as the word for "black meat...which is inferior," and "Don't be deceived by people with dark skin." The interviewer noted, "Their people do not like the Negro and the Mexican too well," or "hostile against Blacks + Mexicans." There is no discussion of race by Stockbridge or Oneida in the surveys despite the land-grant restrictions. Most authors looking at east coast Indians focus on ethnic identity or tribal factions, but in Wisconsin especially, the factor of race was real and led one observer of the fledgling New York Indian settlement to say, "the majority of those settled near the Little Chute are half-negro."⁵⁵

What was the nature of the relationship between the Algonquin Indians and the Oneida around race? Did the Stockbridge and Brothertowners affect Oneida ideas of race when they were adopted in New York? Did race have any affect on who came to Wisconsin? Did the Oneida and Stockbridge then have less distaste for Blacks and Mexicans leading them to venture into the urban centers more quickly than other long-standing groups?

Dreams

"The Iroquois have, properly speaking, only a single Divinity,- the dream," observed a mid-17th century French missionary. "To it they render their submission, and follow all its orders with the utmost exactness." Of the importance of Iroquois dreaming Richter says, "They communicated the deepest messages and wishes of one's soul, wishes that were the result of its travels to places and things in the spirit world." "Villagers vied to fathom the meaning of each other's most cryptic messages of the soul and then assisted in the cathartic playing out of unconscious fantasies small and large, even ones that flouted usual sexual or other norms." Dream-guessing was part of the popular Mid-Winter Ceremony a seven-day feast that "was associated with female activities...Mother Earth was rousing from her winter's slumbers and preparing to host the three sisters [corn, beans and squash]."⁵⁶

Missionaries recorded the importance of dreams and unfulfilled desires in accounts through the 20th century, and dreams were written about by the Wisconsin Oneida in the WPA Notebook biographies in the 1940s. Urban Oneida (women talk about dreams more publically) are just as preoccupied with dreams as their ancestors, although the meaning of dreams has changed from personal desires to foretelling the future. "I have the dreams" one Oneida said in an educational setting inferring she could tell the future. "I have prayed to Jesus to take away these dreams" said another who thought she had foreseen the World Trade Center act of terrorism. Within the context of the Haudenosaunee world view dreams could also be viewed as the most autonomous act of an individual which is respected and "solved" by the community- simultaneously acknowledging the needs and interplay of both. "Communal guessing at Midwinter, for example, was not directed at merely appeasing the frustrated souls of individuals; they were also concerned indirectly with the well-being of the community or nation as a whole." Dream-guessing required more than a Shakespearian skill of pantomime as the dream was also presented as a riddle. In 1639 another French priest related his experience with the Huron whose dream-guessing is similar to the Iroquois:

"Each person's own and special desire or 'Ondinonc'- according as he is able to get information and enlightenment by dreams- not openly, however, but through Riddles. For example, some will say, 'What I desire and what I am seeking is that which bears a lake within itself': and by this is intended a pumpkin or calabash. Another will say, 'What I ask for is seen in my eyes- it will be marked with various colors': and because the same Huron word that signifies 'eye' also signifies 'glass bead,' this is a clue to divine what he desires- namely some kind of beads of this material, and of different colors. Another will intimate that he desires an Andacwandet feast- that is to say, many fornications and adulteries. His Riddle being guessed, there is no lack of persons to satisfy his desire."⁵⁷

Dreams remain important to the Oneida in the urban environment but what this signifies in terms of upstreaming to a lesser-known past is unknown at this point, but informants discuss dreams without being asked. Do mostly women dream like this? Are there themes? Did their mother's or relatives also dream? What have they been told about dreaming? What do they think dreaming means in relation to being Indian, or Iroquois?

