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A Little School, A Reservation Divided: Quaker Education and Allegany Seneca Leadership in the Early American Republic

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Western New York's Allegany Seneca Reservation was a troubled place. John Peirce, one of many Allegany chiefs, could only lament in 1821 how a political situation had spiraled out of control: "war had risen amongst them."[1] Within a span of a few years, Quakers operating a schoolhouse on Seneca lands had ripped apart the Allegany people. For Allegany, problems with Quaker-run schools were nothing new. In 1798, Philadelphia Quakers began to offer Allegheny River Senecas some acculturative assistance, including resident schoolteachers. Cornplanter, a chief of mixed Dutch-Seneca ancestry who secured a grant from Pennsylvania in 1791, promoted Henry Simmons Jr.'s education program on his lands. Nonetheless, Simmons's efforts faltered under the weight of opponent pressure. Another school at Allegany from 1811 to 1815 eventually closed in spite of the labors of an eighteen-year-old schoolmaster, Joseph Harlan.[2] Two unsuccessful schools along the Allegheny River did not halt a third attempt by members of Philadelphia's Yearly Meeting Indian Committee. In 1816, weighty Quakers dispatched the twenty-two-year-old Joseph Elkinton. Elkinton had some experience educating African Americans but none teaching Indians. Even while lacking knowledge of Seneca language and culture, Elkinton took initiative on the reservation to have a successful school; his work, while benevolent, almost resulted in Senecas killing him. The problems Quakers faced to school the Allegany Senecas in earlier decades, to say the least, were tame in comparison to the chaos that Elkinton's reservation-based efforts unleashed.

Between 1816 and 1822, Elkinton meddled in reservation affairs, and in multiple diaries, he chronicled the tumultuous period during which he tried

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to build his schoolhouse. This study adopts a community-centered perspective with respect to the Allegany school-related debate—an approach advocated by scholars such as Richard White and Joshua Piker. Fortunately, Elkinton's uncommonly rich diaries yield a unique local-level perspective on Allegany Seneca politics, which has remained largely unavailable until now, when analyzed in light of ethnographic, ethnohistorical works and other historical evidence. Elkinton devised categories for the groups vying for power as the school-related debate took its shape: "supporters of improvements" versus "those opposed to improvements." Closer examination of Elkinton's many diaries shows that both Allegany school coalitions were the work of specific leaders with specific clan and village ties.

There has been a noticeable lack of community-centered scholarship about the nineteenth-century Senecas within the field of Iroquoian studies over the past several decades. In fact, since Anthony F. C. Wallace's *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* most historians have written about a Seneca Nation and not individual reservation communities.[3] Scholars have not paid enough attention to how Seneca Nation history was a history of individuals, families, clans, and villages. Without looking beneath such categories of "nation" and "reservation," scholars have neglected to see that Seneca alliance making was often confined to the smaller units of social organization. The Quaker school dispute was a local issue involving clan chiefs who, in possession of an elite status, led in creative ways to gain supporters. Forming coalitions was how Senecas chose sides and leaders that supported immediate needs. Furthermore, the Allegany's council house at Cold Spring was where chiefs tried to mediate crises, alleviate tensions, and work toward conflict resolution. With Cold Spring village providing a bulwark of public activity, Allegany Senecas relied less on Buffalo Creek's national council to moderate day-to-day politics. Discussions concerning Elkinton's school boiled over, spreading from the council house to Allegany villages and homes and to the council fires at the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations. Relations of kinship and friendship in Cold Spring's councils still took precedence.[4] If the story of the school-related debate reveals anything else it is that local political coalitions of Senecas might have remained in periods of political discord over issues of cultural change, but, when new concerns moved to center stage, political positions changed as quickly as they formed. Alliances changed in composition, faded to the background, and sometimes even fell apart entirely. Once united in opinion, for instance, groups of Seneca chiefs disagreed on other points once the school was removed in 1822 to Tunessassa, a farm outside Allegany's limits but the center of Quaker operations since 1803 (see fig. 1). Examining how governing structures served Senecas at the local level and the ways in which coalitions moved in multiple directions as chiefs' views shifted, adds immensely to the study of Native Americans in the early national era. This is a field in which scholars, for the most part, utilize the operative category of "nation."[5] Seneca politics in the early republic were shaped by such local controversies as much, perhaps even more, as decisions made by a national council of chiefs who convened regularly at the Buffalo Creek Reservation.

Controversy with the Friends' school brought two alliances to the fore. On one side were chiefs and their friends and families who advocated education

