

SAVAGE BROTHERS:

US INDIAN POLICIES, IDENTITY, AND MEMORY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

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Introduction: “‘The Wrong Side’: A Historiography of Indians’ Involvement in the American Revolution”

In the spring of 1830 Congress gathered to debate the Indian Removal Act, a controversial piece of legislation intended to secure the state of Georgia’s hotly contested claims to all the territory within its borders. It would accomplish this task by forcing the litigious Cherokee nation off of its lands within the state and across the Mississippi River to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. Because the Cherokees had for decades proven their willingness to adopt numerous aspects of American culture (for example, a written constitution, free press, Christian belief system, and faith in the courts system and rule of law), they enjoyed a considerable locus of support among the more ‘progressive’ elements of American society. Determined to combat these elements, the supporters of Indian removal did their utmost during the Congressional debates to gainsay their opponents’ portrayal of a ‘civilized’ Cherokee society. They did so primarily by reminding their colleagues of past incidents of Cherokee violence against frontier settlements, the large majority of which occurred during or immediately after the American Revolution.

Georgia’s representatives in Congress were particularly vehement in their condemnation of such attacks. The violence the Cherokees showed in these acts, Georgia’s congressmen argued, was conclusive ‘proof’ of their ‘inherent savagery’ and incompatibility with American society. This ‘savagery’ was “shown in the most undeniable character,” Congressman James Wayne declared, “when, in the war of the revolution, the Cherokees obeyed the orders of England, and laid waste to the frontiers of the Carolinas and Georgia.”¹ “These savages became the allies of

¹ *Register of Debates in Congress*. (Washington D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1830), 6:1126.
<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwrdr.html>.

Britain, and were, with her, conquered in the struggle,” Senator John Forsyth echoed, “we claimed them as our dependents, not only by the title surrendered by Great Britain, but of that obtained by victory in frequent and bloody battles.”² “They are now assumed to be a civilized people,” Congressman Richard Wilde continued, but their society has “barbarism distinctly stamped upon it.”³ “It is not destined to live,” he concluded, “it has the Hippocratic countenance [the face of death];” the “ancestral likeness evidently appears.”⁴

According to men like Wayne, Forsyth, and Wilde, then, the acts of violence that *some* Cherokees’ had committed against American settlements during the War for Independence evidenced a fundamental ‘savagery’ shared by all. This ‘ancestral likeness,’ they argued, precluded the Cherokees from any consideration as a ‘civilized’ people. Because they could not be considered ‘civilized,’ the congressmen asserted, the Cherokees’ enjoyed no right to equal treatment under the laws of the United States. Therefore, these men contended, the Cherokees could ‘justifiably’ be removed away from the American society they had so ‘viciously’ attacked. Left to its own devices, they concluded, Cherokee society would eventually suffer a ‘well-deserved’ death and the American nation could take its place as the ‘rightful’ power on the continent. The Indian Removal Act could serve, then, not only as an effort to distance American society from the threat of Cherokees’ ‘savagery’ but also as an attempt to avenge the lives that had been lost during the attacks that group had perpetrated along the frontier in the Revolution more than two generations earlier.

This conception of Cherokee involvement during the Revolutionary War was not isolated to a few Georgians walking the halls of Congress. For that matter, such a notion could just as easily have been directed at any number of other Indian groups on the North American continent.

² 6. *Cong. Deb.* 335 (1830).

³ 6. *Cong. Deb.* 1093 (1830).

⁴ 6. *Cong. Deb.* 1093 (1830).

Indeed, the arguments made by men like Wayne, Forsyth, and Wilde are indicative of a much broader trend that wends its way throughout some of the most fundamental levels of American intellectual tradition. In the nineteenth century, many Americans were (like Wayne, Forsyth, and Wilde) convinced that the violence of Indian attacks along the frontier contemporaneously and in the past were ‘evidence’ of an ‘inherent savagery.’ According to many Americans, this ‘savagery’ precluded Indians from membership in a new nation that was ‘destined’ to impose ‘civilization’ upon the entire continent.⁵ This notion was, I would argue, an inheritance from the Revolutionary era itself and was in part the result of failures in the United States government’s efforts at Indian diplomacy. Such efforts largely revolved around attempts to ‘civilize’ Indians by forcing them to adopt American culture and assimilate into American society. Rather than blame themselves for the obvious shortcomings of such policies, many American leaders chose to believe that Indians were simply too ‘savage’ for inclusion in their new nation. Ultimately, this negative view of Indian societies would come to shape the character of both subsequent federal Indian policies and American historical memory. Throughout the nineteenth century, the United States government did its utmost to distance the ‘civilized’ American nation from the supposed ‘savagery’ of its Indian neighbors. Meanwhile, American leaders, citizens, and intellectuals did their best to relegate Indians to the smallest corner of their nation’s historical narrative as possible.

Such efforts long outlasted those that undertook them. Over two centuries after the American Revolution, historian Colin G. Calloway noted in his 1995 monograph *The American Revolution in Indian Country* that the “national mythology” of the War for Independence in the

⁵ For an examination of this process, see Roy Harvey Pearce. *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953 (1964 and 1988 Rev.). and Robert F. Berkhofer. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Knopf, 1978.

United States “accords Indians a minimal and negative role” in that conflict.⁶ This relegation of Indians in the origin narrative of the United States is perhaps somewhat understandable (although far from excusable). During the war, the large majority of Indian groups allied themselves with the British. Such groups were largely responsible for the failures of American strategies on the frontier. Even those who found themselves fighting side by side with American forces did so only reluctantly and for practical (rather than ideological) reasons. As such, in the years, decades, and centuries after the Revolutionary War the American psyche devoted much time and effort to forgetting the very existence of Indians in that conflict.

Though such attempts at relegation may be easy to explain, they are much less easy to excuse. By their very nature, such dismissals are intolerant of the complexities inherent in historical situations. As such, a multitude of historical figures with a myriad of competing historical interests are concentrated in national thought into a simple mental image containing only those most easily repudiated of constituent parts. Thus, the story of American Indians in the Revolutionary War becomes a tale not of thousands of Indian communities throughout the North American continent struggling to protect interests unique to their social, political, or cultural contexts as outside forces impinge on the carefully maintained stability of their lives, but of a single primitive social group irrationally acting against the interests of the nation that wishes to bring them freedom. In essence, the involvement of Indians in the Revolutionary War can be encapsulated in the simple refrain of high school textbooks and blockbuster films like the 1939 *Drums Along the Mohawk* and the 1985 *Revolution: American Indians* “chose the wrong side and they lost.”⁷

⁶ Colin G. Calloway. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, xii.

⁷ Calloway, xii.

Until the advances of the Civil Rights movement and its various offspring in the mid-twentieth century, what was true of the national memory was equally true of academic scholarship. Even the most prominent scholars of American history paid little attention in their work to the role of Indians in the development of the United States.⁸ This is no less true of those studies done of the American Revolution in particular.⁹ With the rise of social history and ethnohistory in the 1950s, rights-consciousness in the 1960s, and the American Indian Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, new emphasis was placed on reconstructing the role of – and lending agency to – Indians in the national narrative. It was not until the popularization of Revolutionary histories in the wake of the national bicentennial, however, that such efforts found their way into discussions of that particular conflict. Even then, most studies of Indian involvement in the American Revolution were only small parts of larger discussions of Indian or Revolutionary history, enough to grace the pages of a few chapters at best.

As such, the historiography of Indian involvement in the American Revolution is relatively limited in scope and has had little opportunity to develop any truly distinctive interpretative schools of thought. In reality, any discussion of the historiographical trends apparent in studies of that topic becomes by necessity a discussion of developments within a larger field: that of

⁸ For examples of prominent historical works from before the mid-twentieth century that ignored Indian involvement in American history, see David Ramsay. *History of the United States: From Their First Settlement as English Colonies, in 1607, to the Year 1808, or the Thirty-third of Their Sovereignty and Independence*. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1816.; and Charles Austin Beard. *History of the United States: From Their First Settlement as English Colonies, in 1607, to the Year 1808, or the Thirty-third of Their Sovereignty and Independence*. New York: MacMillan Company, 1921.

⁹ For examples of prominent historical works from before the mid-twentieth century that ignored Indian involvement in the American Revolution, see Mercy Otis Warren. *The Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political and Moral Observations*. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1805; John C. Miller. *Origins of the American Revolution*. Palo Alto, C.A.: Stanford University Press, 1959.; and Edmund S. Morgan. *The Birth of the Republic, 1763-89*. [Chicago]: University of Chicago Press, 1956. For examples of works that still largely ignore the role of American Indians in the Revolution, see Robert Middlekauff. *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. (Middlekauff's book is probably the most widely read full length synthesis of the American Revolution today.)

Indian history as a whole. Within this field, three major developments are of particular importance to a discussion of the study of Indian involvement in the American Revolution. First, the rise of an interpretation of the late 1960s and early 1970s that attempted to reconstruct the role and agency of American Indians in the history of the United States; second, the publication of Richard White's hugely influential book *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* in 1991, in which White examined cultural interactions as part of a larger imperial context; and third, the advent of frontier studies in the wake of White's work that highlighted the impact of frontier conflict on larger social, political, and cultural contexts. Each of these approaches (along with others to a lesser degree) has influenced scholastic perspectives on Indian involvement in the American Revolution.

With the successes and failures of the American Indian Movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, new attention was brought to bear on the work of earlier scholars of American history that had largely ignored the role of Indians in the development of the United States.¹⁰ By the last half of the latter decade, this attention had coalesced into an almost standardized challenge of previous scholarship that presented a version of history far more sympathetic than its predecessors. Not only did it attempt to reconstruct Indians' role in American history, it made efforts to lend Indian actors far more agency than previously allowed. Ultimately, it endeavored to portray them as victims of the sort of oppressive structures brought to light by the social rights movements of the preceding decades. This interpretation quickly found its way into analyses of the American Revolution as Revolutionary studies became increasingly popular in the wake of the bicentennial celebrations in 1976.

¹⁰ For a more in-depth overview of the rise of such literature in studies regarding American Indians, see R. David Edmunds. "The Indian in the Mainstream: Indian Historiography for Teachers of American History Surveys." *The History Teacher* 8, no. 2 (February 1975): 242-64.

Barbara Graymont's *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* is the first and most prominent example of this combination of historiographical trends.¹¹ She began her 1972 book by urging the academic community to approach her topic with an "increasing awareness" of "the role that various minorities have played in and the impact they have made on American life." This "important but long-neglected history," Graymont noted in her preface, was in desperate need of "serious historical study." In writing *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*, Graymont hoped to address that need by "examin[ing] in detail the diplomatic negotiations between the Six Nations and the British and American antagonists during the early years of the Revolution and reveal[ing] the severe pressures placed upon the Indians by their warring white neighbors," something that could only be fully understood through a "comprehension of the cultural foundations of the Iroquois people."¹²

In the course of such an examination, Graymont argues, it becomes readily apparent that "it was almost an impossibility for the Iroquois to remain neutral." As the Revolution wore on, the Iroquois were "subjected to intolerable pressure" from both sides as British and American forces both struggled to lay claim to ties with the Iroquois from the colonial era. Eventually, the majority of Iroquois communities allied themselves with the British in what (to the kin-centric Iroquois community) seemed an "unnatural conflict" between "white brethren." They were motivated to do so by political, economic, and social reasons that combined in a variety of complex, often unclear ways in each locale. The implications for their society as a whole, however, were far clearer. The rising aspirations of the "warrior element" within the Iroquois Confederacy soon found itself at loggerheads with the political leaders of their communities. As tensions mounted from within and without, the "white man's conflict" rapidly "thrust the

¹¹ Barbara Graymont. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. [Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

¹² Graymont, vii; viii.

Iroquois into civil war” and eventually led to the shattering of the Confederacy. By the end of the Revolution, “the white man had become a necessity for the Indian[‘s survival].” He exploited that weakness by bringing intense pressure to bear on Indian communities in order to secure the forfeiture of their ancestral lands. This outcome, Graymont concludes, was all but inevitable. Even a British victory, Graymont argues, “would only have postponed the decline of the Iroquois community” and “would not have prevented it.” Thus, the Iroquois were “doomed no matter which side they chose.”¹³

The narrative found in Graymont’s *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* informed many similar studies done in subsequent decades. It has been of particular use to studies of those Indians that allied themselves with the British. Graymont’s narrative was echoed the year after its publication by James H. O’Donnell in his *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, in 1992 by Gregory Evans Dowd in *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815*, and in 1996 by Edward Countryman in his article “Indians, the Colonial Order, and the Social Significance of the American Revolution.”¹⁴ In each of these studies, American Indians are portrayed as struggling to maintain their neutrality in an essentially European conflict, eventually siding with the British for a variety of local reasons, and ultimately falling victim to the vicissitudes of war and the expansionist tendencies of the early American republic.

This narrative has been a remarkably powerful historiographical force in the study of Indian involvement in the American Revolution; so powerful, in fact, that it has even found its way (with slight modifications) into studies of the few Indian communities that fought *alongside*

¹³ Graymont, viii; 66; 295.

