

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF
Jennifer E. Jameson for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Anthropology, Design and Human Environment, and Anthropology presented on December 5, 2007.

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David R. Brauner

During the early 19th Century, the fur trade brought many Iroquois to the Pacific Northwest as working primarily as voyageurs for the North West Company. When the North West Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company, the Iroquois employees merged as well. After retirement, some settled in the Willamette Valley and surrounding areas. These Iroquois have been an underrepresented group in the Pacific Northwest history. When archaeological investigations are completed, the Iroquois are overlooked as possible occupants. The purpose of this research is to reconstruct the history of the Iroquois and to create an archaeological description of what their material culture might look like in the Pacific Northwest. Theories involving ethnicity in archaeology, along with documentary evidence and archaeological data, were used to complete body of knowledge that brings the Pacific Northwest Iroquois story to light, and create a catalog of the ethnic markers for archaeologists to look for.

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Iroquois of the Pacific Northwest Fur Trade:
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by
Jennifer E. Jameson

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APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Anthropology

Director of the Interdisciplinary Studies Program

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Jennifer E. Jameson, Author

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Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

“But it may be said, in truth, that, in their fine physical type, and in their energy of character, and love of independence, no people, among the aboriginal race, have ever exceeded, if any has ever equaled, the Iroquois” (Schoolcraft 1847: 3).

The North American Fur Trade is an industry that started in the 1500s and is still in existence today. The trade is an international business that created networks all over the world with an extensive documented history. Much has been written about the important dates, the owners of large companies, and other Euro-American men with prestigious positions in those companies. Little, however, has been written about the actual workers who kept the Fur Trade in business, in particular, the hunters, trappers and boatmen. This is especially true for the historical record of the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest, possibly because it is more recent history than on the East coast. At most fur trade forts, men from several different ethnic groups worked these positions under contract and often lived together in the employee housing. Among the different groups in the Pacific Northwest were Europeans, French Canadians, Hawaiians, local Natives, and Iroquois. The European and French Canadian employees have been studied to some extent, and the Hawaiians to a lesser degree (Brauner 2000) (Brauner 2004) (Rogers 1993). The local Natives and the Iroquois have not yet been thoroughly investigated and are often not mentioned in related literature, especially the Iroquois.

The Iroquois have been active in the Fur Trade since its formation. They were among the first Native Americans to trade with the Europeans who traveled to the East Coast of America. In the early 1800s, when the Fur Trade was in full swing in the Pacific Northwest, Iroquois were employed to not only work as trappers and boatmen but to teach other employees their famous skills in the trade. Many Iroquois ended up coming

to the Pacific Northwest as requested by their employer, the North West Company, and most shifted to the Hudson's Bay Company after the merger in 1821. Although they were a significant presence in the Pacific Northwest in the early 19th Century, the Iroquois have been almost completely left out of our regional history. Therefore, they are not usually considered when historians and archaeologists in the area conduct research of the fur trade. For Pacific Northwest archaeologists, the Iroquois material culture is foreign. Due to incomplete information, archaeologists have already uncovered Iroquoian objects but have not been able to identify them or have simply mislabeled them as belonging to a local Native group.

The above dilemmas drive this thesis, the purpose of which is two-fold. First, in order to help identify artifacts already uncovered, and to help archaeologists in the future, an archaeological description of Iroquoian material culture will be discussed. I propose that the Iroquois would have left distinct cultural items that could signify them archaeologically. This hypothesis is made using written information and tested against excavated Iroquoian sites as well as fur trade sites in the Pacific Northwest, concentrating on sites that we know housed Iroquois. Secondly, the history of the Iroquois will be pieced together, documenting them in the Pacific Northwest history more thoroughly. This research is guided by the principles of historic archaeology that include the methodology of using the historical record as well as the archaeological record to support theories made.

Because the Iroquois were spread out across the Pacific Northwest, were involved in traveling brigades, and then retired in the Northwest, sites of Iroquoian occupations are numerous, yet many locations are unknown at the present. The extent of Iroquoian

occupation in the Pacific Northwest is currently unknown. Consequently, this research will become more valuable as time goes on and more Iroquoian occupied sites are discovered.

Chapter 2 discusses finding ethnic markers in archaeology and the theoretical ideas used for this research. Next, chapter 3 is a brief history of the Iroquois nation followed by a discussion of their social organization, spirituality, and material culture. Chapter 4 briefly covers the Iroquoian historic archaeology found on the east coast. The Iroquois involvement in the Pacific fur trade is detailed in chapter 5 with a brief history of their work in the eastern fur trade, and life after retirement. In addition, some specific families that now have a long history in the Pacific Northwest will be examined. A discussion of the archaeology of Iroquoian culture observable in Pacific Northwest context is presented in chapter 6. In chapter 7, the archaeology of the fur trade that has already been uncovered is reviewed by exploring site reports of excavations performed at Fort Astoria, Fort Spokane, Fort Okanogan, and Fort Vancouver. In this chapter, some possible Iroquoian objects that have been misidentified or simply left undetermined will be discussed. Lastly, Chapter 8 will summarize the findings of this research and its limitations along with goals for future research.

Method

When reading historical documents from the early days in the Pacific Northwest, there are brief excerpts about the Iroquois, and usually only brief negative descriptions. Some historians and archaeologists know that the Iroquois were here, but their presence

has been mostly overlooked. The plan for this research is first to learn more about the Iroquois, in particular, their material culture. Then, I plan to extract as much information that I can about the specific Iroquois who came to the Pacific Northwest using a variety of historical documents. Also, the historical archaeology of Iroquois in the East will be briefly examined. After considering these three areas of information, I hope to compile a description of what Iroquoian sites might look like in the Pacific Northwest. It is hoped that this work will make the Iroquois a familiar ethnic group to area archaeologists and other experts.

This project began with an interview with Dr. David Brauner, PhD, in order to obtain ideas for research directions. He loaned me D.J. Roger's thesis on Hawaiians in the fur trade for a guideline and listed several books to check out at the library. I read through many books from the library at Oregon State University as well as from the Inter Library Loan belonging to other Universities. These included historical journals, formal historical records, archaeological site reports and resources about Iroquois culture and history. I was welcomed at the Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde by Eirik Thorsgaard, allowed access to their extensive library, and was able to speak briefly with a man of partial Iroquoian descent, Bobby Mercier. Also, I visited Fort Vancouver's archaeology department, where many fur trade fort artifacts are held, and was given much assistance from Bob Cromwell. I assembled a general history of the Iroquois people and a description of their material culture. I included all significant items, even those that might perish quickly in the archaeological record, because I know it is likely that there will be other related research in the future so I wanted it to be complete. Also, strange and unlikely things are found occasionally in a perfect situation for preservation,

so we need to be ready for these finds. In addition, I compiled an itemization of what the Iroquoian toolkit in the Pacific Northwest might include. I chose these items based on durability of the material in an archaeological setting and level of cultural significance to the Iroquois. After compiling all the historic written data, I summarized the important information, and pieced together a history of the Iroquois in the Pacific Northwest. Lastly, I reviewed site reports from fur trade forts that had been mentioned in the historical record as having employed Iroquois, noting artifacts that were possibly of Iroquoian manufacture.

Previous Work

Studies have been conducted about the fur trade in general. In fact there is a North American Fur Trade Conference to present papers on the topic, unfortunately they do not occur very frequently (Payne 1994:481). Payne (1994) quoted Arthur Ray as saying "...while the writing of the social history of the fur trade is still much discussed, it is less frequently attempted" (Payne 1994:482). Archaeologists researching fur posts have found it difficult to come up with a general description of fur post society. Every fort had its own set of social structures and is therefore distinct from others (Payne 1994:494).

Similar work has been completed to try to identify ethnic markers in fur trade archaeology. Susan Kardas (1971) wrote a doctoral dissertation on the relationships between the ethnic groups working at Fort Vancouver. Kardas was compelled to research this topic because, before then, most fort archaeology was completed for architectural reconstruction with little regard for who lived there. Also, because the living quarters of

the employees were usually the least impressive, they were given even less attention (Kardas 1971: 1-3). The work Kardas completed provides a starting point for archaeologists interested in this area of research. At this point it is important for archaeologists to focus on the different ethnic groups individually to create separate models of material culture.

An archaeologist who has been advocating research on these ethnic groups in the Pacific Northwest fur trade is Dr. David Brauner. Dr. Brauner created the “French Canadian Archaeological Project” which was started to identify French Canadians who worked in the Pacific Northwest during the fur trade. Dr. Brauner began researching these families because they were misrepresented and prejudiced against in the historical record, as were many other groups. Because of Dr. Brauner’s work, many families have been identified and studied to learn about their cultural habits. Dr. Brauner is in hopes of one day having every ethnic group that was involved in the Pacific Northwest fur trade researched and documented. Many of Dr. Brauner’s students have completed work on this very subject. For example, one student, Carolyn Patricia McAleer wrote a Master’s thesis on ethnicity in the consumer choice patterns of fur trade Native wives that settled in the Willamette Valley. McAleer used European made ceramics as the basis for her research, and unfortunately, did not find them to be a good indication of ethnicity, but her research is still very useful (McAleer 2003: 134). Not only did McAleer compile valuable information about these families, but once the material culture for the individual ethnic groups of the women has been studied, it is likely that her research will yield more information for archaeologists. Aside from McAleer, another one of Dr. Brauner’s students completed a Master’s thesis on ethnicity in the archaeological record. D.J.

Rogers wrote about the Hawaiians that were brought over to work in the Pacific Northwest fur trade and their ethnic mark in the archaeology. Rogers found some Hawaiian items in the fur trade archaeological record, most importantly a distinctive Hawaiian shrine. The shrine was previously misinterpreted by archaeologists. In the conclusion portion of his paper he wrote, “One Hawaiian shrine is only a teaser, an inadequate demonstration of ethnicity. The warning it gives is clear. A broader understanding of the culture of the fur trade will prevent abrupt dismissal of anomalies” (Rogers 1993: 122).

Chapter 2: ETHNICITY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

This research is guided by the research and theories involving ethnicity as it relates to archaeology. In order to complete an archaeological model of any ethnic group, ethnicity must first be discussed. There has been much work and debate on this topic that is outside the scope of this paper. It is, however, important to take a few key items away from the information that has been created about ethnicity and briefly discuss how it relates to archaeology by looking at previous completed work.

Ethnicity is a set of characteristics that set apart a group of people, characteristics which are acknowledged from inside and outside the group. Once these characteristics are determined it is possible to study interactions between ethnic groups. Ethnicity is more than just a race of people; it is a group that share “common customs,” according to Max Weber (Guibernau 1997: 2). It is also more the “perception” of these commonalities, than the actual commonalities themselves, and often includes a shared set of historic memories, a common territory, and a general way of living (Guibernau 1997: 2-3). The shared traditions do not make the group but instead facilitate the groups coming together. Using these traditions together with mythology to define the ethnic group, the group can then widen its membership to include more people. Ethnicity is not a thing, it is an idea. It is a group of people that do things in a similar way that is different from other groups (Diaz-Andreu, et al. 2005:86).

Sometimes the boundaries of an ethnic group are not entirely clear. James Clifford (1988) wrote about an ethnic quandary involving the Mashpee Indians of Massachusetts. When the town of Mashpee was established it was a place for Native

Americans and other non-whites to live. The Indians of Mashpee were all from different tribes, but after 350 years of living together, they had developed their own ethnic group. A trial was held in order to determine if they were a “tribe” or not which ultimately resulted in them not being recognized (Clifford 1988:277-336). This court case brings up an important issue of ethnicity. How do we determine an ethnic group? According to the definition of ethnicity discussed earlier, the Mashpee group would be considered an ethnic group, but obviously this topic is up for debate. Clifford has written much on the topic of ethnicity, identity and culture. Primarily, Clifford has written about these topics in relation to ethnography, but some ideas are relevant to archaeology too, including the Mashpee example. It is important to remember that when we are examining a culture, we are in a culture ourselves. So, one researcher might interpret data differently from another researcher because of different cultural backgrounds. Also, Clifford has found that the pressure of “progress” results in indigenous, or weaker groups of people in a society, losing traditions, but at the same time some traditions are made stronger. Instead of extinctions we see transformations of culture (Clifford 1988:16). This idea is very important to archaeology and is the basis of this research. Also, Clifford believes that we are all connected in this world and are all different degrees of being “caught between cultures” with boundaries that are not so simple (Clifford 1988:11).

Diaz-Andreu, et al. (2005) wrote that ethnic markers in archaeology are messy and do not fit into neat little categories. Most material culture and other aspects of culture are blurred between multiple groups (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005:93). When the boundaries of an ethnic group are changed (with trade, marriage, and the like) the groups maintain their identity. The boundaries are not as important, or visible as the

relationships and nature of the boundaries (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005:94-95). At the same time, ethnicity is as much about differences from other groups as it is similarities within a group. Ethnic markers are a “product more of contact than isolation,” meaning that when groups are in contact they have to work harder to stand out as different and adjust behaviors accordingly (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005:105). Also, ethnicity is not something that happens in nature, it is a result of recurring patterns of behavior. Ethnicity requires maintenance by the people in the group. If maintenance ceases, so does the ethnic group (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005:96-97).

According to Bedard (1990), the summation of the work involving ethnicity in archaeology, concludes that “The archaeological expression of social identity occurs in the stylistic attributes of artifacts and artifact distributions” (Bedard 1990: 3). The best indicators of ethnicity and most informative items of material culture are those that have a symbolic meaning to the group, and those that took great expenditure to create (Bedard 1990: 101, 104). Objects used for ornamentation and those specialized tools needed to create such items have been found to be most beneficial to researchers (Bedard 1990: 104). In order to find the ethnicity in an archaeological site it is vital to first ascertain distinctive qualities that belong to the group’s material culture (Bedard 1990: 13).

Bedard suggests that ethnic markers can be shown “stylistically” for example, through style of dress or tool manufacture, or “behaviorally,” the first being much easier to see archaeologically (Bedard 1990: 14). Finding ethnic markers in the archaeological record, especially in fur trade archaeology, has its limitations. Currently, artifacts found in fur trade fort sites are put into one of two categories, either “European” or “Native.” This creates a problem because, although some items are most definitely one or the other, for

many there is no clear line between the two. “Natives” influenced the material culture of the “Europeans” and vice versa (Bedard 1990: 13). Because of this, it is most important to focus attention on the items of spiritual significance as stated above and not on more functional items. Also, historical data can be used to back up findings. Archaeologists must be careful, however, with historical data because it was primarily written by the Europeans in the fur trade and is therefore biased information. Also, it tends to focus on the strange and unusual in regards to the natives and not their daily lives (Bedard 1990: 6). Bedard’s paper on Fort D’Epinette was an attempt to put these ideas to work. The findings from Bedard’s work was that ethnicity is difficult to determine at the fort, but the author believes it to be possible. Interestingly, there were some Iroquoian markers discussed in Bedard’s paper. These items were not identified as Iroquoian, but instead as a curiosity. The archaeology of Fort D’Epinette is covered further in chapter 6.

The Archaeology of Identity discusses finding identities in archaeology. The study of identity, including ethnicity, in archaeology has changed in the last few decades. We now realize that we have to look at the individual people when conducting research, not just the society as a whole. After all, society would not exist without the people in it. Humans are both confined and enabled by their society which is evident in their material culture. They try to act appropriately according to cultural norms, but humans are imperfect (Diaz-Andreu, et al. 2005:5)

The idea of context in an archaeological site is also important to this research. Ian Hodder (1982) believes that material culture is active, and that context in a site must be considered instead of the materiality of artifacts alone (Diaz-Andreu, et al. 2005:6). An archaeologist must examine the uses of an object, meanings of objects, and how they are

involved in social practices (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005:102). In order to get the most from the context of a site, it is important to not look for generalities over a large area, but instead hone in on a smaller location in order to be able to see the complex inter-workings of the area. Then an archaeologist can see settlement patterns and study the relationships between the artifacts (Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005:109). Thomas (1996) wrote, “history is a lived process in which the relationships between human beings and their world are continually transformed” (Thomas 1996:2360).

Chapter 3: IROQUOIS CULTURE

This chapter examines the history of the Iroquois people before and after contact with Europeans. Also, their culture and traditions are studied by looking at their social organization, spirituality, language, and material culture. In general, the Iroquois are a spiritual people who hope for peace but are prepared for conflict. This has led them to be successful in both war and business. The Iroquois are proud, independent and have embraced their traditions even today. The information in this chapter creates a foundation of knowledge from which to begin to understand the Iroquoian material culture.

History of Iroquoia

“Iroquoia” is a term used to describe the area in which the Iroquois League inhabited and generally spans upstate New York between the Mohawk and Genesee River valleys, (Fig.1). Some would also include areas of Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. In 1570, when the Iroquoian League of Five Nations was formed, it contained the 5 tribes, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and the Senecas, and in the 18th century they added a sixth tribe to their group, the Tuscaroras (Lyford 1945: 9) (Richter 1992:1). The Mohawks are the “possessors of the flint”, the Oneidas are the “granite people”, the Onondagas are the “people on the hills”, the Cayugas are the “people of the mucky land”, the Senecas are the “great hill people”, and the Tuscaroras are the “hemp gatherers” (Lyford 1945: 9)

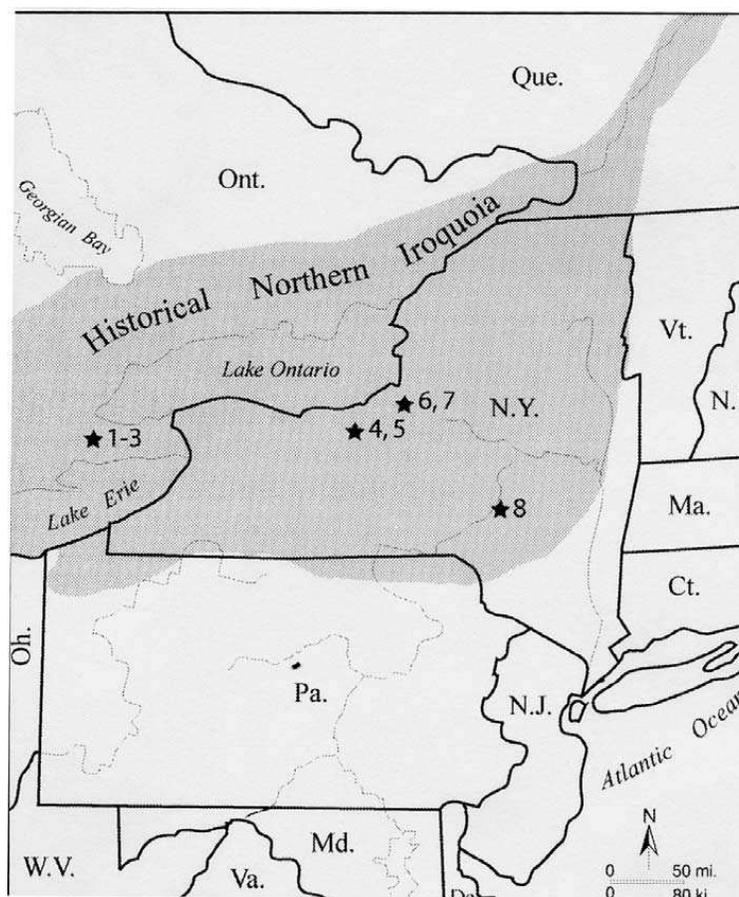


Figure 1 – Map of Iroquoia in early historic period.
Source: Thompson, et al. 2004: 27.

The Iroquois have been called many things throughout history. They initially called themselves *Haudenosaunee* or *Kanosoni*, but the French, using Algonquian words, called them the Iroquois which meant “man-eater”. The term *Haudenosaunee* means “the whole house” or “people of the longhouse” and describes their dwellings as well as how the five nations are positioned throughout Iroquoia, like the hearths lined up in the longhouse (Richter 1992:30). The Iroquois are sometimes referred to as the Great League of Peace and Power, although the “power” part refers more to spirituality (Richter 1992:30).

Undocumented trade began between the League and the Europeans sometime before 1525. Around this time, European objects begin to show up in the archaeological

record. Records began to be kept around 1614 when the Iroquois were involved primarily with trading with the Dutch (Snow 1994: 89). The Iroquois favorite trade item was wampum, a type of shell bead, and the Europeans enjoyed trading for tobacco (Snow 1994: 90-91). Iroquoian cultural practices and native climate required the use of many animal skins. Unfortunately with increased population, and consequently increased hunting, the Iroquois were reaching their population limit, so in order to maintain their life ways, trading for cloth with the Europeans became very important (Snow 1994: 92).

By 1609 the Iroquois had been contacted by the Dutch and the French (Snow 1994: 78). After this initial contact period with the Europeans, the Iroquois culture was affected to a lesser degree than other native people, for several reasons. First, the location of the Iroquois nation, protected by the Adirondack Mountains, proved to be advantageous at keeping illness at bay, and to keep them isolated from expanding European settlement (Snow 1994: 78; Richter 1992:2). The Iroquois also had established horticultural practices before European contact, so the fur trading lifestyle did not require them to change their cultural traditions for obtaining food. Also, the Iroquois were able to keep their independence from the Europeans, for the most part, and were seen as a stand alone group whose loyalty was sought after by the different European countries involved in the fur trade. Lastly, the Iroquois had a long tradition of keeping war captives and acculturating them into the Iroquois life ways, which in turn kept their numbers up and enabled them to embrace their traditions (Richter 1992:3). In general the Iroquois were tolerant of other cultures and were not opposed to adopting a new practice that seemed beneficial; they did however keep a strong set of core beliefs and traditions that are still present today.

In 1634 smallpox spread through the Iroquois nation killing so many people that at one point the deceased outnumbered the survivors (Snow 1994: 95). That same year, the Iroquois people split into two groups and moved to separate areas. One group went to western New York and the other to the St. Lawrence area near Montreal (Carse 1949: 6). From 1634 to 1666, the Mohawks became the dominant tribe in the Iroquois nation (Carse 1949: 7). Although some Iroquois would side with the French during the numerous wars that ensued, most of the Iroquois including the Mohawks, sided with the British. This put the Mohawks at odds with the French and some of their Iroquoian brothers. (Carse 1949: 9).

Trouble between the French and Iroquois was a constant ongoing problem. The French fought ardently to control the Iroquois with no avail. In the 1640s, turmoil was beginning to really affect business in the Canadian fur trade. Tribes who traded with the French were attacked by the Iroquois when trying to make their way to Montreal. In 1652-1653, Montreal saw no beaver skins from the natives due to fear of the Iroquois (Rich 1958 (Vol.I): 26). In fact, rivalry for lands rich in fur was possibly the main reason for Iroquois involved warfare after contact with Europeans. (Nicks 1978: 86) To alleviate this problem, the French sent out a “habitan” to collect the furs instead of the natives traveling through dangerous country (Rich 1958 (Vol.I): 26). By 1670 the beaver in Iroquoia was almost extinct, so the Iroquois expanded their hunting ground into the territory of other tribes, causing tribal warfare and strife (Krech 1981: 27). In an attempt to bring peace, and more profits, between the French and Iroquois the Governor of Canada, Louis de Buade, encouraged the French and Iroquois to “mingle” and perhaps marry (Rich 1958 (Vol.I): 117). The French also tried to get the Iroquois to turn on the

British, which was unsuccessful. Attempts such as these were made because the French knew that in order to dominate the fur trade they had to conquer the Iroquois and by proxy, the British (Rich 1958 (Vol.I): 193).

In 1666, French missionaries were invited to come and speak to the Iroquois in an attempt to bring peace. All tribes, including the Mohawks, vied to be the host of such an event, in the hopes of French favor. Although the Iroquois invited them and were eager for peace, they were not really interested in what they were teaching, Christianity. The French were, however, able to convert many Iroquois to Christianity (Carse 1949: 10). Some converts moved to Canada leaving Iroquoia behind (Richter 1992:119). Those who did not convert stayed and were passionately anti-Christian and anti-French. This attitude helped them to connect with the English Hudson's Bay Company whose stance was anti-French as well (Richter 1992:133). Also, because the British had better quality and cheaper goods to trade, and they gave many Iroquois men the rank of middleman which was a higher position than the French were willing to give, the Iroquois were fonder of the British (Carse 1949: 11). This meant that the majority of the Iroquois would side with the British, even to their own peril. The hostility between the French and Iroquois led the country into the Beaver Wars, which were violent battles between tribes in an effort to gain control of the fur trade. These wars began in the 1650s and lasted until the 1690s.

In 1702, Queen Anne's war began, which was one in a set of four between the French and British for control of North America. The Iroquois were pressured for loyalty by the British and ended up siding with them (Snow 1994: 136). In 1710, Colonel Schuyler took five Mohawk chiefs to England to meet with Queen Anne. The chiefs

asked her to stop the liquor traffic that was destroying their nation, and asked for teachers and missionaries to come to visit them, along with books printed in their own language (Carse 1949: 11). In 1712, in response to the requests and their loyalty during her war, Queen Anne set up Fort Hunter (Fig.2) on the Mohawk River with a chapel and furnished them with the books, it is unclear if their other requests were answered (Snow 1994: 136) (Carse 1949: 12).



Figure 2 – Map of Fort Hunter on Mohawk River in New York.
Source: Bielinski 2004

After the Iroquoian society was ravaged by war, they realized they needed to restore their society and never again trust any European group. This led to a new approach to rely on themselves and their natural resources (Richter 1992:235). The Iroquois worked for peace within their group and with outsiders, but at the same time, the English and French were competing for their loyalty (Richter 1992:254). The Iroquois were able to remain neutral, at least for a little while, which helped their economic and societal interests (Snow 1994: 132). By 1730 the Iroquoian advantage that most strongly lingered was the independence from any one European group. It was important to them to do what was best for their people and to not become humble servants to the Europeans. Even when the British came calling again in 1744 for help in King George's war, they stayed neutral.