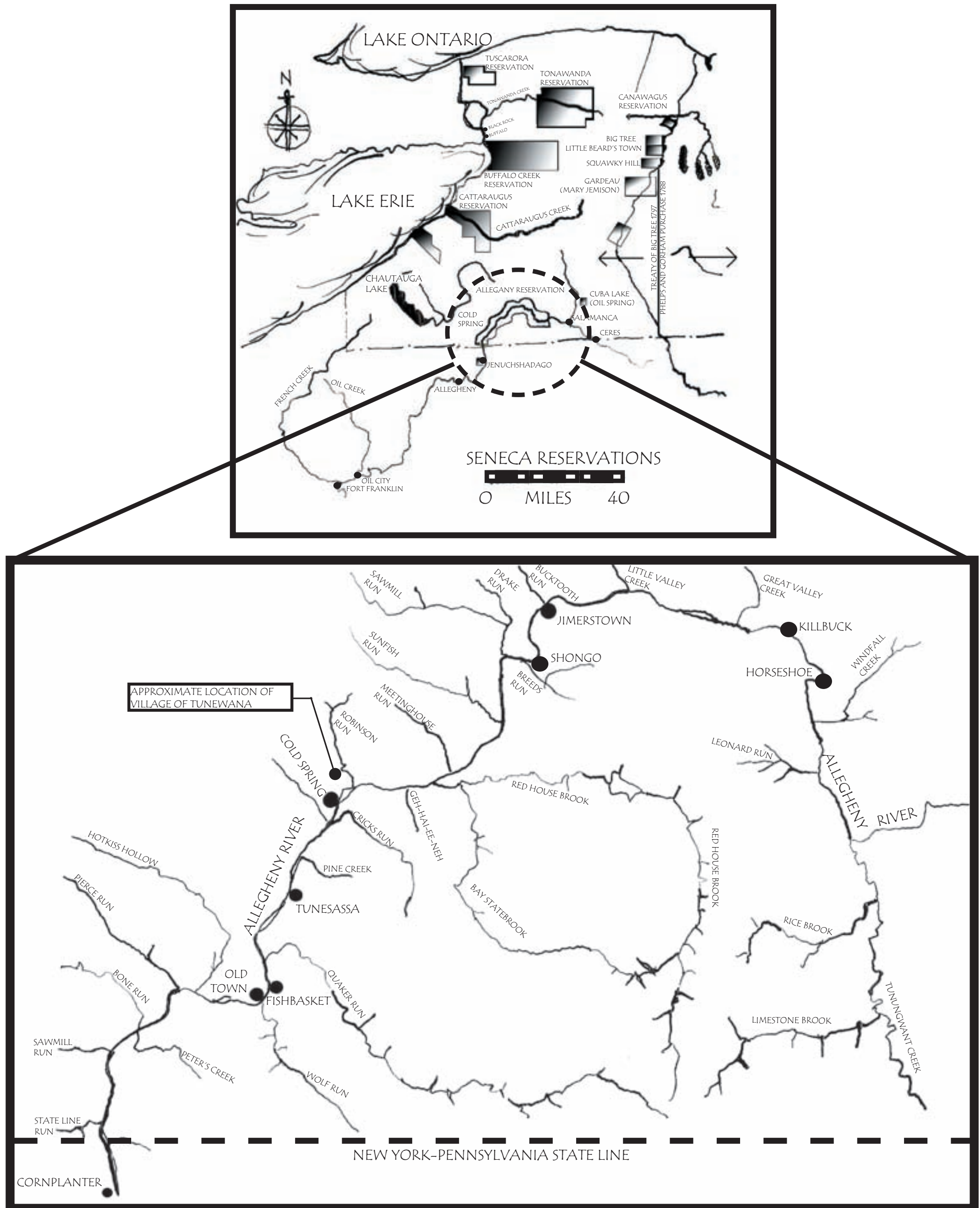

Figure 1. *Top map*: Approximate location of Seneca reservations during the period of the early American republic. *Bottom map*: The Allegany Seneca reservation at the time of Elkinton's schoolhouse controversy. The map shows the approximate location of villages and the Quaker farm of Tunesassa. Maps produced by Diana Nicholas, Temple University.

and a new reservation civic institution in the school. Blue Eyes, Robinson, John Peirce, George Silverheels, and Long John were the primary chiefs who supported Elkinton's school and represented several Allegany clans with the Bear, Turtle, and Heron. Pitted against these leaders were relatives of the deceased prophet Handsome Lake, the Wolf-clan chiefs and veterans of the American Revolution, Cornplanter, and Governor Blacksnake.[6] To incite an antischool campaign, and compelled even more to disrupt Quaker education after an 1818 Tonawanda revival council of Handsome Lake's *Gaiwi:yo:h* prophecy, Wolf-clan chiefs claimed that their political power and authority derived from both mystical and mythical sources. [7] Blacksnake and Cornplanter, in other words, had turned themselves into "prophet chiefs."[8] They were less opposed to education than to the building of a school on reservations lands. After all, such acreage, according to Handsome Lake's prophecy, was from the Creator, to be kept in sacred trust only amongst Senecas.

The fact that the Tonawanda council's intention was to revive aspects of Handsome Lake's prophecy comes from the only written account of the July 1818 ceremony, provided by a Presbyterian circuit preacher named Timothy Alden who happened to be at the reservation. Representatives from all four reservations were at the Tonawanda council house. One prominent Seneca, Kasiadestah, rose in front of the crowd. In the tradition of the prophet, Kasiadestah asked for help from the Great Spirit, and then spoke of a pending apocalypse if Indians failed to unite and follow prescribed ritual and ceremony.[9]

The revival council had come at a crucial time. The Ogden Land Company's continued harassment of Senecas to sell the national homelands, a trip to Sandusky, Ohio in 1817 to survey western tracts, and a mission emphasis upon literacy all converged, striking fear among many chiefs: might white speculators, settlers, and even faithful missionaries tear the Senecas apart by getting some chiefs to sign deeds and sell?[10] After all, pieces of Handsome Lake's prophecy proclaimed that without religion and appropriate leaders, Senecas only made themselves ripe for radical land dispossession. Reviving *Gaiwi:yo:h*, for example, Kasiadestah warned that storms would disrupt their crops and a flood would, according to Alden's translation, "bury their houses in water."[11] After the council, Seneca leaders such as Kasiadestah tried to embrace rituals and ceremonies with a new earnestness. According to *Gaiwi:yo:h*'s tenets, maintenance of Iroquois spirituality was in the midwinter ceremony, the strawberry festival, and four sacred rituals: the personal chant, the thanksgiving dance, the great feather dance, and the bowl game. With a political status dependent on spiritual leadership, chiefs—at least some of whom attended the council—guided other Senecas on religion's importance to safeguard reservation lands from settlers and greedy speculators. [12]

How village leaders handled national lands had achieved even greater significance within New York. For one, the Iroquois Confederacy had been rendered powerless in the years after the American Revolution. Moreover, the Ogden Land Company, the federal government, and the state of New York all held some legal sovereignty over the Seneca tracts. Caught in between these parties, chiefs might sell reservations if they chose to sign government-approved

treaties. Seneca chiefs had come to occupy more of an elite status at the interface between local ethnic ("tribal") and state and national realms of political, cultural, and social relations.[13] Quakers and other missionaries consulted reservation leaders when they wanted to set up a school or meetinghouse or to proselytize. Anglo-American settlers seeking to cut timber, build mills, squat on land, or run an inn had to negotiate with local chiefs. Above all, with the ability to transfer reservations into possessions of the Ogden Land Company with approved treaties signed at a Seneca national council, local chiefs had the most powerful roles to play within Seneca society. At any moment, residents of the four largest reservations might find national lands sold out from underneath them. But with the Buffalo Creek council's powers vested mostly in treaty making, it was not the decisions meted out by that particular governing body that caused Allegany's discord. Rather, between 1816 and 1822 Allegany village leaders developed creative ways to mediate the debates pertaining to Joseph Elkinton's school and, at the same time, fomented divisiveness. In the end, the entire affair unsettled Allegany's society at its very core.

At first Elkinton was to preside over classes for six months only in a room rented at Cold Spring with a lease that started in October 1816. Cold Spring was a strategic location; local leaders at the ceremonial and political center had the freedom to watch over Elkinton's initial actions.[14] In the school, Elkinton geared his curriculum toward male Senecas with hopes of creating a generation of Allegany leaders skilled at relations with governing officials, speculators, and missionaries. This meant the schoolteacher provided a steady diet of reading, writing, and arithmetic, coupled with some lessons from the Bible.

Male attendance was low at first, while the Quaker's unfamiliarity with the Seneca language and a lack of control over his students were both discouraging. Elkinton implemented harsh discipline, especially when students talked without permission, fell asleep at their chairs, played rough with others, or simply left their books to watch local councils or ceremonies or take to the woods to hunt.[15] In December 1816 Elkinton "struck one of the boys" with his foot, and in February 1817 he whipped one his scholars "pretty severely" for striking another boy. On other days, however, Elkinton filled a reciprocal paternal role more acceptable among the Iroquois. He presented gifts to studious boys and young men who did not misbehave. In August 1817, Elkinton rewarded three of them who said their "multiplication tables as far as 6 times" with fish hooks: "1 got 3 fish hooks and the others 2 a piece for being imperfect."[16]

Discipline and some gift giving in the school prompted cultural miscommunication; almost immediately, Senecas debated Elkinton's performance. Gestures as a "metaphorical father" offering gifts and guidance found wide appreciation among chiefs who liked the Quaker education program, although other Senecas preferred to relegate discipline of children to matrilineal households. On 10 October 1817, a chief who supported education followed the common practice in which Senecas indoctrinated outsiders with the bestowment of council titles. He came to the decision to call Elkinton "We-neseu," which translates to mean "fine day."[17] Other chiefs, however, criticized Elkinton's classroom tactics. Particularly troubling was the discipline from a man who filled a role as metaphorical father. According to matrilineal

rules, older men, especially fathers, did not retain coercive authority over boys and young men, as was common practice among Euro-Americans. When for his own personal reasons Elkinton planned to return to Philadelphia he discovered an opposition mounting against his discipline in the classroom. Several chiefs spoke in condemnation of his "conduct amongst them." [18]