¹⁴ James H. O’Donnell. *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, . [Knoxville]: University of Tennessee Press, 1973.; Gregory Evans Dowd. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.; Edward Countryman. "Indians, the Colonial Order, and the Social Significance of the American Revolution." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (April 1996): 342-62.

American forces, rather than against them. David Levinson's 1976 article "An Explanation for the Oneida Colonist Alliance in the Revolution," James H. Merrell's 1989 *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*, and Joseph T. Glaathaar and James Kirby Martin's 2006 *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution* each contain elements of Graymont's structure.¹⁵ Just as those Indians allied to the British initially attempted to maintain their neutrality, so did those who eventually sided with the Americans. They were only forced to choose sides after increasing pressure from outside forces led them to bow to local interests. In the years after the war, they were increasingly forgotten, ignored, or victimized as they confronted the same expansionist forces that rose against the Indians that had fought *against* American forces.

Although it represents a vast improvement upon what represented traditional historical study of Indians, Graymont's narrative (not to mention those of its various intellectual offspring) is not without its faults. Its depiction of Indians being buffeted from all directions by forces over which they have very little real power and inevitably falling victim to those forces robs them of the very agency the narrative is attempting to reconstruct. It also relies heavily upon European sources for its analysis, lending the entire narrative a Eurocentric tinge. Its efforts to weave American Indians back into the fabric of American history even had, or could even have had, unintended consequences. The case of Bruce E. Johansen and Donald A. Grinde Jr.'s "Iroquois influence" thesis (which erroneously drew connections between Iroquois political structures and that of the United States) is a prominent example. Though their thesis had many faults that can most certainly not be laid at the feet of Barbara Graymont or any other historian that followed in

¹⁵ David Levinson. "An Explanation for the Oneida Colonist Alliance in the Revolution." *Ethnohistory* 23, no. 3 (Summer 1976): 265-89.; James Hart Merrell. *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1989.; Joseph T. Glaathaar and James Kirby Martin. *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006.

her footsteps, the work of Johansen and Grinde is founded in an irresponsible attempt to weave Indian contributions into the larger historical narrative of the United States that could only have been inspired by such earlier works.¹⁶

It was in response to such failings that Colin G. Calloway published his *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* in 1995.¹⁷ In this book, Calloway modified the narrative of Barbara Graymont by “shifting [the] focus to Indian country and to Indian communities,” rather than continuing to portray the Revolution as it appeared from the eastern seaboard looking westward.¹⁸ In this respect, Calloway’s book represents a larger trend in the study of American Indian history exemplified by Daniel K. Richter’s 2001 *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*.¹⁹ By facing east toward the Revolution, Calloway’s *The American Revolution in Indian Country* was able to bring a much less Eurocentric perspective to that conflict. Despite the long overdue modification of Barbara Graymont’s narrative found in Calloway’s work, however, *The*

¹⁶ See Bruce E. Johansen. *Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution*. Ipswich, MA: Gambit, 1982.; Donald A. Grinde. *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation*. [San Francisco]: Indian Historian Press, 1977.; and Donald A. Grinde and Bruce E. Johansen. *Exemplar of ‘liberty’: Native America and the Evolution of Democracy*. Los Angeles, CA: American Indian Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991. for expositions of the “Iroquois influence” thesis. As Johansen notes in his preface, connections between Iroquoian and American political structures have been drawn since as early as 1851 (xiii). What Johansen fails to note, however, is that such connections are based largely upon supposition and historical coincidence. This became abundantly clear in a 1996 forum in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, where all of the failings of Johansen and Grinde’s research were brought to light by Samuel B. Payne Jr. and Philip A. Levy. (See Samuel B. Payne Jr. “The Iroquois League, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 605-20.; Levy, Philip A. “Exemplars of Taking Liberties: The Iroquois Influence Thesis and the Problem of Evidence.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 588-604.; and - for Johansen and Grinde’s defense of their research in that forum - Donald A. Grinde Jr. and Bruce E. Johansen. “Sauce for the Goose: Demand and Definitions for ‘Proof’ Regarding the Iroquois and Democracy.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 621-36.

¹⁷ Colin G. Calloway. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Calloway preceded his own research in *The American Revolution* with a 1992 article in *American Indian Quarterly*. See Colin G. Calloway. “‘We Have Always Been the Frontier’: The American Revolution in Shawnee Country.” *American Indian Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter 1992): 39-52.

¹⁸ Calloway, xiii.

¹⁹ Daniel K. Richter. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001. Richter’s book is only the most prominent in a series of works that extends several years before the publication of his *Facing East*.

American Revolution in Indian Country maintains the large majority of that narrative's structural elements. The Indians in Calloway's book continue to struggle to maintain their neutrality, choose sides based upon a variety of local motivations, and ultimately fall victim to the fluctuations of war and the expansionism of the early American republic.²⁰

Although Calloway's *The American Revolution in Indian Country* is, in many ways, only a slight modification of Graymont's narrative, it can also be said to be representative of a major shift in historiographical focus initiated with the publication of Richard White's *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* in 1991.²¹ In this groundbreaking examination of the *pays d'en haut* (the upper country of the Great Lakes region), historian Richard White urged scholars of Indian history to place "Indian peoples at the center of the scene" and seek "to understand the reasons for their actions." In so doing, White hoped to "step . . . outside [the] simpler stories" of earlier research that emphasized the "conquest and assimilation" of American Indians and "incorporate . . . them in a more complex and less linear narrative." He formed this new, more complex narrative around the analytical concept of the "middle ground," the cultural boundary in an "imperial [system] that weakens at its periphery." Because the European empires lacked the numerical superiority necessary to tip the balance of power in the *pays d'en haut* in their favor for much of the region's history, "whites could neither dictate to Indians nor ignore them." As a result, imperial relations in the *pays d'en haut* were characterized more by "accommodation" than by "acculturation." Thus, Europeans and American Indians on the middle ground were able to "adjust their differences

²⁰ Though it retains many of the structural elements of Graymont's work, Calloway's research does differ methodologically. Graymont's book is primarily an ethnohistory, an anthropological examination of Indian culture during the American Revolution. Calloway's, on the other hand, has a social and economic focus.

²¹ Richard White. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991. For an overview of White's book within its larger historiographical context, see Francis Flavin. "Native Americans and American History." U.S. National Park Service. Accessed October 26, 2012. http://www.nps.gov/history/history/reesedu/native_americans.pdf.

through what amounts to a process of creative, and often expedient, misunderstandings.” In the process, they helped create “new systems of meaning and of exchange.”²²

With the formation of the United States after the War for Independence, however, this system of accommodation began to shift to one of acculturation or, even, extermination. Initially, it could be argued, the “independence of the United States once more restored serious imperial competition” to a region that had once “thrived amid a contest of imperial powers.”²³ With the defeat of the French in the Seven Years’ War, Indian communities that had once flourished by playing the economic advances of the European colonial empires off of one another began to chafe under the increasingly monolithic demands of the British. The rise of the United States theoretically introduced competing imperial factors back into the equation. In reality, however, the agents of the United States fundamentally misunderstood the processes of the middle ground and were unable to effectively compete in the imperial contests as traditionally understood in the *pays d’en haut*. Consequently, rather than allowing the Indian communities of the *pays d’en haut* to reestablish the balance of power, the Revolution (and the resultant Indian wars) initiated a series of “imperial contests for [military, rather than economic] dominance” and “village struggles for power” that weakened Indian power and led to an anti-Indian attitude that “pervaded American thinking” and led to their “defeat, death, and eventual removal” once the United States gained control of the region.²⁴

The idea of examining the impact of imperial contests on local interactions between Europeans and American Indians is, of course, not entirely original to the work of Richard White. Early echoes of it can be seen, for instance, in Dorothy V. Jones’s 1982 book *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America*, where Jones argues that a “universalistic

²² White, ix; x; xi.

²³ White, 366.

²⁴ White, 412; 413.

American view” that equated the “struggle against tyranny” with “establishing the conditions for . . . expansion” rose during the American Revolution.²⁵ This view led to fundamental misunderstandings of Indian interests in the west after the war and precluded the renewal of any sort of imperial contest similar to those of the past. More deliberate applications of the middle ground concept can be seen in several works since the publication of White’s book. J. Russell Snapp’s 1996 *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier*, Eric Hinderaker’s 1997 *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800*, Alan Taylor’s 2006 *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*, and Leonard J. Sadosky’s *Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America* each contain elements of White’s middle ground analysis and echo White’s portrayal of the American Revolution as the catalyst for the breakdown of traditional Indian-white relations and the rise of white expansionism.²⁶

Taylor’s research in *The Divided Ground* is particularly illustrative of middle ground treatments of the American Revolution (indeed, it deliberately “plays with the title of Richard White’s great work”). In *The Divided Ground*, Taylor uses the concept of the middle ground to focus attention on the “legacies” of the “[R]evolution for the Iroquois Six Nations” as they attempted to cope with the breakdown of the middle ground under an “invasion of settlers, coming in great and growing numbers to divide the land into farms, reservations, and nations.”

²⁵ Dorothy V. Jones. *License for Empire: Colonialism by Treaty in Early America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, 120; 121.

²⁶ J. Russell Snapp. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.; Eric Hinderaker. *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.; Alan Taylor. *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006.; Leonard J. Sadosky. *Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009. Though it was written and published almost simultaneously and was begun far before White began his own research, Michael N. McConnell’s 1992 *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774* also contains many elements of White’s middle ground analysis. (See Michael N. McConnell. *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724-1774*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.)

Before the Revolution, Taylor argues, the “Iroquois defended their traditional position as autonomous keepers of a perpetual and open-ended borderland, a region of exchange and interdependence” where they hoped to “remain intermediate and autonomous” by “exploiting the rivalry between the republic and the empire.” Unfortunately for the Iroquois, however, that hope “clashed with the American drive to perfect the national unity and power promised by their victory in the Revolutionary War” and the Iroquois ultimately fell victim to a “competition” between “the republic and the empire that defined a border that controlled [them].”²⁷

Although it is an excellent examination of Indian involvement in the American Revolution, Taylor’s *The Divided Ground* does raise the important question of applicability White’s concept to areas outside of the *pays d’en haut*. White’s research has become a widely accepted analytical tool for regions outside of the one he studied, but even he admits that though “the middle ground was not simply a phenomenon of the *pays d’en haut*” it “had a long and full existence there” that makes it more easily applicable to that area than it would be to others that exist in their own unique contexts.²⁸ Applying the concept of the middle ground full-force without due consideration lends it an overly structuralist tinge to which White would have doubtlessly objected given his avoidance of simple explanation in favor of complex webs of analysis.²⁹

²⁷ Taylor, 10; 11; 405.

²⁸ White x.

²⁹ White’s analysis is heavily informed by sociologist Anthony Giddens’s theory of structuration, which examines phenomenology, hermeneutics, and social practices at the intersection of structures and agents within society. The existence and nature of social consciousness, interpretation, and practice within the context of the interactions between social structures and social agents is largely determined by questions of time and space. Thus, according to the tenets of structural analysis, the conclusions that may be drawn from an examination of a certain area at a certain time period cannot be used to draw conclusions about a fundamentally different area or time period. Replications of White’s work like Taylor’s can therefore be seen as an unfortunate misuse by historians of another discipline’s analytical tools. (For an explication of Giddens’s theory, see Anthony Giddens. *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984. For critiques of Giddens’s theory and his response to such criticisms, see David Held and John B. Thompson. *Social Theory of Modern Societies: Anthony Giddens and His Critics*. Cambridge [England: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

After all, the middle ground concept was in and of itself an attempt to bring a level of intricacy to a historical subject that had “not usually produced complex stories.”³⁰

This is, of course, not the only difficulty with White’s analysis. In many ways, James H. Merrell’s 1999 book *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the American Frontier* (seminal in its own right) was published in response to the popularity of the middle ground concept as an analytical tool.³¹ Rather than arising out of a series of creative misunderstandings (as White would suggest), Merrell argued that processes of accommodation between Europeans and American Indians necessitated the efforts of expert facilitators familiar with both cultures. These “go-betweens” (as Merrell termed them) were Indians and Europeans “willing to go between ‘Indian ground’ and ‘the English Country,’ to venture into foreign lands where the *other* dwelled.”³² It was only as rising tensions erupted during the Indian wars of the mid-eighteenth century and such go-betweens began to die out that European-Indian relations began to break down. No middle ground developed with the exit of such experts. Creative misunderstandings on the Pennsylvania frontier only led to more conflict and less accommodation. Without cultural experts to smooth over such misunderstandings, conflict between the two peoples increasingly became a fact of life that had profound implications for relations between Americans and Indians in the context of the newly founded United States.³³

Merrell’s work in *Into the American Woods* evidences a larger shift in the historiography of Indian history and studies of Indian involvement in the American Revolution toward an

³⁰ White, ix.

³¹ James Hart Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: Norton, 1999.

³² Merrell, 28; 27.