Conclusion

"All I remember is when I grew up is that the only worse than being Oneida was being Stockbridge." This statement by a Oneida/Menominee of the area is like the one from the fellow Wisconsin Oneida tribal member who thought Oneidas wanted to be "white people." I had asked the man if he remembered any stories about who led the Oneida to Wisconsin, and after struggling for a bit, that was his answer. The inference is clear. To be an Indian who adopted themselves to the Americans, who did not heroically "resist" white contamination of their culture, was not a real Indian, and suggests a kind of authentic Indianness scale in which the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brothertown groups were at the bottom. Recently I watched Stockbridge president, and Great Lakes Inter-Tribal Council president Robert Chicks deliver his bold and eloquent "State of the Tribes" speech to the Wisconsin Legislature, breathing life- not only into the intertribal organization- but his own nation who have been fighting to keep their community together under white pressure for nearly a hundred years longer than the Oneida. I realized I had not collected any data on the Stockbridge myself until nearly the end of my proposal research, and then only because I had gaps to fill in a story. For all my insight in to the literature and data, I also had not considered the Stockbridge worthy of study as group who could help us recover our past even though I knew the two tribes had been close for years.

To play on a quote by Arthur Somers Roche⁵⁸, old Haudenosaunee precepts cut a channel into Oneida society and the cultural mind-set of the League's people, into which all other later adaptations flowed. Ancient Iroquois precepts of expansion, leadership, diplomacy, alliances, and adoption were practiced in the urban environment and are no more of a modern adaptation than the reviving of primordial ceremonies or the clan system the Oneida wish to reinstate today. The urban Oneida who dominated in Milwaukee, initiating and running most intertribal organizations, are the ancestors of those who moved from New York in the early part of the 19th century, and were perhaps influenced by their very old friends the Stockbridge who remain strongly connected to the Oneida yet. These Indians adopted themselves to the Americans, maybe because they remade the Americans in familiar images of themselves (as present-day traditional Haudenosaunee argue) and found a congruence to them, or perhaps because Americans

looked like the best bet going forward to those close enough to witness their birth. Upstreaming the urban dominance of the Oneida in Milwaukee has caused me to hypothesize that the headwaters of this change is found in the time of the American Revolution, and is likely the result of chains of friendship and adoption with Indians and whites both, through items of cultural stability like leadership and alliances. The goal of my dissertation is to fill out this alternative cultural history by using the language and images of the ancient Iroquois in order to remind the Oneida of the *other* set of cultural skills of the Haudenosaunee have been practicing for a thousand years.

Sources

Specifically looking at the Wisconsin Oneida there are fifty reels compiled by upstreaming inventor William N. Fenton and Iroquoianist author Francis Jennings at the Newberry Library of early post-contact history. There is testimony by Wisconsin Oneida in several treaties over the move to New York, writings in English from those Oneida who attended early New York mission schools, and an autobiography by Chief Cornelius Hill and writings by his daughter Josephine Hill Webster. Also there are several other diaries at the University of Wisconsin- Green Bay such as one by John Archiquette relative of Oscar Archiquette. The Draper Collection from the Wisconsin Historical Society holds important information on the early Wisconsin Oneida reservation, and Samuel Kirkland's Journal (missionary to the Oneida in New York) is a wealth of information about their social world prior and just past the Revolutionary War.

Speaking more to urban and Milwaukee sources, the Wisconsin Oneida participated in two Works Progress Administration Language and Folklore Projects, which were unique to WPA work because a linguist headed the language project, and also because the Wisconsin Oneida (in typical fashion) insisted they be allowed to record their own stories, in whatever manner they wished in the biographical project. A very small sample of that recently recovered work is in Herbert Lewis's (assisted by Gordon McLester) "Oneida Lives: Long-Lost Voices of the Wisconsin Oneidas." Robert Ritzenthaler conducted two studies in the late 1940s and early 1950s of Wisconsin Oneidas on the reservation as well as a study of urban Indians in Milwaukee, assisted by informants from Oneida which is housed at the Milwaukee Public Museum. There is also 450 videos of Wisconsin Oneida elders to mine for urban information. Nancy Lurie's notes from early Milwaukee meetings and pow-wows in the 1960's on are in UWM's archive collections, and the Archives have many issues of the AIIAG's Smog Signals, as well as issues of the Menominee newsletter "Drums." Gordon McLester has assembled another book from the 2006 history conference- yet unpublished- and he was kind enough to let me download its contents, including a good descriptive piece written by Milwaukee's Opal Skenandore. There are also some articles about Milwaukee's natives in old alternative newspapers like the Kalidascope, and La Raza!