In the coming years, however, Elkinton pressed on with lessons among boys and young men. Under Quaker tutelage, Senecas attained literacy first and personal discipline second. Only literate Senecas in control of personal behavior managed household affairs, surveyed lands into individual plots, followed laws, and abided by different concepts of time. Elkinton provided schoolhouse advocates with almanacs, enabling such men to think of different concepts of time by working the seasons and crop rotation without having to depend on a Seneca ritual calendar.[19] He also discussed the township system used among Euro-Americans and the necessity that Senecas have their lands divided and surveyed into lots with men as farmers and heads of households.[20] Established in 1822, Elkinton's Agricultural Society was an organization run by a president, secretary, and treasurer, all elected from the community, and funded with annual dues. The society offered premiums to Indians who cultivated their lands with fenced fields; the amount offered for specific crops depended on the degree of difficulty involved with cultivation. Men who cleared and fenced in "4 acres of land" were granted five dollars as a premium; any Seneca who harvested 30 bushels of wheat earned $2.00, bushels of rye $2.00, and bushels of oats $4.00. Seneca members of the Agricultural Society paid one dollar as an initial entry fee, received monies, and paid annual dues to an appointed treasurer to "give security to the amount of $200.00 for faithful performance of his office."[21] Seneca men, encouraged by Elkinton and his Agricultural Society to derive power and authority as supervisors over lands, made opponent chiefs even unfriendlier to the school.[22] After all, Seneca lands were held in common, where women had the final say on land use practices.

The school briefly closed its doors in 1819; by 1820 Elkinton had found a new location for his classroom. He constructed a school at Tunewana, a small village previously unknown to historians although located only two and a half miles north of Cold Spring (see fig. 1 at bottom).[23] On 28 November 1820, John Peirce presented a speech to the young males in the new classroom, his words summarizing the position of Seneca chiefs who backed education:

> I want very much you should be attentive and learn your books. . . . Look at the white people around you and see in what order they have every thing in their stores, by looking at a piece of writing they can tell anything you may want to know—it is to you that we look for more enlightened ideas than the present generation of old men have.[24]

To Allegany Senecas such as Robinson, Blue Eyes, Long John, John Peirce, and George Silverheels, a school near the reservation's center might serve as a civic institution. These chiefs were perhaps representations of a young generation with less concern for honoring a style of local leadership in which civil authority rested only in the power of Cold Spring's council house.

Instead, chiefs who sponsored Elkinton's school exercised political authority over families and villages by supporting education and encouraging boys and young men to receive instruction from the Quakers.

An alternate to the council house, the school was for young men and even chiefs who were willing to learn to read and write; chiefs who advocated education, of course, strengthened their relations with Quakers. According to schoolhouse advocates, a new generation of Seneca men had to be able to understand the terms of written documents to be equally adept at relations with the local whites who pushed onto lands. Robinson, Blue Eyes, Long John, John Peirce, and George Silverheels had pinned some of their hopes for self-preservation—maintenance of Seneca lands at Allegany—on young men receiving an education at the Friends' school before becoming future chiefs. Supportive Senecas made a bold statement, reinforcing education's importance by binding Quakers to a historical relationship represented in Iroquois fictive kinship titles. Written documents sent from weighty Quakers—the "old men" of Philadelphia as Senecas described them—were important here, galvanizing the symbolic relations even more. In other words, symbolic kinship between Quaker "old men" and Seneca chiefs buttressed the education program. For instance, Chief Robinson used council protocol in the classroom to solidify such important fictive ties of kinship, stating how the Great Spirit would be pleased with the "continued endeavours of friends." Quaker missionaries were fictive brothers, with Philadelphia benefactors as "old men" respected by Senecas for the wisdom they freely offered in correspondence. To protect Seneca-Quaker relations of male fictive ties of kinship in the face of potentially unruly men associated with the opposition, chiefs who wanted the school, but who lived miles from Tunewana, even took action and slept in the schoolhouse to keep Elkinton safe.[25]

In the controversy's peak years of 1820 and 1821, leading opponents of Quaker schooling operated out of Cold Spring village where they followed the pattern of leadership established with the 1818 revival council. Blacksnake, for one, believed that those "in support of improvements" were steadily "making difficulties amongst the nation."[26] Yet in spite of the considerable efforts from Blacksnake to gather support from Red Jacket and others in order to shut down the Quaker school, missionary opponents from Buffalo Creek or Tonawanda did not make their presence felt at Allegany.[27] Cornplanter and Blacksnake tried to undermine Elkinton's school with a new strategic position after the revival council, founded upon local persuasion through spiritual and mythical sources of power and authority; local unity, in this case, was less dependent on councils at Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda. By 1820, in order to protect Allegany's lands, Cornplanter and Blacksnake, just as the prophet chief Handsome Lake, intensified Seneca forms of worship around Cold Spring village. *Kaʔhásteshäʔ*, the word in Seneca for spiritual power, when channeled by righteous leaders was to restore peace and harmony.[28] To bring peace and order to Allegany, Cornplanter and Blacksnake kept spiritual power in politics to try and rid the reservation of what some perceived as an unwanted school and its teacher. Once successful in local political life, prophet chiefs could readily attribute Allegany Seneca unification with the lands to mystical forces;

solidarity in rituals and ceremonials might then extend to all Senecas, uniting with territory protected under a national "Tree of Peace."[29]

Tunewana must have possessed ties with Cold Spring, because Cold Spring's council began to level its harshest series of threats against the Quaker and his school after Elkinton took up permanent residence in his new schoolhouse on 25 November 1820. At its core, Allegany political life was also about maintaining reciprocal relations of persuasion between chiefs, young men, and clan mothers. A number of young men under the leadership of Governor Blacksnake and Cornplanter responded to the chiefs' threats of violence.[30] Some young men destroyed Elkinton's boat and threatened to burn down the school and beat Elkinton with a stick. Young men also swore they would set Quaker books ablaze.[31] Opponent chiefs warned the schoolteacher that they would make no efforts "to protect the school master from any of their evil minded people" if he should remain in the school and was assaulted by any intoxicated men who supported the opposition.[32] Fearing for his life, Elkinton decided to change his path of travel. If he returned to teach his lessons, he would cross the river from Tunessassa at a different point and then head up to Tunewana in the shadows of the trees.[33] Opponent chiefs also tried to woo younger men to cross over from the other side by offering them gifts to join the opposition. There was also the rumor of Wolf clan chiefs "hiring some of their warriors" to kill the five other advocate leaders of the school.[34] Some clan mothers, who looked to their appointed chiefs to protect their matrilineal rights to the homeland, also vowed to resist Elkinton's school, but they also asserted a political voice in different ways.[35] Affirming their reciprocal role within clans, a few women assisted a chief in restraining a young man from razing Elkinton's little building.