³³ Other scholars have echoed or preceded Merrell’s critique of White’s middle ground analysis and examined the history of cultural brokers in Indian-white relations. See, for example, Daniel K. Richter. “Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664-1701.” *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 40-67. and Margaret Szasz. *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.

examination of the frontier. Rather than highlighting the influence of imperial contests on the local interactions between Europeans and Indians, such studies reverse the narrative of Richard White's middle ground concept to discuss the impact of frontier interactions on the social, political, and economic behaviors of European and colonial governments to the east. Though such examinations have become popular only in the past few decades, they share a common ancestor in the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner, who introduced his "frontier thesis" in an 1893 lecture entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."³⁴ In this seminal essay in American historiography, Turner argued that the existence of the frontier helped shaped the United States into a dynamic, democratic society ever searching for the next horizon of innovative thought. Written in an era that witnessed the disappearance of the frontier itself and the United States's first real efforts to exert its influence on an international stage and vie for supremacy in areas claimed by the imperial powers of Europe, Turner's frontier thesis was dripping with the racist attitudes, Eurocentrism, and uncritical American mythology of its age.³⁵ It has subsequently come into much disrepute as the academic community attempted to integrate non-Western thought into its vocabulary with the rise of social history in the twentieth century.

Though Turner's now controversial argument has been widely questioned and successfully challenged by many subsequent scholars, its importance in opening the study of the frontier as a viable subject is beyond question.³⁶ Because of Turner's interest in the frontier, frontier studies

³⁴ Turner's lecture eventually became the first chapter in his collection of essays *The Frontier in American History*. See Frederick Jackson Turner. *The Frontier in American History*. New York: H. Holt and, 1920.

³⁵ See Frederick Jackson Turner and John Mack Faragher. *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner: The Significance of the Frontier in American History, and Other Essays*. New York, NY: H. Holt, 1994. Turner frequently referred to American Indians as "'savages'" throughout his work and listed them as one of the "other races" like recent immigrants from Eastern and Northern Europe that were, unlike white Americans, "politically inexperienced and undeveloped (123). For an examination of the influences that played a role in shaping Turner's work, see Ray Allen Billington. *The Genesis of the Frontier Thesis: A Study in Historical Creativity*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1971.

³⁶ For a resounding critique of Turner's theories, see George Wilson Pierson. "The Frontier and American Institutions: A Criticism of the Turner Theory." *The New England Quarterly* 15, no. 2 (June 1942). For an overview

have become popular not only in studies of American history, but in a historiography that ranges to every corner of the world and every era as well. Although such studies have moved far beyond the limited focus of Turner's work, it is possible to see such modern frontier studies (especially those done on the American frontier) as - in the word of Terry Bouton - a modern reincarnation of Turner's work: a "new and (somewhat) improved frontier thesis."³⁷

Though this may be a bit of an oversimplification, questions of the nature of the frontier and its impact on society are key to such studies in much the same way that they were in the research of Turner himself. In light of the contributions social history, multiculturalism, and postcolonialism have made to historical study, however, such analyses have brought far more focus to bear on considerations of the rise of racial thought, American expansionism, and intercultural violence than Turner would ever have imagined or desired. With the rise of the postmodern school in the 1960s and 1970s and its emphasis on studies of constructed power, modern frontier studies have also spent considerable time and effort linking frontier interactions to the rise of more influential state and federal governments. Such trends are especially evident in modern research on the American frontier from the colonial period to the early republic.³⁸

Studies of the American frontier during this time period portray the American Revolution as a pivotal moment in the nebulously connected rises of state power, white expansionism, and early modern racial thought. Typically, the authors of such studies characterize frontier life in the American colonies as exceedingly violent and chaotic. The rising tensions and mutual distrust between Europeans and Indians that arose from such violence and chaos erupted in the

of the impact of the frontier thesis in American historiography, see Gene M. Gressley. "The Turner Thesis: A Problem in Historiography." *Agricultural History* 32, no. 4 (October 1958): 227-49.

³⁷ Terry Bouton. "The New and (Somewhat) Improved Frontier Thesis." *Reviews in American History* 35, no. 4 (December 2007): 490-96.

³⁸ For an overview of the impact of frontier studies for our understanding of this time period, see Mary E. Young. "The Dark and Bloody but Endlessly Inventive Middle Ground of Indian Frontier Historiography." *Journal of the Early Republic* 13, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 193-205.

mid-eighteenth century in a series of bloody and devastating wars that came to define the nature of colonial society. With the outbreak of hostilities between American colonists and the British Empire in the War for Independence, such violent confrontations only increased in scope and brutality. By the end of the century, the state of affairs on the frontier had had a profound impact not only on perceptions of American racial identity but also on contemporary ideas of the role of state power in ensuring peace and tranquility in every corner of its domain.

The ideas of a thus revised frontier thesis can be found in numerous works in the historiography of Indian involvement in the American Revolution. Matthew Dennis's 1993 *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-Century America*, Stephen Aron's 1996 *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay*, John B. Frantz and William Pencak's 1998 *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*, Peter C. Mancall and James H. Merrell's 2000 *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1800*, Paul Benjamin Moyer's 2007 *Wild Yankees: The Struggle for Independence along Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Frontier*, and David L. Preston's 2009 *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783* each contain elements of the revised frontier thesis and emphasize the role of Indian-white interactions and the Revolutionary War in shaping frontier identity and, subsequently, that of American society as a whole.³⁹ Nowhere, however, is the revised frontier thesis more evident

³⁹ See Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth-century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993; Stephen Aron. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. (Aron's book is unique in that most studies of the American frontier during the colonial and early republic periods center themselves in Pennsylvania by dint of the wide availability of sources from that area.); John B. Frantz and William Pencak. *Beyond Philadelphia: The American Revolution in the Pennsylvania Hinterland*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.; Peter C. Mancall and James Hart Merrell. *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500-1850*. New York: Routledge, 2000.; Paul Benjamin Moyer. *Wild Yankees: The Struggle for Independence along Pennsylvania's Revolutionary Frontier*. Ithaca: Cornell

than in Patrick Griffin's 2007 *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier* and Peter Rhoads Silver's 2008 *Our 'savage' Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*.⁴⁰

In *American Leviathan*, Patrick Griffin examined the impact of frontier conflict between white settlers and local Indians on the rise of the American state to argue that frustrations over the artificially-imposed Proclamation Line of 1763 combined with a constant state of frontier war to facilitate the rise of the powerful American state deemed necessary to protect citizens on the frontier.⁴¹ It also led to a virulent racism that began to treat American Indians as less-than-human. Such changes are nowhere more evident than in the systematic massacre of almost a hundred Christian Delaware Indians in 1782 at the village of Gnadenhütten in modern-day Ohio by a band of Pennsylvania militiamen where, according to Griffin, one can track "the shift in the ways settlers objectified Indians" as "violence became the only certainty in a chaotic world and as [they] - causes and products of that world - struggled to reinvent the terms of sovereignty" along the frontier and "grappled with what was happening to them as well as what they had become."⁴²

Similarly, in *Our 'savage' Neighbors*, Peter Rhoads Silver argued that the manipulations of eastern politicians eager to control the government of Pennsylvania deliberately played upon the racial fears of white settlers on the frontier. These fears rose as Indian war shook the colony in the mid-eighteenth century and ultimately came to define colonial and eventually American

University Press, 2007.; David L. Preston. *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667-1783*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.

⁴⁰ Patrick Griffin. *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007.; Peter Rhoads Silver. *Our 'savage' Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008.

⁴¹ In a secondary thesis, Griffin argues that the Proclamation Line of 1763 was created out of the stadialist assumption that Indians west of the Appalachians needed time to evolve as a 'civilization' (29-31).

⁴² Griffin, 171.

society as a whole as violence seemed to engulf the entire state during the American Revolution. The resultant anti-Indian rhetoric led to a virulent racism that culminated in the slaughter at Gnadenhutten, where the methods of the militiamen were “deliberately chosen to make the victims’ helplessness more vivid” and emphasize the act’s nature as “killing, on a scale that could mean eradication.”⁴³ The urge to eradicate Indians from the North American continent evidenced by such a massacre, Silver argued, “would in time become the main problem that Congress’s western policies were designed to solve.”⁴⁴ Thus, just as in Griffin’s book, the rise of the powerful American state can be linked to local interactions on the American frontier.

In the winter of 1953, anthropologist William N. Fenton delivered a lecture in Williamsburg, Virginia calling for historians and anthropologists to create “a common ground” where their two disciplines could help increase contemporary understandings of the history of American Indians.⁴⁵ In a 1989 article entitled “Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians,” historian James H. Merrell echoed Fenton’s sentiments in urging an integration of Indian history within the larger narrative of the development of the United States. In doing so, he hoped that Indian history (which had thus far failed in “overturning long-held notions about America’s colonial age” and had “done little to change the cast of mind that frames - and, by framing, limits - [the] view” of historians) could help “enhance [the] understanding of the past.”⁴⁶ Over two decades later, great strides have been made to integrate Indians into the national narrative. This is especially true of modern frontier studies like those of Patrick Griffin and Peter Rhoads Silver. This integration cannot, however, be done lightly. The risks and

⁴³ Silver, 273.

⁴⁴ Silver, 276.

⁴⁵ William N. Fenton, *American Indian and White Relations to 1830: Needs and Opportunities for Study*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

⁴⁶ James Hart Merrell. "Some Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (January 1989): 96; 94.

pitfalls of such efforts are highlighted in the publication of a scholarly forum in *The William and Mary Quarterly* in July of 2012. In this forum, Merrell echoed his earlier work in an article entitled "Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians," in which he urged a postmodern reevaluation of the power-laden discourse used in modern scholarship to discuss American Indian history and a renewed emphasis on the importance of oral history and historical memory.⁴⁷

In many ways, what Merrell argues is true of Indian and American history in general is also true of studies of Indian involvement in the American Revolution. Despite their best efforts, such studies are filled with unintentionally Eurocentric, colonialist rhetoric. Furthermore, little research has been done utilizing the tools developed by historians of oral history and historical memory.⁴⁸ This is especially important given the atmosphere in which such studies have been written. The history of the United States is just as much a story of the development of a national mythology as it is one of facts and dates. It is important, especially in studies of the involvement of a group that exists outside of that mythology in the moment of that mythology's birth, to tread carefully and with full awareness of the forces in play both historically and contemporarily. With such awareness, it may be possible to dissect the layers of reconstructed national memory and arrive at a fuller (though admittedly ever-incomplete) understanding of the subject in question.

⁴⁷ James H. Merrell. "Second Thoughts on Colonial Historians and American Indians." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 3 (July 2012): 451-512. This article is only the most prominent in a forum that included the echoing sentiments of scholars Andrew Cayton, Wendy A. Warren, Juliana Barr, Michael Witgen, and Mark Peterson.

⁴⁸ A number of works have been completed on the formation of memory in revolutionary America in general (see Alfred Fabian Young. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999. and Sarah J. Purcell. *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.) as well as on the processes by which collective memories are formed (see Anna Lisa Tota. "Collective Memories at 'Work': The Public Remembering of Contested Pasts." *Comparative Studies of Culture and Power*, no. 21 (2003): 63-85.). Little has been done, however, to examine the competing memories of American and Indian societies regarding the American Revolution, or the role of public policy and diplomatic relations in shaping them.

It is my intention to do just that. I began my examination of Indians' involvement in the American Revolution after reading the aforementioned introduction to Colin Calloway's *The American Revolution in Indian Country*. I made it my mission to try to understand the process by which historical figures of obvious importance to the foundation of the United States were slowly relegated to the 'minimal and negative role' in American history that Calloway described. I found my answer, in part, by examining the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, fully digitized and available for free as part of the Library of Congress's American Memory project.⁴⁹ There, I uncovered the trail of the American government's Indian policies as they transitioned from the 'civilization' policies of the early years of the American Revolution to the removal policies of the later years of the war and the early republic. This trail, I argue, began with attempts by American leaders to establish a unifying national identity that separated them from Great Britain and ended with the development of American historical memories that began to characterize Indians' involvement in the war in just the manner described by Calloway in his introduction. So, this work is as much about government policy-making as it is about identity formation and historical memory.

With this diverse range of subject fields, it was necessary to utilize a diverse range of analytical tools. Perhaps none has contributed more to the development of this work and my work as a historian in general than those found in the digital humanities. Without the current push in the academic world to digitize as much primary source material as possible (of which the Library of Congress's American Memory project is a part), it would not have been possible to complete my research. It would likewise have been exceedingly difficult for me to fully understand a complex policy measure like the Indian Removal Act of 1830 as a partial result of

⁴⁹ American Memory from the Library of Congress. Accessed February 14, 2014. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/index.html>. and "Journals of the Continental Congress." American Memory from the Library of Congress. Accessed February 16, 2014. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjc.html>.

historical memories without digital tools like textual and spatial analysis. Because of the advent of data mining and geospatial technologies in recent years, it was possible for me to delve through a wide range of digitized biographical and geographical materials and uncover the links between incidents of Indian violence during the revolutionary era and support for the Indian removal policies of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Without a comprehension of these links, I would consider this work incomplete. Furthermore, the new digital trend has forced me to reconsider the traditional narrative structure found in most works of history. This is especially significant given my work's nature as a study of historical memory. As a number of historians have noted, memory is recorded differently depending on the sociocultural contexts at play.⁵¹ In a digital age when both the notion of time and the record of historical knowledge are becoming increasingly relative, it becomes even more important to create a work that does not overvalue one view of time and history over another.