This neutrality ended during the French - English War in 1755 when some of the Iroquois fought for the French, and some for the British. When they came across each other on the battlefield they generally did not kill one another, but the rivalry began to split the Iroquois nevertheless (Snow 1994: 143). This split was deepened during the American Revolution in which some Iroquois were still loyal to the British and others to the Americans (Snow 1994: 150).

In 1779 George Washington decided that all Iroquois who fought for the British had to leave the United States and sent an army to drive them out of the United States as punishment for disloyalty. Many ended up relocating to Canada, but many were killed. Even today, the Iroquois people call George Washington a word that means "Destroy-a-town" (Carse 1949: 13). The remaining Iroquois who were pro-American were put on five reservations in the 1790s: Towawanda, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek, and Allegany

(Fig. 3) (Snow 1994: 153). Reservation life quickly took its toll on the Iroquois. The men could no longer hunt and had to work in the fields with the women. This not only took away a source of traditional material and food but also took away men's role in the society (Snow 1994: 156). Because the beaver was nearly gone, and they no longer had land to sell, they began making goods for non-Indians, like baskets (Snow 1994: 156). Many Iroquois became depressed and alcoholic (Snow 1994: 156). It looked like the end of a proud and thriving culture.

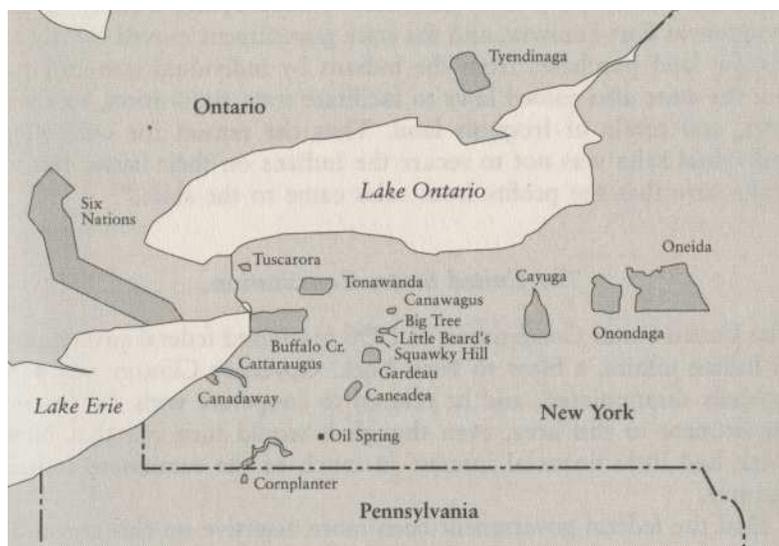


Figure 3 – Iroquois reservations as they were around 1800.
Source: Snow 1994: 153.

When times seemed at their worst for the Iroquois, around 1800, an Iroquoian man, Handsome Lake, brought hope to the Iroquois. Handsome Lake gave the Iroquois a new set of guidelines to live by, and taught them how to live in the new world of the White man without destroying themselves. Handsome Lake's teachings are described later in the section about the "New Religion". By the early 1800s, many Iroquois were trapping and working as boatmen, calling themselves "Canadian Voyageurs," in Montreal with the North West Company. Many had short contracts or were considered

freemen or “free hunters” so they were not as committed to the company as other workers and could keep their own interests in mind (Rich 1958 (b): 239). Consequently, they would take their furs to the highest bidder, which was not always the North West Company. (Rich 1958 (b): 497). The Iroquois got a bad reputation for trading with other parties, but it was true of all freemen, not just Iroquois. It is from the station in Montreal and from other eastern areas that the North West Company recruited Iroquois to come to work in the Columbia District in the Pacific Northwest. The history of the Iroquois in the fur trade continues in chapter 5.

Social Organization

The Iroquois were a matriarchal society and were slash and burn horticulturalists producing mainly maize, squash and beans which were considered the “three sisters” or “our life” (Lyford 1945: 15) (Wescott 2000:103). Corn was the most important crop not only for food but for making many other material items. In addition, they grew many other foods like pumpkins, leeks, artichokes, cucumbers, berries, fungi, and nuts (Lyford 1945: 17). Tobacco was also grown for spiritual reasons (Lyford 1945: 17).

The women tended to the fields and the men hunted in earlier times, but once on reservations men worked in the fields too (Lyford 1984: 21). Women were appreciated for their work but they were not “matriarchs, amazons, or drudges, they were just women” (Snow 1994: 65). Although no gender was better or worse than the other, to act outside the gender role was not condoned. James Smith visited an Iroquois group in the 1800s, and wrote about observing the women working in the fields. An Iroquoian woman asked him to help and handed him a hoe, which he took and helped them. At the

end of the day, when the Iroquoian men found out about this, they made fun of him for doing so (Carse 1949: 27).

The Iroquois would set up their villages with a series of longhouses that were defensible as a whole. They would move the entire village about every 15-20 years and would select their new location based on defensibility, relationship to neighbors, ease of relocation, closeness to needed resources and the suitability of the soil (Wescott 2000:104). Once in the historic era there was a movement toward larger settlements of people and fewer smaller scattered villages. The Iroquois also practiced more arbitrary movement of the villages with different requirements for their new locations, and they spent less time at each location (Bradley 1987:116).

The first two requirements for a new settlement were in place because of violence between tribes that had been occurring for many years. After a time of great warring and suffering among the bands of Iroquois, the Five Nations decided to band together to form the Great League of Peace and Power around 1570. With this league they formed a system of government similar to the United States state and federal system (Morgan 1901(a):58). The three original Nations were the Mohawks, Onondagas and the Senecas, the other two nations and later three nations, the Oneidas, Cayugas and later the Tuscaroras, were considered the children of the first three. (Morgan 1901(a):91). Within these nations were different tribes or clans: wolf, bear, beaver, turtle, deer, snipe, heron and hawk, the first four as a group and the second four as a group being closely related “brothers” (Morgan 1901(a):75). There are members of each clan in all of the nations, and marriage is prohibited between clan members and between clan members in the three closest related clans (Morgan 1901(a):79). For example, a turtle could not marry

another turtle or a wolf, bear or beaver and a deer could not marry a deer, snipe, heron or hawk. (Morgan 1901(b):105).

The League was ruled by sachems, or chiefs, who form a council representing all Five Nations of the Iroquois (Morgan 1901(a):59). There was no chief executive in the League, all 50 sachemships were of equal power (Carse 1949: 15). Sachemships were hereditary but a sachem could be removed if he was not fit for the position (Morgan 1901(a):83-84). The council took place among the Onondaga tribe because it was situated at the center of the tribes geographically, which represented the central hearth of the longhouse (Lyford 1945: 10). The goal of this council of sachems was universal peace and the council was required to be unanimous on any decisions made (Morgan 1901(a):87, 106). When contracts were needed to ensure actions, they were made with belts of beaded wampum. Any verbal agreement made without wampum was seen as breakable (Morgan 1901(a):114). These wampum belts were not only used to make contracts but were also used to tell important stories. For example, the Hiawatha belt, telling the story of the creation of the League, is designed with a heart shape in the center of four squares connected by lines showing the 5 leagues (Lyford 1945: 48).

Marriage was a contract between the mothers of the couple, fathers kept out of their children's marital affairs (Morgan 1901(a):311-313). Often a young warrior would take an older wife, often a widow, so that he could have an experienced companion to teach him about life. Then when he became a widower, he would marry a younger woman. It was also common for a couple to be of the same age at marriage (Morgan 1901(a):312). The marriage consisted of a simple ceremony where there was an exchange of gifts to each family then the man went to live in his wife's family's home

(Morgan 1901(a):313). Polygamy was forbidden, but a couple who so desired could be divorced, and the children would stay with their mother (Morgan 1901(a):315). Although divorce was allowed, it was not the norm, and most had just one spouse during a lifetime (Carse 1949: 32). If the wife died, it was expected for the husband to take his wife's sister as his bride (Carse 1949: 32). The Iroquois valued not only marriage but friendship very highly. In fact they had a ceremony for best friends to declare their closeness, like "blood brothers" (Carse 1949: 32).

A newly married couple went to live with the wife's family because the Iroquois were a matriarchal society with women having great power and ownership of the homes and farm land. Even so, they usually used their power behind the scenes. (Richter 1992:22). Men held positions of leadership, but their actions were usually decided by the women elders of the group. (Richter 1992:43).

The Iroquois believed in private property, but their notion of it was different from Euro-American ideals. People have their own space in the longhouse and their own things, but anything not being used can be taken, and everyone has what they need. They did not believe in the idea of the haves and have nots. (Richter 1992:21). Power was not given to those with the most possessions, but to those who give the most away. (Richter 1992:22).

Children were and still are cherished by the Iroquois but were purposefully spaced apart so that the mother could continue to work in the fields. The ideal was to have three children in a lifetime spaced several years apart (Snow 1994: 74). During pregnancy women would eat very little and exercise greatly in order to make stronger babies and to ease labor (Carse 1949: 31). After giving birth the mother would wash the newborn in

the snow or creek and then put them in a cradleboard and quickly return to work in the fields. In doing so, women believed they were less likely to become weak and die after childbirth (Carse 1949: 31).

Peace, to the Iroquois was the ideal, but war was often a reality. The most common and important reason for violence was to avenge a loved one's death (Donald 1997 : 261). The Iroquois are famous for their hit and run combat method, which many have copied since. They would strike when the enemy was not expecting it and leave before a counterattack could ensue (Kasparycki 1998: 5). When a member of the tribe died in battle it was believed that their spirit had moved to a successor who would replace them in their role in the society. This is why they sometimes adopted war captives as their own people (Richter 1992:32). After a battle in which an Iroquois was killed a revenge party of young men would be sent out by the deceased closest female relative. They would capture people from the opposing tribe and bring them home. Those captives who made a good impression on the tribe would be kept as their own to replace the dead. If the deceased held a position of power, so did the replacement person (Donald 1997 : 263) The others would be given a feast, saluted as war heroes, tortured and executed (Richter 1992:35). The captured saw this as an honor of sorts and would egg on their captors to show how brave they were. Because of this tradition it confused the Iroquois when the white men did not practice this last act of bravery, instead pleading for their life (Carse 1949: 34). If an Iroquoian warrior wanted to make a name for himself he would do it through finding captives, not by killing many men (Richter 1992:36). Even though the Iroquois are stereotyped as being a warring society, if a war was imminent that was not easily won, they would flee or work towards peace with the

opposing tribe (Richter 1992:38). They did not consider war the only option, it was more of a last resort. The ancient Iroquois saying “bury the hatchet,” meaning to make peace, is used today (Kasprzycki 1998: 3).

Hospitality as well as peace was of great importance to the Iroquois. They welcomed all into their home at any hour. It was considered common courtesy to give up ones bed to a weary traveler (Morgan 1901(a):318-320). Food was always offered to visitors, even ones just from the next hearth over in the longhouse. If someone in the tribe obtained a desirable object they did not try to hoard it. On the contrary they would insist on everyone else having their turn with it (Carse 1949: 27). James Smith wrote about a time when he was alone in the Iroquoian village, when a visitor happened by, and he gave the visitor venison to eat. When Smith’s Iroquoian “brother” returned he asked if Smith had offered maple sugar and bear oil to eat with the venison. When Smith answered “no” his “brother” lectured him on the values of hospitality (Carse 1949: 27).

There wasn’t much crime to speak of until alcohol was introduced, but there was some crime. The crimes that were punishable included witchcraft, adultery, and murder. Witchcraft was punishable by death if the accused didn’t confess and promise to stop. Adultery was punishable by a whipping, and murder was punishable by revenge of the victim’s family which meant death or reciprocity (Morgan 1901(a):321-322). After alcohol made its way to the Iroquois, crime increased dramatically.

Spirituality

Iroquois spirituality was evident in every aspect of life, and even today has remained intact. The following is a summation of the Iroquois creation story taken partly

from the Iroquois Indian Museum's website and from Rev. William M. Beauchamps 1922 book.

In the ancient time, there were two worlds, the upper world and the under world. The upper world, or SkyWorld was where the humans lived and where the Celestial Tree lived from which all fruit and flowers come from. The under world was a watery place where the animals lived. When the Chief of the SkyWorld and his wife, SkyWoman, were expecting a baby, she dreamt of the Celestial Tree being uprooted. Seeing this as a prophecy the Chief pulled it out of the ground leaving a hole in the Sky World. When SkyWoman bent over to look at the hole, she fell down through the hole into the under world, grabbing Celestial Tree seeds as she went. When the animals below saw this, they tried to help her by bringing up Earth from under the water. They thought they had failed until a muskrat brought up Earth and then placed it on the turtle's back. The turtle's back grew ever larger until it became the entire Earth. SkyWoman was gently placed on the Earth by geese and then she released the seeds, which became the trees and grass. She then gave birth to a daughter named Tekawerahkwa. Tekawerahkwa fell in love and married the West Wind and became pregnant with twin boys. One of the boys was aggressive and had sharp skin, he was the Bad Mind. The other was gentle and caring, and he was the Good Mind. The Good Mind was born the natural way, but the Bad Mind, being impatient cut his way out of his mother's armpit, killing her. When SkyWoman saw her daughter dead she asked the boys who had done it. The Bad Mind lied, claiming it was his brother, so SkyWoman banished the Good Mind. Then SkyWoman placed her daughter's head in the sky which became the moon and from her body grew corn, beans, and squash. Luckily the Chief of the SkyWorld saw what

happened and rescued Good Mind, and then showed him how to make the Earth beautiful. Good mind is responsible for all things good like the rivers, trees and medicinal plants, and Bad mind is responsible for destructive forces like hurricanes and poisonous plants. (Beauchamp 1922: 8-12)

The Good Mind, Hawenneyu, became known as the Great Spirit, and the Bad Mind, Hanegoategeh, as the Evil Spirit. The Iroquois believed that smoking allowed them to communicate with the Great Spirit through the smoke traveling up into the sky making their needs known (Bradley 1987:123). This is why they treasure pipes and will put pipes in burials for the deceased to use in the next life, so they can communicate with the creator.

Life after death was a part of Iroquoian spirituality. They believe that it takes the soul 10 days of traveling along the Milky Way before it is at rest, then mourning can take place (Snow 1994: 106). The deceased are given many goods to take with them on their journey. At the time Lewis Morgan visited the Iroquois, the year of journey and mourning had recently changed to 10 days because of distress it was causing the children of the deceased (Morgan 1901(a):167). The switch to 10 days was a result of Handsome Lake in 1800, which will be explained later (Morgan 1901(a):244). After the soul completed its journey, the 10th Day Feast would take place and then once or twice a year the Feast of the Dead was held in honor of the deceased. Dancing at this feast was different from all others because the dancers would move clockwise, instead of the usual counterclockwise (Snow 1994: 106). Before the body was interred, it was placed on scaffolding to decompose and then put in family plots (Morgan 1901(a):166-168). Later historic burials have a single occupant. The night before the funeral, a wake was held

where a dice game was played, since the Great Spirit was pleased when his people played games (Snow 1994: 106).

The Iroquois also believed in the evils of witchcraft and the power of dreams. They believed that dreams are suppressed desires that must be fulfilled for the health of the dreamer. (Carse 1949: 37). They also believed in supernatural beings called False Faces. False Faces were bodiless demons who were responsible for plagues (Morgan 1901(a):157). Each village had a group of people in a “False Face Band” that would perform ceremonies to heal sickness caused by these beings (Morgan 1901(a):158). The band members used masks with distorted horrible faces and rattles made of turtle shells to rid the area of them (Morgan 1901(a):159).

The Iroquois have many stories or accounts of how certain things came to be. The story of Deganawida is one of these stories and is very important to the Iroquois people. Deganawida was born to a virgin mother and became known as the great peacemaker (Snow 1994: 58). He went across Iroquoia teaching peace to war ravaged lands, including teaching Hiawatha about peace (Snow 1994: 58-60). Deganawida’s three main principles are the “the good word” or morality, “power” or civil authority, and “peace” or a healthy society (Snow 1994: 60).

Another one of the most preserved Iroquoian stories is that of Hiawatha whose name means “he who combs.” Hiawatha was sent to deal with an evil sorcerer named Tadadaho who had snakes for hair and was causing pain amongst the Iroquois people. Hiawatha smoothed his tangled hair of snakes with a comb, cured his tortured mind with Words of Condolence and cured his body with wampum. After Tadadaho was healed, he and Hiawatha created the Great League of Peace and Power. To the Iroquois people, this

story showed how it was important to not only be cured as an aggressor, but also to be cured as a victim (Richter 1992:39).

Stories such as these are often told at family gatherings and festivals. Festivals are sacred to the Iroquois people and occur at least six times throughout the year. The first being the Midwinter Ceremony or New Year Festival to celebrate the new year (Snow 1994:6) (Morgan 1901(a):176). Next is the Maple Ceremony which gives thanks to the Maple tree for providing sap or “sweet waters” to make maple sugar. The third festival of the year is the Planting Festival to bless the seeds so they would provide a great harvest. The Strawberry Festival is the fourth of the year and is a thanksgiving for the first fruits of the Earth and was celebrated with a jam made of strawberries and maple sugar (Morgan 1901(a):176, 189). The fifth is the Green Corn Festival which celebrates the ripening of the corn, beans and squash. The Harvest Festival is the sixth celebration to honor the gathering of the harvest. The Midwinter Ceremony takes place in the beginning of February and lasts for 7 days. The sacrifice of a pure white dog was a part of the ceremonies as it was believed that the dog (their most trusted friend) would take messages up to the Great Spirit for them. This sacrifice is no longer practiced in modern times. On the 5th day there was a feast and to prepare, a band of mischievous boys was sent out wearing false face masks to gather food for the feast in return for not causing mischief (Morgan 1901(a):199-207). This could be thought of as an early form of trick or treating. Then there was a feast, dancing, singing, a thanksgiving speech, dream guessing, and games (Snow 1994: 24). The next three festivals were all similar to the Midwinter Ceremony in the fact that they included a feast with dancing, speeches, and other entertainment, but they only lasted one day. The Maple Ceremony included the

cleansing of sins with tobacco, by confessing and smoking (Snow 1994: 24). They would also include a confession of “sins” while passing around wampum, promising to be better with the wampum being used as a contract to do so (Morgan 1901(a):180-189). The Green Corn Festival lasted 4 days and included a feast and dancing like the previous festivals, but also included a concert on the 3rd day. Then on the fourth day the Peach-Stone game was played with betting taking place (Morgan 1901(a):190-196). The Harvest Festival was also 4 days and was similar to the previous celebrations (Morgan 1901(a):197

The New Religion

Around the year 1800 a Seneca sachem called Ganeodiyo, or Handsome Lake, started what has been termed the New Religion. Handsome Lake claims that he was very near death from alcoholism and went into a coma when men sent by the Great Spirit spoke to him and brought him healing berries. He said they had new principles for the Iroquois people to follow, now that their world was much different with the European influence, he called it “The Good Message” (Snow 1994: 159) (Morgan 1901(a):220). According to these men the Great Spirit saw what the white man’s fire-water was doing to the Iroquois and wanted to help them make a change for the better (Morgan 1901(a):224). The first doctrine was to discontinue the use of alcohol as this would relieve a great deal of the problems they faced. Next, the Iroquois were to remain faithful in their marriages, to abstain from divorce, and to teach their children to be good and to respect their parents (Snow 1994: 161; Morgan 1901(a):228). He told the men to stay out of the United States military and to stop complaining about working in the fields with the women (Snow 1994: 161). His teachings also advocated that the Iroquois no longer be a

matriarchal society. Handsome Lake also said to stop selling lands and possessions and to keep what little was left (Morgan 1901(a):229). The Great Spirit also wanted the Iroquois to speak evil of no one and to treat strangers with kindness and hospitality (Morgan 1901(a):238). He also wanted them to do away with their traditional medicinal practices, which some did, but others were punished during his witch hunts (Snow 1994: 161). This pushed the non-compliers to create secret medicinal societies who still practice traditional medicine. Handsome Lake said that there is no way to avoid living with the pale faces, but although the Iroquois may have to change some life ways, the Iroquois people are not to live like the Whites. Also, it was part of his teachings that the Iroquois were to retain their traditions. He set out guidelines to accomplish this (Morgan 1901(a):240). Handsome Lake described a “House of Torment” that would besiege anyone who did not follow the new religion (Morgan 1901(a):242), similar to the Christian hell. Handsome Lake’s new ideas revitalized the Iroquois culture making them once again a proud and peaceful people, and also helped them to adjust to reservation life (Snow 1994: 162) (Richter 1992:280).

Material Culture

The material culture of the Iroquois is unique and shows their ingenuity. Distinctive features can be found in objects from each category below: housing, religion, weapons, food preparation, apparel, travel, entertainment, and burial goods. These items also show the inventive side of the Iroquois and their ability to adapt to a sometimes harsh environment. The Iroquois also took pride in everything they made which makes for high quality goods. The Iroquois were very talented at many things, but

extraordinarily so in woodworking, bone working and silversmithing. The Iroquois have a material culture that is greatly influenced by their religion. Most of the decorative attributes on their objects portray their spirituality. Even though the look of some of these items and the material used to make their objects have changed through time with the introduction to other cultures, their material culture retains their traditions and faith.

Early Iroquoian artifacts were more geometric in form than later items, but once iron tools came into use in the 17th century, the Iroquois were able to make more elaborate decorations (Richter 1992:80-81). The Iroquois made items out of stone, ceramics, bark, and wood. They also used materials like copper, shells and volcanic rock believing that anything from realms below the earth held special spiritual powers (Richter 1992:28).

European goods began showing up in Iroquoian sites after 1525. From about 1525 to 1580 the emergence of copper tubes is seen along with iron tools (Snow 1995: 28-30). After 1614, trading between the Iroquois and the Dutch increased which resulted in more European goods being found in Iroquoian sites (Snow 1995:168). After 1614, there is an introduction of many different kinds of beads and between 1614 and 1626 there is the emergence of Wampum and Kaolin pipes in Iroquois sites (Snow 1995: 34). Between 1635 and 1650 archaeological sites include more gun parts and also during this time to 1659 religious rings are found from Catholic missionaries or converted Iroquois (Snow 1995: 39). After 1659, more and more functional items of European manufacture are found in archaeological sites, but traditional items like pipes, combs, figures, ladles, and ornamental items are still very prevalent.

Housing

Iroquois life in the 16th and 17th centuries was focused on community life. Towns were built on defensible hilltops and were fortified with palisades (Fig. 4) (Richter 1992:17). Although the outside of the village might have looked foreboding, it has been noted that once inside the community walls, all were met with unmatched hospitality and welcoming ceremonies were performed to greet guests (Richter 1992:18).

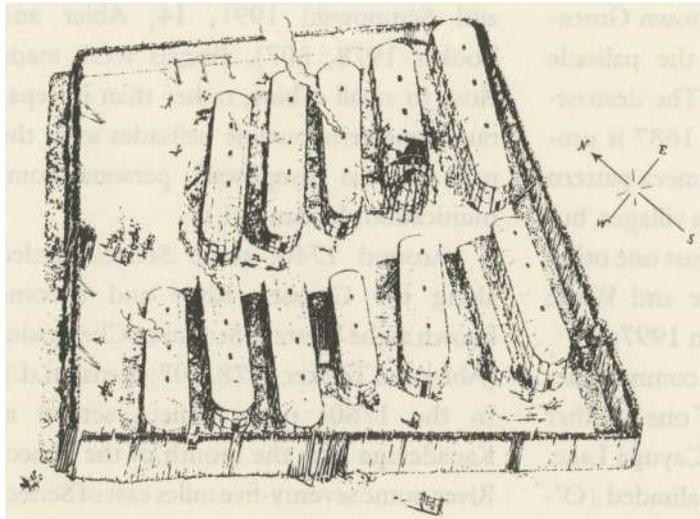


Figure 4 – Reconstruction of an Iroquoian Village.
Source: Engelbrecht 2003: 165.

The village was set up with 30-150 longhouses in parallel rows. The longhouses were about 15-25 feet wide and 30-200 feet long (Lyford 1945: 11). The majority of longhouses being 100 feet long (Richter 1992:18). The longhouses were framed with saplings placed in the ground and arched to create the roof. Bark was flattened and placed over the saplings like shingles(Fig.5,6). A secondary row of saplings were then placed over the bark to keep it in place (Lyford 1945: 11). A small piece of bark was used to cover smoke holes during rain or snow (Lyford 1945: 12).

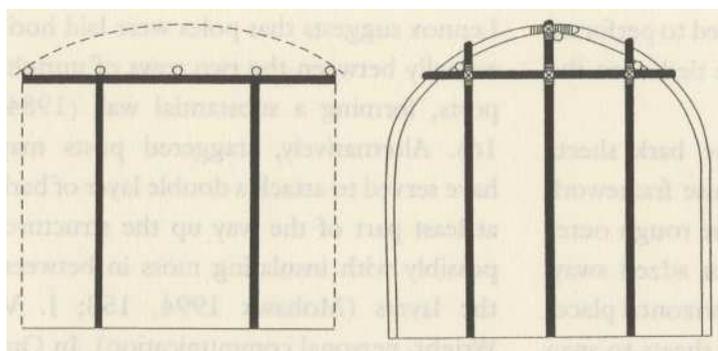


Figure 5 – Two Construction Options for an Iroquoian Longhouse.
Source: Engelbrecht 2003: 75.