Friends had chosen an inappropriate location for a schoolhouse; by all appearances, Tunewana was too close to Cold Spring. Rituals and ceremonies of *Gaiwi:yo:h* had intensified within the village and its surrounding environs, while Cold Spring was the seat of politics where Senecas deliberated on local and national issues and elevated the next generation of community leaders. Elkinton's first days were indicative of Cold Spring's significance. When he arrived to open the rented room for lessons, Elkinton heard secondhand that he was unwelcome, particularly because neighboring villages at the time were the "home of one of their worship dances." While the midwinter festival was going on Blacksnake and other participants looked at Elkinton with deep suspicion as he headed toward Cold Spring's schoolhouse.[36] In Cold Spring councils, Blacksnake and Cornplanter chose to derive their chiefly power and authority from cosmic forces and mythology. In the tradition of Handsome Lake, prophet chiefs brought followers into closer contact with familiar spirits and the lands. For instance, Wolf-clan headmen encouraged their supporters to follow the Seneca ritual calendar of the seasons and harvests. "Avoiding the first day of the week" was of importance here. In Quaker terms, the "first day of the week" meant no work but rest on Sundays, or the Sabbath, and Senecas opposed to the school refused to abide by such biblical concepts of time. Both Cornplanter and Blacksnake made fearless searches for *kaʔhásteshäʔ* in order to protect Allegany lands. For prophet chiefs, maintaining a form of spiritual politics was the right path toward reservation autonomy.

At Cold Spring, Cornplanter began a series of unrelenting attacks against the Quaker program; his assaults, to be sure, involved the use of spirit powers. To back up his authority, he reminded Quakers that he was a Seneca leader whose career was about protecting Allegany's lands. As he defended his authority to protect the homelands in council, the chief also claimed to be the only man who adequately understood his people's needs. Yet Cornplanter made both claims only after powers from the supernatural world suffused his mind and body.[37] By 1820, Cornplanter began to have his own series of visions. On 8 November of that year, a voice from the cosmos told him to shut down the Quaker school, as he had already dismissed a Presbyterian schoolteacher, Samuel Oldham, from his land grant.[38] Later that same year, he challenged the Quakers in council by defending his authority as the "child" of George Washington, the original "father" of the Senecas. Cornplanter's power as a chief, under the appointment of his metaphorical father, was to preserve the safety of his people. Cornplanter, who in his youth went to war in defense of Seneca lands, in old age had come to the belief that land protection meant that he needed to rouse fellow villagers to remember daily the Great Spirit at Cold Spring.[39] On 1 January 1821, Cornplanter openly rejected Quakers at Tunewana with a symbolic assault on the use of livestock—the ownership of individual property encouraged by Quakers. And yet in 1806 when a Quaker committee member named Isaac Bonsall visited, members living on Cornplanter's grant were known to own Anglo-American–style property.[40] But according to Cornplanter, who was now a prophet chief, "children drinking cow's milk sent them on another course of life different from his former days."[41] He also told a young man that it was "wicked to have cattle and hogs."[42] Cornplanter even went as far as to burn such displays of his former power and authority as "a great warrior." These included a sword presented as a gift by George Washington, a French flag, a belt of wampum, and a hat trimmed with gold, which was a token of appreciation from the former governor of Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin. "An oracular or supernatural voice" had told him that because he was advanced in years, in the long run violence could not resolve the school problem, but peace would only come through the "blessings" derived from spirit powers.[43] The chief burned his tributes in front of others in a public display claiming that he now represented a senior generation of chiefs who had revived Handsome Lake's leadership style. Within an Iroquois construction of the universe, Cornplanter's political decisions came to him as he made his creative travels to the otherworld.[44]

By 1821, Cold Spring council meetings turned into battlegrounds to have Tunewana's schoolhouse moved off the reservation. At such meetings Cornplanter again drew his political authority from both a spirit realm and Seneca mythology. This time he used his prophetic authority to make contrasts between Indians and Quakers in stark racial terms. If otherworldly beings called for racial separation then Cornplanter had all the necessary authority to demand Quaker removal from Seneca lands. On 16 February 1821, Cornplanter called Elkinton to the village where the chief reemphasized his prophetic politics against the school. The old chief presented a paper written by another Indian that "contained the history" of the creation of the

universe as Cornplanter understood it. According to Cornplanter, protecting reservation lands also meant protecting a Seneca ethnic identity by using spirit powers to redefine and even enforce the racial differences between Quakers and Indians. The chief had once observed that there was quite a contrast "between the blood of white people and Indians" who had different origins, different histories, and different ways of conducting politics.[45] Cornplanter ordered Elkinton to leave Cold Spring immediately with authorization from the Great Spirit to do so. Possessing full mastery over the history of his people granted to him from the highest power within Seneca cosmology, the old chief sang to speak with the Great Spirit. He then commanded Senecas who wished to "follow the first day of the week" to go where white people live "beyond the ocean were the custom was first instituted." Cornplanter remembered a time in Iroquois history when harmony prevailed, when clan-appointed chiefs spoke after Indians had reached some sort of agreement. Cornplanter was uncertain of what the future might hold for Allegany Senecas if peace remained unattainable with Quakers meddling on reservation lands. If his communications with the Great Spirit were to have the desired effect, chiefs, young men, women, clans, and villages would put aside any immediate grievances and in one voice ask Elkinton to move outside reservation borders.[46]

Unity was less of an option for Blacksnake, however; his proposition was to divide the reservation.[47] He had been opposed to dividing their lands in severalty, always claiming, as others had since the 1790s, that such a move would lead Quakers to demand land from school supporters as payment for education. Available historical evidence does not support Blacksnake's position against Quakers. When Friends had left their farm on reservations lands and relocated to Tunessassa in 1803, for instance, "nothing had been requested [of the Indians] for the numerous implements of husbandry and the various tools" left behind.[48] Quakers, as they claimed, were never out to take Seneca "lands, furs, or money" in payment for an education program. The chiefs' views on land retention may have been shaped by the actions of Eleazer Williams, a Kahnawake Mohawk and Episcopalian missionary. Attending to the Oneidas under the pretense of teaching the gospel, Williams soon had convinced them to sell their land to construct a church. By 1822 he had successfully appealed to a number of Oneidas to remove to Green Bay. Williams's efforts had extended among the Senecas as well. He sent delegations of several Iroquois peoples to the western lands in Green Bay in 1820, 1821, and 1822.[49]

If Blacksnake's contingent held a portion of the Allegany lands in sacred trust, land loss at the hands of any meddling people would perhaps be avoided. On 25 February 1821—the same month Cornplanter had his contact with the Great Spirit—Blacksnake offered the radical proposal that "we wish the reservation be divided" in order to preserve at least part of it.[50] Senecas who followed the prophet chiefs, Cornplanter and Blacksnake, should have one-half of the reservation. The other portion of the reservation was to go to Indians who wanted to follow different concepts of time by "following the first day of the week" and who adhered to chiefs who supported Elkinton's plans to divide lands into individual plots, with male household heads to protect lands and with "a new system of government" with selected officials.[51] Dividing

the reservation was not about differences in the adoption of white subsistence activities. Both sides of the school debate had sought protection of the homeland and used the reserve's resources to support friends and family. When it came to the reservation and outside pressure groups, moreover, chiefs tried to join together to deal with settlers in exchanges for timer cutting, squatting, and floating lumber down the Allegheny River. On his way through Cold Spring to have a council, Elkinton ran into both Blacksnake and John Peirce, two chiefs with different positions on the school. At the time, both stood in agreement that "they wished a stop put to the timber being sold to white people who hired Indian boys to cut the trees down and paid them in money and whiskey."[52] In his proposition, Blacksnake therefore included a provision that ensured that Senecas on both sides who had taken hold of some "improvements" could cultivate land left unoccupied after the lands' former owners left.[53] Whether chiefs advocated the school or not, they identified as Senecas, an identity dependent on the homelands. What had pushed Blacksnake toward his division proposal was that chiefs involved with the school had adopted uncustomary Anglo-American land-protection strategies. To oversee lands, Blacksnake and his followers were not about to abandon Cold Spring politics to become household heads with surveyed tracts or laws enforced by appointed officials. Therefore, the threat of a reservation divided loomed until Elkinton removed the Quaker school to the farm of Tunessassa.