So, because my work examines both Americans' and Indians' historical memories, I have chosen to adopt a partial fusion of Americans' and Indians' notions of time and history. Each of my chapters examine the same series of moments from different perspectives, coming back to the same events over and over again in a roughly cyclical manner that attempts to partially recreate the cyclical approach to time and history taken by many Indian cultures. Each chapter begins, however, further and further along the linear path of American history. The first starts only a few years after the Revolutionary War, the second at the turn of the nineteenth century,

⁵⁰ The influence of digital techniques on my work is particularly apparent in the epilogue, which is based upon a broader project that can be found online (see http://npwuertenber.iweb.bsu.edu/Violence_and_Removal/Introduction.html).

⁵¹ A number of historians have noted that many European and American cultures view the progression of time linearly, while a number of Indian cultures (many of them discussed in this work) view the progression of time cyclically. See, for example, Murad Davudovich Akhundov. *Conceptions of Space and Time Sources, Evolution, Directions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1986.; Calvin Martin. *The American Indian and the Problem of History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.; Calvin Martin. *In the Spirit of the Earth: Rethinking History and Time*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.; and Peter Nabokov. *A Forest of Time: American Indian Ways of History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

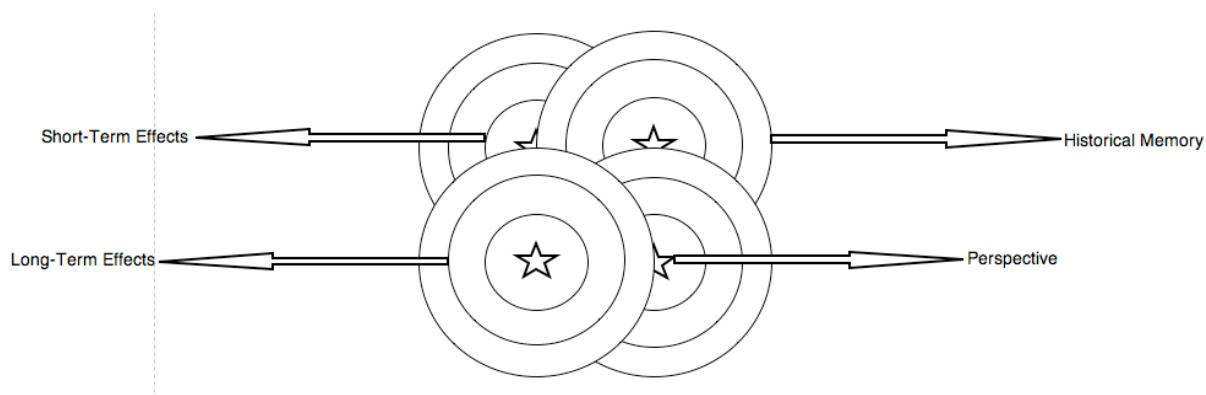
the third during the American nation's centennial celebrations, and the last in the opening years of the twentieth century. Each of these periods corresponds to significant developments in the history of relations between Americans and Indians: the opening of the Ohio country to American settlement, the beginning of official diplomatic relations between the United States and the Indians of the Great Plains, the Indian Wars of the late nineteenth century and the advent of the reservation system, and the height of the termination policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In turn, these periods also cycle geographically: from the trans-Mississippi West to the Great Plains and American West then back to the east where this story began, thus approximating the progress of the United States westward while acknowledging the cyclical manner in which many Indian groups view their interactions with that nation. Finally, each of my chapters ends with the period during which the Indian Removal Act of 1830 came to fruition, while my work as a whole both begins and ends with a discussion of the same. By doing so, I hope to both continue my attempt at a fusion of cyclical and linear means of organization while emphasizing that era's importance to a full understanding of this subject.

To further complicate the matter, I would suggest visualizing my work as a body of water and the chapters as a handful of pebbles being thrown onto its surface. Each pebble creates a series of ripples that radiate outward and cross the paths of those caused by the other pebbles. At the center – the pebble – is the perspective of the chapter, and each ripple is a new progression in the timeline: short-term effects like the transition from 'civilization' policies to removal policies, long-term effects like the relations between Indians and Americans over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the historical memories that informed both. With any luck, this will help bring about a fuller comprehension of an organizational structure that I hope will in turn bring about a fuller comprehension of the subject in question, all while attempting

not to privilege one perspective too much over another. I fully expect, however, that this will stand as simply one more in a long line of valiant attempts by the academic world to understand

Figure 1. Visual representation of organizational structure of work.

something that can never actually be fully understood: history. So, as with most such attempts, this will most likely remain a work in progress for some time to come.



Chapter 1: “‘We May Become One People’: The Evolution of Congressional Indian Policies”

In 1785, only a few years after his nation had gained its hard-won independence, future president Thomas Jefferson gathered his thoughts on the Indian inhabitants of his native state for his *Notes on the State of Virginia*. They have “never submitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power, any shadow of government,” he noted. “Their only controuls are their manners,” he wrote, and yet, he continued in wonderment, “imperfect as this species of coercion may seem, crimes are very rare among them.” He contemplated “whether no law, as among the ‘savage’ Americans, or too much law, as among the ‘civilized’ Europeans, submits man to the greatest evil.” Alas, he concluded, ‘civilization’ must prevail. After all, “great societies cannot exist without government.”¹

Jefferson’s portrayal of Indians reflected the popular attitudes of his era, attitudes based on assumptions that had existed among Europeans for over a century before the publication of his work and would eventually come to be known as the archetype of the ‘noble savage.’ English poet John Dryden first introduced the phrase in his 1672 play *The Conquest of Granada* as a means of describing a Christian prince disguised as a Spanish Muslim. By the end of the seventeenth century, Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury chose it as the key literary device in his influential *Inquiry Concerning Virtue* in 1699. In that volume, he argued that human beings possessed a certain sense of moral rectitude regardless of the level of ‘civilization’

¹ Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. Literary Classics of the United States. New York: Library of America, 1984. Accessed March 16, 2013. <http://etext.virginia.edu/etcbin/toccer-new2?id=JefVirg.sgm>, 220.

their society possessed.² By the early decades of the next century, another English poet, Alexander Pope, would provide easily the most widely read example of the idea's rapid association with the natives of the Americas in his 1734 *Essay on Man*. "Lo the poor Indian," he resoundingly proclaimed of the 'noble savage,' "whose untutor'd mind/Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind."³ However, it was not until Jefferson's time that the association would become a popularly held conviction. By his time, it had come to symbolize the dual nature of Indians as naturally virtuous yet bereft of 'civilized' practice.

Moreover, it was also during his time that the portrayal of Indians as 'noble savages' would find its true power as an idea that influenced practical political and social considerations. The leaders of the newly founded United States forged this power in the years of the American Revolution as they attempted to reject British identity and create a new American one that incorporated their Indian neighbors as both ideas and realities into their new nation. Informed by decades of racial thought, however, American leaders' efforts invariably devolved into an idealization of Indians as abstractions of the familiar 'noble savage,' a process that has perhaps been most explored by historian Philip J. Deloria.⁴ According to Deloria, revolutionary Americans "relied upon reborn Indian Americanness to question [their] British identity." In the

² John Dryden and Montague Summers. *The Conquest of Granada*. New York: Gordian Press, 1968.; Anthony Ashley Cooper Shaftesbury. *An Inquiry concerning Virtue: In Two Discourses*. Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1991.

³ Alexander Pope. *An Essay on Man*. London: Methuen, 1951.

⁴ For examinations of the development of racial thought in the Americas, see Thomas F. Gossett. *Race; the History of an Idea in America*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963.; Yehudi O. Webster. *The Racialization of America*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.; Audrey Smedley. *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.; and Ivan Hannaford. *Race: The History of an Idea in the West*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1996. For examinations of the racialization of American society with particular attention paid to Indians, see Patrick Griffin. *American Leviathan: Empire, Nation, and Revolutionary Frontier*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2007. and Peter Rhoads Silver. *Our 'savage' Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008. According to these authors, many American citizens were becoming increasingly hostile to Indians they believed to be racially incompatible with the future of their nation as fundamentally 'savage' beings. For Congressional leaders, this meant that the integration of Indians into American society could only be accomplished should Indians prove willing or could be forced to abandon their own 'savage' culture for a more 'civilized' one.

process, they “transform[ed] exterior, ‘noble savage’ Others into symbolic figures that could be rhetorically interior to the society they sought to inaugurate.” British colonists ‘played Indian’ in a variety of public celebrations. During carnival, they dressed as Indians to highlight the commonality between Indian rituals and their own behavior. In gatherings of colonial Tammany Societies, members practiced rites supposedly inherited from Indian culture. They also honored the perceived natural nobility of Indian figures like the peace-loving Delaware leader King Tamanend. By doing so, Deloria argued, American colonists sought to integrate their own ideas about Indians into practices that carried “familiar connotations of revolution, overthrow, and transition.”⁵

These ideas were ultimately directed at British officials as colonists challenged the Crown’s efforts to impose taxes upon its American subjects. Colonists resentful of perceived British tyranny frequently donned the stereotypical garb of their Indian neighbors. Such dress did little to disguise their identity. It did, however, help colonists accentuate the differences between British and American identities. It also provided them with an opportunity to honor Indian neighbors they perceived as paragons of freedom and natural virtue. When they intimidated a tax commissioner or threw tea into Boston Harbor, colonists in Indian attire were not simply

⁵ Philip Joseph Deloria. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 20; 22. Many other historians have echoed Deloria’s ideas in their own work. For earlier expositions on the subject, see Richard Slotkin. *Regeneration through Violence; the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973 and Robert F. Berkhofer. *The White Man’s Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Knopf, 1978. For later echoes of Deloria’s ideas, see Alan Taylor. *William Cooper’s Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1995; Jill Lepore. *The Name of War: King Philip’s War and the Origins of American Identity*. New York: Knopf, 1998; and Alfred Fabian Young. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999. Such authors have noted that many Americans attempted to integrate Indians into their new national identity while simultaneously excluding them from their society. They have not argued as I do, however, that this process had real consequences for the shaping of official Indian policies.

declaring their independence from Britain politically or economically. They were doing so culturally as well.⁶

Ultimately, this process provided colonists with a new sense of shared identity. Moreover, it helped them establish a place for Indians within the context of the new American nation. Indians lived within the nominal borders of the newly founded United States but were by no means American citizens in the way the former British colonists were. In an attempt to rectify this seemingly complex situation, American leaders began to attempt an incorporation of Indians living along the frontier into the United States. The increasing importance of racial and gender hierarchies in American society fueled such attempts to a considerable degree. So, unfortunately, Americans were willing to accept Indians into their nation only if those Indians chose to abandon their allegedly ‘savage’ ways and adopt European ‘civilization.’ This conditional acceptance of Indians into the new American nation wove itself into the fabric of Congressional Indian policy during the Revolution. Historians like Leonard J. Sadosky have argued that such policies were determined more by practical political considerations that helped establish federal authority and the United States’ reputation internationally at the expense of Indian sovereignty.⁷ The fervor with which Revolutionary leaders embraced ‘civilization’ efforts as an integral facet of Congressional Indian policies, however, gainsays their consideration as mere mechanisms of the realpolitik. American leaders encouraged the implementation of European cultural practices among Indians in an effort to draw them into the fold of American society. They did so not simply to expand American power politically, but socially, culturally, and racially as well. Americans would integrate Indians into their society only at the cost of their

⁶ For an in-depth analysis of the role “playing Indian” took in such protests, particularly the Boston Tea Party, see Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party*.

⁷ Leonard J. Sadosky. *Revolutionary Negotiations: Indians, Empires, and Diplomats in the Founding of America*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009.

‘savage’ neighbors way of life. Thus, Americans could maintain a belief in their own cultural, social, and racial superiority while incorporating a stereotypical facsimile of real-world Indians into the image they were creating of the new American nation.

Not surprisingly, Indians stymied such policies by actively refusing to renounce their own culture and independence. As American resentment grew toward Indians unwilling to forgo their own autonomy, Congressional Indian policy began to shift by 1779 to exclusionary removal policies designed to push uncooperative Indians westward. Scholars like Francis Paul Prucha have noted that American leaders “continued to rely upon [the] legacy of Indian relations from the colonial and revolutionary periods” after the war.⁸ What they have not noted, however, is the impact of that legacy on American historical memory. After the war, real-world Indians quickly receded from the American consciousness. More and more, the leaders of the early American republic came to celebrate their stereotypical, unchallenged mental image of Indians. The Indians of American thought were paragons of natural virtue. It was only their concomitant ‘savagery,’ American leaders believed, that precluded them from integrating into a superior ‘civilization.’ Thus, Americans like Thomas Jefferson could write in 1803 that should “any tribe be foolhardy enough” to challenge American supremacy “the seizing [of] the whole country of that tribe, and driving them across the Mississippi, as the only condition of peace, would be an example to others, and a furtherance of our final consolidation.”⁹ Only ten years later, Jefferson could pause nostalgically to bemoan the fact that his government was unable to cut through layers of Indian ‘savagery’ in order “to teach [Indians] agriculture and the rudiments of the most

⁸ Francis Paul Prucha. *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, 40.