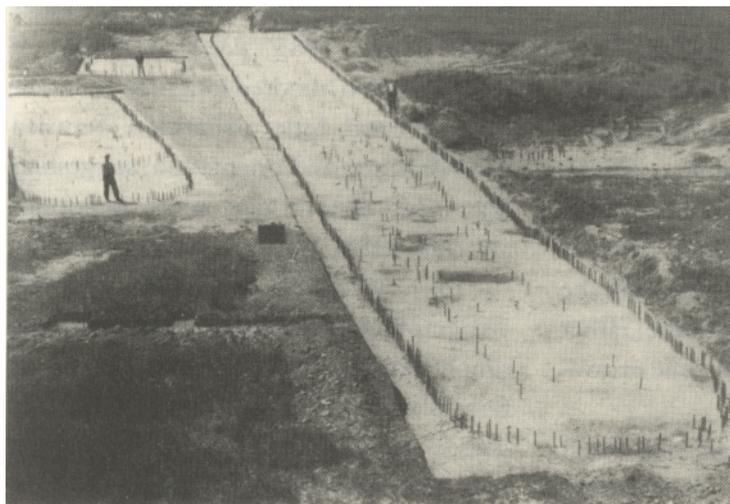


Figure 6– Post Molds of an Iroquoian Longhouse
Source: Engelbrecht 2003: 73

The interior space was 15-20 feet high, and about every 20 feet was a hearth in the center of the longhouse which was shared by two families. The longhouse held 5, 10 or 20 families, each one having their own space on one side of a hearth (Fig.7) (Lyford 1945: 12) (Richter 1992:18). Each family area on one side of the hearth consisted of a booth that was 6-12 feet long, 5-6 feet wide, and 18 inches off the ground (Lyford 1945: 12). The booth contained benches or bunks for lounging and sleeping and storage areas above (Lyford 1945: 12). At night a curtain of skin could be pulled down to create privacy for the family (Lyford 1945: 12). At the end of the longhouse was an area for communal storage (Lyford 1945: 12). Corn husks were used to make cushions and mattresses for comfort, and corn husk rugs, and sweet grass braids for decoration (Lyford 1945: 65; Lyford 1945: 13).

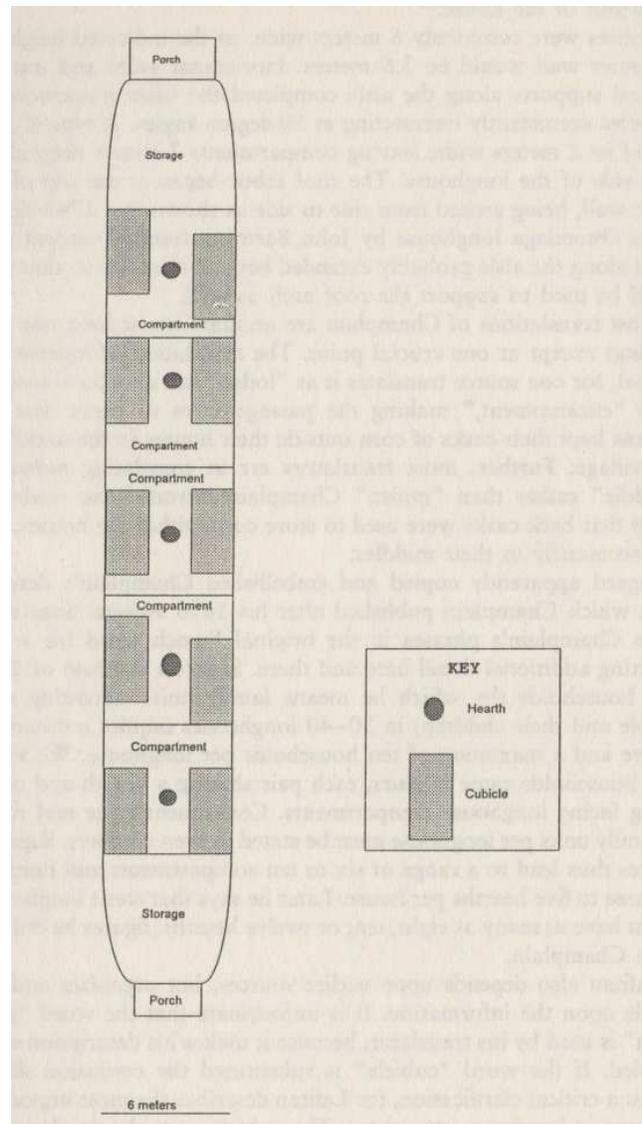


Figure 7 – Interior configuration of an Iroquois Longhouse.
Source: Snow 1994 : 42

In addition to the longhouses, dome-shaped huts used as sweat houses. These buildings were used in their bathing ritual which included having a cleansing sweat, being rubbed down with sand and then swimming in a stream (Lyford 1945: 14). They also built seclusion huts for women who were menstruating. The women had to remain there for four days and eat out of single serving pots, not a communal pot like everyone else (Snow 1994: 108) (Carse 1949:32). Lastly, shelters were constructed to hold

farming equipment close to the fields and root cellars were dug for storing food (Lyford 1945: 19).

In the 16th century, longhouses became bigger and villages more compact, sometimes up to 90 people would be living in one longhouse (Snow 1995: 143). By the mid 18th century, the Iroquois families began living in separate European style cabins, and a longhouse was employed as a community center (Snow 1995: 471). Even though the Iroquois had moved to the cabin style home they still held onto the architectural practice of having a central hearth with a smoke hole in the roof (Snow 1995: 485). Eastern archaeologists call these cabins “shorthouses” because from the outside they looked like a European cabin but inside were just like a segment from a traditional longhouse complete with single family compartments on either side of the hearth and dirt floors (Ferris 2006: 118). This move to cottages that only held the nuclear family is a large shift in the Iroquoian culture. It would appear that this change meant a dissolution of extended family social organization, but in truth they continued with their social organization until the 20th century (Ferris 2006: 239).

When 2,000 Iroquois were relocated to Ontario after the Revolutionary War in 1784, they set up a new settlement there. Some of the villages were scattered but others were more “village-like”, for example a Tuscarora village that had a cluster of 30 houses and a church (Ferris 2006: 243). In 1798 missionaries noted that the Iroquoian homes were small one room houses that were square. An exception to this was the wealthy Iroquoians who would have two story homes like the whites (Ferris 2006: 244). By the end of the 1810s many Iroquois were living in what homes that had a floorplan that mimicked one segment of a traditional longhouse (Ferris 2006: 245). Even as Iroquois

moved to more European style housing they would still have a community longhouse where ceremonies and council was held. Descriptions of them in the 19th century described them as peaked log buildings with plank floors, 6 meters wide and 12 to 18 meters long. They had hearths along the center with bunk compartments on either side for seating (Ferris 2006: 251).

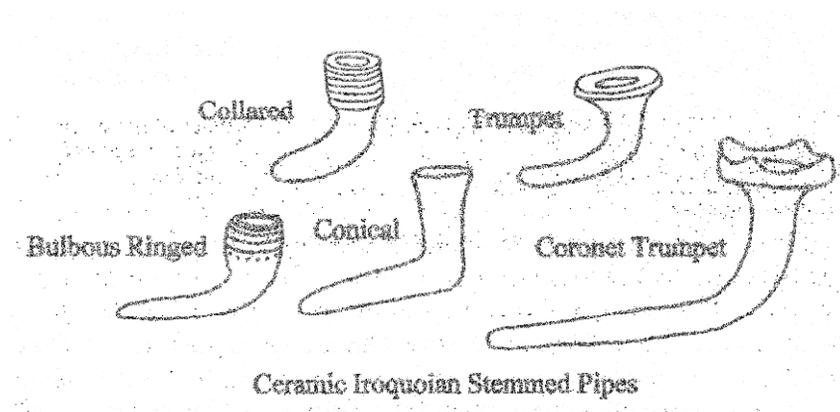
Religion

The material culture of the Iroquois greatly shows their passion for their spirituality. The favorite decorative theme was stylized human forms which gave them a connection to this spirit world (Richter 1992:27). Iroquois archaeology is riddled with stone and ceramic pipes and effigies with human and animal forms carved into them. The Iroquois paid most attention to items that could connect them to the spirit world like pipes, combs, figurines, and ladles. Great care and ornamentation was given to such symbolic items (Richter 1992:28). Later in the archaeological record, these same religious items are still made but of different material, and also, the emergence of Jesuit items begins.

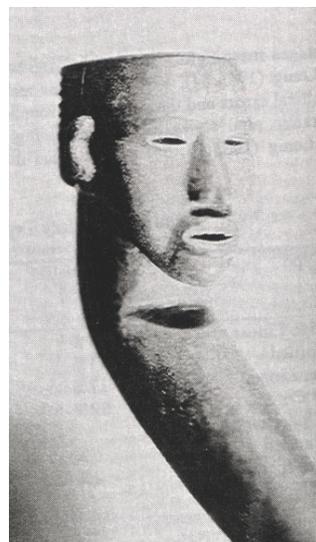
Prior to 900 A.D., Iroquoian artifacts are rudimentary but the use of pipes, combs and effigies was evident archaeologically. Material culture changes between 900 and 1400 A.D. are considered the Oak Hill Phase. This phase shows pipes becoming more elaborate, and four types of pipe emerge. These types are the barrel shape, pipes with decorative bands, pipes with human effigies, and those with animal effigies. It is notable that the human face on the pipe always faces the smoker, (Fig. 9, 10, 11) (Snow 1995: 78). Between 1646 and 1666, the archaeological record shows the emergence of pewter

pipes and brass tobacco boxes in sites along with more Jesuit religious items (Snow 1995: 363).

By the historic period, pipes are usually made from ceramic, steatite, and pipestone. (Rafferty 2004 : 81) Three types of pipes were used; an elbow pipe with a stone bowl and a hole in which to put a stem of a different material. The second kind is a stalagma which is a pipe with a stem and bowl connected with a right angle. The third shape is the clay pipe that has the bowl and stem connected, like most pipes made by Europeans (Lyford 1984: 28). Historic pipes will also most commonly have one of six bowl shapes (Fig.6). These include bulbous, barrel, cylindrical, conical, excurvate round and square trumpet (Rafferty 2004 : 80). Also, the angle of the stem to the bowl is distinctive because they would make them between 90 and 135 degrees. It is believed that pipes with the stem attached were for personal use, and ones with detachable stems were for group use (Rafferty 2004 : 111). These pipes will often be lined with copper or have copper inlay or colored glass used for the eyes of an effigy (Rafferty 2004 : 149).



**Figure 8 - Iroquoian ceramic pipe shapes
(Rafferty 2004: 80)**



**Figure 9- Iroquoian pipe with human face facing the smoker, 13cm long
Source Snow 1995 (Sites): 78**



**Figure 10 - Iroquoian pipe with human and animal effigy facing smoker, 6.3cm long
Source Snow 1995 (Sites): 118**

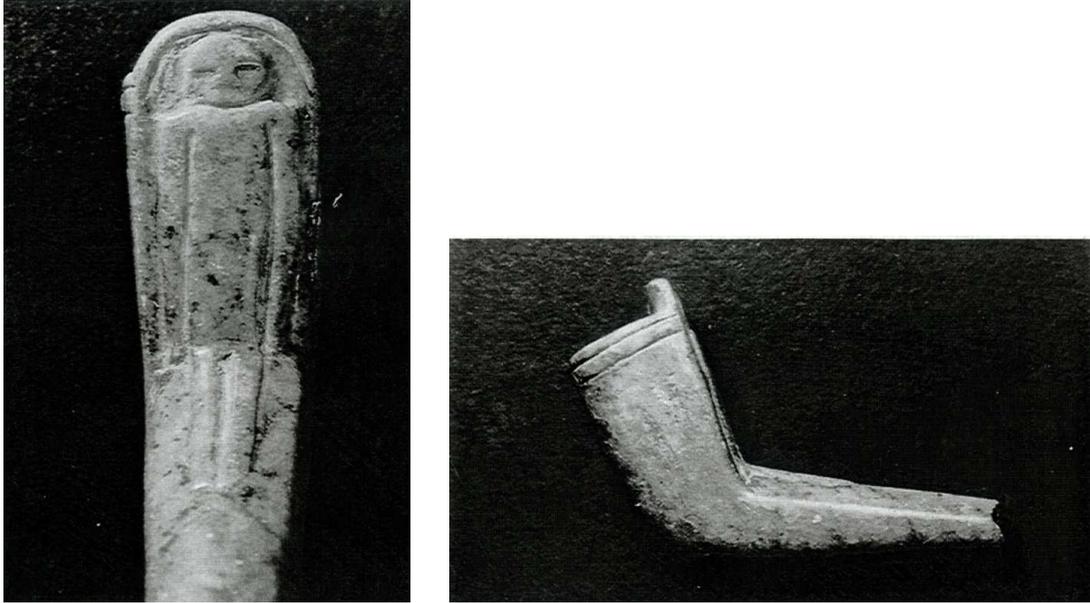


Figure 11 - Iroquoian steatite effigy pipe of infant in a cradleboard
Source Snow 1995 (Collection): 55

Another type of item that is common in Iroquoian sites are combs. Around 1400-1525 combs become more elaborate with the emergence of effigy bone combs in the archaeological record. The combs are sculptural and are typically two dimensional framed or freestanding cutouts (Kasprzycki 1998: 21). The effigies on the combs are most often simply a human or multiple humans, a clan animal, a human head under the head of an animal, or a child in a cradleboard. Most combs show great ornamentation and will often be seen with human effigies or animal effigies. Even if no effigies are present they will still be highly decorated with elaborate design (Snow 1995: 173). Combs with two human figures are believed to represent the Sky woman's parents and are symbolic of the mother combing the father's hair (Fig. 12, 13) (Richter 1992:28). Early combs had fewer teeth, but after the introduction of metal tools, the Iroquois made their combs with more numerous and finer teeth, (Fig. 14) (Snow 1995: 152). Between 1580 and 1614 combs began having as many as 22 or more teeth (Snow 1995: 225). These combs were not

only spiritual items but were also used to actually comb hair (Snow 1995:271). The act of combing hair is not only necessary for personal hygiene but is also a spiritual act as done by the Creator's parents. Another use of combs was to signify which clan the wearer belonged to by styling their hair in specific ways and by the placement of combs. After contact with Europeans, the Iroquois began including European figures on their combs (Fig. 15). (Kasprzycki 1998: 21).



Figure 12 - Iroquoian bone comb dated December 10, 1885
Source Snow 1995 (Collection) : 83



Figure 13 - Iroquoian comb, 17th Century
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 267

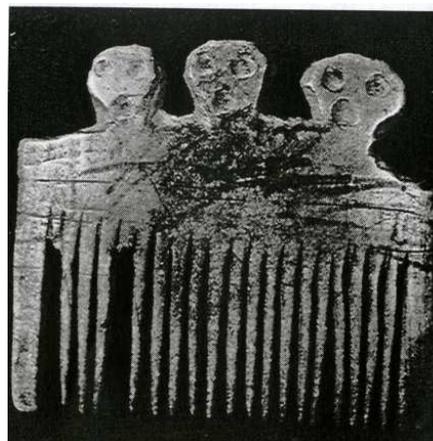
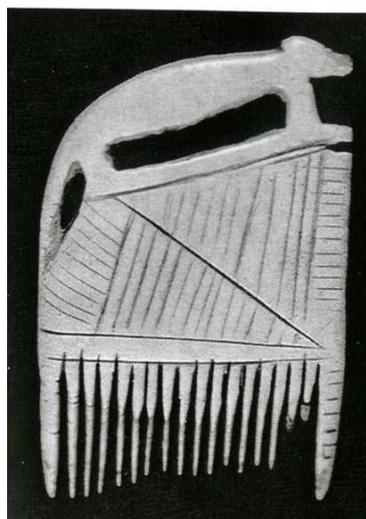
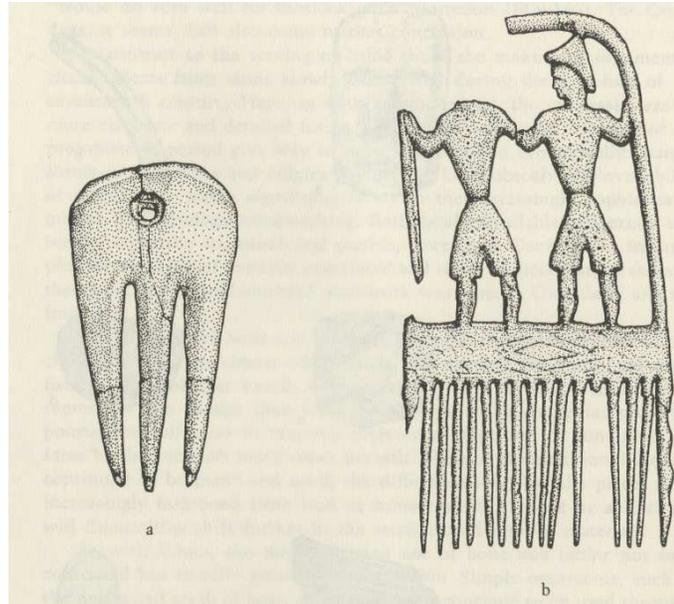


Figure 14 – Early Historic Iroquoian combs
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 225



**Figure 15 - a. Prehistoric Iroquoian comb
b. Historic Iroquoian comb showing Europeans**
Source Bradley 1987 : 128

Human and animal effigy figurines are another spiritual cultural item created by the Iroquois. Human effigies are commonly two people joined, or a single person in the “September Morn” pose with one arm across the breast and the other covering the genitals (Fig. 16) (Kasprzycki 1998: 20). Also common is a combination of human and animal effigies, for example, “birdman” (Fig.17) is frequently seen as a combination of a man and a bird, or a human head below an animal head (Fig.18). The animal effigies are meant to replicate animals associated with the different clans like turtles, wolves, bears and the like (Snow 1995: 299). In the historic period effigies began to be made from European metals, melted down from musket balls and other items.



Figure 16 - Iroquoian effigy
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 351



Figure 17 - Iroquoian effigies, turtles, birdman
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 399



Figure 18 - Iroquoian wolf/human effigy
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 381

Ladles were used as a functional item and as a spiritual item. The spiritual use was during ceremonies in which they would be used to stir the ceremonial food, for example to stir the strawberries during the Strawberry Festival or the corn soup at the Green Corn Festival. The ceremonial ladles were decorated with the clan animal to

which the owner was a member, (Fig. 19) (Lyford 1945: 62). Ladles were made of wood and sometimes bone.



**Figure 19 –Iroquoian ladles,
Source Snow 1995 (Collection): 83**

Weapons

At the time of Lewis H. Morgan's observation of the Iroquois in the late 1800s they had several different weapons in use. The Iroquois had spears whose spear points are considered one of the most beautiful and symmetric (Lyford 1984: 24). They also used axes, stone chisels, and stone tomahawks. The tomahawk could be thrown with great skill and was a popular choice for a weapon. Later, they became converted into a smoking pipe (Lyford 1984: 25). Before the emergence of guns, other popular weapons included war clubs and bows and arrows (Morgan 1901(b): 10-14). Projectile points were still in use and were made from several different materials including stone, metals, and quartz. The quartz projectiles were symbolic and were believed to be in conjunction with the power from ice and winter (Snow 1995:212). Lastly, the Iroquois invented a type of air gun made of wood that could be used to kill birds by blowing arrows at them (Morgan 1901(b):37). Eventually, though, the Iroquois began using European guns

regularly which increasingly show up in their archaeological sites. But they never completely let go of traditional weapons and the skills needed to use them. There is a recorded story of an Iroquois man who encountered a bear at night, and being unable to see the sights on his gun in the darkness, he killed the bear with a single arrow (Carse 1949: 18).

Food Preparation

The Iroquois had many different tools to use in preparing, storing, serving and eating food. The Iroquois also had some inventions that Euro-American culture likely borrowed from them. They made these objects out of ceramic, bark, wood, bone, corn parts and other materials. Some of these objects had decoration, like ceramics and the ladles, but in general purely functional items were left more plain (Richter 1992:28).

Domestic items included the mortar and pestle, hulling basket, hominy sieve, netted scoop, corn scraper, ladles, bark trays, and a paddle used to stir soup and retrieve loaves of bread (Lyford 1945: 17). To distinguish between ceremonial and everyday ladles, the everyday ladles were usually decorated with an openwork pattern of bears, dogs, ducks, and swans; not with clan animals (Lyford 1945: 62). Also, Iroquoian ladles had hooks on the handle to keep them from sliding into the pot (Kasprzycki 1998: 19).

Ceramic was used to make many different vessels. Iroquoian ceramics were made by the coiling process (Lyford 1984: 25). The body was left plain, but the rim was often highly decorated. Iroquoian ceramics are distinctive because they made a corded rim (Snow 1995: 168). The rim was functional as well as decorative, the functional part being to be able to put a cord around the neck of the vessel (Fig. 20). The decoration

usually consisted of line designs made by rope or fingernails and effigies were often applied at the corners of the vessel (Fig. 21) (Lyford 1945: 18) (Lyford 1984: 27). Many storage containers, serving and eating dishes were made out of ceramic. Each Iroquois family ate out of a communal pot, which actually contributed to the spread of European diseases. Between 1626 and 1635 ceramics were made with more daring decoration on the lip, and the collar height shortened (Snow 1995:283).

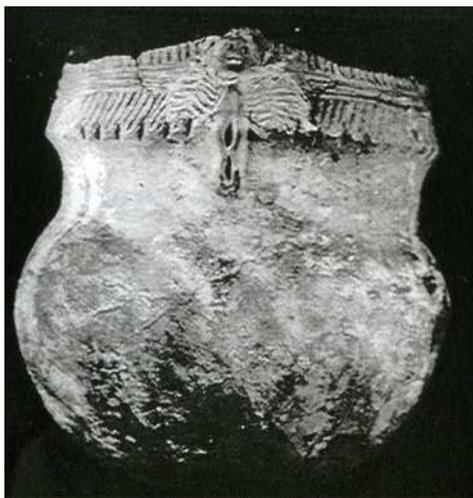


Figure 20 - Iroquoian vessel
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 331

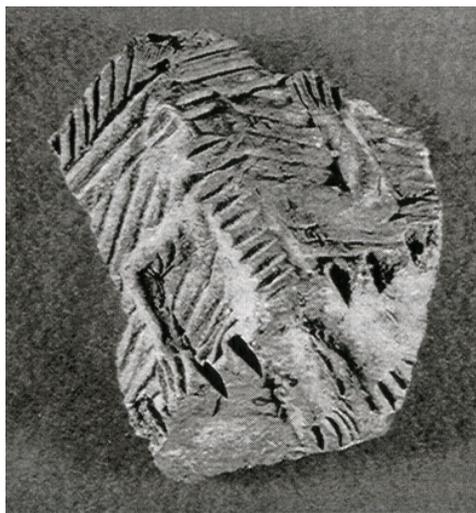


Figure 21- Iroquoian pottery fragment,
Source Snow 1995 (Sites) : 272

The Iroquois also utilized bark to make food related objects including storage vessels, serving and eating vessels, along with food preparation trays. Other objects made of bark included a sap tub to extract maple sugar and many kitchen utensils like mortars and an object similar to a spatula (Morgan 1901(b):22-27). A pop-corn sieve was utilized to make popped corn which was seen as a good food to bring on long trips (Morgan 1901(b):31) because it is small to carry, but becomes larger and more filling when cooked.

The Iroquois made bowls and other serving dishes out of wood, but because wood doesn't preserve well, the extent of pre-historic wood use is unknown. One item that the

Iroquois made of wood are ladles which were made with great care. Mortars and pestles were originally made of stone, but were replaced by wooden ones of varying sizes, depending on the task at hand (Lyford 1984: 39).

Many tools that the Iroquois employed were made out of bone or antler and stone including knives, digging tools, awls, punches, wedges, spoons, needles, and fish hooks (Lyford 1984: 23). Turtle shells were used to make gardening hoes that had sticks for handles (Lyford 1984: 24).

Baskets had many uses in Iroquois culture as with all native cultures. They were made from corn husks, ash splints, and cattails. Some strands were dyed to give the basket color (Lyford 1984: 41). Most baskets were made by hexagonal plaiting and checkered plaiting (Lyford 1945: 59). They were used for food storage, and also baskets were used as fishing nets and other implements, to sift food products, and also for washing (Lyford 1984: 42) (Morgan 1901(b):41-42). Iroquoian baskets were traditionally simpler than those found in western native groups (Lyford 1984: 41).

Dress

Before European contact, the Iroquois dressed themselves in tailored skin clothing during the day and used hides as sleeping robes during the night (Lyford 1984: 66). During the day, men originally wore a breech cloth, leggings, moccasins, a skull cap, and would add a robe in colder weather (Lyford 1984: 24). Women wore a skin wrapper or skirt around her body, and moccasins. Later women added leggings, and robes to their wardrobe (Lyford 1984: 21). Children went without clothing until puberty (Snow 1994: 72). All apparel items were decorated with intricate beading, the cap was also decorated

with feathers (Lyford 1984: 75). Moccasins were decorated with quillwork in addition to beading, with the different tribes having slightly different ways of making or decorating them. For instance, the Mohawks gathered material at the toe to create a pleated look, while others left the toe smooth (Lyford 1984: 76). In cold weather overshoes were worn over the moccasins to keep feet dry and warm. These overshoes were made out of corn husks which were stuffed with buffalo hair and oiled on the outside (Lyford 1984: 46).

After about 1537, Iroquois people began to use cloth to make clothing in addition to skins (Lyford 1945: 20). By the 18th and 19th centuries silk and velvet became very popular among the Iroquois (Lyford 1945: 20). When Lewis Morgan visited the Iroquois around 1800 they were still using both cloth and skins to make clothing. The Iroquois began to wear a mixture of traditional and European inspired clothing after the two cultures met. They would often cut clothing in the line of European clothing, but then decorate the piece in traditional Iroquoian style (Lyford 1945: 20).

The Iroquois made many different bags for different purposes, for instance to carry treasured items, or one's pipe and tobacco also known as their "fire bag." Their fire bags are unique because their pipes are much smaller than those of other tribes, sometimes they are just a bowl with a hole in it. So, their fire bags were also much smaller (Lyford 1945: 30). In the mid-19th century, they began making beaded bags for tourists who came to Niagara Falls (Lyford 1945: 31). When beaver hats were at the height of fashion for men in Europe, the Iroquois wore them as well, by both men and women, but they would make them "Iroquoian" by decorating them with a silver band (Lyford 1945: 28).