When making political decisions to benefit the people of Allegany, opponent chiefs—only when absolutely necessary—would consult written documents, oftentimes described as "parchments," but this was done with the aid of an interpreter. The translator, Elkinton, was ironically the man most despised by Cornplanter and Blacksnake.[54] Opponent chiefs were well aware of the authority the written word had in dealings with missionaries, governing officials, and settlers. In 1818 they requested the following: "a written instrument from the President of the US having the seal of the same affixed to it strengthening (as they say) their title to their lands so that they may be easy themselves and their children."[55] To Cornplanter and other opponents to education, literacy, if left unrestrained, was also a new form of authority that had damaging effects.[56] It resulted in deeds, agreements, and censuses, making public the value of Allegany's resources and the community's power structures and demographics. Blacksnake informed Elkinton that he was aware of how in the United States, "white people were in the habit" of taking a census every ten years. Elkinton replied, "I thought it would be well for Indians to do likewise." A woman, probably a clan mother whose power and authority backed chiefs' decisions, warned that Elkinton intended to have the census "written down." The woman's sway over Blacksnake became quickly apparent. After hearing the woman's admonition, Blacksnake "seemed somewhat alarmed" and backed off from the notion of a census.[57]

Documents also threatened the oral transmission of knowledge, which was the method used to connect Senecas and acreage as prophet chiefs oversaw communal rites among friends and kin. On 20 November 1820, Elkinton suggested at Cold Spring that "the name Seneca would be gone in a few years, only [to] be known in history [books]" unless Indians became

educated. Angered at the notion of being relegated to the pages of history, opponents "felt no objection to being killed," which, according to Elkinton, they believed to be "little worse than to love their land." In January 1822, Cornplanter still remained aggressively opposed to literacy. After hearing of a letter written by another headman to a white settler for allowance to cut a hundred trees, Cornplanter took the note to Buffalo to show to the US Indian agent, Jasper Parrish. There the chief claimed, "see how bad it is for Indians to learn their books for this is what one of them had done?"[58] Prophet chiefs Cornplanter and Blacksnake had put the spoken word in the form of myths, ceremonies, and rituals as the bedrock of their leadership style. By contrast, deeds, surveyed lots on maps, and censuses with numbers of cattle, acres, agricultural produce, and people per household were not adequate ways to show respect for the homelands upon which Senecas depended for survival.

By 1821 prophet chiefs had challenged other Friends' teachings. Philadelphia Quakers encouraged young men and chiefs to adopt Anglo-American masculine behaviors. Most important were for Seneca men to become heads of households and adopt marriage practices that required husbands to stay with wives. Dissenting chiefs rejected such Quaker teachings concerning male authority in the home (where clan mothers exercised authority) on the grounds that as prophet leaders they were on the same path as the Great Spirit.

Prophet chiefs turned Christian teachings into an attack against Elkinton by integrating stories from the Bible with Iroquois mythology and notions of spirituality; opponents drew from multiple areas of sacred power to try to remove the Quaker and his school from reservation lands. Prophet chiefs claimed to possess a full understanding of the sacred realm and how it provided a framework for masculine moral and political behavior. Then to abide by the Great Spirit's actions (in this case God, who had caused his son Jesus Christ "to be born of a woman that had a husband") meant there was "no crime in committing adultery with any man's wife."[59] Furthermore, the opposition justified their anger with the Quaker school in terms of the cosmic duel between the trickster twins Tharonhiawagon and Tawiskaron. Their struggles for power after Iroquoia had been created on a Turtle's back shaped Seneca understandings of good and bad, thus providing a code of conduct for the human world. After doing battle with his brother, Tharonhiawagon warned that clan fighting, particularly between brothers, would disrupt daily living. "There will be nothing but contentions," he claimed, "they will continually dispute one another." Because the Great Spirit cast out Tawiskaron then there was "no sin with fighting with another, if it should be another brother." Presenting the struggle with Quakers in mythical and cosmic terms, opponent chiefs turned the authorial nature of familiar spirits and mythical knowledge against a threatening brother. In the 1790s, under Cornplanter's charge, Allegany Indians had adopted the Quakers as fictive brothers in council. To take a stand against the Quaker school, he now denied such important fictive kinship ties with the Quakers. First, Elkinton refused to remove his school from a place far too close to the ceremonial and political center of the reservation. And second, the schoolteacher espoused literacy—that potential menace. As a result, the "chain of friendship" once connecting brothers was severed.[60]

Chiefs who advocated education, in contrast, consulted with Elkinton about instituting new forms of Seneca community governance. What emerged was their own radical proposition: a series of coercive laws to protect property, put an end to violence, and control marriage patterns and unruly men. Judges from the community of Allegany would be appointed for one year to enforce such laws. Any man who left his wife, or any wife who left her husband, had to return any property to the other person; husbands were to pay to their wives $100 for any illegitimate children; any man who became inebriated and assaulted a sober man should pay a fine of $50; any male of the community who claimed to rest on the Sabbath but refused to continue to do so should pay a fine of $5; anyone who should steal "in large amounts" should be sent to prison; and any murderers should be executed.[61] Like some Creek and Cherokee leaders, there were Seneca chiefs who wanted to own private property, establish Western forms of authority over other men, and change male household roles and those within communities to protect both families and possessions. However, Creek and Cherokee leaders established new modes of governance influenced by the cotton frontier and federal subagents but not missionaries. Under Quaker guidance in New York, in contrast, a small coalition of chiefs tried to enact a Seneca form of coercive governing.[62]

Supporters of the Quaker education program faced a struggle of drastic proportions, not only because of the opposition from the Blacksnake-Cornplanter party but also from their own family members. Almost everyone felt uneasy with the school issue, while others despised Elkinton's involvement in Allegany political life. Needless to say, a Western form of coercive governance never had a chance with Cold Spring under chiefly power and authority guided by sacred and mythical sources. Moreover, schoolhouse advocates did not enforce individual property ownership on others, although Long John, Peirce, Robinson, and others tried to set an example by fencing in their lands and having their wives work strictly within the home. Men farming lands may have been permissible for some women, but transforming female authority within individual households was opposed by some women. For Seneca women, both sources of female power could not be lost. For instance, some wives of chiefs who supported the school viewed the Quaker program as an infringement on matrilineal rules governing household ways. Big John, a vocal Onondaga leader with close social relations to Senecas, tried to "follow the first day of the week," but his wife "refused to wash his shirts and make his moccasins," which almost "caused the tears to flow" from John's eyes. Elkinton's program also divided male family members. On 22 August 1821, one young boy told Elkinton that he wished to follow the Quaker program; his father, however, suggested he "relinquish such ideas" because if he "followed Indian customs and behaved himself and kept to the truth [ritual and ceremony] he would certainly go to heaven when he died." Conflicts over Elkinton's education program were not isolated incidences or relegated only to Cold Spring councils. They provoked quarrels between husbands and wives, sons and fathers.[63]