⁹ Francis Paul Prucha. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, 22-23.

necessary arts” so that “they would have mixed their blood with ours, and been amalgamated and identified with us within no distant period of time.”¹⁰

Jefferson’s writings reveal the stark chasm between American racial thought, memory, and historical reality. After all, his language completely ignores the complex failures of efforts to integrate Indians into American society during the Revolution. The root of such failures lay in an American inability to approach real-world Indians without contextualizing their encounters within preexisting stereotypes. Its death knell came from an Indian unwillingness to surrender their culture and lives for American purposes. During the early years of the American republic, the complex reality of thousands of Indian communities throughout the continent struggling to protect their interests as outside forces impinged on the carefully maintained stability of their lives became the familiar tale of ‘savages’ irrationally acting against the interests of the nation that wished to bring them freedom. Ultimately, they would fall to its ‘inevitable superiority.’

With the rise of this notion, many Americans chose to almost entirely forget that any Indians had fought for the United States or played any sort of role other than a violent one during the Revolution. During the War for Independence, however, the subject of Indians both as ideas and realities was far from ancillary in revolutionary politics. Indeed, during the years of that conflict much of the newly founded American government’s focus was devoted to Indian policy. Specifically, it was designed to secure the friendship and possible assimilation of real-world Indians that frequently proved themselves unwilling to operate on American terms. The Articles of Confederation recognized the importance of such endeavors to the American cause within the very structure of the government itself. An entire article – the fourteenth – was reserved to elucidate the desired state of affairs between Indians and the American government. Formally

¹⁰ “Thomas Jefferson to Alexander Von Humboldt, December 6, 1813.” Accessed March 16, 2013. <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl224.php>.

approved in 1776, the article was written the year before by colonial elites that considered themselves the most forward-thinking political philosophers of their day. It would form the foundation for Congressional Indian policies for the first few years of the Revolution. In it, American leaders declared their intention to form “a perpetual Alliance, offensive and defensive” between “the United States assembled as soon as may be, with the Six Nations, and all other neighbouring Nations of Indians.”¹¹ Eager to prove their integrity to themselves and the Indians whom they regarded as their future allies and countrymen, the members of the Continental Congress that authored the article concluded with the admonition that “all Purchases of Lands” were “to be made between the United States assembled” and “the great Councils of the Indians” for “the general Benefit of all.”¹² Hidden just beneath the surface of the article lies the fervent American hope for an eventual integration of their Indian neighbors into the newly founded United States. This hope is more readily apparent in an earlier version of the article Benjamin Franklin drafted in 1775, which called for the appointment of American officials to “reside among [the Indians] in proper Districts,” “take care to prevent Injustice,” and “relieve their personal Wants and Distresses.”¹³ By providing for Indians as it would for its own citizens, Franklin implied in drafting the founding document of his nation, Indians could be convinced to ally themselves with the United States and, ultimately, be ‘civilized’ and integrated into American society.

Franklin’s peers in Congress largely abandoned his use of language that overtly endorsed ‘civilization’ policies in formally approving the article a year later. This action reflects a growing awareness on their own part of the difficulties inherent in ‘civilizing’ Indians that did

¹¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. Worthington C. Ford et al. (Washington, D.C., 1904-37), 5: 550.

¹² Continental Congress 1776, 5: 550.

¹³ Continental Congress 1775, 2: 198.

not wish to be so treated and actively worked to resist such endeavors. The approved article still provided opportunities for such efforts, but by the time of its passage there were at least some leaders in Congress that were beginning to realize their futility. In the months between the appearances of both versions of the article, American leaders were rapidly realizing the conflict inherent between the *idea* of Indians as stereotypes capable of being ‘civilized’ into American society and the *reality* of Indians as uncooperative prospective allies. Only a short time before Franklin presented his proposal for structuring the new government, he and his fellow Congressmen had separated Indian affairs under the purview of Northern, Middle, and Southern departments headed by Congressionally-appointed commissioners. Shortly thereafter, they instructed their commissioners to actively seek alliance with the Indian nations in their departments in case “any Agent of the ministry, shall induce the Indian tribes” to “commit actual hostilities against these colonies.”¹⁴ This could be accomplished, they explained a few months later, by the “propagation of the gospel, and the cultivation of the civil arts” among the Indians. ‘Civilizing’ their ‘savage’ neighbors, they insisted would “produce many and inestimable advantages to both” the United States and the Indians they hoped to bring into the American fold. The commissioners for Indian affairs were desired, then, to determine which Indians should be deemed worthy (through their friendship to the United States) of the benefits of American ‘civilization.’ Those who were recommended would be permitted to enjoy the ministrations of missionaries and school masters who would lead the way in ‘civilizing’ Indians and preparing them for integration into American society.¹⁵

It only took a short time for some, at least, within Congress to realize that many Indians would not willingly receive the benefits of American ‘civilization.’ Those few American leaders

¹⁴ Continental Congress 1775, 2: 123.

¹⁵ Continental Congress 1776, 4: 111.

that came to this realization earlier than others addressed their growing concerns when Congress met in a committee of the whole in late July of 1776 to debate the Indian policies included in Franklin's proposed article. Two accounts of the debates exist, one by John Adams and the other by Thomas Jefferson. For his own part, Adams was becoming increasingly concerned with his government's involvement with Indians. "The Indians are known to conduct their Wars, so entirely without Faith and Humanity," he wrote his colleague James Warren, "that it would bring eternal Infamy" on those who would dare to "excite these 'savages' to War." After all, he continued, "the French disgraced themselves last War, by employing them." "To let loose these blood Hounds to scalp Men, and to butcher Women & Children is horrid," he finished with evident dread. It was perhaps because of his own trepidation that he highlighted the similar fears expressed by others in his notes on Congressional debates about Indian policy. Indeed, in his record of those debates what is most apparent are the frustrations of a small but growing number of American leaders as they grappled with Indians' unwillingness to be 'civilized.'¹⁶

The debates began with the simple matter of regulating the Indian trade. This was a topic of considerable significance given that the trade with Indians was highly profitable to the American states and their merchants. Such trade also played a key role in maintaining friendly ties with Indians (the large majority of whom were exceedingly fond of manufactured goods). Such economic relations also held potential as a means of introducing the benefits of American 'civilization' to the 'savage' frontier. As the debates unfolded, however, it became clear that some among the Congressional delegates were beginning to doubt the utility of attempting any sort of Indian policy whatsoever. These doubts were given their fullest expression by James Wilson of Pennsylvania. More and more, it seemed, Wilson's state was becoming the focus of

¹⁶ "John Adams to James Warren, June 7, 1775." in Paul H. Smith et al., eds. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*. 25 volumes, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976-2000), cited from HTML version at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdglink.html>.

the majority of Indian attacks on the frontier. So, when Thomas Jefferson of Virginia interjected during the debate to explain that the power of Congress to regulate Indian diplomacy and trade would not apply to those Indians living within the borders of the various states, Wilson's response was, to say the least, heated. Indians "will not allow themselves to be classed according to the bounds of Colonies," he exclaimed. If we try to tell them "we are stronger, we are better" he predicted, "no lasting peace will be made." We must treat them carefully or they will react with violence, he declared with the conviction of experience. We can only hope, he concluded, that the Indians would soon realize the "striking benefits of confederation" and that the "idea of the union of the Colonies had struck them forcibly" in the previous year. For their own part, most of Wilson's fellow delegates ignored their peer's doubts. Rather than address such concerns, they chose to remain largely silent on the matter. Most (for the time being at least) continued to support their government's Indian policies. The majority remained hopeful for the eventual 'civilization' and integration of Indians into American society.¹⁷

The second account of the July 1776 debates regarding the fourteenth article of confederation (by Jefferson) persists in this willful silence. Unlike Adams's notes, Jefferson's accorded the matter only the briefest of allusions (and even then mentioned it only in relation to its impact on taxation). "All charges of war," his notes read, "and all other expences that shall be incurred for the common defence, and general welfare, and allowed by the United states assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several colonies in proportion to the number of inhabitants of every age, sex, and quality except Indians not paying taxes in each colony."¹⁸ Someone reading Jefferson's notes alone would conclude that he paid little attention to Indian affairs. This is perhaps because he had little time to note his own extensive

¹⁷ Continental Congress 1776, 6: 1078; 1079.

¹⁸ Continental Congress 1776, 6: 1098.

participation in the debates surrounding the fourteenth article of confederation, a fact reflected in the debate records of his then friend John Adams.

Jefferson's private letters, however, tell a very different story from the one he recorded in the Journals of the Continental Congress. Such letters reveal Jefferson's growing frustrations with Indians who refused to accede to his government's goals. "I am sorry to hear that the Indians have commenced war," he wrote to John Page, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia after an Indian attack in that state in 1776. "Nothing," he advised his correspondent, "will reduce those wretches so soon as pushing the war into the heart of their country." "But I would not stop there," he continued wrathfully, "I would never cease pursuing while one of them remained on this side the Misisippi." "So unprovoked an attack and so treacherous a one," he concluded, "should never be forgiven while one of them remains near enough to do us injury." "The invariable consequence of their beginning a war," he wrote a few short days later to Edmund Pendleton (Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates), should "be declared to the Indians" as strongly as possible. The young Virginia delegate, it seemed, could be added to the small minority within the halls of Congress that were beginning to doubt American Indians' willingness to cooperate and be 'civilized.' That doubt, Jefferson's letters indicated, could quickly transform itself into a righteous anger that would have profound implications for Congressional Indian policies. Specifically, Jefferson and others like him were coming to believe that Indians that resisted American policies should be pushed out of their homelands and away from the United States. Such removal policies would soon become standard operating procedure for Indian nations considered hostile to the American cause.¹⁹

¹⁹ "Thomas Jefferson to John Page, August 5, 1776." in Smith et al; Thomas Jefferson to Edmund Pendleton, August 13, 1776." in Smith et al.

For the time being, however, most Congressional leaders (including Jefferson) reasoned that those Indians who had allied themselves with that cause could and deserved to be assimilated into the American nation. Much of the righteous anger expressed by men like Jefferson, then, was directed only at those Indian nations that chose to ally themselves with the British. Indeed, Jefferson himself immortalized such nations in the Declaration of Independence as “merciless Indian savages” incited by the King of England and his agents to “bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers” an “undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.”²⁰ Many American leaders echoed Jefferson’s sentiments in demonizing British-allied Indians as traitors to the cause of ‘liberty’ incapable and unworthy of the blessings of ‘civilization.’ They had, many American leaders reasoned, presented the Indians with abundant proof of the ‘justness’ of their cause. After all, they had instructed each Congressional agent to explain to the Indians “as clearly as their understanding of the nature and principles of civil government will admit of it” the “grounds of the disputes between Great Britain and America.” It was also important, Congress told its agents, to explain the lengths to which many of its members had gone to resolve the matter peaceably. Indians, American leaders explained, could expect the same peaceful treatment. “Thus,” many believed, “by convincing [Indians] of the justice of our cause” Congressional Indian agents would be able to “attach them to our interests, and lay a solid foundation for lasting peace and friendship with us.” American leaders reasoned, then, that those Indians who proved friendly to American agents had allied themselves with the American cause itself. Thus, they were worthy of the ‘civilization’ the American government offered and were

²⁰ Jefferson, Thomas. "Declaration of Independence." Archives.gov. Accessed March 19, 2013. http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html.

well on their way to pulling themselves from the mire and muck that entangled them in ‘savagery.’²¹

Congress did not trust the task of presenting the American cause to Indians entirely to its agents, however. Instead, that body’s members themselves who carefully drafted any explanation to Indians regarding the colonists’ fight for ‘liberty,’ the alleged similarities between Indian and American conceptions of justice, and the ‘oppression’ they would suffer at the hand of the British government for their ‘shared’ beliefs. Convincing Indians to join the American cause, Congressional leaders hoped, might help to ensure their new nation’s victory against the British. It would also, in such leaders’ minds, indicate Indians’ willingness to accept American ‘civilization.’ Congressional Indian policies were, then, designed to both entice Indians to the cause of ‘liberty’ and prove that they were truly capable of and deserved to be integrated into ‘civilized’ society. Indeed, from the very first Congressional message drafted for deliverance to Indians in treaty proceedings it is evident that rebel leaders were eager for their Indian neighbors to embrace their cause for distinctly American reasons.