The Iroquois also made sashes out of wool that were very similar to those worn by the French Voyageurs who worked for the Hudson's Bay Company. Although red was the most common color, they also made ones of blue, green, gold, and white, or a combination of colors. These sashes were also heavily decorated with beads (Lyford 1945: 32).

Even though their everyday clothing was changing, when ceremonial dances were performed the dancers would still wear traditional costume. This included a headdress, kilt (*gakaah*) and leggings (*giseha*) both made of deerskin and decorated with beads and porcupine quills, beaded moccasins (*Ahtaquaoweh*), and arm, knee and wrist bands (Morgan 1901(a):252-255).

The beadwork of the Iroquois is distinctive. Most designs are vegetal in nature and include scrolls which are unique to the Iroquois (Lyford 1984: 128). All beadwork and other decoration was created with great symbolism, nothing was randomly beaded, everything was put in place for a reason. Common themes that appear in Iroquoian decoration are the symbol of the sky dome (Fig.22), the celestial tree (Fig.23), scrolls, and circles. The sky dome meaning the earth that we inhabit, the celestial tree from which all life came, scrolls to signify chieftainship or horns, and circles showing life. Iroquois beadwork also predominately showcases flowers, called "flowering" by the Iroquois. The flowering beadwork symbolized the celestial tree as well, from which all fruit and flowers came. (Lyford 1945:76) Beading was carried out by following a strict set of guidelines for the beader. If someone wished to decorate with beads in the Iroquois nation they had to be very skilled at creating realistic flower designs and must have great knowledge of the flower being represented (Morgan 1901(b):48). The Iroquois preferred

their beadwork to appear harmonious and did not use many contrasting colors. Morgan found that their favorite color combinations were light blue/pink/white, dark blue/yellow/white, light purple/dark purple/white, and red/light blue/white. The white in all combinations was used between the other colors (Morgan 1901(b):48). Iroquois beadwork will also include many white seed beads alone, for example when creating a scroll pattern (Kasprzycki 1998: 17). After 1850 the floral beadwork became proliferate and much heavier than previously seen. This corresponds to the items being made for tourists at Niagara Falls in which purses, pin cushions, moccasins and caps were made (Kasprzycki 1998: 17).

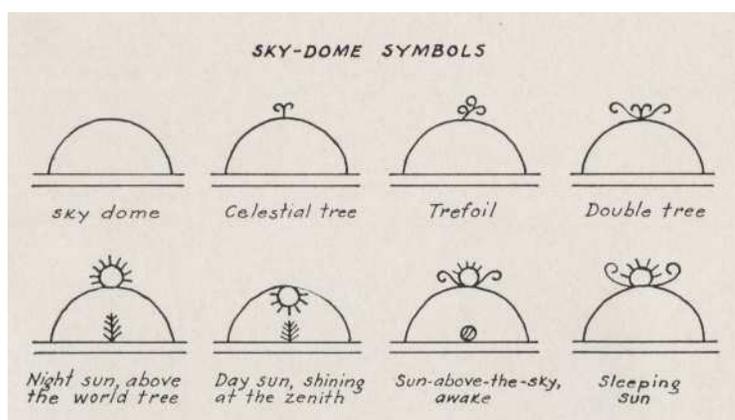


Figure 22 - Sky dome beading designs
Source Lyford 1945 : 98

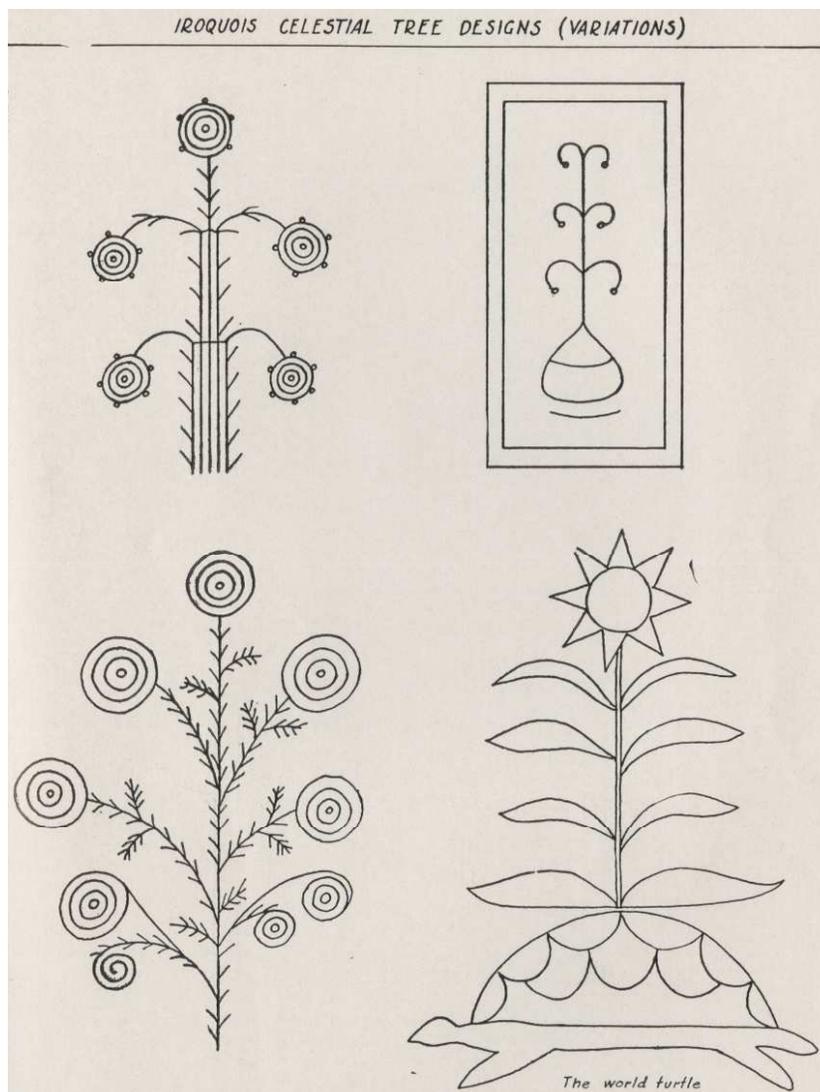


Figure 23 - Celestial Tree beading designs
Source Lyford 1945 : 87

Both men and women wore sweet grass necklaces that were made of three strand cords woven together with sweet grass discs hanging down every 8-10 cm. The discs often were decorated with beading (Lyford 1984: 75). Jewelry made out of copper became very popular after the Iroquois were introduced to copper items like kettles by the Europeans but began to wane in the mid 18th century (Lyford 1984: 80). They made cylindrical copper beads, spiral strip beads, clips which are similar to staples, triangular

pendants, and metal rings and coils to decorate hair (Fig.24) (Ehrhardt 2005: 108, 112, 116, 117, 123, 128).

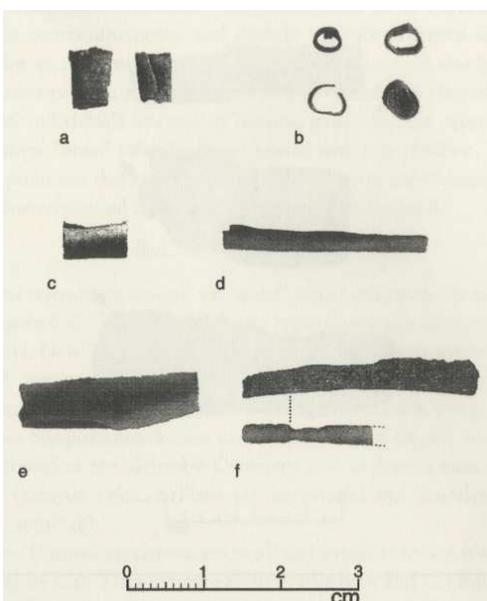


Figure 24 - Iroquoian copper rolled beads
Source Ehrhardt 2005 : 113

Another form of decoration are tinklers which are small cone shaped metal objects that are sewn to clothing as noisemakers and are the most proliferate of Iroquoian metal objects. They have been called many things by archaeologists who find them, including jingles, dangles, bangles, tinkling cones and others (Ehrhardt 2005: 119). Tinklers made from copper kettles appeared in Onondaga Iroquoian sites in the late 1500s (Fig. 25) (Ehrhardt 2005: 120). Tinklers are still made today by Eastern natives and are still sometimes made from other objects like metal snuff can lids (Ehrhardt 2005: 120)

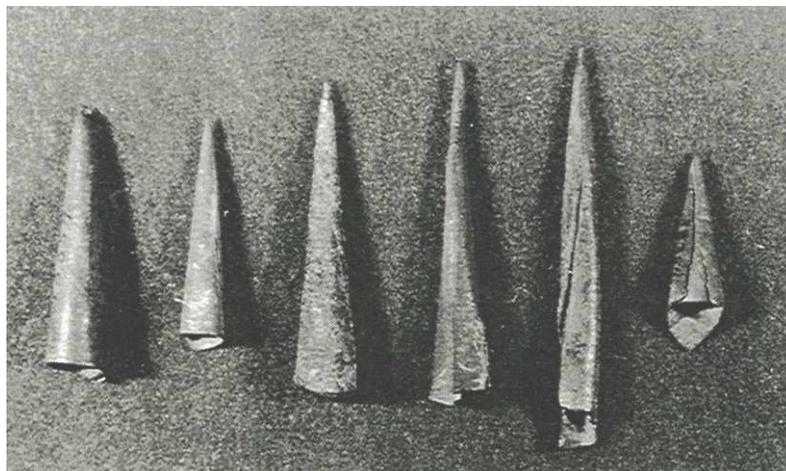


Figure 25 - Metal Iroquoian tinklers, 3.5-5.5cm long

In 1720 the use of silver in the Iroquois nation began. The Iroquois were the leading makers of silver jewelry in New York until 1865, and made jewelry for all cultures but made some items that were restricted to Iroquois use only (Lyford 1945: 67). The items made for the Iroquois themselves included crosses, necklaces, brooches, earrings, and rings. Crosses were a popular decoration but more for the aesthetic look of a cross than for their religious significance; a double cross was preferred over the single cross (Lyford 1984: 81). Necklaces often consisted of a chain with medals that had monograms and heads displayed in the center (Lyford 1945:67).

Silver brooches were the most numerous silver item used by Iroquois. The Iroquois explained the emergence of these brooches as coming from an underwater fisherman with silvery scales, who used them to lure a maiden into the lake (Kasprzycki 1998: 21). Everyone would wear 2 or 3 brooches at a time, more if the wearer was of high status (Lyford 1984: 81). In fact, the National Badge of the Iroquois was a silver brooch (Lyford 1945:69). These brooches were between $\frac{1}{4}$ to 6 inches in diameter and had an open center with a tongue projecting through it to fasten the brooch to clothing. This tongue looked similar to one in a belt buckle (Harrington 1908 : 354). Brooches had

six principle shapes including a simple circle or disk (*o-ga-ha-eye*), ornate disk or star (*de-yo-de-hai'e-da*), simple heart (*a-we-ya-sa*), ornate heart (*o-go-ji-a*), square (*jo-a-wa-das-ho*), or Masonic (*ga-ya-sa*) (Harrington 1908 : 354-355). The heart shape was the most common, the Iroquois badge being overlapping hearts with a crown like decoration on top. The Masonic brooch is only coincidental in its form, it does have Christian connotations. Brooches were put on clothing, ribbons, headbands and sashes (Harrington 1908 : 356). Brooches were traditionally made out of silver coins or spoons that had been pounded out or melted (Harrington 1908 : 363). It is likely that other jewelry items were made from coins and spoons as well. Figure 26 shows common shapes for Iroquoian brooches, number 3 is the Iroquois badge.

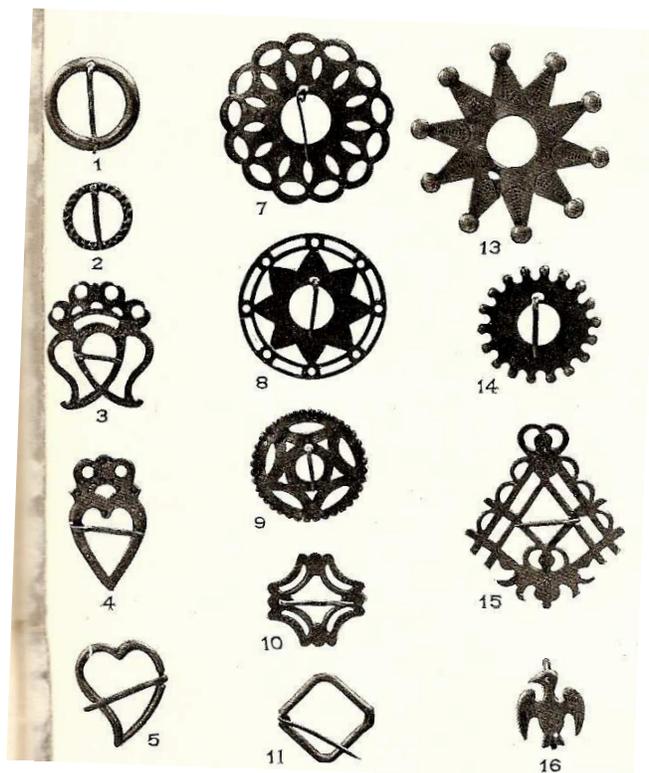
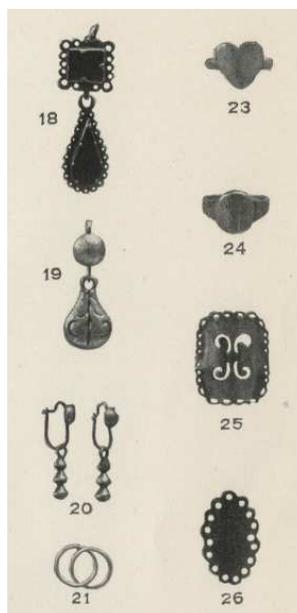


Figure 26 – Iroquoian silver Brooches
Source Harrington 1908 Volume I Plate XXIII

Earrings were the second most commonly manufactured silver item. They were worn by both men and women, and then later by women only. The most common form was a drop earring style with an attached pendant, sometimes with colored glass, or simply all silver. Iroquoian earrings are unique in design and in the closing mechanism used, (Fig. 27).

Finger rings were plain bands, or had a simple shape at its center, often a heart shape, (Fig. 27). (Harrington 1908 : 366). Bracelets and armlets were made with thin flexible silver so they could be bent and then holes were placed at the ends so they could be tied with string. Silver “crowns” or headbands were also made, and commonly placed around the base of a hat (Harrington 1908 : 357). Silver nose rings were also made but in a crescent shape to push the ring into the septum, the nose was not pierced (Harrington 1908: 358).



**Figure 27 – Iroquoian silver Earrings and rings.
Source Harrington 1908 Volume I Plate XXIII**

The Iroquois silversmith had a full toolkit to make the items mentioned above. Some tools were purchased, but many were made from objects the silversmiths already had. In general, silversmith tools look like miniature blacksmith tools, but Iroquoian silversmith tools were made from unsuspected objects like old knives and sardine cans. One item in the Iroquoian silversmith toolkit were anvils. These are blocks of cast iron 4 1/2 inches long, 2 inches wide and 3 inches high and will have a scarred top with circular depressions. Hammers were also used, a large one to flatten objects, and a small one to fine tune the object, (Fig. 28.15). Files were used but were first worked down to a triangular point and used as a drill, (Fig. 28.14). Pinchers were purchased, (Figs. 28.10, 29.12), or handmade with heavy wire, and were rounded, (Fig. 29.7). Several chisels were employed to make curved and straight lines. Chisels were often made from old knives worked down to the right shape, (Figs. 28.8, 28.9, 28.19-28.21, 29.5, 29.6). Awls usually had a wood handle and a small blade or needle stuck into the handle, (Figs. 28.22-28.25). Gravers were like the chisels only they had a wooden handle, (Figs. 28.11-28.13). Die plates were small blocks of iron that had several cutouts in them in the shape of the desired jewelry, then a stamp with the matching shape was used to cut the silver into the correct shape, (Figs. 28.1-28.7). Cutters were used for cutting out discs and were made of curved iron, (Fig. 28.16). A spreader, Figure 28.18, was a chisel-like device but was used specifically to make earrings and the split wires. A lamp, made from a sardine can with rolled edges filled with oil and a cloth wick, was used for heat. Patterns were used to make intricate brooches, these were usually made from a cheap material like tin but would look like a brooch with no fastener. Moulds were made to use for melted silver. These are large blocks of hardwood that would have a rectangular cutout in the

middle. A blowpipe, used on melted silver, was a hollowed out stick, and lastly a poker to move ashes on the mould was also part of this extensive toolkit that usually all were placed in a little toolchest (Harrington 1908: 358-361). The above descriptions of the tools used for silversmiths were taken from a report in which the author interviewed an Iroquois silversmith in 1907, so tools from the time period of this study could have some differences.

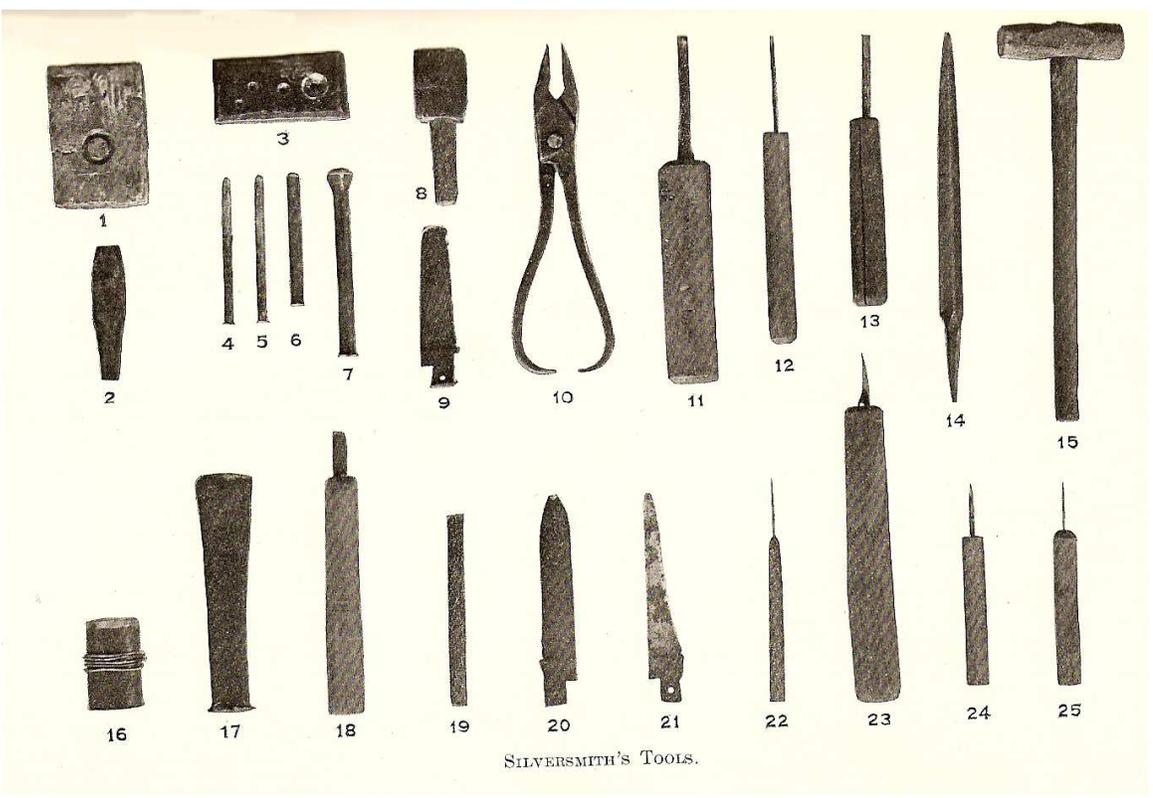


Figure 28 – Iroquoian silversmith tools
Source Harrington 1908 Volume I Plate XXV

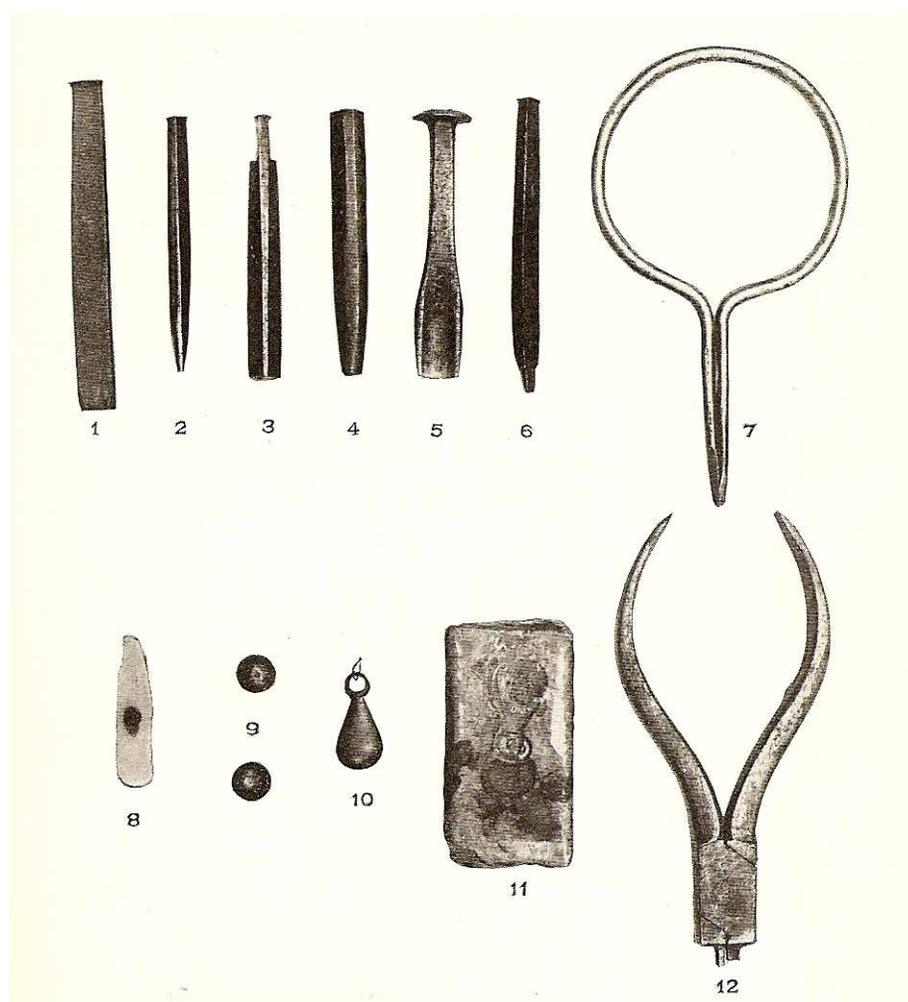


Figure 29– Iroquoian silversmith tools
Source Harrington 1908 Volume I Plate XXVII

Iroquois not only took pride in their appearance through clothing but also through their hair and skin. During wartime men would shave one side of their head or all but a scalp lock but during peace would wear two braids. Unmarried women also wore two braids and would dye the skin in the part. Married women wore a single braid that was tied up and secured with a comb or quill (Lyford 1945: 22, 27). The Iroquois practiced tattooing and body painting, with different colors having different meanings (Carse 1949: 25). Blue paint symbolized health and happiness, black meant mourning and imbalance, and red could mean either life or violent death (Snow 1994: 93). They also applied bear

grease to their hair and body to protect themselves from lice, mosquitoes and other pests (Carse 1949: 25). The women wore a red face powder made from dry rotted pine that served to give them a smooth finish and a perfume.

Travel

The Iroquois invented several items to help them get around in their environment. To travel by water they made canoes constructed of bark and to get around in the deep snow of the east coast winters the Iroquois used snowshoes. Their snowshoes were made of hickory and the netting was created from deer skins (Morgan 1901(b):34). (Morgan 1901(b):25). For those in the society who were older or injured, canes made of wood were provided to ease mobility (Morgan 1901(b):45).

Burden frames were used to carry heavy loads. This was a wooden frame that was secured to the back and forehead with straps of cloth, leather, or hemp. (Morgan 1901(b):16-21) (Carse 1949: 24). Mothers had a similar contraption to transport their infants. They would wrap the baby in a blanket and place them in a baby frame, or *Gaoseha*, which was secured in a similar fashion to the forehead and back. (Morgan 1901(b):59). These cradleboards were highly decorated with classic designs and often included a rattle hanging down in front of the infant for their enjoyment (Lyford 1984: 37).

Entertainment

The Iroquois loved to celebrate festivals with music and dance as well as play games and to gamble on the outcome of those games (Morgan 1901(a):280). The Iroquois believed that the Great Spirit was pleased when they played games so they acted accordingly (Lyford 1945: 39). Often four “brother” clans would play against the other four “brother” clans which meant husband and wife and father and son were on different teams (Morgan 1901(a):281). Some games were for everyone, while others were for men only or women only (Lyford 1945: 39).

The Ball Game or *otadajishqua*, or as it is currently known, lacrosse, was one of the more popular games. It required a deer skin ball and a netted bat of wood and deer skin. The players would train with diet and exercise to prepare for the big games (Morgan 1901(a):284). There was also a Hoop game or Javelin Game, or *ganagao*, in which a javelin was thrown threw a hoop (Morgan 1901(a):287). The Game of Deer Buttons, or *gusgaesata*, was played by the fire. Round discs were made of elk horn and one side was blackened with fire leaving the other side white. Eight discs were thrown like dice, the player receiving points for getting a majority of one color (Morgan 1901(a):290). This was similar to the Peach-Stone game, *guskaeh*, in which six peach pits were blackened on one side, thrown into a bowl, and points given for number of each color represented (Morgan 1901(a):299). The Iroquois also had foot races and at least two winter games. One winter game was the Snow Snake game, *gawasa*, in which “snakes” made of hickory were thrown out onto the snow and a competition followed as to which one slid farthest (Morgan 1901(a):292). Similar to this was the Snow Boat game, *dayanoiayendaqua*, where little boats were slid along ice trenches or paths (Morgan 1901(a):293).