I have many formal and informal interviews with Milwaukee Oneida like Opal Skenandore, or Mindimoye a Wisconsin Oneida who planed the takeover of the Coast Guard Station and with a current IRB permission (good until December of 2009) more interviews will follow. Others have heard my presentations and are offering data such as Diane Amour who had a box of clippings on Milwaukee activism bequeathed to her, or

Greg Johns (Oneida) who offered his mother's large scarp-book for me to look over. My family as well has left me in the care of a large bag of photos, death certificates and other bits and pieces to copy and store and I find I am in the part-time business of helping others reclaim items they did not know existed like the photos of Hugh Danforth's father's bar in Milwaukee in Ritzenthaler's materials. As the project matures source materials will accumulate and the problem may change from finding them, to where and how to store them.

I have spent some time on researching pow-wows and lately they are promoted as non-traditional by "conservative" natives- as traditionalists are increasingly calling themselves- but the evidence in the record shows pow-wows have been and remain as useful in mitigating Indian/Indian and Indian/white relationships as any other formal protocol such as the Grand Council. Research that approaches the modern pow-wow with historical dignity may cause conservatives to appreciate its adaptive format rather than simply rejecting it as non-traditional form of ceremony. There is a wealth of data on the more modern form of pow-wows in cities that I have found in Chicago, Minneapolis and New York to name a few.

Branching out to other cities is more a sketch at this point, but the Newberry Library has an archived collection of the Chicago's American Indian Center (a bit of which is in Ritzenthaler's materials), including a intertribal newsletter. There is also another young researcher I met at the Oneida history conference and we have agreed to, and begun to share sources. Further study is needed in Detroit and Warren, Michigan, Los Angeles, and local cities such as Seymour, Green Bay and Fond du Lac to provide some context for Milwaukee's relative position to the tribe over other cities in Wisconsin.

¹ Fenton, William N in Hauptman, Laurence M, *Seven Generations of Leadership*, pg. 143. Fenton is called "Dean" in several books, see Wallace in Foster, *Extending the Rafters*, pg 2. The term "Iroquoianist" is used in many books, but see "Representation and Politics," in Landsman, pg. 432. The Iroquois as much-studied people is in nearly every book after about 1985, but see Foster in *Extending the Rafters*, pg. 2, and Daniel K. Richter's, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (1992) pg. vii. There are many examples of "upstreaming," for in-depth description see, "The Career of William N. Fenton and the Development of Iroquoian Studies," by Wallace, Anthony F. C., pg. 1-16. "Mohawks in High Steel," Joseph Mitchell in the *New Yorker*, September 17, (1949), pg. 38.

² Graymont, Barbara "The Oneidas and the American Revolution," pg. 32 in *The Oneida Indian Experience*, 1988.

³ Most of the information for this section was pulled from two unpublished dissertations: *Ethnic Identity and Boundary Maintenance in Three Oneida Communities* by Jack Campisi (1974) and *Historical Changes in the Kinship System of the Oneida Indian*, Harry S. Basehart (1952). Other "traditional" influences in the section especially those that refer to the creation story or gender are found in *Encyclopedia of the Haudenosaunee* by Johansen and Mann, 2000; and *Iroquoian Women*, (2000) by Barbara Mann describes Iroquoian words as they related to the creation story. Concepts of the Covenant Chain can be found in *Beyond the Covenant Chain*, by Richter and James Merrell, (1987).

⁴ Campisi, 1974, pg. 60.

⁵ Campisi's argument has been made in his dissertation (1974), in and has been recycled without examination in many, many pieces including his own in *The Oneida Indian Experience: Two Perspectives* (1988), and *The Oneida Indian Journey: From New York to Wisconsin, 1784-1860*. See also Horsman's essays in both books.

⁶ Quote in Graymont's *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, (1972) pg. 113. Discussion of self preservation in Mann (2005) pg. 13.

⁷ This theory is derived from several sources: Haan's (1980) "The Problem of Iroquois Neutrality;" Levinson's "An Explanation for the Oneida-colonist Alliance in the American Revolution" (1976); Ricciardelli's "The Adoption of White Agriculture by the Oneida Indians" (1963); Lehman's "The End of the Iroquois Mystique" (1990).

⁸ Most of the information from the section on Oneidas in the Revolution come from Graymont: *Iroquois in the American Revolution* (1972), and "Oneidas and the American Revolution" (1988). Also, David Lehman, "The End of the Iroquois Mystique" (1990); *Rebellious Younger Brother: Oneida Leadership and Diplomacy, 1750-1800* (2009); Calvin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country*.