The message (written in 1775 to the Six Nations) commenced with the short and happy tale of American colonization before the taxation crises began in the wake of the Seven Years War. “For more than one hundred years,” it began, “the king of England and his people” became “by union with us, greater and stronger than the other kings and people who live beyond the water.” Alas, the members of Congress told their Indian “Brothers and Friends” with evident bitterness, it was not to be. The British government is filled with “proud and wicked men,” they explained, that were no better than thieves. “They now tell us they will slip their hand into our pocket without asking,” Congress wrote, and “at their pleasure they will take from us our charter or

²¹ Continental Congress 1777, 7: 38.

written civil constitution, which we love as our lives.” Great Britain, Congress proclaimed to the Indians in language and reasoning that deliberately echoed that of the famous Olive Branch Petition to George III (written the same month as the speech to the Six Nations), had grown strong through its union with the colonies as “one people forever.” Indians could do likewise. They could become one people with the United States and gain strength from that union; or, they could allow the British to deceive them and steal their liberties just as they had with the Indians’ American neighbors.²²

Should Indians choose to let the British deceive them, Congress informed them, the American people would be “necessitated to rise and forced to fight” in the name of their “civil constitution.” “We are determined,” they warned the Indians they addressed, “to kill and destroy all those wicked men we find in arms against the peace of the twelve United Colonies upon this Island.” “We think our cause is just,” they went on, “we do not take up the hatchet and struggle for honor and conquest; but to maintain our civil constitution and religious privileges.” “In your wisdom look forward to the consequences of a compliance” with the wishes of British agents, the members of Congress pleaded, “for if the king’s troops take away our property, and destroy us who are of the same blood with themselves, what can you, who are Indians, expect from them afterwards?” It would be far better for you to trust in Americans and their cause, they concluded to the Indians. After all, Congress reasoned, “we live upon the same ground with you” and “the same island is our common birth-place.” Let us “sit down under the same tree of peace” and “water its roots and cherish its growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies.” They were both natives to this land, Congress proclaimed to the Indians; thus, they held a common identity as Americans. Embrace the cause

²² Continental Congress 1775, 2: 178-9.

of ‘liberty,’ and Indians could enjoy all the fruits of American ‘liberty’ and ‘civilization.’ Resist them, and suffer the same consequences as those others foolish enough to do so. Together, they might spread westward ‘to the setting sun’ and fulfill their ‘destiny’ by stretching across the entire continent.²³

The members of Congress applauded those Indians that embraced this message and maintained their friendship with the United States at every opportunity. American leaders rewarded their Indian allies with medals, received them with honor at Congressional gatherings, and brevetted them as officers in the Continental Army. They lauded American-allied Indians as friends and heroes and bombarded them at every turn with as many articles of American ‘civilization’ as possible. One Congressional resolve, for example, noted that the “commissioners for Indian affairs in the northern department [should] be empowered to order supplies and provisions” of manufactured goods for “our faithful friends the Oneidas and other friendly Indians.”²⁴

This, together with the “propagation of the Gospel” among those same Indians, another resolve read, was necessary for “conciliating their affections to the United Colonies” and “preserving their friendship.” That Indians often used such materials and personnel in creative ways to facilitate the preservation of their own culture, rather than accepting the dubious fruits of ‘civilization,’ was almost entirely lost on American leaders eager to incorporate Indians both real and imagined into their new national identity. Instead, they wrote with joy to those Indians (like Captain White Eyes of the Delawares), who requested Congressional assistance “to promote peace and useful knowledge” among their tribes. “We rejoice,” they told such faithful allies, “and will, as early as we can, provide a suitable minister, and schoolmaster, and a sober man to

²³ Continental Congress 1775, 2: 181-2

²⁴ Continental Congress 1779, 13: 363.

instruct you in agriculture.” “These things we agree to do,” they continued eagerly, “that there may be a lasting union between us” and “we may become one people.” There were still a few Indians, then, that the members of Congress believed were capable and worthy of being ‘civilized.’²⁵

The large majority of Indians, however, were quickly realizing that Congressional Indian policies were far from appealing. Eager to avoid any involvement in a conflict that (much like the Seven Years War over a decade earlier) could cause the rupture of their communities and lives, many Indian groups across the continent struggled to maintain their neutrality in the face of British and American pleas to do otherwise. Unmoved by political persuasions that had little to do with their way of life, most Indians were unlikely to fight in a war for American ‘liberty.’ Additionally unimpressed by Congress’s inability to provide the requisite gifts of traditional Indian diplomacy as its treasury stretched thin under British blockades and the material demands of war, many Indians were further inclined to treat any American promise with a certain degree of wariness. Coupled with Congress’s impotence in the face of American settlers’ incursions on Indian lands throughout the war, many Indian groups had (within a few years) buckled under the internal pressures of young warriors eager to make their names in battle. As a result, most Indian nations sided with the British (whom they believed could best protect and provide for their interests).

Such events had profound implications for Congressional Indian policy in the latter years of the Revolutionary War. Unsurprisingly, Congress offered little praise and even less forgiveness for those Indians who allied themselves with Great Britain. Instead, they invariably addressed them with the utmost distaste in official Congressional proceedings and communications. They

²⁵ Continental Congress 1775, 3: 351; 1776, 4: 269.

were not noble Indians worthy of ‘civilization’ and inclusion in the new American nation. They were ‘savages,’ ‘simple’ and ‘foolish’ enough to buy into the ‘machinations’ of British agents. Thus, the members of Congress set an almost irreversible dichotomy in their own minds regarding their Indian neighbors. Those that allied themselves with the cause of ‘liberty’ were ‘noble’ friends worthy of American ‘civilization’. Those that did not were ‘savages,’ worthy only of destruction.

It was one thing to believe British allied-Indians deserved destruction, however, and quite another thing to accomplish it. By late 1776, it was becoming rapidly evident to the members of Congress that their Indian policies were doomed to failure. Indian groups throughout the continent were taking up arms for one reason or another against the American cause. Preoccupied by war on the eastern seaboard, the best Congress could do, for the time being, was to make empty threats and declare their Indian enemies “inimical” to the cause of ‘liberty.’²⁶ Alarmed by news of Indian attacks on American frontier settlers and the reports of Congressional agents wary of suspected British loyalties among the Indians, Congress’s tone became increasingly more hostile toward Indians. As time wore on, even those Indians friendly to the American cause fell to the suspicion and paranoia of a legislating body predisposed by its social environment to racial prejudice. “Should we be attacked by any tribe of Indians in the woods,” Congress warned one delegation of both friendly and ‘hostile’ Indians, “we can repel their attempts with ease.” “The hand of the thirteen United States is not short,” they warned the Six Nations tribes a few months later, “it will reach to the farthest extent of the country” and “will

²⁶ Continental Congress 1776, 5: 668. Such language was a perhaps deliberate echo of the sort used to describe pacifists and Loyalists during the war that suggested Congress believed Indians should be treated as subjects of the American nation. In his book *Our ‘savage’ Neighbors*, Peter Silver highlights the frequent association of pacifist Quakers and American Indians in the colonial period.. This undoubtedly had an impact on the sort of language used in Congressional Indian policy during the Revolution, given that both groups remained frustratingly uncooperative in the fight for American ‘liberty.’ See Peter Rhoads Silver. *Our ‘savage’ Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2008.

enable us to punish you, and put it out of your power to do us farther mischief.” We shall look upon you as our enemies, and treat you as the worst of enemies,” they continued, if “under a cloak of friendship, [you] cover your bad designs, and, like the concealed adder, only wait for an opportunity to wound us, when we are most unprepared.” Congress urged its Indian neighbors, then, to join the American cause or face total destruction.²⁷

Despite such threats, Indian alliances with the British and subsequent attacks on American settlers only became more common as the war progressed. As frontier violence grew, so did Congress’s anger at those they had hoped to integrate into American society. Indeed, their outrage was evident in every report or resolution on the subject that they began to issue or approve. Invariably, Congress described the perpetrators of such attacks as ‘savages.’ “An inroad has been made on the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania,” one read from November of 1777, “by some savage tribes of Indians.” “A number of helpless people have been cruelly massacred,” it continued in indignation, “and the peaceable inhabitants driven from their homes and reduced to great distress.” Congress could only hope, it concluded in another, that its agents on the frontier would act “prudently in calling in forces for protection and defence” against “those savages.” “The agents of the king of Great Britain are perpetually stimulating the savages to make war upon the people,” American leaders complained in yet another message, and much was required for the “defence” of the frontier.²⁸

Unfortunately for the American government, much of what was required for that defense (be it soldiers, arms, or financial support) was in short supply, tied up in campaigns up and down the Atlantic coast. What was not in short supply, however, was a determination on the part of Congress to ignore its own limitations. In June of 1778, the Congressional Board of War issued

²⁷ Continental Congress 1776, 6: 1011; 1777, 9: 996.

²⁸ Continental Congress 1777, 9: 942; 7: 69; 7: 96.

a report declaring its intention to initiate an expedition into Indian country in retaliation for attacks against frontier settlers. It seems that the “cruelties lately exercised by the savages on the frontiers,” the board announced solemnly, are signs of a general Indian hostility to the American cause. It appears, they continued with chagrin, that even the threats made by our government have only “confirmed the savages in an opinion industriously inculcated on them by the enemy.” It is necessary then, the board reasoned, “that an expedition [be] undertaken” to “reduce” and “compel to terms of peace such of the Indian nations now in arms against these states.” “An expedition from the Mohawk river to the Seneca country” should be undertaken, it concluded, “in order to chastise that insolent and revengeful nation.” Indians on the frontier had challenged the authority of the American government and betrayed the cause of ‘liberty,’ Congress declared. It was determined to make them regret their decision to reject the alleged fruits of American ‘civilization.’ They would feel the new nation’s wrath.²⁹

Ultimately, despite the protests of General George Washington himself, Congress mounted its expedition against those Indians considered most hostile to the American cause (primarily the Seneca).³⁰ Drawing valuable and much-needed resources away from the primary theater of the war, Congress opened a second front in its War for Independence. Congressional leaders appointed Generals John Sullivan and Henry Clinton to lead an army of approximately three thousand men on a raid into Indian country. They tasked Sullivan and Clinton with destroying any forces the two generals deemed ‘hostile’ to the American cause of ‘liberty.’ This was a perhaps deliberately loose directive that would allow the expedition to attack Indians previously considered friendly but lately associated with their ‘savage’ kind in the minds of American leaders.

²⁹ Continental Congress 1778, 11: 588-9.

³⁰ See the report on Washington’s protests regarding an expedition into Indian country in August of 1778 in Continental Congress 1778, 11: 829.

Sullivan and Clinton took full advantage of such liberties. Marching from Easton, Pennsylvania on June 18, 1779, American forces under General Sullivan left a swathe of destruction in their wake as they traveled to meet a supporting army under General Clinton methodically dismantling Indian communities in a 150-mile path from Otsego Lake (now Cooperstown, New York) to Tioga along the upper Susquehanna. A contingent of six hundred men under Colonel Daniel Brodhead quickly followed in the expedition's wake, traversing a path from Fort Pitt (now Pittsburgh) into the heart of the Seneca nation. During the campaign's one major battle on August 29, 1779 at the village of Newtown along the Chemung River in western New York, the combined armies of Sullivan and Clinton resoundingly defeated an opposing force of 1,000 Indians. The scorched earth campaign that followed the battle almost entirely destroyed the Indian food supply. The expedition drove elderly Indian men, women, and children from their homes, where their warriors had left them relatively defenseless while they fought on other fronts of the war. By the end of the campaign, more than five thousand Indian refugees (hostile and friendly alike) were forced to flee for their lives. The expedition had driven them to the point of starvation and beggary, reliant upon the charity of Indians untouched by the ravages of Sullivan's Raid or on that of the British stationed in Fort Detroit.

The large majority of the members of Congress celebrated the Sullivan Expedition with an almost unrestrained glee. They began with a wary level of hope. "We must hope the best," John Armstrong Sr. of Pennsylvania wrote to General Horatio Gates, for "the arrogance & barbarous mischiefs of the [Indians] cannot be dispenced with." "We hope the best," Henry Marchant of Rhode Island echoed in a letter to his state's governor William Greene, but "are not without our Fears." However, as the expedition progressed its perceived successes became more and more evident. The satisfaction American leaders felt at this juncture is palpably obvious. Indeed, as

news of the expedition's successes made its way to Congress, its members denigrated their Indian foes as (almost animalistic) 'savages' with increasing frequency. "Genl. Sullivan is penetrating the Indian Country & has destroyed two Indian Towns," Marchant wrote elatedly to General Gates, "the Flees could not be caught tho' they gave Us several severe Bites." Have no fear, he assured his correspondent, for by "destroying their Towns, and taking a Number of old Men, Women [and] Children" we can "strike an awe upon Their Minds and secure us against future Depredations, & Barbarities." "The Advantages will answer to the great Expençe," he concluded contentedly, and the "Injury sustained by weakening other Posts for that Pursuit" will not have been in vain. Only a few of Marchant's peers disagreed with his conclusions. For most of the leaders in Congress the expedition was well worth the efforts made in its undertaking.³¹

According to such leaders, Congress had taught its Indian neighbors a valuable lesson. This satisfaction with Congressional efforts on the frontier only increased with the almost simultaneous arrival of the news of General George Rogers Clark's successes in the Illinois backcountry. In the glow of such success, American leaders jumped at the opportunity to believe that the Indians that thwarted their designs on the frontier were but 'subhuman' fleas to be brushed aside. They were 'savages,' the members of Congress concluded, deserving not even of the traditional conventions of war. Their old men, their women, and their children could be brutalized with not even the slightest indication of remorse. After all, remorse was reserved for those who embraced 'civilized' society, something that Indians refused to do. Some Indians, it seemed, were neither capable nor deserving of the 'beneficent' American 'civilization' the

³¹ "John Armstrong Sr. to Horatio Gates, May 22, 1779." in Smith et al; "Henry Marchant to William Greene, August 24, 1779." in Smith et al; "Henry Marchant to Horatio Gates, August 24, 1779." in Smith et al. I will examine the reactions of other historical actors to the Sullivan Expedition later in this work. Chapter 2 will examine the writings of Congressional Indian agents like James Duane, Chapter 3 those of Continental Army soldiers like Colonel Henry Dearborn who actually participated in the campaign, and Chapter 4 those of Indians like Seneca warrior Chainbreaker (also known as Governor Blacksnake and Thaonawuythe).