The Iroquois not only enjoyed games and gambling but also music and dancing. Drums were used for ceremonies and for social dances, one type of drum used was a water drum which could change sound by adding or removing water to it (Lyford 1945: 38). A type of flute similar to a present day clarinet was another type of instrument they used. It was made of red cedar and had a mouthpiece and holes in the body for fingers to produce different notes, they call it a *Yaodawasta* (Morgan 1901(b):38). Dances were either social or ceremonial and would have a circle of singers and drummers in the middle of everyone else who would dance in a circle around them.

Children were given rattles, corn husk dolls, miniature baskets and other replicas of adult items to play with (Lyford 1984: 44). Sometimes the faces for the corn husk dolls were made using an apple by sculpting the face into the apple and letting it dry out, which made the features more realistic (Lyford 1945: 67).

Burial Goods

The Iroquois believe in an afterlife and accordingly want the deceased to have important items to take with them to that afterlife. Artifacts of a spiritual nature are found in pre-historic and historic sites. Pipes and combs were commonly found in burials (Snow 1995: 329). Effigy figurines were also interred with the body but especially in children's graves (Snow 1995:266).

After the Iroquois had contact with European goods, they began to also place these items in burials. In fact, these goods made up a significant percentage of the burial objects due to the belief that the after life will have all the traditional items available to the deceased but would not yet have the items from the Europeans. So they must be

supplied by the family in order for the deceased to use them (Snow 1995:197). So, the European wares were everyday items that made life easier. These goods were said to “dry the tears” of the deceased (Snow 1995:198).

Effect of European Contact

After many years of trade with the Europeans, the Iroquois discontinued many traditional methods of making functional items in favor of just obtaining functional items from the Europeans. The non-functional items, though, were still being made with careful attention (Richter 1992:86). By the 18th century many functional items were European, but spiritual items were made in traditional manner (Richter 1992:268).

It is important to remember that the Iroquois did not jump into European culture full force, abandoning all aspects of their culture. They actively worked to keep traditional parts of their culture alive, while adopting some new ideas from the Europeans. Of these items, they only allowed in certain ones at a time and would often change them to make the object more traditional (Bradley 1987:165-169). Also, they kept the same form and function of their cultural items, but mostly just changed the material that these items were made from. For example, they originally made projectile points from stone and then later from copper (Bradley 1987:175).

In fact, not only do spiritual items not disappear in the 18th century, but there is an increase of them. Also, spiritual items become more detailed and artistic as time goes on (Bradley 1987:122-123). The most abundant are the human and animal effigies pipes and forms. Even though some Iroquois converted to Christianity they still found it essential to use pipes to communicate with God and to perform traditional religious ceremonies

with the effigy forms (Bradley 1987:123). The increase of spiritual items might be a result of less time needed to make functional items, so more time can be spent on non-functional items. Or possibly, the increase in pipes shows that the Iroquois believed that with all the disease and cultural changes around them, the need to appease the Gods was increasing (Bradley 1987:123). Not only did the Iroquois spend a great deal of time perfecting their effigy pipes, but there is archaeological evidence that they would repair such pipes if broken, showing the non-disposable nature of the pipe (Bradley 1987:126). Aside from effigy pipes and figures, turtle shell rattles and combs also become more numerous and more elaborately decorated (Bradley 1987:126). Also, there is evidence of an increase in wooden ladles being produced (Bradley 1987:176).

They did use many functional European items for their intended purposes, but this was not always the case. The Iroquois commonly took European items and created traditional objects with them. For instance, they would often melt down European items to make their traditional cultural items with a newfound material. One example of this is using muskets to make lead effigies (Bradley 1987:153). The Iroquois also took European functional objects and then added traditional decoration to make the item “Iroquoian”. Most often the case was adding effigies to these functional items (Bradley 1987:152). Also, they would use European tools to make their traditional items. For example, Wampum beads are found in sites that have been worked with European drill bits to make holes in the beads (Snow 1995: 300). Lastly, they would cut up copper kettles to make adornment items like tinklers, pipe liners, and to decorate effigy pipes (Bradley 1987:132-133). They would make metal projectile points and many different kinds of personal adornment items.

Occupation sites of people who created these items from European goods can be distinguished for several reasons. First, the copper, which does occur in nature, will be smelted or mixed to make brass. Also, there will likely be a variety of metal fragments at different stages of processing including partially worked metal, complete pieces, and waste material from processing (extra pieces) (Ehrhardt 2005: 105). Finding an intact kettle would be unlikely since very few of them were actually used for food preparation (Ehrhardt 2005: 107). In addition to finding actual metal artifacts “blanks” will often be present. Blanks are partially processed copper pieces that have been cut and are ready to be formed into a tinkler, ring, or other item. These are usually in a trapezoidal, square or parallelogram shape (Ehrhardt 2005: 131). You can often tell what was going to be made by the size of the blank (Ehrhardt 2005: 133). “Scraps” are also found in these sites. These are malformed larger pieces that have had blanks cut from them (Ehrhardt 2005: 136).

Chapter 4: EASTERN IROQUOIAN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Archaeological studies in eastern Canada have shown that in Iroquoian sites bone combs, shell beads, and ceramic pipes start to decrease in sites in the 18th century, along with the practice of using scrap copper. At this same time, stone pipes, and beads and pendants made of catlinite and pipestone increase. Also, silver becomes very popular and replaces shells for adornment (Ferris 2006: 121). Eastern archaeology of Iroquoian sites has shown that beaded objects, silver ornaments, wampum, headdresses, and war clubs are key ethnic markers up until the end of the 19th century (Ferris 2006: 274).

Corn continued to be a major crop in the 19th century and was still tended by women; men began to grow grains. Pig was by far the livestock of choice, followed by cattle and fowl. Iroquois did not raise sheep. A historic Iroquoian site will also have proliferate evidence of wild animal hunting, primarily deer, duck and fish (Ferris 2006: 257-267).

Powless Homestead

Excavation of the Powless homestead, a Canadian Iroquoian homestead occupied by the same family from around 1800 to 1860 shows some interesting trends that could be helpful when looking at sites in the Northwest. This site was within a larger excavation site called Mohawk Village. The occupations are separated in to two periods, 1800 to 1830 and 1830 to 1860. The home or cabin is believed to be 5.5 meters by 5.5 meters based on post moulds (Ferris 2006: 265). In general, the faunal artifacts

comprised 55.6% of the total, compared with the European average of 20-30%, and kitchen items were 21%, instead of the average European site with 45-60%, but architectural items were comparable to European sites (Ferris 2006: 272). Also, in the earlier occupation, pig remains make up 82% of the faunal evidence, compared with the later one containing 42% (Ferris 2006: 266). The earlier occupation had many silver items including brooches and earrings, along with guns and gun parts, fishing items, awls, needles, smoking pipes, and items made from copper kettle pieces (Ferris 2006: 269). The earlier site had a majority of seed beads that were 90% white, while the later site had mostly glass with only 13% white (Ferris 2006: 273). Beadwork found in the site shows a trend in Eastern Iroquoian archaeology, earlier beadwork is lighter with simple borders of mostly white beads. After the mid 19th century the beadwork becomes more heavy and elaborate with many colors being used (Ferris 2006: 273). The earlier occupation included European dress like long coats, boots and breeches along side traditional items like headdresses, sashes, and moccasins. The later occupation saw a movement towards more mass-produced clothing, but still had traditional items. (Ferris 2006: 274).

Fort D'EpINETTE

Fort D'EpINETTE was a North West Company fort used between 1806 and 1823, located in British Columbia at the confluence of the Peace and Beatton Rivers (Fig.30). (Beddard 1990: 1) There was a mix of cultures living at the fort similar to the forts in the Pacific Northwest. There were Euro-Canadians, and local Natives including Beaver, Sekani, and Cree, and also, Metis and Soataux were brought in. (Bedard 1990: 41) In

addition, Iroquois were transported there as they were seen as the best hunters and trappers, even though they charged more for their services. (Bedard 1990: 28) George Simpson wrote to Finlayson at St. Mary's in February of 1821, "We absolutely need their services and you will therefore make the best bargain you can." As a result, 300 Iroquois were sent to the Athabasca district, Simpson believing that if the Iroquois were present the trade on the Peace River was secured. (Bedard 1990: 56, 57)

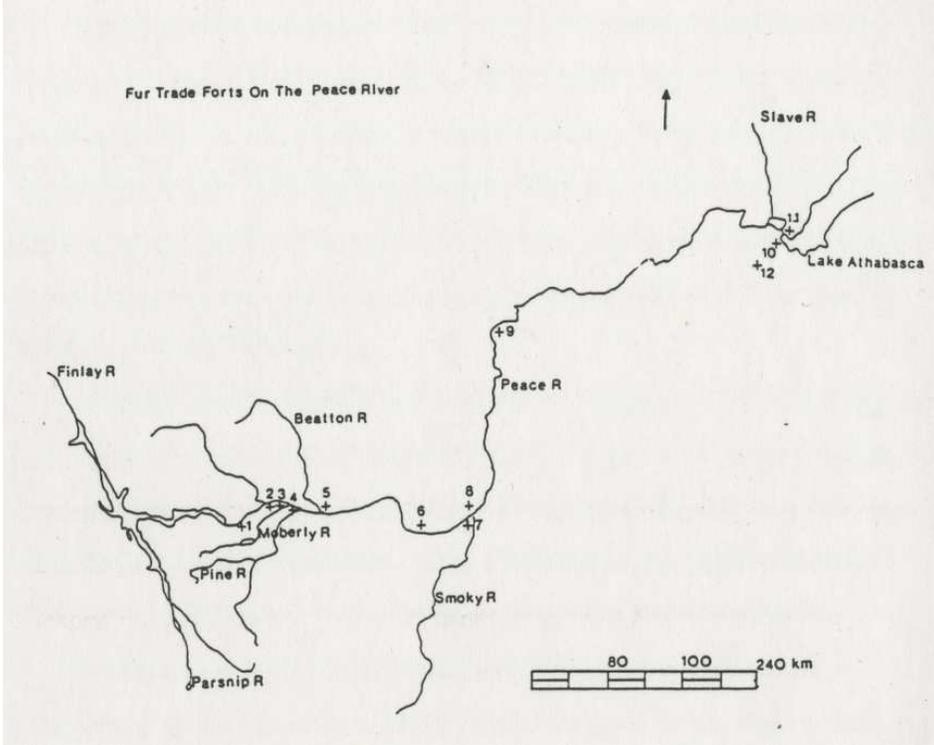


Figure 30 - Peace River Forts, Fort D'EpINETTE is located at location 5
Source: Bedard 1990: 22

Even though the Iroquois were only one of the many groups of people housed at the fort, and their positions required them to travel, they still left their mark on the fort's archaeology. There were bone combs with many teeth, bone gaming pieces, metal projectile points, and pipe fragments that could possibly be Iroquoian. Significant and distinctively Iroquoian, though, were silver pieces found, and evidence of silversmithing. Of the silver jewelry found, there were 5 earrings (one of which is classic Iroquoian), four brooches (two of which are most likely Iroquoian) and Lorraine crosses (favorites of the Iroquois) (Fig.31). (Bedard 1990: 164, 165) Iroquois jewelry is provided for comparison in Figure 32. In all there were 25 pieces of silver jewelry, along with several cut silver pieces in the process of manufacture that were obviously made from another silver item, and possible silversmithing tools. (Bedard 1990: 165) It is interesting to note that Bedard describes these items as an oddity because the local natives did not value such personal adornment, yet she did not believe them to be European. (Bedard 1990: 126)

It is important to remember that some of the above information and following information is describing the Iroquois around the time they came to the Northwest, and then what changes were made shortly afterwards. The Iroquois who came to the Northwest could have made the same exact changes to their material culture as the Iroquois who stayed in Canada and in the Northeast United States, but more likely they diverged in a similar but unique direction. To add to the deviation, they married women from other tribes with traditions of their own.

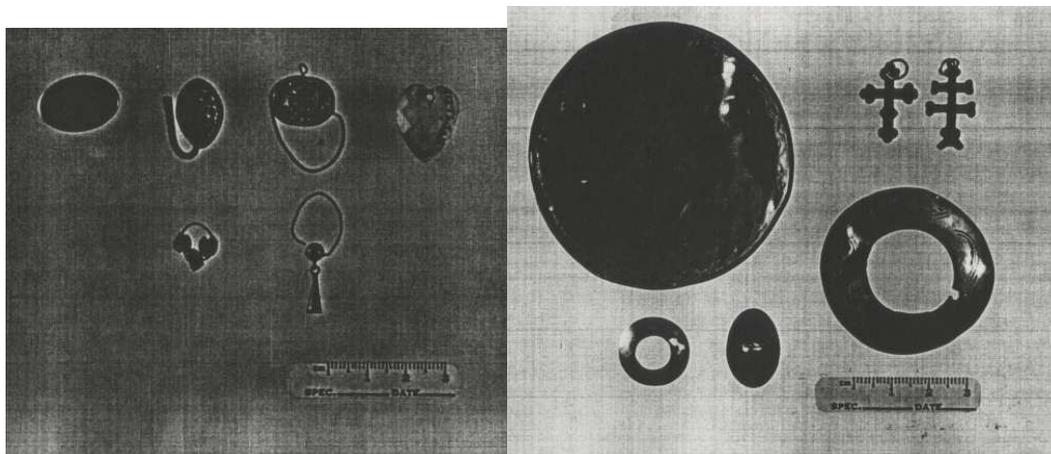


Figure 31 – Silver artifacts retrieved from Fort D'Epinette
Source: Bedard 1990: 199b

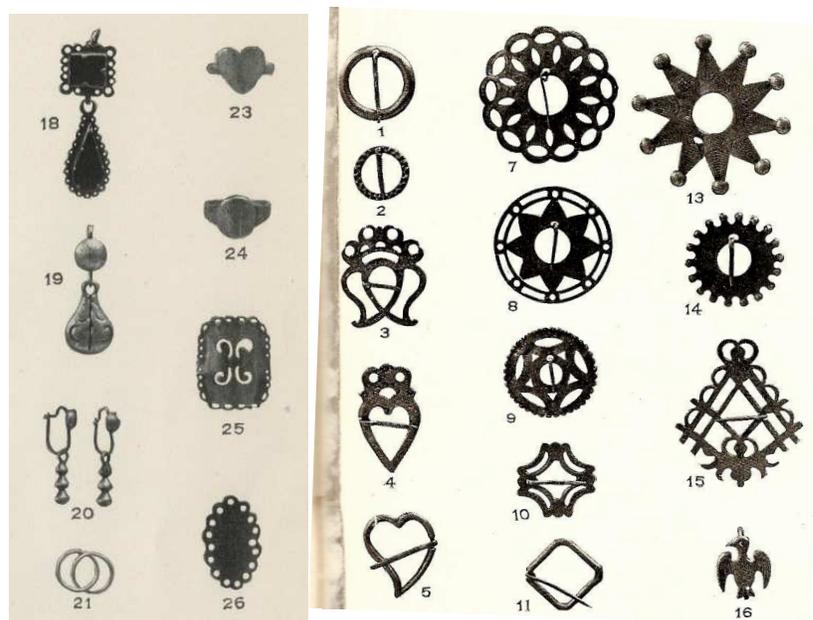


Figure 32– Iroquoian Silver Jewelry Items for Comparison, Fig.26 and 27.

Chapter 5: IROQUOIS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FUR TRADE

Throughout the later half of the 18th Century many explorers came to the Pacific Northwest in the hopes of finding useful resources. In 1776 Captain James Cook was sent to find the Northwest passage from the Pacific Ocean to Hudson's Bay (Mackie 1997: 5). On his third voyage, in 1778, he landed at Nootka Harbor on Vancouver Island. (Kardas 1971: 17) Cook wrote about his experience and about the numerous otters he found that could be useful in the fur trade. After Cook, many traveled to the Northwest to make a business for themselves (Mackie 1997: 5). The North West Company, or Nor'Westers, was founded in 1779 and was very successful in the Northwest fur trade (Ray 1974: 126). By 1800 the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had pushed out all other competition from smaller companies in the west. But when the XY Company, or New North West Company, was formed by Alexander Mackenzie and made up of disgruntled ex-North West Company employees, again there was competition (Rich 1966 : 92)(Rogers 1993: 33). Eventually the North West Company and the XY Company merged in 1804 which again curtailed the competition. All was well until another competitor was discovered when the North West Company scouted the Columbia region for expansion (Rogers 1993 :34). The new competitor was the Pacific Fur Company, founded in 1810, and led by John Jacob Astor. In spite of this new competitor, the North West Company decided to set up shop on the Columbia.

The Spokane House was established in 1810 by the North West Company (Caywood 1954: 2). Astor propositioned the North West Company to sell him some of their shares, but they declined (Jones 1993: 13). Two years later, Astor's Pacific Fur

Company built a competitive fort right next to the Spokane House. In 1811, 31 workers were sent by the Pacific Fur Company to Astoria to build the fort which would become the company's headquarters (Mackie 1997: 14) (Peltier 1991: 14). After Fort Astoria, later known as Fort George, was set up, the Pacific Fur Company extended their business into the Willamette Valley (Ross 1969 : 279)(Jones 1993: 17). Within the next year 86 men were sent to work there at the new fort. The workers at Fort Astoria saw much tragedy within the next two years. Sixty one men were lost by 1813 (Mackie 1997: 15). Also in 1813, Wallace House was built near present day Salem, Oregon. It was used primarily as a base camp for Pacific Fur Company expeditions. (McAleer 2003: 39) During this time the Pacific Fur Company set up Fort Okanogan, which was one of their primary forts (Ross 1969: 154) On October 23, 1813 the Pacific Fur Company sold their business to the North West Company for \$80,000 (Franchere 1967: 86) (Mackie 1997: 16). The Pacific Fur Company workers were given the option to stay and work for the North West Company or to leave, but most decided to work for the North West Company (Mackie 1997: 16).

After Astor sold his Spokane fort, the North West Company moved it to the new location where it became known as Fort Spokane (Caywood 1954: xii). In 1826, the Fort was moved again to Kettle Falls in Washington. Fort Spokane was the departure location for many of the fur brigades to the Snake River Valley and Willamette Valley (Caywood 1954: 5). By 1820 the North West Company had 6 trading posts along the lower part of the Columbia River (Fig. 33) (Mackie 1997: 18). By that time the American traders were

dominating the business, and competition between companies had become fierce and problematic. In 1821 because of the great conflicts in the trade, parliament forced the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company to merge together (Peltier 1991: 15). After the merger, the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort Vancouver in 1825 which became the hub of business on the west coast (Mackie 1997: 96). Fort Vancouver was encircled by housing for its workers, primarily the Hawaiians, French-Canadians, and Iroquois and their families (Mackie 1997: 96). American competition in the Pacific fur trade was virtually eliminated by the Hudson's Bay Company between the years of 1829 and 1843 (Mackie 1997: 123). But the fur trade began to decline at the same time which pushed the Hudson's Bay Company to diversify by getting involved in offshore trade and to offer new products to assist the settlers in agricultural ventures who were making their way to the west coast (Mackie 1997: 183 & 217).

Iroquois in the Pacific Northwest Fur Trade

The Iroquois had made a name for themselves in the eastern fur trade and were considered very industrious and driven. Fur companies in Montreal engaged 350 Iroquois between 1790 and 1815. Of these contracts 80% were made with the North West Company. (Nicks 1978: 86) In the year 1801 the North West Company reported having 300 Iroquois or "Eroquees" on three year contracts (Jackson 1995: 20). Alexander McKenzie wrote that these Iroquois were going to the west to escape the "improvements of civilization" back home in the east so they could live as their ancestors did. (Nicks 1978: 86) Some Iroquois were hired as guides and interpreters, but most were boatmen or voyageurs. Canoes would hold 8 voyageurs (a bowsman, 6 middlemen, and a

steersman.) (Kardas:1971: 126) They were generally made of birch bark construction and were about 25 feet long. (Kardas 1971: 126) The boatmen usually worked for 14 hours a day with 2 to 3 small breaks. (Kardas 1971: 127) Wages were generally 600-700 livres for the Iroquois, and they usually received “double equipment.”(Nicks 1978: 89) One Iroquoian interpreter’s wages were 1200 livres one year and then 1400 livres the next, plus a new coat every year. (Nicks 1978: 89)

By 1810, most Iroquois were in the Athabasca area and trapping near the Rocky Mountains, Smoky River, and Peace River. (Nicks 1978: 88) When times started to get hard for the North West Company in the Columbia region, they sent a group of Iroquois to Oregon, and then later a second group to supplement (Jackson 1995: 22). Iroquois had been roaming hunters in previous positions and were accustomed to entering new Native territories and communicating with new peoples. This made them very valuable to the Northwest Company as it spread into the new area of the Columbia. (Nicks 1978: 92) With the large influx of Iroquois they soon made up 1/3 of the workforce on the Columbia (Ross 1924: 286). The Columbia records of the Northwest Company of the 1813-1814 year lists only the following Iroquois by their Iroquois names on the roster: Pierre Brugier, Pierre Cawanarde, Thomas Ocanasawaret, Jacques Ostiserico, Etienne Owayaissa, Jacques Shatackoani, Ignace Salioheni, and George Teewhattahowie (Tewhattahewnie) (Jackson 1995: 21). These men are listed in Table 1 included with their contract information.

Table 1 - Recognized Iroquois Working on Columbia Winter 1813-1814

Name	Party	Position	Engaged	Years	Earnings 1st Year	Earnings 2 nd Year	Equipt**	Station	When & Where Free
Brugier, Pierre	PFC	Gouvernail (Steersman)	1813	1	300	P.Post*	Gouvernail (Steersman)	Fort George	Montreal, Same as NWC
Cawararde, Pierre	NWC	Devant (Bowsman) & Milieu	Bas de la Riviere (Lake Winnepeg)	0	400	P.Post	D. or M.		Bas de la Riviere
Ocanasawaret, Thomas	NWC	Milieu	Montreal 1811	0	300	P.Post	Milieu***	Willamette****	Montreal Feb. 1816
Ostiserico, Jacques	NWC	Devant						Kootonees	
Owayaisa, Etienne	NWC	Milieu	Montreal 1811	0	300	P.Post	Milieu	Willamette	Montreal Feb. 1816
Shatackoani, Jacques	NWC	Devant	Montreal1812	0	P.Post	P.Post	Devant	Fort George	Montreal Feb. 1814
Saganakei, J. Bte	NWC	Devant	F.d.Pr. 1813	0	600	P.Post	Devant	Fort George	Montreal Feb. 1815
Salioheni, Ignace	NWC	Guide	Columbia 1813	1	600	P.Post	Devant	Fort George	F. des Praires, August 1, 1814
Tewhattahewnie, George	NWC	Devant & Guide	Lac La Pluie 1813	2	600	P.Post	Devant & Guide	Willamette	Montreal Feb.1816

*Basically a standard wage for the specific post

**Equipment given for position, Milieus received a years worth of clothing and 10 pounds of tobacco. Devants and Gouvernails got the previous plus 4 more pounds of tobacco, and "some trifling articles" (possibly a knife or axe).

*** Middle paddler in boat, **** Post near present day Salem

Source Jones 1999: 226-237 & Payette 1962 : 1

When recruiters from the North West Company were looking for men to work as experts of the steel trap and castoreum baiting, they went to Montreal to look for “talent” (Jackson 1995: 19). In 1815, the North West Company hired many Iroquois from Montreal to come and work at the Columbia District. They were hired for their multiple talents and in the hopes of the Iroquois getting the local natives to become more interested in trapping. (Mackie 1997: 20). The first Iroquois to the area was Ignace Shonowane (Karamanski 1982:7). Because many of the Iroquois were devout Catholics, they were also asked to teach religion to the natives in the area. They refused for fear of getting the stories wrong (Ruby 1981: 67). Even so, they unofficially spread the teachings of Christianity and were a large influence on the natives. This was partially due to the fact that the Iroquois “prophesized” the coming of missionaries in long black clothing, which came true, making the natives believe in the Iroquois (Ruby 1981:67-68)

In 1815, Iroquois were sent to the Willamette Valley to hunt, but problems arose due to conflicts with the local natives. The trouble began when some Iroquois killed a portion of the tribe’s livestock (Mackie 1997: 21) (Ruby 1981: 42). Also, because the Iroquois worked closely with the Europeans, the natives often considered them one of the same, and did not trust them. This created fear of attack in the Iroquois community. This fear was heightened when they were sent travelling in small hunting groups, especially when their families joined them (Jones 1999: 105). Not all Northwest tribes were hostile to the Iroquois. To some, the Iroquois were seen as brave warriors and were considered friends. Some were even family because many of them married Northwest native women.

In 1817 Joseph Larocque led a band of about 40 Iroquois west to the Snake River and at the same time the Northwest Company and the Hudson's Bay Company were gathering Iroquois from the St. Lawrence River to work for them (Jackson 1995: 21) (Jackson 1995: 22). That same year, 20 of the Iroquois at Fort George went back to Montreal with Ross Cox and 66 other men (Dryden 1949: 145). On June 19, 1818 Ignace Giasson lead 26 Iroquois to Lake Winnipeg. After their arrival, Chief Factor James Bird noted that he was not pleased with the Iroquois because they were "not approved of" and were not dependable (Jackson 1995: 21). In October of 1818 Daniel Harmon noted that the natives in New Caledonia considered the Iroquois to be intruders because they didn't act like natives who permanently lived in the area. Table 2 shows the Iroquois who were recorded as working at the Spokane House from 1822 to 1823.