The schoolhouse controversy was a clear demonstration of how issues and allegiances could appear so quickly as to rip clans and villages apart only then

to fade away. In the fall of 1820, Elkinton aided Cornplanter in fending off an angry group of Pennsylvania tax collectors who looked to assess Cornplanter's protected tract of land, an episode that almost ended with Cornplanter killing the local sheriff. With Elkinton's help in 1822, Cornplanter paid his constable fees of $43.79 from his annual annuity and sent a letter to the governor for protection of his lands, which the governor granted. That same year, Cornplanter displayed a more "moderate" position toward Quaker schooling.[64]

After 1822, once Elkinton moved the school off reservation lands, new political positions materialized even more. In 1822, Elkinton had bent under the mounting pressure and relocated the classroom to Tunessassa, which was outside reservation limits. In February 1822 Elkinton wrote, "A spirit of Unity appears to be gaining ground among the natives."[65] Cornplanter and Blacksnake, who with the school on reservation lands had rejected significant changes to Seneca political life, signed their names to a letter in 1822 (after the school had been removed to Tunessassa) that was sent to the judges and court of Cattaraugus county. It requested local magistrates to prosecute local white settlers who illegally cut timber on the reservation.[66] On 30 January 1822 after the removal of the school, Elkinton passed by "chiefs now assembled for their worship dance." Instead of being questioned as to his presence, Elkinton "was saluted by them friendly and felt much less opposition towards me than has been manifested by many of that party for a long time past."[67] By 1825, Blacksnake questioned the rumors that circulated among villages that Senecas who once opposed the school could not have access to goods and services offered by the Quakers—services the chief had once violently rejected.[68] Blacksnake told Robinson at a council at Buffalo on 8 October 1822, that he preferred those who wanted their children to be schooled to follow the Quakers rather than join Presbyterian churches. According to Blacksnake, the Quakers, who did not sing, "never interfered with Indian's form of worship."[69] Robinson, the chief who once completely opposed the sale of any reservation lands, turned his interests elsewhere. He eventually accepted the 1826 sale of a portion of the Buffalo Creek Reservation on the grounds that Allegany Senecas would not be "removed from their present location" and that he would receive a lifetime annuity.[70]

In 1825 neither John Peirce nor Robinson were exaggerating the point when they both agreed that "the station of a chief was hardly a desirable one."[71] Seneca leaders possessed an elite status. Thus the ways in which chiefs exercised their power and authority in the face of missionaries fomented radical change and disruption within specific villages, clans, and families. To understand truly the complex nature of politics *within* Indian nations of the early American republic, historians must seek out local controversies such as the one with the little Quaker schoolhouse. As historians continue to move into Native American towns and villages, families and clans, and away from treaty grounds and wars, they will begin to grasp the many political options that were available to Native peoples in the nineteenth century's early decades.

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NOTES

1. There is some disagreement among scholars on the spelling of *Peirce*. It is pronounced *Purse*, but some historians chose to spell it *Pierce*. I am indebted to Thomas Abler and Jill Kinney for revealing the correct pronunciation of this name. I am following the spelling used throughout Elkinton's diaries. Entry dated 20 May, Elkinton Journal, 1821, box II, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Collection (hereafter cited as PYMIC), Quaker Special Collections, Haverford College.

2. Regarding Henry Simmons and the first education program see Henry Simmons Journals, vols. I and II, Quaker Special Collections, Haverford College. For letters of correspondence regarding the early years of the mission program see PYMIC minutes, vol. I, 1795–1815. Regarding how Cornplanter secured his own tract see Merle H. Deardorff, "The Cornplanter Grant in Warren County," *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 24, no.1 (1941): 1–22 and Daniel K. Richter, "Onas, the Long Knife: Pennsylvanians and Indians, 1783–1794," in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 125–61. Regarding Harlan's attempts at schooling see Lois Barton, *A Quaker Promise Kept: Philadelphia Friends' Work with the Allegany Senecas* (Eugene, OR: Spencer Butte Press, 1990), 13 and the PYMIC, vol. I, 1795–1815.

3. Anthony Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969).

4. Mary Druke Becker provided the term *safety valve* to describe Iroquois factionalism in a conversation at the Conference on Iroquois Research in October 2004. Her dissertation "Structure and Meaning of Leadership among the Mohawk and Oneida during the Mid-Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1981) handles issues of factionalism among the Iroquois in the eighteenth century.

5. I am by no means the first scholar to stress how important "local diversity" was within Iroquois life. For the best discussion of local social organization in Iroquoia upon which this work draws see Fenton "Locality as a Factor in Social Structure," in "The Concept of Locality and the Program of Iroquois Research," in *Symposium on Local Diversity in Iroquois Culture*, ed. William N. Fenton, Smithsonian Institution: Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149 (1951): 39–54. Regarding local social structures in Iroquoia in the seventeenth century see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 8–29. To help in conceptualizing Indian factionalism, or interest groups, I have drawn immensely from Joshua

Piker's essay on Creek town alliances in the eighteenth century: "'White & Clean' & Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War," *Ethnohistory* 50 (Spring 2003): 316–19 and 338 n. 15. Richard White also stresses the importance of village politics in *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

6. Clan affiliations are found in Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca,* 329–30. I am indebted to Thomas Abler for indicating the Heron-clan association.

7. My understanding of the connections between culture and ideologies of power and authority is drawn from a body of anthropological literature and recent works in ethnohistory. See particularly Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1815* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Raymond D. Folgeson and Richard N. Adams, eds., *The Anthropology of Power: Ethnographic Studies from Asia, Oceania, and the New World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 185. Eric R. Wolf, *Envisioning Power: Ideologies of Dominance and Crisis* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Mary W. Helms, *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographic Distance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988); and Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1740–1815* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 1–22. Especially useful was Greg O'Brien's *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), xxvi.

8. I have borrowed the term *prophet chief* from O'Brien's *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age,* 2. O'Brien utilizes *prophet chief* to describe one Choctaw leader, Taboca, who "personified spiritual power."

9. Timothy Alden to Rev. Abiel Holmes, 28 August 1818, in box 1, folder 5, MSS 48, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (hereafter cited as SPG), Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA.

10. Regarding a report on the contingent to Sandusky see "Committee to Chiefs and Indians on the Allegany Reservation," 30 January 1817, PYMIC, vol. II, 1816–37.

11. Timothy Alden to Rev. Abiel Holmes, 28 August 1818, in box 1, folder 5, MSS 48, SPG.

12. For the best discussion of the teachings of Handsome Lake see Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca,* 239–337; Arthur C. Parker, *The Code of Handsome Lake,* Bulletin 163 (Albany: New York State Museum, 1913). For accuracy I have consulted the journal of Henry Simmons Jr., the Quaker witness to the prophet's visions. See Henry Simmons Jr., 1799 Journal, vol. II, beginning with 3 February and William Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 116.

13. Particularly useful is Clifton C. Crais, ed., *The Culture of Power in South Africa: Essays on State Formation and the Political Imagination* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003) and Geoffrey M. White and Lamont Lindstrom, eds., *Chiefs Today: Traditional Pacific Leadership and the Postcolonial State* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 3.