United States government was offering them. As the conflict wore on, moreover, the number of Indians American leaders included in that rejected group became increasingly large. Even friendly Indians were proving unworthy of American ‘civilization’ because they, like those that fought against the cause of ‘liberty,’ had rejected the advances of their neighbors to the east. They welcomed American goods and emissaries with evident resentment and harbored Congress’s enemies. Soon, as the racialization of the new United States progressed, Congressional leaders would come to encompass the entirety of the Indian population in its definition of ‘savages.’

Following the success of its military endeavors on the frontier, Congress had the ‘pleasure’ of punishing those Indians who had challenged its authority by allying themselves with Great Britain. First, the members of Congress thanked its generals for vanquishing Indians who had “perfidiously waged an unprovoked and cruel war against these United States, laid waste many of their defenceless towns, and with savage barbarity slaughtered the inhabitants thereof.” Then, Congress stipulated conditions for peace that would ensure the “many injuries committed by the savages” were not suffered in vain. The Indians, it declared, “shall surrender all Americans in their hands” and “expel all British agents and emissaries.” Furthermore, they continued wrathfully, “they shall give hostages for their strict adherence to the promises to be by them made.” Most importantly, they went on, the Indians will “make considerable Offers of Territory, which may stand recorded against them, and serve as the most pointed marks of their contrition.” Finally, Congress warned its Indian enemies, they “shall covenant not to take up the hatchet again under penalty of being driven from [your] country.” Their warning, however, was not for their enemies alone. It was a message to be carried throughout the frontier to friend and foe alike (both rapidly melding in the Congressional mindset). If any Indians dared to cross them,

Congress would, it assured them, destroy them once and for all. Their lives would end and their lands would be confiscated. They would suffer and Congress would pursue them. If they would not join the American cause, fight for American ‘liberty’, and accept American ‘civilization,’ they would be removed from that nation’s presence so that they could not remind Congress of its failures. There was nothing quite like the fury, it seemed, of a Congress scorned.³²

Following the surrender of British forces at Yorktown in 1781 and the successful completion of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, Congress claimed free reign to make that fury felt. In ceding their claims to lands east of the Mississippi, the British abandoned Indians to the less than tender mercies of an American government that believed it had conquered them in expeditions like those under Sullivan and Clark during the Revolution. This perceived right by conquest to western lands soon expanded in the Congressional mindset to include those of all Indians, not simply those who had fought against the American cause. Even friendly Indians, many in Congress were coming to believe, had proved themselves unworthy of American ‘civilization’ or friendship. They had rejected Congress’s conversion efforts and used the goods it supplied for their own purposes. They had even harbored the refugees of Congress’s war against its Indian enemies. None of the Indians deserved to be ‘civilized,’ many Congressional leaders were convinced, nor did they deserve to retain their holdings on nominally American soil. All of them were ‘savages,’ they told themselves, unworthy of inclusion in the grand American empire.

This belief was reflected in Congressional reports of the period, which established an official policy designed to separate Indians from their lands as quickly as possible and remove them beyond the Mississippi, far away from the sight of the American government whose ‘civilization’ they had spurned. “It is just and necessary” that Congress force its Indian

³² Continental Congress 1779, 15: 1170; 1320.

neighbors to remove themselves as far westward as possible, a report of the Committee on Indian Affairs read in October of 1783 (only one month after Congress's agents signed the Treaty of Paris). After all, it continued, the Indians had been "aggressors in the war, without even a pretence of provocation." "In return for proffered protection and liberal supplies" of all the benefits of American 'civilization,' they had "wantonly desolated our villages and settlements, and destroyed our citizens." Fortunately, the report's authors wrote, the American government had 'conquered' the Indians by carrying the war "into their own country, which they abandoned in dismay [their deletion]." "Only a bare recollection of the facts," they reasoned, "is sufficient to manifest the obligation [the Indians] are under to make atonement for the enormities which they have perpetrated." Thus, the report concluded, "a reasonable compensation" for their "wanton barbarity" is a "compliance with the proposed boundaries" that would force them westward. All Indians were 'savages,' Congress declared. They had rejected Congressional efforts to 'civilize' them by allying themselves with the British, attacking frontier settlements, and harboring the enemies of 'liberty.' They would be 'justly' punished.³³

By 1784, Congress had completed its first treaty with an Indian group since its agents had signed the Treaty of Paris the previous year. This treaty, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois Confederacy, would act as a template for such agreements throughout the Confederation period. In a 1785 letter to Mohawk leader Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), future president James Monroe carefully explained the reasoning behind his government's demands in that treaty. Despite the fact that they had suffered few losses in the Revolution (or might have, in fact, sided with the United States), Indian leaders like Brant were forced to agree to the loss of their homelands and the surrender of their very persons as hostages for the good behavior of their

³³ "Report of the Committee on Indian Affairs, October 15, 1783." in Colin G. Calloway and Alden T. Vaughan, eds. *Revolution and Confederation*. Vol. XVIII. Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994, 290-1.

people. This state of affairs was, Monroe declared over Brant's protestations, completely justified by the American victories like the Sullivan and Clark Expeditions against Indians on the frontier. The taking of hostages was a "custom warranted by all previous Treaties" and would ensure that those Indians bound by the treaty's terms would act with a level of integrity Congressional leaders were coming to believe was unnatural to their 'savage' ilk. After all the Indians had, Monroe and many of his peers believed, been conquered. All their lands were thus considered forfeit to the United States government. It had been the "earnest disposition of the States," Monroe told his correspondent, "to cultivate the friendship of the Indians." Alas, Monroe went on, Indians had made the ultimate mistake. They had betrayed the American cause and they would suffer the consequences. "Examine your own situation," Monroe urged his correspondent, "look to the Powers of Europe; mark their objects and progress on this Continent; then look to the united States; with whom [did] the powerful impulse of nature, or the God of nature bid you ally yourselves!" They had ignored that 'powerful impulse of nature,' even though their American neighbors had acted with the most 'honorable' of intentions. After all, Monroe reminded the recipient of his letter, "did we request you in the late War to be otherwise than neutral?" "You might have joined us," he reasoned, but you and your kind have instead rejected and frustrated our every attempt at friendship. Were we not patient and forgiving towards you, he asked, did "the spirit of revenge govern us in our conduct toward you?" It did not, he concluded. Rather, we wished "to take you by the hands & forever hereafter to esteem you brothers." The bite behind such protestations of seeming benevolence was obvious to the men who wrote and read them. Indians, it seemed, would be forced to learn their lesson. They

had not proved friendly enough to the ‘correct’ side. They would now suffer at the hands of their ‘merciful’ American ‘brothers.’³⁴

Brant and his fellow Iroquois leaders were not the only ones to suffer at the hands of a vengeful American government. In 1785 at the Treaties of Fort McIntosh, Galphinton, Dumplin Creek, and Hopewell and in 1786 at the Treaties of Fort Finney, Chota, and Shoulderbone, Indian groups friendly and hostile alike were forced by American representatives to cede substantial portions of their own land. Such cessions were completed under a Congressional belief that Indians had been conquered by the United States in the Revolutionary War. Congress increasingly forced such groups westward, out of sight of the new American nation. They had rejected the bountiful plenty of that country’s ‘civilization’, and they would now suffer starvation and desolation. Citizens of the United States would not be forced to remember the rejection they had experienced at the hands of Indians struggling to maintain their own independence and preserve their own culture from the interference of outsiders. For American leaders, Indians (even friendly ones) had become a thing of the past. They believed them to be ‘savages’ doomed to extinction in their confrontation with a superior ‘civilization.’ As American society became more racially regimented, this perception only increased. Ultimately, American leaders came to essentialize all Indians (even friendly ones) as one uniform group.³⁵ Even those Indians who had fought for the American cause were soon deemed unworthy of membership in the new American nation. That nation had promised to bring ‘civilization’ to the most ‘savage’ corners of the American continent. Indians had been, American leaders believed, of little help in that struggle. British-allied Indians had attacked them and American-allied Indians had assisted them with little effect or enthusiasm. Therefore, Indians could never be citizens. They had resisted

³⁴ “James Monroe to Joseph Brant. February 5, 1785.” in Smith et al.

³⁵ This is a common feature of colonialism, and according to authors like Edward Said, a fundamental mechanism of domination and subordination. See Edward W. Said. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

the impulse of American progress. As a result, they would become ‘relics’ of history. Indeed, American citizens would quickly forget them in the push toward an ‘inevitable’ future of American ‘dominance’ in a ‘new’ world. That bright American future was no place for ‘savages.’ Nor, did it seem, was the bright American past.

With the beginning of the first Washington administration in 1789, a few influential figures like Secretary of War Henry Knox pushed for a return to the ‘civilization’ policies first enacted by Congress during the Revolution. Determined to establish a nation predicated upon the virtues of republican governance where the Confederation Congress had failed, Knox called for a “noble, liberal, and disinterested administration of Indian affairs.” In a report to President Washington during his first year in office, Knox deliberately rejected those within Congress who had “conceived [it] impracticable to civilize the Indians of North America” after years of unsuccessful attempts to do so during the War for Independence. Instead, he proposed a return to such policies in an effort to instill in Indians a “knowledge of cultivation and the arts.” By doing so, Knox argued, it might yet be possible to “attach them to the interest of the Union.” The United States was a new nation, with a new government, divorced from the mistakes of its predecessor, Knox believed. Congress might believe it impossible to civilize the Indians, but in a new era of promise Knox could believe the opposite. Knox’s president, at least, seemed to agree. As a result, the ‘civilization’ policies Knox borrowed from the early years of the Revolution became an important aspect of official federal Indian policies for decades to come. Unfortunately for Knox’s hopes, however, many of the agents tasked with carrying out his vision disagreed with his approach. Indians were a ‘savage’ race, they believed, that should be pushed away from American soil. That belief was reflected in the language and methods they utilized in

treating with Indians throughout the American continent. Ultimately, it would add another nail to the coffin of friendly relations between Indians and the United States.³⁶

Knox greeted such perceptions on the part of his peers with a considerable amount of chagrin. It is “painful to consider,” he wrote in the same report in 1789, “that all the Indian tribes” will one day be “extinct.” “In a short period,” he continued forlornly, “the idea of an Indian on this side the Mississippi will only be found in the page of the historian.” According to Knox, it seemed, Indians were soon to become an artifact of the past. They were a race ‘doomed to extinction,’ crushed by the onslaughts of a ‘civilized’ American society. In his nostalgic tone can be found traces of an idea that was coming to bloom more fully in the minds of his peers. The Revolution they had just finished fighting had, for the first time, provided an opportunity for the ‘civilization’ and assimilation of Indians to serve as official government policies. It had also set the stage for a realization of the ultimate inadequacy of such policies when dealing with Indians who refused to be treated as American racial stereotypes dictated. Americans rationalized this failure by removing those Indians farther and farther away both historically and geographically. The citizens of the new nation replaced them with the idea of the ‘noble savage.’ It was an idea far more easily assimilated into a society informed by rising racial prejudices than the real Indians who challenged American dominance on their continent. Even Indians who embraced efforts at assimilation would be rapidly forgotten, lumped together with those who resisted the United States by American leaders intent upon defining citizenship in their new nation along racial lines. They had simply not been welcoming enough to American ‘civilization.’³⁷

³⁶ “Report of the Secretary of War on the Southern Indians,” July 7, 1789.” in Calloway et al, 529-530.

³⁷ “Report of the Secretary of War on the Southern Indians,” July 7, 1789.” in Calloway et al, 529.

By 1840, early American leaders' attempts to fulfill their dream of an Indian-free nation had culminated in the removal of the farmers, planters, and slaveowners of the Cherokee nation across the Mississippi River to the newly established Indian Territory of Oklahoma. Years earlier, their predecessors had attempted and failed to integrate such Indians into their society and national identity. As a result, they came to believe that even friendly Indians had proven themselves 'unworthy' of 'civilization' by not enthusiastically embracing it. Such Indians should, according to many American leaders, suffer the ultimate consequence by being conquered and forced to forfeit their lands. They were 'savages,' many such leaders concluded, 'unfit' for inclusion in the future of the American nation. Within a few decades, even Indians who had fought for the United States during the Revolution had been all but removed from any American memory of that conflict. By then, popular histories of the United States and its Revolution could be written with almost no mention of the involvement of any Indian nations whatsoever.³⁸ Fortunately, many American leaders must have thought as removal policies reached their zenith, they could finally rest easy in the supposition that they were at last the citizens of a 'civilized' nation whose land and history was finally 'free' of 'savages.'

³⁸ See, for example, David Ramsay. *History of the United States: From Their First Settlement as English Colonies, in 1607, to the Year 1808, or the Thirty-third of Their Sovereignty and Independence*. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1816. and Mercy Otis Warren. *The Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political and Moral Observations*. Boston: Manning and Loring, 1805.