⁹ Support for this is in Campisi's essay in *Oneida Indian Journey* (1999) pg. 78.

¹⁰ Quote about attachment on pg 86 of *Iroquois in the American Revolution*, Graymont (1972); quote about trade in *Ordeal of the Longhouse*, Richter (1992) pg. 29. also, more about the unsatisfactory relationship of trade in Calvin G. Calloway *The American Revolution in Indian Country*.

¹¹ Quote in Graymont in "The Oneidas and the American Revolution" in *The Oneida Indian Experience* (1988) pg. 34. Kirkland was surprised by this alliance in Graymont in *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* pg. 101. Last quote in Norton and he talks about the betrayal of the "Carrying Place" and loss of prestige (146, 148)

¹² The alliance is discussed in Norton, and Graymont (1972, 1988). Fuller discussion of Oquaga in *The American Revolution in Indian Country*, Calloway (1995) pgs 108-128.

¹³ Oneida "traditions" of Lucy Tauder, and Polly Cooper are in *The Oneida Indian Experience: Two Perspectives* pgs. 145-146. Polly Cooper tradition also in *Oneida Iroquois Folklore, Myth, and History*, Anthony Wonderley (2004).

¹⁴ Quote and information about Sullivan's Raid in *George Washington's War on Native America* (2005) ; quote on pg. 31.

¹⁵ Norton

¹⁶ Quotes are from "As They Were Faithful: Chief Hendrick Aupaumut and the Struggle for Stockbridge survival, 1757-1830, (originally published in 1979) Jeanne and James P Ronda in Don Fixico's *An Anthology of Western Great Lakes Indian History* (1987).

¹⁷ A fuller discussion of adoption is in a later section but see especially Norton (2009); also Richter *Ordeal* (1992) in particular pgs 32-35, 65-66.

¹⁸ Quote in *The Journals of Samuel Kirkland 1764-1807* edited by Walter Plinkington (1980) pgs 164, 167.

¹⁹ Discussion of progressives and traditionals is in "Protestants, Pagans, and Sequences among the North American Indians, 1760-1860" (1963); also in "The Oneida Nation: a Composite Portrait, 1784-1816" in

The Oneida Indian Journey (1999) pgs. 19-52.; *Seven Generations of Leadership* (2008) by Hauptman pg. xiv.

²⁰ Quote from *Chief Daniel Bread and the Oneida Nation Indians of Wisconsin* (2002) pg. 30. All of the information on Bread is from this book.

²¹ This information along with other observations is in "The Wisconsin Oneidas Between Disasters," Campisi (1999) pgs 70-84.

²² See for instance *Daniel Bread* (2006) pg. 101, or Campisi in *Oneida Indian Journey* pg. 75,78. James W. Oberly makes this same observation about "parties" and "factions" in *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1972* (2005) pgs 8-11.

²³ *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Indian Nation From Revolution Through Removal, 1765-1840*, Karim Michel Trio (PhD dissertation, 1999).

²⁴ All the information for this section is in Hauptman's *The Oneida Indians in the Age of Allotment, 1860-1920*, (2006).

²⁵ Nancy Lurie has one of the few articles looking at Indians in Milwaukee; "Milwaukee's Native Presence in the Period of White Contact" (1996), and the introduction to *Wisconsin Indians* (revised 2001 edition).

²⁶ Marion Ogden's memoir about Jane (without a last name) was given to the author by Krista Varos in 2007. Krista knew Marion from church and read to her for years before receiving a box of items from her estate. Jane was identified by a tribal historian who filled in the additional details of her family.

²⁷ In "Urbanism, Urbanization, and Acculturation." *American Anthropology*, vol. 53, No 1, Jan-mar, 1951. Ritzenthaler's article, "Indians in an Urban Situation," is in *The Wisconsin Archeologist*

²⁸ Nancy Oestreich Lurie Papers, 1947-1988, box 1, file 13.

²⁹ Letter is in Ritzenthaler's materials at the Milwaukee Public Museum

³⁰ Interview with Opal Skenandore, 2003 in personal possession.

³¹ "Innovation and Tradition in a Changing World," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. Spring, 2008: Vol 91, No 3.