14. Halliday Jackson observed in 1816 that the school had reopened at Cold Spring village. See Halliday Jackson, *Civilization of the Indian Natives: Or, a Brief View of the Friendly Endeavoring to Promote Peace and Friendship with them by Pacific Measures: And a Concise Narrative of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Parts Adjacent since the Year 1795, in Promoting their Improvement and Gradual*

Civilization (Philadelphia: M. T. C. Gould, 1830), 63. Regarding renting a room at Cold Spring for the school see entry dated 30 September 1816, Elkinton Journal, 1816–20, box I. When Elkinton first arrived, he described Cold Spring as "the great city," in which "is erected the council house and from that we might suppose it was the head of government," Elkinton Journal, 1816, box I. Regarding Cold Spring as a ceremonial center see William N. Fenton, "An Outline of Seneca Ceremonies at Coldspring Longhouse," *Yale University Publications in Anthropology* 9 (1936): 3–23.

15. Regarding students getting up and leaving the classroom see entry dated 2 July, Elkinton Journal, 1816–17, box I. Regarding boys leaving the school see entry dated 21 October, Elkinton Journal, 1822–25. The following entry from this journal provides a sense of the role men were to play in the lives of young boys: Sky Peirce, who supported the school, "brought a little boy who had ran away 2 or 3 times." The boy was the son of his brother and chief, John Peirce. Peirce would not discipline his son but asked Sky to whip him "and also bring him to school."

16. Regarding disciplining unruly "warriors" see entry dated 2 January 1817, Elkinton Journal, 1815–19, box I and entry dated 24 February 1817; on Elkinton offering gifts see entry dated 9 August 1817, Elkinton Journal, 1817, box I.

17. See entry dated 10 October, Elkinton Journal, 1815–19, box I.

18. To read about his departure and the opposition see 12 May 1819, Elkinton Journal, 1819–20, box I.

19. Regarding Elkinton distributing an almanac to an Indian see entry dated 14 January 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II.

20. One of the many times where Elkinton discusses land divisions occurred on 5 October 1822. Elkinton asked Robinson if Blacksnake was still "opposed to the division of their lands." Elkinton warned Robinson to continue to "turn his mind a little towards the manner of a division." For Quakers, this meant having lands surveyed into individual tracts. See Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box I. Much of the opposition to surveying and dividing was the claim that such efforts would "throw a number of improvements in one lot and that would likely create quarreling amongst the owners[. A]nother was that if the land should be divided and individuals have a deed of their farm the preemption holders[,] finding they were held in severalty[,] would then purchase from the Indians." In other words, lands had to remain under the control of local chiefs. For this quotation see entry dated 18 October 1822, Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box I.

21. Regarding the formation of the Agricultural Society see entry dated 24 October (1825?), Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box II.

22. On the almanac see entry dated 14 January 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21; for Elkinton encouraging them to come under laws and divide their lands see entry dated 14 October 1822, Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box I. Elkinton clearly believed that literacy was the bedrock of cultural change for the Senecas. Among some members of indigenous societies who faced waves of missionaries, settlers, and competing empires, literacy was often the harbinger of cultural change. For a discussion of such issues see *Literacy and Literacies: Texts, Power, and Identity*, ed. James Collins and Richard K. Blot (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Also see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the World* (London: Routledge, 1982). For an insightful discussion of the "power of writing" versus the oral transmission of knowledge see Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 186–204.

23. The first mention of Tunewana is an entry dated 17 October, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21. This journal discusses the construction of the school and Elkinton's efforts to stock it with the necessary implements for education.

24. Elkinton Journal, Indian Speeches Made in the Schoolhouse, box II.

25. Regarding clan mothers welcoming the schoolteacher see Elkinton Journal, 1815–19, box I. Regarding Robinson's use of council language see Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II; the chiefs sleeping in the schoolhouse is referred to in an entry dated 1 February 1820, Elkinton Journal, 1820–22, box I.

26. For differences between local versus national identity see Elkinton Journal, 1821, box II.

27. For references to Blacksnake heading to Buffalo Creek to consult with the "Red Jacket party" see entries dated 2 and 14 October, Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box I. On Blacksnake going to council at Buffalo to consult on the school concern see entry dated 28 February, Elkinton Journal, 1820–22, box II; entry dated 27 June, Elkinton Journal, 1821, box II. On this day Blacksnake told Elkinton "there was a council in five days in which they were all going and many of the natives opposed to improvements were there to be collected[. T]hey were going to advise upon some plan to have their people separated into two parties and settled on distinct reservations and they wished all those anxious for improvements to go to Buffalo and be together."

28. Anthropologists often refer to Iroquois supernatural power generically as *Orenda*, "that [which] adheres to inanimate and animate things, to aspects of the environment," and to expected forms of behavior. See Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, 50 and Hope L. Isaacs, "Orenda and the Concept of Power among the Tonawanda Seneca," in *The Anthropology of Power*, 167–84. This word was first employed by the Tuscaroran anthropologist J. N. B. Hewitt to mean "mystic potence to all things, all bodies, and by the inchoate mentation of man regarded as the efficient cause of all phenomena and all the activities of his environment." Such equivalents exist elsewhere in the eastern woodlands, most notably among Algonquian-speaking peoples who believed in *manitous*. However, the word *Orenda* is most likely of Huron derivation and fails to reflect the linguistic differences among Iroquois nations for explaining spiritual power. Wallace L. Chafe's *Handbook of the Seneca Language*, New York State Museum Bulletin 338 (Albany: The University of the State of New York, 1963), 59, contains the word for Seneca supernatural power. In fact, Asher Wright, *A Spelling Book in the Seneca Language: With English Definitions* (Buffalo Creek Reservation: Mission Press, 1842)—the standard and most reliable orthography of the Seneca language until the twentieth century—makes no reference to *Orenda*, suggesting it was a loan-word.

29. For an analysis of the "Tree of Peace" concept see Matthew Dennis, *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 76–118 and Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse*, 49. According to Fenton, "'the tree stands for life, status, and authority—for society itself."

30. For the suggestion to burn down the school see the Elkinton Journal entry dated 27 June 1821. Regarding the suggestion of burning down the schoolhouse with Elkinton inside see the entry dated 21 August 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II. Regarding Elkinton taking up permanent residence see the entry dated 25 November, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21; Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II; and the entry dated 27 November, Elkinton Journal, 1820–22, box II.

31. Elkinton received threats on the 27 November 1820, Elkinton Journal, 1820–22, box II; the destruction of the skiff is in the entry dated 17 February 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II.

32. See 11 November 1820, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box I. Warriors were oftentimes left unrestrained. One raised an axe at a chief after he had burned his barrels of liquor, and little was done to restrain the unruly "warrior." See entry dated 18 January 1822, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II.

33. Entry dated 1 November 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21.

34. Journal entry dated 13 February 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–22, box II.

35. For references to the role of women (I made the determination that they are clan mothers because of their very public role at this time) and warriors see entry dated 27 September, Elkinton Journal, 1821, box II.

36. On opening the school and being verbally assaulted see entry dated 17 October 1817, Elkinton Journal, 1815–19, box I. Regarding Elkinton passing by during ritual and ceremony see entry dated 25 October 1820, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II.

37. Wallace generally dismissed Cornplanter's behavior during this period as the work of a deranged old man who was "morose and withdrawn." Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*, 327–28. On the other hand, I view Cornplanter's work as that of a strategic leader, an older chief seeking new sources of power and authority in the face of another group of chiefs that sought status and prestige in support of schools.