Table 2 – Recorded Iroquois at Spokane House 1822-1823

Ignace Dehotionwasse,	Babtiste Sowenge
Ignace Hatchiorauquasha (John Grey),	Jacques Thatarackton
Louis Kanota	Laurent Karowtowhaw
Louis Konitogen	Jacques Ostiserico
Lazard Hayaiguarelita	Pierre Tennotiessen
Martin Miaquin	Pierre Tevanitagon
Fran Sasanirie	Tevanitagon's two sons

Source Jackson 1995: 25

Partly due to the help from the Iroquois workers, the Northwest area trade covered most of the Columbia basin by 1821 (Mackie 1997: 20) (Thomas 1984: 797). In the years between 1829 and 1843 at Fort Vancouver, out of 23 Iroquois recorded, 13 were “middlemen”, 3 were listed as a “Boute”, 3 as a “Boatswain”, 2 were trappers, 1 was an interpreter, and 1 was unknown (Thomas 1984: 798). They were also sent on many brigades and special assignments. For example, one such “assignment” was when John McLoughlin gathered a group of Iroquois, Hawaiians and slaves to avenge the murder of Alexander McKenzie.

Table 3 is a list of the Iroquois men who served at Fort Vancouver. Some obviously only had a year long contract, others had longer commitments. In addition to this list there is some further documentation on several of these men. Two of them were Jean Baptiste Tyequariche or Tyikwarhi, and Thomas Tawatcon or Tawakon who were very highly regarded in the Company for being trustworthy and valuable. Jean Baptiste Tyequariche (Tyikwarhi) began working for the North West Company when he was 17 in 1815. He first worked as a middleman on the Columbia, then switched over to the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821 and served as a middleman and cook. In 1826 he became a cook for the Snake Country Expeditions, and did that until 1829. During the Snake Country Expeditions he was attacked and injured several times by the natives, but each time he pulled through and kept working, even though he was permanently “disabled” from his injuries. On one occasion, Thomas Tawakon was not hurt by an attack but was so frightened to see his friend hurt that he could barely report what happened when he ran back to camp (Jean N.D.: 4).

Thomas Tawatcon (Tawakon) entered the service in 1813 and worked for the North West Company from 1815 to 1821. He also switched to the Hudson's Bay Company with the merger and worked several different positions at the Columbia district until 1845. The positions included Canadian Servant, Steersman, Freeman, Middleman, Trapper, Boute, or just listed but with no wages. He likely worked most or all of these positions as a freeman. It is possible that his son, Thomas, worked from 1834-1845 instead of the father Thomas.

Table 4 shows the ethnicity at Kanaka Village, the housing for workers at the fort.

Table 3 - Iroquois at Fort Vancouver

Name	Job Function	Ethnic Origin of Wife	Years Employed
Agoniasta, Thomas	Boute		1843-1844
Canasawaruelle	Unknown		1827
Kanaganyate, Pierre	Middleman		1827-1831
Kanohitchege	Middleman	Kathlamet	1831-1839
Kanonswasse, Michel	Middleman		1827
Kaonapi, Michel	Boute		1843
Lefevre, Jean Baptiste	Middleman	Calapuya	1837-1839
Onaharyou, L.	Middleman		1827, 1841-1846
Oniaze, Etienne	Middleman		1837-1844
Oneare, Etienne	Middleman		1827
Onowanown, Joseph	Middleman		1841-1843
Otuetanie, M.	Boatswain		1827
Ouantamy, M.	Boute		1827
Onskanha, Louis	Middleman		1827-1831
Sagoyenhas, Joseph	Middleman		1841-1843
Satakarata, Louis	Middleman	Saulk	1827
Sakoiarokon, Pierre	Blacksmith		1841-1842
Sagoganeukas, Ignace	Middleman		1843
Satakawass, Pierre	Middleman		1827
Shaeguskatsta, Louis	Trapper	Nisqually	1827
Tehongagarate	Interpreter		1827-1831
Tchigte, Charles*	Interpreter		1827
Tecawatron, Charles	Boatswain		1827
Tohreusta, Paul	Boute	Walla Walla	1837-1839
Tyequariche, Jean Baptiste	Trapper		1827

Source Thomas & Hibbs 1984

Table 4 - Ethnicity at Kanaka Village

Ethnicity	1827-1828	1830-1831	1837	1938-1839	1842	1843
Hawaiian	18	14	32	35	77	78
French-Canadian	117	53	30	29	54	44
Indians (not Iroquois)	17	3	4	5	25	25
Iroquois	14	4	4	4	5	7
Anglo-Saxon	10	6	24	22	27	28
Unknown	15	20	5	7	16	9

Two Iroquois not listed at Fort Vancouver in Table 3 are Louis Shanagrate (Shangreta) and Louis Sagoshaneuchta. Louis Shanagrate (Shangreta) was an Iroquois that worked for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1828 to 1837. His district was listed as the Columbia, but he was not paid wages, for he was a non-contracted employee. He was paid whenever he would bring in furs on his own. Louis Sagoshaneuchta worked for the Columbia district starting in 1831 as a Middleman but drowned at the Cascades in 1837 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives). Other Iroquois mentioned briefly in several historical accounts, but not in employee records, are "Michel's Band," a group of Iroquois descended from Michel & Babtiste Callihoo of Caughnawaga (Jackson 1995: 21). Also, an Iroquois named Ignace La Mousse who came west in 1816 was recorded (Ruby 1981: 70).

In the early 1800s the Iroquois were a "significant factor in the greater Northwest" (Jackson 1995: 18). They were often sent on brigades and to travel on waterways making them mobile across the Northwest and in turn leaving their traces all over the area. The Iroquois had even made it down south to Douglas County while serving on "McLeod's Expeditions (1826-1827)." The Iroquois listed on that

voyage were “Jacques” as a freeman of 27, Michel Otoetanie, a 35 year old Bowsman, and Michel Ouamtanie, a 51 year old Bowsman (Schlesser 1973 : 37)

Jackson (1995) notes in his book that the Iroquois would have stood out among the other natives and were unmistakable. They were proud of their heritage and were considered flamboyant by others (Jackson 1995: 18). Not only were they behaviorally conspicuous, but they were also 6 feet tall and over, so physically they would have towered over other natives and Europeans as well (Jackson 1995: 21). A description written by David Thompson of three Iroquois men working as trappers in the Northwest described them wearing silver brooches, earrings, trinklets (tinklers) and wampum which shows that they still wore their traditional items after they moved west (Jackson 1995: 19). Also, most freemen associated with other freemen and created their own communities, instead of completely adopting local Native culture. (Nicks 1978: 94)

Many Iroquois who came west are unidentifiable because, as freemen, they were often not given a contract so those names stayed off of the Company records. For those who did make it into the historical records, the European trappers gave up trying to spell Iroquois last names and instead would list their last name as Iroquois, like “Pierre Iroquois”, or butcher the name so badly that they were unrecognizable, so it can be hard to trace them through the historical documents (Jackson 1995: 20). Also, some Iroquois changed their names to French sounding names in response to the problem of being misunderstood as well. Another problem was that many Iroquois called themselves “Canadians” which could likely be confused with other groups coming from Canada. There was however some who were listed as Iroquois,

their last names intact and others who made names for themselves, their identity protected in history. These men and little pieces of their story are listed below.

Prominent Iroquois

One well known Iroquois who was successful in the Northwest was Registre Brugier. He was hired by John Jacob Astor of the Pacific Fur Company and was very knowledgeable about the Columbia River. Brugier was educated and able to climb the ranks in the company (Jackson 1995: 12).

Abenaki Joseph Portneuf, another famous Iroquois, left on an expedition in 1824 to the Fraser River in search of a new HBC post site. Later, in 1829 Portneuf was traveling by boat with his family bringing items from Snake River over to Fort Vancouver. Tragically, the Columbia River at the Dalles sucked his boat under killing him, his wife, and their two children. The Portneuf River in Idaho was named in his honor (Jackson 1995: 27). Joseph along with Louis Portneuf are listed on the Hudson's Bay Company records for the years 1821-1824 (Payette 1962: 627)

Another Iroquois, John Gray, was the leader among the Iroquois who comprised the Snake River Brigade (Travis 1967: 24). His son, Joseph, and a Northeast Metis man, Tom Hill, became famous after they went on a mission to try to warn the Nez Perce and Cayuse about the White intrusion that was imminent (Jackson 1995: 30).

“The Iroquois remembered the destruction of the ancient longhouse heritage. The fur trade ended the dream of Indian unity, scattering natives like the ashes of the destroyed council fire. The Iroquois knew the fate of Indian America long before other nations.” (Jackson 1995: 29).

Also, Louis Shangreta had a son named Joseph Shangreta, who became a famous leader and prominent figure at Grand Ronde. Joseph's story is discussed further, later in the paper.

Lastly, an Iroquois man that is not famous but was involved in a famous event, Pierre Kanaquasse. Kanaquasse who had attempted to kill John McLoughlin Sr. previously, but was pardoned, was a witness to and gave his account of the murder of John McLoughlin, Jr. at Fort Stikine in 1842 (Vaughan 1982 : 82) (Gray 1870: 46). Interestingly, he gave his account of events to the victim's father and the man he tried to kill, John McLoughlin (Rich 1958 (b): 715).

Mischievous Iroquois

“The third description of men in the Company's service are the Iroquois, Nipisings, and others of the native tribes of Canada. These Indians have been all nearly reclaimed from their original state of barbarism, and now profess the Roman Catholic religion. They engage for limited periods in the Company's service as canoe-men and hunters, but on lower terms than are usually allowed to the French Canadians. They are strong, able-bodied men, good hunters, and well acquainted with the management of canoes. They are immoderately attached to the use of ardent spirits, (3) are rather quarrelsome, revengeful, and sometimes insubordinate; during their periods of intoxication the utmost prudence and firmness are necessary to check their ferocious propensities, and confine them within proper bounds.”

Source Cox 1957:364

The above statement is a perfect example of the general attitude about the Iroquois by the Europeans in the Northwest. The European fur traders asked them to come work for them on the Columbia, and relied greatly on the Iroquois to develop their business in the Columbia region, yet they often describe them as a nuisance.

Ross Cox described them as “moody fellows” who would not take orders and would sometimes trick the group into the “clutches” of the local natives (Dryden 1949: 22).

Even though the Iroquois would, for the most part, fulfill their duties, they were independent and would usually act in their best interests, which was not always in the best interest of the frustrated Europeans. Some Iroquois men were just plain mischievous. In 1818 Donald McKenzie sent 25 Iroquois with equipment to hunt at Indian Creek for the Company, but they decided to do otherwise. They traded their belongings for guns, horses, traps, and women (Jackson 1995: 24). In 1820, the Iroquois that were stationed on the Snake River were ordered to return to the Spokane House by Michel Bourdon. Many of them did return to the Spokane House but some, however, refused to travel west due to the danger of passing through Blackfoot country. These Iroquois promised to eventually make it back to Fort Nez Perces but ended up going to the Missouri Trading Company instead (Jackson 1995: 25).

The Iroquois were also known to trade directly with natives in secret, but would be punished if their actions were discovered. On one occasion, Alexander McKenzie took a brigade of about 30 Iroquois and some other men to the Snake River. During their hunt an Iroquois man was caught trading with natives for a horse, so McKenzie shot and killed the horse to teach the Iroquois a lesson. The Iroquois men devised a plot to kill McKenzie in retaliation, led by Grand Pierre, the Iroquois leader. Their plot was foiled after they were overheard by McKenzie’s interpreter and Iroquois himself, Joachim, but nevertheless the incident left an unfavorable impression of the Iroquois on McKenzie (Ross 1924: 148-150). After this incident many of the Iroquois were split up and sent to Okanogan, Spokane House, or on

hunting trips to keep them from making plans against the Europeans (Dryden 1949: 225).

After hearing about the misbehavior of the Iroquois, Hudson's Bay Company governor George Simpson wanted to send them home (Jackson 1995: 25). He promptly handcuffed the troublemakers and prepared them for the voyage back but was thwarted by a Iroquois leader named "Isaac" who broke open a bottle of liquor and started a party. The handcuffed Iroquois got so drunk that they could no longer continue on the voyage (Jackson 1995: 26). The Iroquois once again showed their strong will.

Ross Cox gives an account of his encounter with George "Teewhattahownie" (Tewhattahewnie) who was an Iroquois man and the foreman of the canoe at Okanogan. On a voyage Cox told him to avoid an area of water because it was too dangerous. Teewattahownie was upset that Cox would belittle him in front of his crew and later came to Cox's sleeping quarters drunk and ready to fight. He had to kill Cox or at least wound him to get the respect of his men back. Teewattahownie was stopped and restrained until he sobered up, at which time he did not remember his actions and was apologetic. He said Cox should have wounded him for his conduct. After that, he promised to not drink or speak ill about Cox. As far as Cox knew, he lived up to his promise (Dryden 1949 : 119).

Alexander Ross wrote about an Iroquois man named Oskononton who was one of the members of the Snake Brigade and was sent off to hunt with 25 other Iroquois men. He returned to Fort Nez Perces, after he was assumed deserted, nearly a skeleton after having encountered trouble with the Snake Indians and everyone else

in his group abandoning to other neighboring tribes (Dryden 1949 : 227).

Oskononton was later killed on another expedition to the Cowlitz country, when the other Iroquois he was with started trouble with the Cowlitz Indians. Later, a group of 30-40 men, mostly Iroquois went to get their revenge and killed 12 people, which did not go over well with the Europeans (Dryden 1949 : 228).

Sometimes the Iroquois, because they were “half-freemen,” would leave the Company unexpectedly for a better job offer. Knowing this, American traders would occasionally coax some Iroquois to come work with them and to leave the Company (Ruby 1981: 48). In 1825 this was evident when a group of trappers felt they were being cheated by the Hudson’s Bay Company and changed business alliance with the Americans because they would give them a more reasonable price for their goods (Jackson 1995: 26). This enraged the Hudson’s Bay Company officials, even though they likely would have done the same if in a similar situation. In 1825, because of incidents like the ones mentioned above, the Europeans began to regard the Iroquois like any other native group. They were no longer “privileged” and got the same rate as everyone else (Rich 1958 (b): 593).

Retirement from The Company

After the fur trade began to decline in America, many Iroquois followed their friends to the Willamette Valley (Jackson 1995: 31). When the Iroquois and other groups were eligible for retirement from the Hudson’s Bay Company, they became “Columbia Freeman,” and many continued to work in the trade as individual businessmen trading with the Hudson’s Bay Company (Mackie 1997: 101). In 1834,

the missionary Jason Lee led a caravan out to set up his mission on the French Prairie in Oregon. Along the way they picked up more people including several Iroquois families of Louis Shaegoskatsta, Louise Michel (Atenense), Thomas Tawakon, Jean Baptiste Tyequariche, and Louis Oskanha dit Monique (Olson N.D.: 12-13). After they set up camp the Tyequariche, Tawakon, and Oskanha dit Monique couples were “officially” married (Olson N.D.: 13) The Tyequariche, Tawakon, and Tsetse families set up homes as a “cluster of lodges” in a region just north of present day Dayton in Oregon (Olson N.D.: 10).

The following is a collection of information from historical documentation on the retired Iroquois and their families in Oregon, taken primarily from Harriet Munnick’s book *Catholic Church Records of the Pacific Northwest, St. Paul*. Other sources are cited.

The Tsetse, Tyikwarhi, and Tawakon families settled on the North side of the Yamhill River, one mile North of Dayton, Oregon (Jackson 1995: 31). Charlot Tsetse moved to the French Prairie and later used the name Carlo Chata. His name is present on a petition asking for a catholic priest at St. Paul on March 22 1836. In 1848 he sold his 100 acres to James Martin (Jackson 1995: 31). Carlo had three wives throughout his life: the first named Charlotte Pend d’Oreille, the second, an Iroquois named Marie Thomas Canaswarette (Canasawarurette), and then later Theresa who was of Calapooya heritage in 1847 (Olson N.D.: 21). There is a woman listed as Catherine Chinouk Tse-te who married Jean Pierre Sanders and had a daughter named Marie Sophie Sanders who was baptized in 1845. This Marie went

on to marry another Iroquois, Jean Baptiste Iroquois (Tyikwarhi, Tyequariche), mentioned below.

Thomas and Jean Baptiste Tyikwarhi (Tyequariche), sometimes referred to as Baptiste, were in Oregon before their names appear on the employee records. They were from the Sault St. Louis area in Canada along with a group of Iroquois who all spoke French (Jean N.D.:1). Jean Baptiste was Ogden's cook and was also known as "Tyequariche" (Jackson 1995: 31). Thomas married a woman named Marie, and they had at least one child named Auguste Tayekuarihi (Tyikwarhi, Tyequariche) baptized in 1852 in St. Paul when he was 5 days old. Jean Baptiste married a woman named Judith (Josette) and had seven children with her. He was given a land claim by the Yamhill River right next to other Iroquois Tsetse and Tawakon. One of his sons lived there until he died in 1940 (Jean N.D.: 3). Judith died in 1846 or 1847 and Jean Baptiste remarried, but his second wife died in 1852. He died in 1855. His children were scattered around Oregon and Washington, and some went to Grand Ronde (Jean N.D.: 4). Ignace Iroquois (Tyikwarhi, Tyequariche) is presumably Jean Baptiste Iroquois's father or a brother who had a son also named Jean Baptiste. A Jean Baptiste Iroquois (Tyikwarhi, Tyequariche) is listed as being married to a woman named Marie and had at least two children named Charles and Louis Baptiste Iroquois. Ignace married Helene Tchinoon on 1840 and was baptized that same year, he also had a daughter named Josephine who died in 1844. Jean Baptiste Tyequariche later changed the family last name to Norwest, having so much trouble with spellings and confusion in the past (Jean N.D.: 1). A descendant of the

Tyequariche family was Frank Norwest, who became a prominent member of the Grand Ronde community (Zenk 1984 : 37).

Thomas Tewateon (Tawakon) married a Chinook woman and had three children: Catherine, Susanne, and Marie Anne. Suzanne married Andre St. Martin and had at least 2 children, and Catherine married Amable I Petit having at least 9 children. Thomas later married Francoise Walla Walla and had at least three children, Andre, Philomene, and Louise, and possibly a fourth, named Thomas. At this point the Tawakon name is changed to Thomas, possibly to honor their father. Louise Thomas (Tawakon) married Jean Baptiste Goyet in 1854. Jean Baptiste Tawakon is documented as serving with the group avenging the Whitman massacre, and then moved his family to the Grande Ronde reservation along with his brother Frank (Jackson 1995: 31).

Thyery (Thierry) Godin and Joseph Godin are recorded as working for the Hudson's Bay Company from 1821 to 1824. Also, Thierry Godin (related to Antoine and Louis Godin) had enough credit with the American traders to retire in 1828, but was killed by Blackfeet before he had the chance (Jackson 1995: 27). A Jacques Godin is listed in historical documents, his relation unknown. He married a woman named Violette and had at least one child.

The families of Etienne Aaniaessei and Michel Atenesse likely settled in the French Prairie near Brooks as early as 1838 and stayed until 1860 (Jackson 1995: 31). Louise Michel Iroquois (Atenese) is listed as marrying Fabian Malouin and having a daughter named Louise. Monique is listed as Louise Michel's daughter in the list of students enrolled at Ste. Marie du Willamette, St. Paul in 1850 (Gandy 2004: 211).

In addition to these families, there is brief mention of several other Iroquois men living in St. Paul at that time. They include Pierre Iroquois, Michel Iroquois who went to Grand Ronde, Louis Frise Iroquois, and Laurent Iroquois or Joseph Laurent with his children Marie Ann, Cecile, and Catherine. These three children were enrolled at Ste. Marie du Willamette, St. Paul in 1850 (Gandy 2004: 211). In 1813, educated Iroquois Louis Oskanha dit Monique came to the Northwest and signed the St. Paul church register in Iroquois (Jackson 1995: 29). Also, Iroquois are listed in the St. Paul Pioneer Cemetery records. Brooke Boulware is currently working on identifying all the people buried there and has compiled a list of the deceased. Boulware has found the following Iroquois; Josephine Ignace, Ignace (house of Labonte), Ignace Indian (house of J.B. Aubichon), Laurent Iroquois, Thomas Waticie, and Thomas Wateice's (spelling different) child.

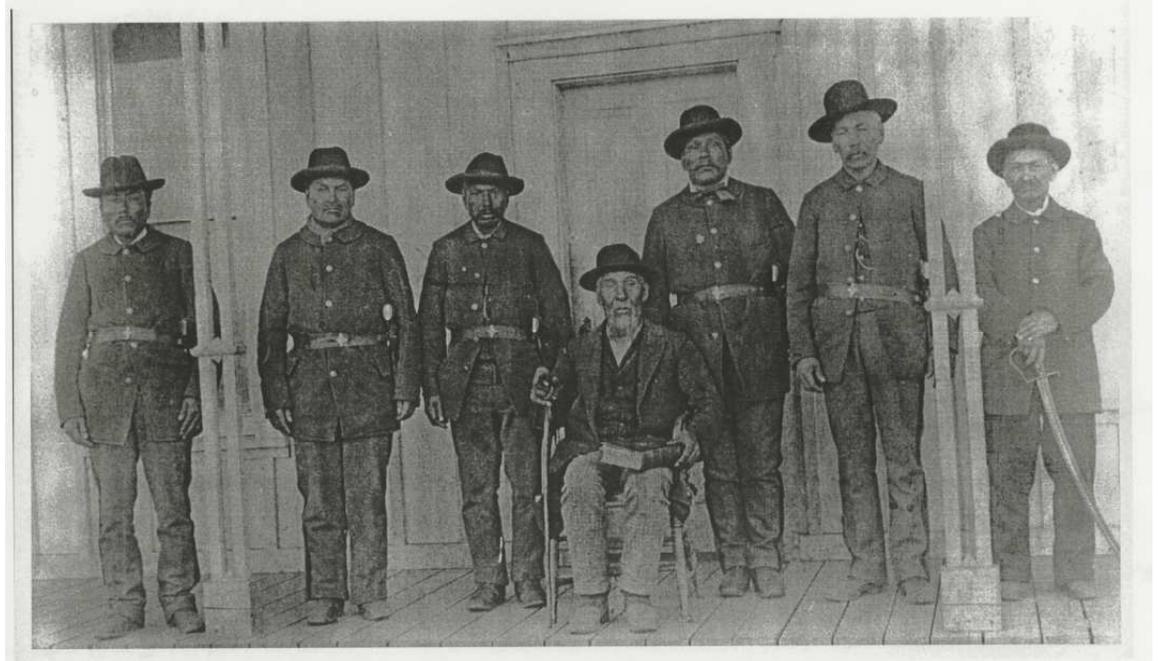
In addition, Francis Michel is recorded as going to Grand Ronde along with Louis Shangreta who married a Calapooya woman and had a son named Joseph Shangreta. Joseph Shangreta is discussed further later in the chapter (Jackson 1995: 31) (Hudson's Bay Company Archives).

After retiring from the fur trade about 24 or more Iroquois families settled in western Montana (Jackson 1995: 29). In 1831 there was a community of retired Iroquois living near the Kaw (Kansas) river (Jackson 1995: 29).

Iroquois at Grand Ronde

In 1855, the Grand Ronde reservation was established, forcing over 26 tribes to move from their homes onto a piece of land they would all share (Grand Ronde

Website 2007). Many Iroquois or part-Iroquois found their way to Grand Ronde too. Most of them married Oregon native women and were adopted by the wife's tribe. Because the Iroquois were so successful at "bridging the gap" between races and cultures, and because of their bravery as warriors, some became chiefs of these tribes (Olson N.D.: 23) This was the case at Grand Ronde as well, Because each tribe had a different culture and language, it was probably difficult for them to come together as a community in the beginning. Joseph Shangreta, son of Louis, entered Grand Ronde with his family and was able to talk to many of the different tribes at Grand Ronde and bring everyone together to form a community. Joseph was likely able to do this in part because he knew the Chinook jargon which he passed down to his children as a primary language (Zenk 1984: 37). He became a prominent figure at Grand Ronde and was called a "great shaman" by his people. He was made chief at Grand Ronde and continued to be one for forty years, until his death.(Olson N.D.: 16) (Jackson 1995: 150). Joseph was also president of the Grand Ronde legislature in 1876 (Zenk 1984: 117). One of Joseph Shangreta's descendants, Bobby Mercier, is the Language and Cultural Specialist at Grand Ronde today. Mr. Mercier provided a picture of Joseph along with 6 other men, two of which are also his ancestors, (Fig. 34). He noted how people always said how Joseph looked different from everyone else and you could tell he was not from around here because he had such a long face, this is truly evident in the picture. It is clear that there is an Iroquois presence at Grand Ronde, not only through Bobby Mercier, but through many other descendants as well. Mr. Mercier organizes a round dance each year



**Figure 34 – Joseph Shangreta pictured center, sitting.
Picture provided by Bobby Mercier.**

as a commemoration to Eastern tribes in which he is a singer and drummer for the function. Also, the Grand Ronde museum collection has three known Iroquois objects

(Fig. 35). All three show the flowering beading pattern distinctive of the late historic Iroquois.



**Figure 35 – Iroquois beaded Purses and Moccasins from the Grand Ronde Collection
Source Grand Ronde Cultural Resources, Lindy Trolan**

The 1933 Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, lists in the population of Grand Ronde, two Iroquois people living on the reservation. Unfortunately the names of these two Iroquois are not listed. It is interesting to note that the Secretary is puzzled by the presence of Iroquois in Grand Ronde (Berreman 1934: 2, 4). There were actually many more people of Iroquoian descent than these two listed, but they would have likely been partially Iroquoian and must have only mentioned their other lineages.