³² Nancy Oestreich Lurie Papers, 1947-1988, box 1, file 8.

³³ Majority of information in this section is from unpublished thesis: "Indian Activism at Milwaukee's Coast Guard Station: Culture Power and Sovereignty" Renee Zakhar (2003).

³⁴ "Smog Signals" in UWM Special Collections

³⁵ This section is compiled from within the *Handbook of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy)* . Eds. Bruce E. Johansen and Barbara A. Mann (2000).

³⁶ *Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influences on Early American Feminists* by Sally Roesch Wagner (2001) pg.32.

³⁷ All quotes from Robert Chicks in email to this author between 4/15 and 5/15 2009.

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- ³⁸ Richter quote from *Ordeal*, Preface: pg.vii. Quote from Hauptman in *The Oneida Indians in the Age of Allotment, 1860-1920*. (2006) pg.xii.
- ³⁹ "Representation and Politics: Contesting Histories of the Iroquois" (1992) *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol 7, No. 4. (Nov.). pgs. 425-447.
- ⁴⁰ Field Notes from Oneida History Conference in 2006.
- ⁴¹ *Ethnic Identity and Boundary Maintenance in Three Oneida Communities* by Jack Campisi (1974). "The Wisconsin Oneidas in the Preallotment Years" by Reginald Horsman in *The Oneida Indian Experience*, but also his essay "The Origins of Oneida Removal to Wisconsin, 1815-1822" in *The Oneida Indian Journey*. "Lap dog" comment in George Washinton's War on Native America by Barbara Mann (2005) pg 34.
- ⁴² "Milwaukee's Native American Presence in the Period of White Contact" by Nancy Lurie (1996)
- ⁴³ "A Structural Sketch of Iroquois Ritual" by William C. Sturtevant in *Extending the Rafters*.
- ⁴⁴ First Quote, pg 41; second pg. 41-42, both from Richter's *Ordeal*.
- ⁴⁵ In *Seven Generations*, pg 203.
- ⁴⁶ "Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy" by Mary Druke in *Beyond the Covenant Chain* (1987) pgs. 29-39.
- ⁴⁷ Additional ideas of the types of Covenant Chains are in "Covenant and Consensus: The Iroquois and the English, 1676-1760" by Richard L Haan in *Beyond*.
- ⁴⁸ "Indians in an Urban Situation" pg. 151.
- ⁴⁹ Most of this information comes from *A Nation of Statesman: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1972*. (2005).
- ⁵⁰ Quote from *Ordeal*, pg 29. Stockbridge stories are from the an opening section of the book *Muh-he-ka-ne-ok: A History of the Stockbridge Nation* by J.N. Davidson, A.M. (1893). The UWM copy has this front section although it is not in any other copy I have seen. The section is a file from the Smithsonian Institute by Gordon M. Day, requested on Oct 21, 1962 for a file labeled J.D. Prince, "A Tale in the Hudson river Canguage" (? written) American ...NS. 1905, Vol 7, No 1 p. 74-84.
- ⁵¹ Quote in *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* by Barbara Alice Mann (2000) pg. 143.
- ⁵² All information for Protocol Belts and Ceremony translations are from *Knowledge of the Elders: The Iroquois Condolence Cane Tradition* edited by Jose' Barreiro and Carol Cornelius.
- ⁵³ "What Happened to the Iroquois Clans? A Study of Clans in Three Nineteenth Century Rotinohsyonni Communities" Doxtator, Deborah. (1996). PhD dissertation, Department of History, University of Western Ontario.
- ⁵⁴ Quote in *Ordeal*, pg. 72.
- ⁵⁵ Quote in *Nation of Statesman*, pg. 58. I was told by a Brothertown member about the racial issue which he said was in Oneida Land Grant from 1790, and found by Campisi who wrote their Recognition history.
- ⁵⁶ Quote in *Ordeal* pg. 25. Quote about dream-guessing in *Iroquoian Women*, pg. 104.

⁵⁷ Quote from *The Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter* by Elizabeth Tooker (1970). Pg 98.

⁵⁸ "Worry is a thin stream of fear trickling through the mind. If encouraged, it cuts a channel into which all other thoughts are drained." *Arthur Somers Rache*