38. Timothy Alden to the Rev. Abiel Holmes, 8 June 1827 in Timothy Alden, *An Account of Sundry Missions Performed among the Senecas and Munsees: In a Series of Letters* (New York: J. Seymour, 1827), 146.

39. Ibid., 140–42.

40. Isaac Bonsall observed numerous cattle on his visit to Cornplanter; see Isaac Bonsall, Manuscript Journals, September–18 October 1803, 31. Typescript copy from the Anthony F. C. Wallace Papers, Manuscript Collection 64, series II, Research Notes and Drafts, American Philosophical Society (APS), Philadelphia.

41. Regarding the cow's milk see entry dated 1 January, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II.

42. Ibid.

43. Timothy Alden to the Rev. Abiel Holmes, 8 June 1827, in Alden, *An Account of Sundry Missions*, 141.

44. Regarding how leaders assert power by traveling distances, whether horizontally and vertically with spirits or horizontally among other humans see Helms, *Ulysses' Sail,* 20–33.

45. For racial differences expressed by Cornplanter see entry dated 21 August, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II.

46. For Cornplanter's actions in this council see entry dated 16 February 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II. Regarding Seneca singing and dancing as an expression of sacred power see the collection of works by Gertrud Prokosh Kurath in William N. Fenton Papers, Manuscript Collection 20, series IV, box 7, APS and Fenton's own work "Songs from the Longhouse," ibid. For an ethnographic comparison see Jonathan D. Hill's study of the Wakuenai of the upper Rio Negró region in Southern Venezuela. Ritualized singing and dancing among these people also related their understanding of the cosmos, political order, and human relations. See Hill, *Keepers of*

the Sacred Chants: The Poetics of Ritual Power in Amazonian Society (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993).

47. For Blacksnake's fear of land divisions see "Tunessassa to Committee," 12 February 1821, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37.

48. Timothy Alden to the Rev. Abiel Holmes, 8 June 1827, in Alden, *An Account of Sundry Missions*, 132.

49. Regarding Williams's efforts to coerce other Iroquois to Green Bay see Karim Tiro, "The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Indian Nation from Revolution through Removal, 1768–1850" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1999), 219–28.

50. Entry dated 25 February 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II.

51. Regarding the fear of land divisions and changes to Seneca forms of leadership see Jacob Taylor to Committee, 26 December 1816, Quaker Special Collections. Taylor wrote:

> It remains uncertain wither the Seneca chiefs will agree to a division of their land as has been proposed or any change in their system of government respecting it. It however appears at present a very proper step to endeavour to engage the attention of the Indians to the subject, as many do not seem to understand or see the advantage such a change might produce, but from the improvement experienced in other things there is at least a hope the result of further labors may gradually gain the ascendancy and if the committee at large should think it suitable to address them on the occasion it may have a tendency of forwarding the consideration.

52. See entry dated 22 October, Elkinton Journal, 1825–26, box I.

53. Entry dated 25 February 1821, Elkinton Journal, 1820–21, box II. Blacksnake even went as far as to suggest three other options: (1) that the Quakers move his school to the upper part of the reservation (probably toward Big Valley, near Jimersontown, fig. 1) where those who favored the school would reside; (2) that the schoolteacher remove his classroom to Tunessassa, which would fend off any division of the reservation; and (3) that the school teacher might follow if those who supported the school moved to Cattaraugus. Elkinton responded "yes" to only the first of the chief's proposals, while the other two he left open for discussion. The second option eventually brought peace again to Allegany a year later. Blacksnake, in conjunction with Red Jacket and others "opposed to improvements," even considered separating into different parties on different reservations. See entry dated 27 June, Elkinton Journal, 1821, box II.

54. Quakers even adopted the word *parchment* in council protocol. In Committee to the Chiefs and Indians of the Allegany Reservation, 30 January 1817, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37.

55. Report from Cold Spring to Committee, 24 August 1818, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37.

56. Even after years of contact with literate societies, indigenous communities oftentimes still expressed fears of written documents. See Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 96–97.

57. Entry dated 26 March, Elkinton Journal, 1825–26, box II.

58. Entry dated 10 January 1822, Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box I.

59. Entry dated 19 March, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II. This may also be a symbolic reference to the Virgin Mary who gave birth to the prophet and peacemaker Jesus. There is an important parallel within Iroquois society with the biblical tale. The Iroquois peacemaker, Deganawi:dah, was also born of a virgin (Sky-Woman was mystically pregnant) and the twin brothers of Iroquois cosmology also had a mystically pregnant mother, Sky-Woman's daughter. See Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse*, 32. Regarding the myth of the origins of Iroquoia, Sky-Woman, and the twins see J. N. B. Hewitt, "Iroquois Cosmology," pt. 2. *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Annual Report, 1925–26 (Washington, DC, 1928), 567–68. William N. Fenton, "This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back," *Journal of American Folklore* 75 (1962): 283–300.

60. J. N. B. Hewitt, "Iroquois Cosmology," 567–68. William N. Fenton, "This Island, the World on the Turtle's Back," 283–300. For a discussion of early councils between Quakers and Senecas see Richard Bauman, "Analysis of Quaker-Seneca Councils, 1798–1800," *Man in the Northeast* 3 (1972): 36–48.

61. Even earlier than 1826, an Indian "in support of improvements" wanted to exact justice against anyone who might harm the missionary by applying to the "civil officers" among the white people. See entry dated 5 October 1822, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II. Regarding the laws see entry dated 6 January, Elkinton Journal, 1825–26, box I.

62. For evidence of coercive authority among Creeks as a result of the cotton frontier see Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, ch. 7.

63. Regarding Big John's family divisions see entry dated 9 September, Elkinton Journal, 1821, box II. Regarding the young boy see entry dated 22 August, Elkinton Journal, 1821.

64. See entry dated 1 October, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II and Tunessassa, 2 January 1822, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37. Elkinton writes the following on 27 January 1822: "[A]nother of the natives came in who in conversation informed me at a late council of a few of the chiefs of both parties Cornplanter expressed himself much more moderate towards the party who think differently from him than has for some time past been the case." See Elkinton Journal, 1821–22.

65. Both the discussion of the payment of the constable's fees, the letter sent to the governor, and Elkinton's quote appear in Joseph Elkinton to PYMIC, 11 February 1822, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37.

66. Cornplanter and Blacksnake signed their name to the petition in Tunessassa, 30 December 1822, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37.

67. Entry dated 30 January, Elkinton Journal, 1821–22, box II.

68. For Blacksnake's question see PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37.

69. For Blacksnake opposed to singing see Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box II.

70. Regarding Robinson becoming disgruntled with the school see journal entry dated 4 August 1825, Elkinton Journal, 1822–25, box II. Regarding Robinson and his role in land sales see Elkinton to Committee, 6 September 1826, PYMIC Meeting Minutes, vol. II, 1816–37. Blue Eyes, John Peirce, and Robinson supported land divisions into individually owned plots even as the Ogden Land Company negotiated for lands at Buffalo, while the "Halftown Party" (brothers Sam and Tunis), who once partially sided with the group who supported "improvements," had abandoned this side entirely by midcentury.

71. Entry dated 9 December, Elkinton Journal, 1825–26, box II.