“By the early 1800’s, their blood had mingled so closely, it would be impossible to describe the story of the Oregon Indian without including these Iroquois trappers and voyageurs.” (Olson N.D.: 6)

Chapter 6: PACIFIC NORTHWEST IROQUOIS ARCHAEOLOGY

Even after several hundred years of European contact the Iroquois continued to practice their traditions and hold on to their culture. They had strong beliefs and traditional material items to express those beliefs, and even those who converted to Christianity continued making those items. Even though the Iroquoian society and their material culture evolved through time, they still have some core significant attributes that remain. The Iroquois, like most cultures, will adopt some aspects of cultures they come into contact with. This is a phenomenon that is inevitable. It is only reasonable to assume that when one comes into contact with a good idea they will at least try it out for themselves. But the adoption of these good ideas does not completely delineate the culture or stop all traditional practices. They will use the new skills discovered from the introduced group and use them to fit their own needs, creating a mixture of cultures.

It is likely that we have already uncovered Iroquoian artifacts, and it is inevitable that the future will see the emergence of these artifacts as more and more Northwest sites are excavated. Based on historical accounts we know that there were Iroquoian homesites throughout the Willamette Valley. There will also be evidence in Northwest native sites, as many some Iroquois were adopted into local tribes. As more of these areas are excavated, this itemization will prove to be more useful.

Because the Iroquois continued to make aboriginal items and at the same time employed European items to be used for their original purpose and to be used for new purposes, both types of artifacts will be present in an Iroquoian site. Unfortunately,

this describes many of the other groups working for the fur trade at the same time. This is the problem with finding evidence of the Iroquois men in the fort sites, for example, because everyone bought the same items from the Company Store, so consumer choice of such objects might be difficult to determine. So, based on the information we have available today, distinctly Iroquoian objects need to be present to determine if a site is Iroquoian. This chapter focuses on these Iroquoian objects by breaking down the material culture in the groupings used in chapter 3: Housing, religious items, weapons, food preparation items, dress, travel items, entertainment items, burial goods, and the section on European contact. Then each group is examined for possible visibility in the archaeological record. Visibility is determined by the material that artifacts are made of, ones that are hardier in an archaeological setting, and by symbolism of the object to the Iroquois. Also, objects that have been discovered in eastern Iroquoian sites with similar dates of the time period discussed are considered.

Housing

Even though the Iroquois had adopted cabin-style homes by the time any Iroquois would have made it to the Northwest, the footprint of these cabins will be distinctive. They will be square like a European cabin, but will have a central hearth useable to both sides of the cabin, dirt floors, and evidence of raised compartments on either side of the hearth. It is vital that future archaeologists look at homes as a whole in order to find such Iroquoian cabins, or else they could easily be mistaken for a cabin belonging to another ethnic group.

Religious

We know that the Iroquois were a deeply spiritual people and that they greatly valued their religious relics. The Iroquois have an added intricacy into their spirituality. This is the conversion to Catholicism and the use of associated items but also the retaining of their traditional practices and material goods. This means an Iroquoian archaeological site could contain crucifixes as well as human effigy pipes.

Unfortunately, finding a crucifix in a Northwest historic site would by no means prove an Iroquoian occupation because several cultures who came to the Northwest were Catholic. We must then focus on the traditional items that would have continued to be made. I propose that combs, pipes, effigies, and ladles which will be discussed later, would have continued to be made by the Iroquois people in the Northwest, and they would likely survive in an archaeological site.

Both the Northwest Indians and the Iroquois used zoomorphic and anthropomorphic designs for decoration. However, Northwest Indians used these decorations on different items than the Iroquois would have, for instance the Northwest natives would decorate pile drivers to make fishing weirs and bark shredders. A functional item such as those would have usually been left plain in Iroquoian culture. Also, the different art forms used for decoration can be a way of determining origin. The Northwest natives generally used skeletal details and would split the facial plane on effigies. Also, Northwest native designs use the formline method of manufacture. All of these features are distinctive from Iroquoian artistic characteristics (Carlson 1976: 34-38).

Pipes

Pipes are one of the most important items to be discussed in this model. Because pipe bowls were generally made by the owner and were not shared or traded, an Iroquoian pipe proves Iroquoian existence, not just influence. Their pipes were generally made out of ceramic, steatite, and pipestone, three materials that preserve well in an archaeological site. Bone, copper, pewter, and other metals were used to make them as well. Iroquoian pipes come in several different styles including ones with banded bowls, ones with the barrel shape, or ones with effigies. Also, the angle of the stem to the bowl is telling because they would make them between 90 and 135 degrees. Lastly, the Iroquois used copper for inlay and lining, as well as colored glass for decoration, decoration that might be distinctive.

Some of these styles might be difficult to distinguish from the pipes of other cultures. The pipes that would stand out more easily are likely the smaller ones that barely have a stem, or have no stem at all, or ones with lining and inlay. Also, pipes designed with human or animal effigies can be distinctive. The animal or human always facing the smoker appears to be rare in other native cultures, but the norm with Iroquoian pipes. Figure 36 shows a Northwest native pipe next to an Iroquoian pipe. They are similar, but the Northwest pipe is less intricate and is facing up, not towards the smoker. Also, faces are portrayed as three dimensional, and do not include the splitting of the facial planes. The faces are for the most part true to form. Another feature of Iroquoian pipes is an animal head on top of a human head. Lastly, effigies of infants in a cradleboard were commonly seen on Iroquoian pipes.

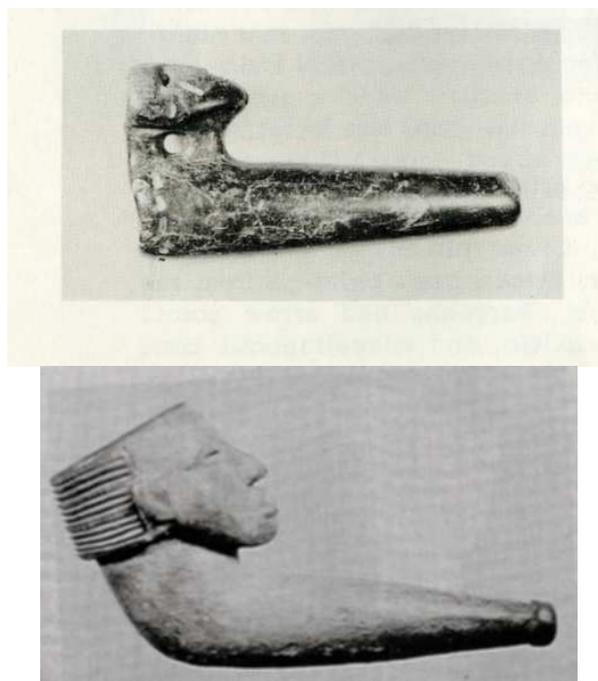


Figure 36 – a. Northwest native pipe Source Oregon 1959 : 25 b. Iroquoian pipe (Fig. 9)

Combs

The Iroquois made combs primarily out of bone or antler. Finding a comb in the native archaeological record in the Northwest made of such material is very uncommon, only a few have ever been found. It is possible that most Northwest natives made combs out of wood, and therefore, they have disintegrated or that combs were a rarity altogether. So, finding a bone comb would be suspect enough. Another distinguishing feature to Iroquoian combs is that they have more teeth than those found in Northwest Indian sites. The Northwest combs generally have three up to 11 teeth. The Iroquoian combs of the historic period generally have between 12 and 22 teeth. Figure 37 provides a Northwest native comb and an Iroquoian comb for comparison.

Another distinguishing feature is that Iroquoian combs have teeth that are much thinner and tightly packed in than the Northwest native or European comb. Lastly, the decoration on an Iroquoian comb compared to European and Northwest native combs would be more substantial. The combs will almost always have an effigy of some sort, animal or human, or at least have an intricate design. A common design to look for are two human figures symbolizing the creator's parents; Sky woman, and her husband. As far as animal effigies, they are more likely to be of an animal that represents a clan in the Iroquois nation. Also, animals are usually of a two dimensional design, where they have areas removed to illustrate the legs and lower abdomen, with the feet melting back into the comb. Another feature that can be found on Iroquoian combs is that they will sometimes have European figures represented in the design.



Figure 37 – a. Decorative combs from the Northwest b. Iroquois comb

Figurines

Iroquoian figurines were made of mostly stone and metal, metal ones coming from melted down European goods. The figurines can be anthropomorphic or zoomorphic or a combination. Human effigy figurines are unique in that the Iroquois often employed the “September Morn” pose that is uncommon in other cultures. Also, one could look at the face and determine if the Northwest native art characteristics are present or not, including ovoids around the eyes, skeletal representations, formline design, facial plane separation, and the others. Some Iroquoian pieces might have one or two of those characteristics, but they will not have the combination of features that the Northwest artifacts have (Fig. 38).

As far as the animal effigy figurines, again, the Iroquois used their clan animals for decoration, but this can be a problem because the same animals are found in the west as in the east. So, this information might not provide a positive identification, but could be used to eliminate an artifact. For instance, if a whale effigy is discovered, it could be labeled as being not Iroquoian. Two other characteristics of Iroquoian animal effigies are that, in general, they are either very simplistic or if just a face is present, are often humanistic. This is different from the Northwest Coast animals that are either very geometric or quite lifelike. Also, “birdman” is commonly seen in Iroquoian sites.



Figure 38 – a. Northwest native human effigies Source Oregon 1959 : 34 b. Iroquois effigy

Weapons

Although by the late 1700s and early 1800s, the Iroquois were fond of guns they still kept using more traditional weapons as well, which ever one fit the need at the time. The weapons that could be identified as Iroquoian include projectile points, some gun parts, and tomahawks. The Iroquois were talented at turning copper and other metal European goods into traditional items, this includes many of their projectile points. Eirik Thorsgard, the Cultural Protection Specialist at Grand Ronde, said that to his knowledge Oregon natives did not make metal projectile points. So finding such points would be likely Iroquoian. Again, considering the Iroquoian talent for finding new uses for European objects could include metal gun butts that have evidence of being worked to create a personal adornment item. Also, Senecas are known for storing caches of gun parts to be used latter to repair broken guns, and will often bury gun parts with the deceased. (Hamilton 1982: 251) Further study into the

types guns used by Iroquois as opposed to other native groups would definitely be of use, since so many gun parts are found in fort archaeology. In addition, tomahawks, especially ones converted into smoking pipes in a site would suggest an Iroquoian occupation, although these are not to be confused with trade pipes in the shape of a tomahawk. Lastly, according to eastern archaeological historical sites, war clubs are also commonly found.

Food Preparation

Many of the Iroquoian food preparation items were made from materials that decompose quickly in an archaeological setting. Of those that might withstand in the archaeological record are ladles made of hard wood and sometimes bone or stone. The everyday ladles are decorated with an openwork design of bears, dogs, ducks, and swans, and ceremonial ladles are designed with clan animals. Northwest native ladles have effigies as well, but their designs are not open like the Iroquois, and most Iroquoian ladles had hooks on the handle of the ladle to keep them from sliding into the pot, where as others do not. Figure 39 shows the difference between Iroquoian and Northwest native ladles.



**Figure 39 – Left, Iroquoian ladles, Right ladle from Columbia River
Source Snow 1995 (Collection): 83, Carlson 1976: 36**

Also distinctive is the Iroquoian sweet grass baskets made from black ash splints primarily. The Iroquois still regularly use this skill and would have taken the skill with them to the Northwest.

Traditional Iroquoian ceramic items might also survive, but because their production greatly decreased by the 19th century, it is unlikely to find any that are distinct. But if a ceramic sherd of unknown origin was found a description would be useful to archaeologists. Iroquoian ceramics are distinctive in the fact that they use a corded rim which is decorated with line designs and effigies, see Fig. 26, and is

functional in that it is made to allow a rope to go around the neck, the body would be left plain, Figure 25.

By the early 19th century, the Iroquois were very accustomed to using European style transfer print dishes. Although this is true for most ethnic groups in the area, the Iroquois possibly had a preference for pastoral scenes, and hunting scenes, especially the “Kirby Hotel Iroquois” (Ferris 2006: 281). Eastern Canadian Iroquois archaeology has shown that Iroquois also prefer more printed decoration than their European peers, with 51-80% of sherds found with printed decoration in Iroquois sites, opposed to the European average of 46% printed sherds (Ferris 2006: 276). Archaeological data also has shown that Iroquois had a preference for larger plate sizes (76% of plates larger than 8 inches diameter), opposed to the European preference for smaller “tea” plates. This pattern does appear to change in the late 19th century as the “tea” culture is adopted by the Iroquois (Ferris 2006: 280).

Dress

Most of the Iroquoian apparel styles could not be seen archaeologically because cloth and skins decompose so readily, however, some pieces have been recovered archaeologically. If a piece is found that appears to be a European cut garment with the decoration, primarily beadwork, of an Iroquoian nature, this would signify Iroquoian manufacture. Apparently, in eastern sites traditional headdresses are often found in the archaeological record. Iroquoian beadwork is valuable to cover in this description, because beads do not decompose quickly and are numerous in the archaeological record. But mainly because their beadwork is so distinctive, to find

even a portion would be very helpful. All beads should be considered, but wampum, white shell beads, in particular are indicative of Iroquoian occupation.

Most Iroquois designs are vegetal in nature and include circular scrolls. The Iroquois beadwork is also very symbolic with meaning behind every object beaded onto a piece of cloth. Because of this, certain designs are repetitively used and can be an identifiable marker. Some of these designs are flowers, the sky dome, the celestial tree, scrolls, and circles.

Also, the Iroquois preferred a lot of white and not many contrasting colors, they wanted the piece to appear harmonious. The color combinations that Morgan described were light blue/pink/white, dark blue/yellow/white, light purple/dark purple/white, and red/light blue/white. A problem to consider is that reportedly some French Canadians wore moccasins with Iroquois and Plains Indian beadwork on them (Cromwell 2006: 35). So, if such moccasins were found in the archaeological record, it could cause some confusion. If a moccasin had both types of beadwork present, though, the Iroquoian portion would be an imitation and likely distinguishable from true Iroquoian beadwork on closer examination.

Copper taken from European trade kettles was used to make many items. One of the most common items that is still made today are tinklers or tinkling cones, which are the cylindrical metal objects that decorate clothing and create a noise. These are not to be confused with the metal thimbles used by people in the Pacific Northwest tribes, whose function was similar, but were shaped differently. French Canadians, and voyageurs in general, wore tinklers to keep from surprising a bear or native tribe. So, this is not a distinct artifact but could help to eliminate other groups.

Because the idea of making items from European copper is not uniquely Iroquoian, tinklers, copper jewelry and copper blanks and scraps are not definitive of Iroquoian presence, but further studies into the different manufacturing techniques of tinklers by different groups could make it possible to distinguish ethnicity. That is why they are included in this model, in the hopes of further research on this topic. If nothing else, copper items such as the ones listed above are part of an Iroquoian assemblage that alone might not be definitive, but together with other items can be helpful in showing Iroquoian occupation. Also, if a site or operation has many tinklers or “clinkers” it should be examined closer than one with none. These copper items became less popular in the mid 18th Century, but they might still be found in Iroquoian sites as styles don’t completely stop at once, but fade away gradually.

Silver is said to have replaced copper to some degree for the Iroquois. Popular items made include crucifixes, necklaces, rings, earrings, and brooches. Crucifixes themselves would not be distinctly Iroquoian, but it does show the presence or influence of a Christian. The Iroquois did prefer the Lorraine cross, or double cross, which could be distinctive. Necklaces and rings might stand out from another culture’s because Iroquoian ones often had a monogram or face as the design, especially of a religious figure or sometimes a religious scene. Iroquoian earrings are unique in design and in the closing mechanism used, so they would be a distinct ethnic marker.

Silver brooches were the most numerous silver items and are likely to be found because they were so popular, and each person would wear 2 or 3 or more. If the brooch, known as the Iroquois badge, were to be found this would be an exciting

definitive find. Brooches were traditionally made out of silver coins or spoons that had been pounded out or melted (Harrington 1908 : 363). It is likely that other jewelry items were made from coins and spoons as well. So, in addition to the silver jewelry items themselves, finding a silver coin or spoon, or any item of silver, out of place could be meaningful. It is also possible that silver replaced copper for their cherished tinklers as well. Also, because silver was hard to come by in the Northwest, other metals might have been used out of a dire need. So, classic Iroquoian items made from another metal like tin should be examined further, especially brooches. In addition to the final products, evidence of a silversmith might be indicative of Iroquois since they were leaders in the craft and valued it so much in their culture. This would include silversmith tools, especially if they are handmade, and partially manufactured silver items or leftover silver scraps.

Travel

Because the travel items were made of highly degradable materials it would be unlikely to find such items. Also, a canoe or a pair of snowshoes wouldn't be necessary because of the Hudson's Bay Company likely provided such items.

Entertainment

Most of the items used for traditional gaming would not likely withstand being in the ground. Two exceptions to this, though, are the “buttons” used for The Game of Deer Buttons made of elk horn and the stones used in the Peach-Stone game. Finding a disc of bone or any other hard material, like stones or pebbles, in and of itself might not be Iroquoian. What does point to Iroquoian presence is if one side of the disc-like object has been blackened by fire or otherwise been marked to distinguish the two sides to make it a form of a dice.

Burial Goods

Even though today we have modern laws and a sense of decency, archaeologists in the past dug up any and all graves of interest. It is possible that some of these were Iroquoian but mis-identified. In addition, Iroquoian graves could be excavated in the future, unknowingly, because the Iroquois were commonly associated with the visiting Europeans and could have been interred as such. Also, a couple Iroquois are buried at Fort Vancouver and probably at other fort sites as well, so it is helpful to discuss what types of items might be found in such a burial. There would likely be a combination of European goods and traditional Iroquoian items. Pipes, combs and figurines would be likely candidates for the traditional items, and an abundance of functional items for the European goods, maybe an intact copper kettle to be cut up in the afterlife, and anything the person needed or used a lot in life, like a cane, for example.

Effect of European Contact

A significant piece of information to consider with all the previous categories is the ingenuity of the Iroquoian people. They would dismantle European items to make their traditional cultural items with a new material like metal projectile points, or lead effigies. They also would take European functional objects and then add traditional décor, like effigies, to make the item “Iroquoian”, or simply use European tools to make their traditional items. The Iroquois would also create new traditional items by transforming European goods into items like tinklers and pipe liners.

Another important fact is that traditional items do not die out with the emergence of European goods, in fact they only increase. Even those Iroquois people who converted to Christianity would still make traditional items like pipes and effigy figures to communicate with the Creator.

Summary

This chapter covers material culture items that could possibly be found in the American Northwest to distinguish Iroquois occupation, with special attention to those items that preserve well and are considered symbolic. Although finding one of the above items is useful to identify a single object, it can not prove an Iroquoian occupation. Iroquois people employed not only traditional items like projectile points, mortars, and scrapers, they also used many European goods as well for primary and secondary uses. So, a historic Iroquoian site must contain European, classic aboriginal and distinctly Iroquoian artifacts. Although distinct items like

effigy pipes and silver brooches seem like items that would be rare in an archaeological setting, and therefore not useful to this discussion, the contrary is true. After discussing this topic with archaeologists from the Northeast it is evident that pipe fragments and silver brooches are some of the more plentiful items found in historic Iroquoian sites. In addition, spiritual items like decorative combs and effigies would be expected in an Iroquoian site. Also, headdresses, wampum, beadwork, and war clubs are commonly uncovered. Possibly the most distinctive feature to an Iroquoian site would be the architecture of a shorthouse. What is important to take from this model is the idea of a toolkit or an assemblage of artifacts that are Iroquoian. Finding obviously Iroquoian objects would be ideal, but it is important to understand the more subtle material culture as well.

Chapter 7: NORTHWEST FUR TRADE ARCHAEOLOGY

After creating an archaeological model to use when interpreting Northwest sites, this chapter describes possible Iroquoian artifacts found at previous excavations completed at fur trade forts in the area. This chapter is limited to the fur trade archaeology because to date the only kind of sites that have been excavated with a known Iroquois presence are fur post sites. No Pacific Northwest Iroquoian homestead sites have been unearthed at the present time. As already discussed, fort sites are more difficult to see an overall pattern of Iroquoian material culture because of the many different cultures, the Company Store being the primary source of all European goods, and the mobility of the Iroquois.

This chapter features items that have been uncovered at these fur trade sites that could be of Iroquoian origin. Some of the items are ambiguous and could belong to another culture or could be trade items, but they are included to show the possibility of Iroquoian ownership as part of a toolkit. Other artifacts are more conclusive. The purpose of this chapter is more to illustrate the fact that we need to consider the Iroquois as an archaeologically significant group, than an attempt to edit previous site reports. To do so would require more research into the retrieved objects, and a more thorough investigation, including hands on inspection. It is hoped as more Northwest sites, Willamette Valley sites in particular, are excavated this will open up more types of sites, like homesteads, and ones that are more likely to definitively show Iroquois occupation. The sites covered in this chapter are limited to forts in the Columbia region and to those most often mentioned in relation to the

Iroquois. These include Fort George, Fort Okanogan, Spokane House, Fort Spokane, and Fort Vancouver (Fig. 40).

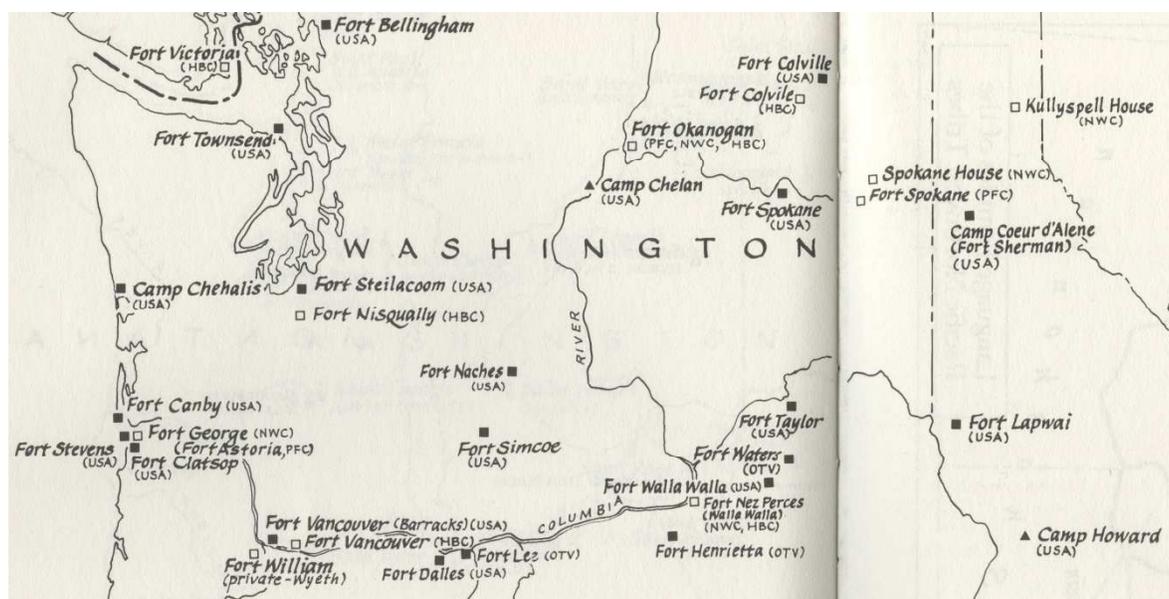


Figure 40 - Pacific Northwest Trade Forts
 Source: Ruby 1986: 122-123.

Fort Astoria/Fort George

Fort Astoria/George was built in 1811 by the Pacific Fur Company and was located in Astoria, Oregon. Unfortunately, there has been no archaeological excavations at Fort Astoria/George, and little information is available about the fort in general. One of the few resources out there is Alexander Lattie's journal from 1846. Unfortunately, like most journals of this time, it does little to describe the non-white people and their material culture. In addition, this journal was written after many of the Iroquois would have left Astoria. Iroquois were employed at Astoria beginning in 1811, around the time it was first established, with two to five year contracts. So by 1846 most would have moved on.

This is most problematic because historical documentation shows that the most Iroquois in the Northwest at one time would have been at Astoria and in the early days of the fort. So, an archaeological excavation conducted at Fort George would likely show evidence of Iroquoian occupation. Unfortunately, the site of the fort is currently under downtown Astoria, so an excavation at this point seems bleak. It is hoped that in the future such investigation will be completed, in which case this study will be of the utmost importance.

Fort Okanogan

Fort Okanogan was located at the confluence of the Okanogan and Columbia Rivers. At different times it was inhabited by the Pacific Fur Company, the North West Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company. It was built in 1816 and was used until 1860, at which point Indians took over the land. Louis Caywood excavated the fort in 1952 and found a good mixture of aboriginal as well as European objects throughout. In addition, Building A had a file, a tin tinkler, and a tin pendant. Building B had 10 tin tinklers and a gaming bone. Building C contained a "bone charm stone" that was not pictured, 2 gaming bones, a copper pendant, and 4 tin tinklers. Building E did not contain many artifacts; the only one of importance to this study was a copper tinkler. In addition, some Iroquoian-like items artifacts were found that were not listed as being associated with a particular building. These including several Catholic items, one is a pendant with the Virgin Mary on one side and an "M" monogram on the other side. Also, several blacksmith tools were found, some of which could have been used to work silver. For example, an iron strip used as a chisel and another chisel that was apparently handmade. Also, many pipe

fragments were found including many steatite pipe fragments and several steatite bowls. There were also steatite pipes that were partially manufactured, (Fig.41). These partially manufactured pipes look Iroquoian in shape when compared to Figure 42. Caywood wrote that one of the inhabitants of Building C and E “was in the business of manufacturing this type of pipe” because there were so many concentrated items. There was another pipe discovered that was made of clay and was in the form of a human figure, however, it was not pictured in the report. Also, three copper fragments were found that had been stamped with designs, a long narrow copper bead, and a square tin pendant were found. Gaming pieces that were “used as dice” were recovered that consisted of beaver teeth, and other flat elliptical bones that were all incised. Lastly, 21 tin tinklers were found.

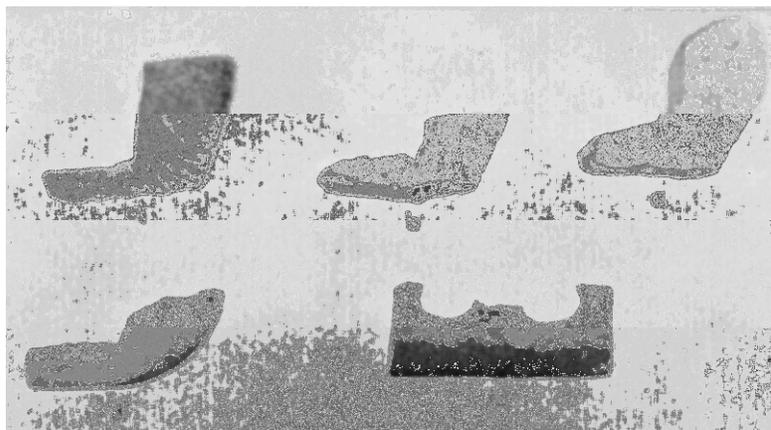


Figure 41 – Partially manufactured steatite pipes
Source Caywood 1954 Plate IIIA

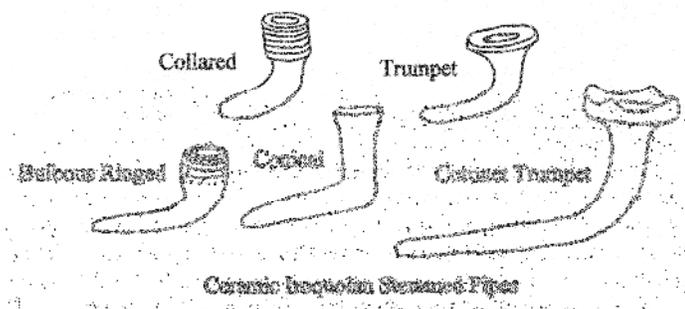


Figure 42 – Figures 9 & 6- Iroquoian pipes

Spokane House

Spokane House was excavated by John Combs in 1962 and 1963. Aside from the many European and traditional aboriginal items, a few of the items recovered could be associated with Iroquois. These include 2 metal projectile points, brass finger rings, a brass earring fragment (possibly an Iroquoian nose ring), an amber stone setting in a pear shape, 2 tinklers, and an ornate piece of pewter. Several “curiously incised” shafts of brass were also uncovered. Also, several pieces of brass were discovered that had been worked, likely by Indians, with a hammer and chisel.

Fort Spokane

Louis Caywood also conducted excavations at Fort Spokane in 1952 finding European and aboriginal items, possible Iroquoian items, and burials, some of which could be associated with Iroquois people. Among the possible Iroquoian items were

copper and brass bracelets, pendants, beads, rings and tinklers. Also, many stone and clay pipe fragments were found including one of steatite or soapstone and one that had metal inlay. One pipe was of particular interest because it was handmade and was the type of pipe that would have a stem inserted that the Iroquois would have for use by multiple people. Also, the pipe was in the shape of a boat, possibly indicating that it was manufactured by a voyageur (Caywood 1954: 58). Some circular stone gaming pieces were found as well that look like Iroquoian gaming pieces (Fig. 43). Also, he noted that “Clinkers” (or tinklers) were found scattered over most of the area. (Caywood 1954: 52, 60).

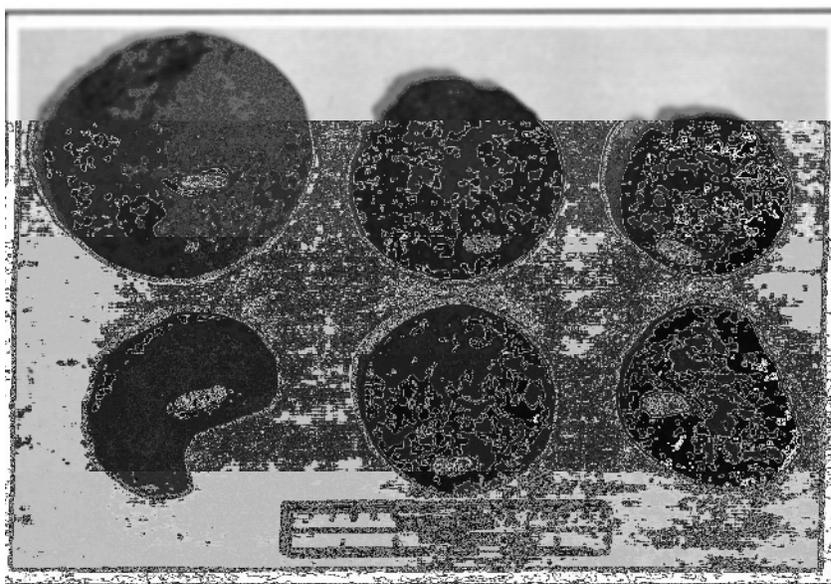


Figure 43 – Gaming pieces
Source Caywood 1954 Plate XB

Some of the burials that were excavated are also of possible importance to this paper. One is believed to be the resting place of Jacques Raphael “Jaco” Finlay who was sent by the North West Company to build the Spokane House and later went to the new location of Fort Spokane. Finlay stayed there with his band of “freemen” even after the Fort had closed. A letter said that Jaco Finlay and his band have been

trading with the natives in the area, and that they should be monitored and their behavior stopped (Caywood 1954: 8). This letter gives the impression that Jaco and his “freemen” were colleagues and possibly friends and because it is likely that his band was mostly Iroquoian freemen, it brings a new perspective to his burial. What is interesting about his burial is that the type of funerary objects are Iroquoian in nature. His grave had 5 pipes all handmade except one; two clay, 1 stone, 1 wood, 1 metal and 1 copper. “The condition of the collection of pipes reflected the poverty and ingenuity of the owner” (Caywood 1954: 23). There was also a bone comb and hunting knife. In addition to these items were more European items including an iron cup, spectacles and a writing slate. This is an assemblage that would be found in an Iroquois burial, but if he was buried by his Iroquoian colleagues, it makes sense that he would be buried in such a way. Another piece of information that corroborates this is that the Indians who stayed in the area after Finlay died used the wood from all the old building as fire wood, except the bastion that Finlay was buried in, out of respect (Caywood 1954: 10).

Another burial that could be interpreted as Iroquoian is the 6th burial which was of a man of about 40 who was wrapped in a fur robe and was buried with a copper kettle, pipe, the butt plate of a musket that had been modified to be an adornment item, miniature bows, beads, a fine stone pipe, a bear tooth that had been drilled, plus additional items. His hair was apparently in two braids intertwined with woolen yarn.

More excavations took place at Fort Spokane from 1962 to 1963. Items of possible Iroquoian origin were copper tinklers (44), metal projectile points, and many

scraps of brass and iron that had been cut with a hammer and chisel (Combs 1964: 18). John D. Combs, author of the report, noted that they had not excavated the area that the Indians occupied only the actual fort where mostly Europeans lived, but that an excavation of the Indian site should be conducted.

Fort Vancouver

Most of the employees that worked at Fort Vancouver lived in Kanaka Village which was several 100 feet south west from the fort. The village consisted of between 30 and 50 houses (Fig. 44). (Chance 1976: 1). Kanaka Village housed mostly French-Canadians and Hawaiians. Fort Vancouver records show that from 1827 to 1860 there were 7 Iroquois men stationed there (Chance 1976: 2). The small number of Iroquois is not too surprising considering that servant contracts were generally for 5 years (Chance 1976: 2). Again, since most Iroquois came to the Northwest in 1811 and 1813, many of their contracts would have long been complete, and many Iroquois would have left the company and traded for themselves. Some stayed for a longer period or came over later.

Louis Caywood excavated Fort Vancouver and in 1955 published a report about his findings. His excavations took place within the fort and not at the barracks, even so, several items of interest were found. The first item, found in trash pit number 12, was a vest that was intricately beaded with many seed beads. Also, silver strips were found which were in the process of being manufactured into band rings. Caywood said no complete silver or gold jewelry was found, but there were “several instances of thin silver sheeting.” Lastly, in trash pit # 4 there were two bone spoons

or ladles, one that was engraved, the other was “scalloped.” Both of these spoons were in the category of items made by Indians.

The excavation report of 1976 by David and Jennifer Chance lists two bone hairpins, and one horn hairpin as being found in privy number 1 (Chance 1976: 34). Unfortunately the book does not include photographs of said hair pins. In this same report, other items of interest include a plain silver ring and a worked copper sheet, perhaps for lining a pipe, both from operation 11 (Chance 1976: 241, 242).

The excavation report done by Caroline Carley in 1982 has a few items that could be of Iroquoian origin. The first item discussed is a worn flat silver coin of unknown origin. It has a date of 1562 and was found with other personal items including shoes and ceramics. The coin itself might not be conclusive, but a very old silver coin is a strange find for the Northwest (Carley 1982: 191).

The Volume 1 1984 excavation report by Bryn Thomas and Charles Hibbs, Jr. lists 2 copper rings, a stone crucible, sheet metal strips, many pipe fragments, a silver spoon, and 30 clinkers in operation 6. The mix of possible Iroquoian items with aboriginal and European items is intriguing, plus the fact that operation 6 was a likely spot for Iroquoian workers to have lived. Operation six was a less desirable area to live, but it was a good place for travelers to stay according to Thomas and Hibbs (Thomas 1984 : 87). Because the Iroquois were constantly sent away to hunt, this would describe them. Other possible Iroquoian sites in Kanaka village are operations 60 and 53 which have a similar artifact collection as Operation 6 including more lead shots and beads, and similarly to 6, more fire pits than other areas (Thomas 1984: 821).

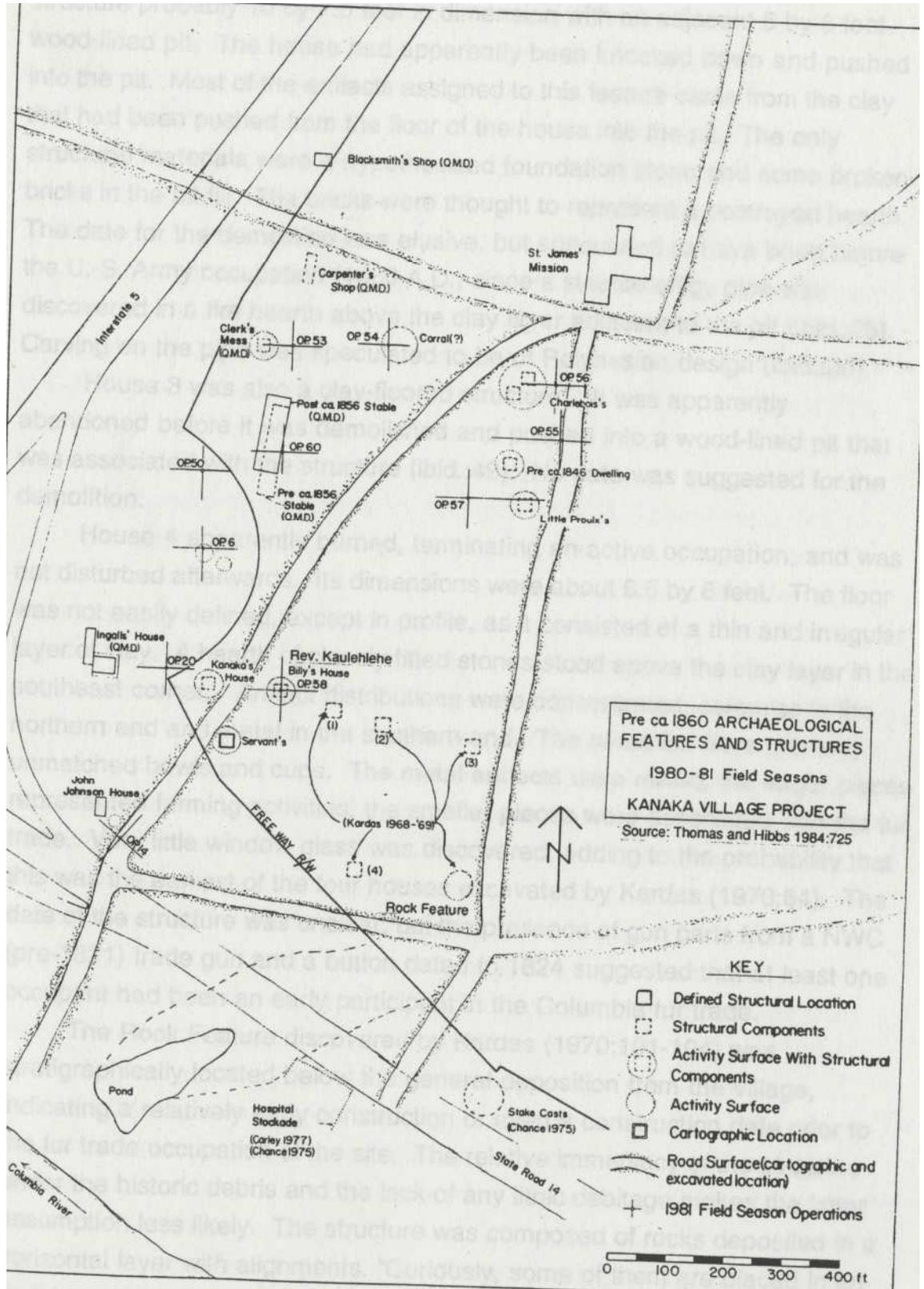


Figure 44 - Kanaka Village
Source Rogers 1993 : 98

Operation 60 at Kanaka Village, seems likely to have been occupied at some point by an Iroquoian person or persons. This operation, which is North West of “Kanaka Billy’s” house is a pre-1850 occupation but most likely between 1829 and 1936 (Thomas 1984 (2): 677). An earlier date is believed because no buildings exist on any maps including R. Covington’s map of 1846, Figure 44. The author of the report believed that the occupants were most likely visiting traders or brigade members, which describes Iroquois workers, because of the lack of Euro-American dwellings (Thomas 1984: 676). The operation had many artifacts that are common in all, but contained a highly decorated comb which is pictured in the report, (Fig. 45a). It is one that is not classic Iroquoian but looks similar to the example of designs used on Iroquoian hair ornaments, (Fig.45b). The report lists this comb as made of tortoise shell, but after examining it in person, it is actually a non-ferrous alloy, likely silver or tin, which actually makes it more interesting. It is also remarkable that the report mentions 6 combs total in this operation, but does not picture the others (Thomas1984: 683). Operation 60 also produced 21 clinkers, as well as an unknown cast lead object and cut sheet metal strips which alone would not be of particular interest but with the other items are. Also found were many projectile points and other aboriginal items. In addition to the similar artifact collection to 6 and 60, operation 53 had finger rings and worked files which could have been used by a silversmith.

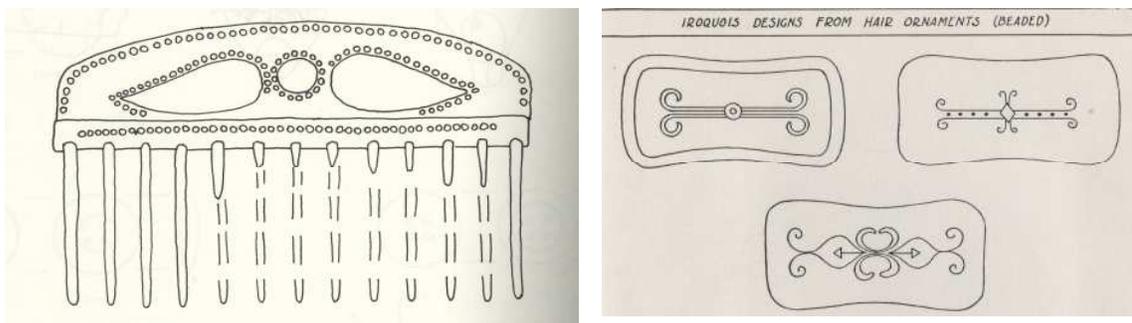


Figure 45 – a. Left, comb found in Operation 60. b. Right, Iroquois Hair Ornaments
Source Thomas 1984 (2) figure 60-14, Lyford 1945 : 95

Other operations that seem to be possible points of Iroquoian presence in the Thomas and Hibbs reports are Operation 14, 54, and 55. Operation 14 had many aboriginal objects as well as European, including many different files and chisels. Including the files and chisels, especially a triangular file, other possible Iroquoian objects include a copper disc bead, broach fragments (the ones pictured do not look Iroquoian, though), a crucifix, a tortoise comb and 27 clinkers. Also many pipe fragments were found. Operation 54 contained a finger ring, sheet metal, and most importantly, an “unidentified iron object” that looks very similar to the chisel shown in Figure 34.5. Also in this operation were many pipe fragments, and a beaver trap chain (indicating the presence of a trapper). Operation 55 had a flat circular lead casting piece with impressed lines on one side which could possibly be an Iroquoian gaming piece.

Summary

This chapter shows that there is likely evidence of the Iroquois at the forts. Aside from Astoria, the other most commonly referenced sites of Iroquoian occupation have been included: Fort Okanogan, Spokane House, Fort Spokane, and Fort Vancouver, but there are still more forts to investigate. Iroquois have also been

recorded at Fort Nez Perce, Fort Victoria, Fort Langley, and Kootenai. Because the Iroquois were often sent out on hunting brigades, their presence is widespread throughout the Northwest. It is important to note that even in these highly standardized sites, Iroquoian isolates can be uncovered. This bodes well for sites in the Willamette Valley and all over the Northwest, where Iroquoian occupation would be more concentrated, like homestead sites. It is hoped that this chapter will bring to light the need to consider the Iroquois as a cultural group when conducting archaeological research in the Northwest.

Chapter 8: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

With the completion of this paper, we now have a history of many of the Iroquois who made the journey to the Pacific Northwest, and some of those who stayed here, their influence still being felt today. Also, I have provided a compilation of Iroquoian cultural habits and most importantly, an archaeological description for Northwest archaeologists to use in order to determine if their sites have Iroquoian objects. In Chapter 1 there was a brief description of the research plan, method, and previous work reviewed to achieve the goals of this paper. Then in chapter 2, the theories of ethnicity in archaeology were discussed. In chapter 3 the Iroquois history, social organization, spirituality, and material culture was examined to help develop the archaeological descriptions for them in the Northwest. In Chapter 3, we reviewed the archaeology from eastern Iroquoian sites to gain perspective into Pacific Northwest sites. Chapter 4 the Iroquois in the fur trade, and their life after they journeyed west, was discussed. Chapter 5 contains the proposed archaeology of the Iroquois of the Pacific Northwest. Lastly, in chapter 7, the fur trade archaeology at Fort Astoria or George, Fort Okanogan, Spokane House, Fort Spokane, and Fort Vancouver, were discussed listing some possible Iroquoian artifacts that have already been uncovered.

Archaeological Remains East and West

The fur post sites reviewed from the Pacific Northwest did not house as many distinct Iroquoian ethnic markers as hoped. Fort Okanogan did have many pipes made of steatite which is an Eastern material, and the shape of those pipes could be

Iroquoian. Fort Spokane had a steatite pipe as well as the burial of Jaco Finlay that follows Iroquoian burial practices closely. It is likely the Iroquoian freemen buried him as a friend in their traditional manner with a collection of pipes, a bone comb, personal items, and European made goods for the afterlife. Fort Vancouver's operation 60 seems to have housed Iroquoian workers as shown by the artifact assemblage including the silver or tin decorated comb, and the confirmation from the historical record helps prove this theory. Aside from these isolates, the entirety of the collections at each site is consistent with Iroquoian sites in the East. The presence of European functional items, with Iroquoian traditional items, and classic aboriginal objects all together sounds like a description from an Iroquoian site, but this has limitations discussed below.

Judging by Eastern Iroquoian sites, we know that at least in the east, Iroquoian sites contain many beaded objects, silver ornaments, wampum, headdresses, and war clubs. These are said to be key ethnic markers up until the end of the 19th century which definitely covers the time period of this research. Because items made of steatite, and fine decorative combs are rarities out west, I propose that these be considered ethnic markers as well. Lastly, the architectural remains of an Iroquoian house would be a very convincing ethnic marker. A European cabin from the outside with a central hearth and bunks on the inside would be a rare find in the Pacific Northwest. There are many other items that could mean an Iroquoian presence but the items above are most definitive.

Limitations and Further Research

This research has some obvious limitations. First of all, we do not have a clear understanding of all the cultures that were present in the Pacific Northwest at that time period. People from other cultures might have very similar material culture to the Iroquois making it even harder to identify them archaeologically. We know that there were other Northeastern tribal members that moved west, but their numbers and ethnicities are not reliably recorded. Until more research has been completed on the different ethnic groups involved it will be difficult to claim a site as definitively Iroquoian.

Also, these different groups were all living together on the fort sites, sometimes under one roof. Marriages between workers and local Native women created homestead sites that will have a mix of cultures as well. This makes further research of the other groups involved even more imperative if we are going to separate out the identifiers.

Another limitation to this research is that much of the sources found are historic and therefore more biased and possibly incomplete compared to more recent literature. Although these sources are still useful, the information they provide must be evaluated carefully and with the understanding that some information might be missing.

This research has an added limitation in addition to those mentioned above. We can look at the material culture of the Iroquois before they came west, but ethnicity is dynamic. The characteristics of an ethnic group will not remain the same, but change as their world changes. These Iroquois not only had a major

relocation, but they also had strong influences of other cultures constantly surrounding them. We can only speculate what those Iroquois would do in that situation and what ethnic markers they would embrace.

After more research has been conducted in the area, all ethnic markers discussed here will become more meaningful and conclusive. We need to develop a thorough itemization of all ethnic groups present in the area and the dates of their presence. Once this is completed, each ethnic group must be studied in a way similar to this work, their material culture catalogued. Next, we need to focus archaeological investigations on home and farmstead sites. David Brauner has completed a map of the French Prairie in Oregon that locates the properties of French Canadians. There are no known Iroquois property owners among this list, but if this type of research is expanded, it is likely that Iroquois home sites could be found.

Conclusions

Some have argued that this situation would eventually lead to a formation of a new “fur trade” ethnic group, the individuals unidentifiable. While this is true to some degree, with common behaviors among all employees, the theories of ethnicity in archaeology demonstrate a different scenario. Clifford (1988) and Diaz-Andreu et al. (2005) both wrote that an ethnic group will embrace certain traditions, especially when in contact with people belonging to other groups. Remember it is transformation not extinction. This is of particular importance to this study. By this rationale, the Iroquois, being foreigners in the Pacific Northwest, would be even more

likely to try to stand out and keep their identity than the Iroquois living on Iroquoian reservations. The great mix of different groups in the area would mean constant contact and require constant maintenance of their ethnic markers. Both Clifford (1988) and Diaz-Andreu et al. (2005) also believe that boundaries between groups can be blurred and are hard to define with any certainty. Again, with the complex combinations of ethnic groups present in the same area, these boundaries must have become even more indiscernible through trading and marriage between groups. The fact that fur post sites had a complicated blend of people both creates a set of more visible ethnic markers, but at the same time blurs a set of other ethnic markers. This means we have to look most closely at material culture items that would have the best chance of survival in the ethnic groups.

Because of this we need to discuss what kind of items a group would likely embrace when faced with such circumstances. Bedard (1990) believes that the most likely markers would be those that have the greatest symbolic meaning to the group and those which took great expenditure to make. Bedard (1990) also found that ornamentation objects and the tools needed to make such items are also very useful to archaeologists. Because of this, the majority of the material items discussed in this work are either spiritual or ornamental in nature.

Although this research tries to compile a general description of the material culture of the Iroquois, it is important to keep in mind that not all Iroquois will behave the same. As the authors of *The Archaeology of Identity* wrote, Humans will try to act correctly as prescribed by their cultural confines, but humans are also imperfect. Ideally, a person lives within their ethnic group and are able to maintain

their cultural behaviors with regularity. Because the Iroquois who were travelling employees, they moved far away from home and family, possibly making maintenance of their ethnicity more difficult in some cases. This study does not claim to describe all Iroquois, only what the majority of the Iroquois in the Northeast were doing at that same time. The description provided of Pacific Northwest Iroquois is therefore a speculation.

With the complexities involved with this particular ethnic group, it is even more important to follow the teachings of Ian Hodder and others. The context of the site can mean everything to Iroquoian sites in the Pacific Northwest. This being said, I believe that the research area of this study was too broad to really be able to see complex relationships. By looking at old site reports, I was confined by the thoroughness of antiquated archaeological practices. Although useful for an itemization of artifacts found, older site reports make it especially difficult to make inferences about ethnicity because context is a rather new idea. For this reason, future archaeological excavations in the Pacific Northwest will make more use of this research. Context has become a primary concern to present day archaeologists. This has led to work in settlement patterns which are vital to discovering the Iroquois in the Pacific Northwest.

Even with the considerable limitations of this of research, it is definitely of value and importance. History leaves out so much of our past, and archaeology is the only way that we can recover some of those missing truths. A significant influence to our history and culture in the Pacific Northwest has been overlooked for almost 100 years. Even though the Iroquois were in the Northwest in large numbers during the

Northwest's formative period, their presence was not considered when archaeological investigations were conducted. This was such a problem because their influence here is quite likely far reaching and in an unknown number of directions. We know that the Iroquois are a proud and tradition-keeping people. Because of this, from the time they arrived until the present date, they made many contributions and influenced many people on the opposite coast of their homeland. Not only could the Iroquois have influenced other native groups and European groups to change behavior, especially in regards to material culture, but the story of the Northwest is incomplete without them. It is certain that Iroquoian artifacts have been uncovered, but their origins left unknown or labeled improperly. It is also certain that when further excavations take place in the Northwest, more Iroquoian items will be found. It is for all the above reasons that this study is so important. Now, Iroquoian objects will hopefully be identified in past and future archaeological sites. Also, the Iroquoian piece of the history of the Pacific Northwest has been reconstructed. This thesis, is only the beginning of the story of the Pacific Northwest Iroquois.

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