Chapter 2: “‘The Same Island is Our Common Mother’: Diplomacy on the Revolutionary Frontier”

With the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory in the early years of the nineteenth century, citizens of the early American republic found visible proof for their burgeoning conviction in the promise of their young and rapidly growing nation. One day, they told each other, their nation would stretch across the entirety of the North American continent. No one held this article of faith more closely to his or her chest than did then President Thomas Jefferson, who perhaps did more than any other to help perpetuate this belief in practice. Seizing the opportunity opened by Napoleon I's failed re-conquest of the rebellious Saint-Domingue (Haiti), Jefferson initiated a series of diplomatic overtures to secure vulnerable French territory on the American continent. These overtures culminated in the successful Louisiana Purchase of 1803, in which he purchased 828,000 square miles for the relatively small sum of 18 million francs (\$3.75 million). In doing so, Jefferson opened the way for the continued westward expansion of his nation. The territory he had procured for the United States would one day contribute in part to the boundaries of fifteen new states and would soon provide opportunities for the United States to acquire even more. It was, Jefferson and many of his fellow American leaders believed, a symbol of their nation's potential. It was a wilderness, peopled by 'savage' natives. They, like their land, would fall to the 'inevitable' progress of American 'civilization,' willingly or otherwise.

Before the western lands and their peoples could be conquered, however, they first had to be explored. Jefferson eagerly ordered an expedition under United States Army Captain Meriwether Lewis and second-in-command Lieutenant William Clark to travel westward across the newly acquired Louisiana Territory to the Pacific Ocean. He had originally proposed such an expedition the year before as an excursion interested in the discovery of new plant and animal

life unfamiliar to the scientific community. After the successful acquisition of the Louisiana Territory, however, the Corps's mission was quickly recast to reflect new, more geopolitical concerns. "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri," Jefferson told his expedition's leaders, and discover "any other river [that] may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purpose of commerce." More importantly, he continued, you will "endeavor to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit" with the "moral & physical circumstances" of the western Indian nations. Thus, he told them, we "may better enable those who endeavor to civilize & instruct them, to adapt their measure to the existing notions & practices of those on whom they are to operate." It was the duty of the United States, Jefferson implied in his instructions, to endeavor, no matter how difficult it may be, to 'civilize' the 'savage' Indians of the west.¹

Jefferson had learned just how difficult such exertions could be at an early point in his political career. As a delegate to the Continental Congress during the American Revolution, Jefferson had – like many other American leaders – watched as his nation's efforts to 'civilize' the Indians of North America had failed. For many Indians, such failures could be traced to the apparent unwillingness of the United States government to protect their cultural and territorial independence. American leaders like Jefferson, however, salved their wounded pride over the course of the war with the growing belief that Indians were simply not 'worthy' of 'civilization;' they were simply too 'savage.' Of course, Jefferson (protean idealist that he was) continued to believe throughout his life that there was no reason why *individuals* could not try to 'civilize' the 'savages.' After all, it was to be hoped for even if it was not to be believed possible. Still, he

¹ "Jefferson's Instructions to Lewis and Clark (1803)." Thomas Jefferson to Meriwether Lewis. June 20, 1803. Accessed March 25, 2013. <http://www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/jefflett.html>. For an examination of the Lewis and Clark's role as diplomatic emissaries to the Indian communities of the American West, see James P. Ronda. *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

would not have considered it appropriate as any sort of official government policy. Instead, the United States government should concern itself more with removing Indians away from American settlement where they could do little ‘harm.’

During Jefferson’s time as president, this belief was reflected in his administration’s increased support for removal policies and half-hearted (at best) endorsement of ‘civilization’ efforts carried out by private American enterprises.² It was for just such enterprises that Jefferson instructed his western expedition to discover the ‘moral & physical circumstances’ of those Indian nations that lived within the borders of the new Louisiana Territory. For his own part, Jefferson knew exactly what Captain Lewis would find upon his entrance into the ‘savage’ western wilderness. His suspicions were confirmed in his reading of Lewis’s report upon his return to eastern ‘civilization’ in 1806. They are a “lawless, savage, and rapacious race,” Lewis wrote to his president of the Teton Sioux and many other Indian nations, they “rob . . . horses, plunder . . . gardens and fields, and sometimes murder.” Still, he continued, some (like a few descendants of the once numerous Missouri nation) showed signs of ‘natural virtue.’ Those few “are friendly and hospitable to all white persons,” he wrote with a certain level of nostalgia in his report to Jefferson, and “pay great respect and deference” to them. “I do not believe they would object to the introduction of any well disposed Indians” that might be forcibly removed westward by the United States government, he concluded.³

² For an examination of Jeffersonian Indian policies, see Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1973. For an overview of Jefferson’s role in shaping the removal efforts that took place under Governor (later President) William Henry Harrison’s administration of the Indiana Territory, see Robert M. Owens. *Mr. Jefferson’s Hammer: William Henry Harrison and the Origins of American Indian Policy*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007.

³ Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, et al., Part 2: Estimate of the Eastern Indians (Section 12) in *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, ed. Gary Moulton (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press / University of Nebraska-Lincoln Libraries-Electronic Text Center, 2005), http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=1804-1805.winter.part2.xml&_xslsrc=LCstyles.xsl.

Jefferson would certainly not have felt moved by Lewis's report of the expedition's respectful treatment at the hands of a few 'anomalous' groups of western natives to support once more any sort of official efforts to 'civilize' his nation's Indian neighbors. The time had long since passed for such exertions to hold any hope of bearing fruit. He had read many such reports during the Revolution by Indian agents with duties and responsibilities similar to those of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Like Lewis and Clark, Congressional Indian agents during the Revolution represented the frontline of official diplomatic efforts among the various Indian nations on the part of the American government. They were responsible for implementing the Indian policies their leaders formulated in ways that would ensure their successful enactment in contexts unique to each region they serviced. It was the actions of Indian agents that determined the relative acceptance or rejection of American leaders' policies among their Indian counterparts and, to some degree at least, their eventual success or failure. Indian agents were products of their time, shaped just as their leaders were to believe and expect certain things from the Indians with which they treated. As the war progressed, their changing perceptions of the situation at hand helped shape the changing perceptions of their leaders (and vice versa). Ultimately, it is in the lives of such agents that one can find the most immediate demonstrations of the process by which official Indian policies transformed from 'civilization' to removal efforts.

Such lives were consumed by agents' duties as the official diplomatic representatives of the American government. Separated under commissioners for three regional Indian departments (the Northern, Middle, and Southern) Indian agents were selected for their influence in various frontier areas. Leaders in their communities that were steeped in the diplomatic necessities of their own local contexts, agents were nonetheless urged to follow national policies. As a result,

they spent their days riding between frontier settlements and Indian communities, treaty lodges and Congressional hearings in what were frequently desperate attempts to avoid bloodshed. Often, they fled for their lives from the threatened violence of hostile Indians, American settlers, or British agents attempting to ensure the success of their own cause on the frontier. Usually, they received little reimbursement for their troubles. When they did, it was typically delayed and paltry at best (their government was, after all, beset by the financial straits of a bureaucracy at war). Together and as individuals they struggled to keep lines of trade and communication open between the eastern seaboard and the frontier. They fought to secure alliances between Indian nations and their own and, often most importantly, to peacefully settle the disputes that inevitably arose either as a result or in spite of such agreements. It was enough to fray the nerves of any man. Indeed, some, like George Walton of the Northern Department, came close on many an occasion to ending his career due to the daily frustrations of his position. "I am plagued to death with the Indians," he wrote to General Philip Schuyler (military liaison to the department), "Congress is so much engaged about other important concerns, that it cannot attend to theirs."⁴ His frustrations were enough, he indicated, to force him into an early retirement.

The experiences of Richard Butler as the Congressional agent at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the Middle Department (as recorded in his journals in 1775) provide many typical examples of such frustrations.⁵ The eldest of five brothers known as the "fighting Butlers" for their militant loyalty to the American cause, Richard was most likely born in Dublin before he was taken

⁴ "George Walton to Philip Schuyler, May 22, 1777" in Paul H. Smith et al., eds. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*. 25 volumes, Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976-2000). cited from HTML version at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwdglink.html>.

⁵ Richard Butler. "The Journal of Richard Butler, 1775, Continental Congress' Envoy to the Western Indians." Edited by Edward G. Williams. *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 46; 47 (1963; 1964): 381-395; 31-46, 141-156.

across the Atlantic with his father Thomas.⁶ There, they settled at the mouth of Conewago Creek in York County, Pennsylvania some time before 1748. That year, the Butlers moved westward once more to West Pennsborough in Cumberland County. As a young man, Richard would later travel eastward to study at Doctor Allison's New London Academy in Chester County (near Philadelphia). A few years afterward, he would receive an at least partial education in the study of the law. There is some indication that he marched under Colonel Henry Bouquet in his expedition against the Indians of the Ohio River Valley in 1764 as an ensign. Regardless, by 1770 Butler had moved his affairs far to the west, to the very frontier itself, where he and his brother William traded with the Indians that frequented Fort Pitt. Within four years' time, the Butler brothers had become the most prosperous American merchants on the Pennsylvania frontier. Like many of his contemporary Indian agents, Butler was well versed in local Indians' cultural practices and adept at using his extensive network of contacts in their communities to his advantage. He was, then, one of many natural choices that were appointed to carry out Congressional Indian policies on the American frontier. Indeed, it was in the daily lives of men like Richard Butler that Congressional attempts to incorporate Indians into the new American nation and its national identity lived or died.

Butler and his fellow Congressional Indian agents were not simply diplomats, however. They also served equal roles as spies responsible for reporting on British activities on the frontier and as patrons tasked with providing all of the necessities required by those Indians friendly to the American cause of 'liberty' (often at their own expense). Butler's journals are filled with accounts of his attempts to ferret out information from friendly Indians regarding any British overtures they may have been privy to urging them to strike out against American forces. British

⁶ Butler, 382.

agents have invited the Indians to a “treaty yt [that] is to be held at DeTroit,” Butler recorded with alarm on one occasion. They “did not Mention the Time,” he wrote, determined to discover the information by whatever means possible, but it seems that “they Are to get Another Message” when the agents are “Ready to Meet them.” Butler pursued such tidbits of intelligence from one end of the Pennsylvania frontier to the other, safeguarding his acceptance into various treaty councils and meetings with gifts typical to Indian diplomacy.⁷

Soon, those gifts would translate into a regular supply of American goods and manufactures to friendly Indian communities throughout the frontier, a supply agents like Butler were expected to produce and maintain. Sometimes, the services Butler provided caused him more trouble than he may have cared to entertain. Products like rum that Butler dispensed at the various diplomatic proceedings he attended more often than not facilitated the escalation of violence among the various parties involved. “The Taways & Some Windots got Drunk together” last night after our meeting was finished, Butler recorded one morning, and in the resultant “Dispute A Windot man bit of A Taway mans Nose.” Usually, Butler could smooth over such confrontations in the conference proceedings that followed. Other times, however, he chose “to take [his] leave” in order to avoid the many Indians “who were still a little Drunk.” Undeterred, Butler would return time and again to plug away in an effort to secure Indian loyalty to the cause of ‘liberty.’⁸

Such occurrences were common long before the era of the American War for Independence. Colonial treaty proceedings are filled with accounts of raucous celebration, violence, and drunkenness.⁹ Similar accounts were frequently included within the journals of Indian agents like Butler in the Revolutionary era and were even echoed in accounts of American treaty

⁷ Butler, 393.

⁸ Butler, 37.

⁹ For an in-depth analysis of colonial treaty proceedings and the role of Indian agents thereof, see James Hart Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: Norton, 1999.

proceedings recorded by their enemies the British. British agent David Taitt, for example, wrote to his superiors that American agents were supplying Indians “plentifully with rum.” While their treaty conferences proceed the Indians are “constantly drunk,” he complained with evident disgust, “and threatening to kill their traders.” Such activities should be “speedily prevented,” he warned them, “otherwise nothing [good] can be expected.” While their British counterparts might wish such practices to end, however, that was the last thing Butler or his fellow American agents wanted. Though the substance could at times cause discomfiture in their own circumstances, it also played an integral role in ensuring a certain amenability on the part of Indians to the cause of American ‘liberty.’ Still, despite alcohol’s frequent importance as a tool in Indian diplomacy, accounts of its use by American agents almost never made their way into official accounts of treaty proceedings between Indian nations and the United States. Though it had long been a standing tradition in such negotiations over the course of the colonial era, deliberately causing the inebriation of potential Indian allies was undoubtedly considered unworthy of American agents steeped in the republican ‘virtues’ of their new nation. Furthermore, drunken debauchery was almost certainly the product of the sort of ‘savage’ amusements Indians should no longer be enjoying as possible candidates for incorporation into the new United States and its national identity. Few Americans would have wished to remember either in any sort of official diplomatic record.¹⁰

Rather, such records should be the place where official Congressional policies found their voice. They were the receptacle for all the ‘nobility’ of purpose both peoples had to offer. As such, they precluded any mention of the chaos so common to their colonial predecessors. Instead, they focused upon the clarity of American diplomatic messages. On the surface, such

¹⁰ “British Account of the Treaty of Augusta: David Taitt to John Stuart, July 7 1776” in Colin G. Calloway and Alden T. Vaughan, eds. *Revolution and Confederation*. Vol. XVIII. Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994, 212.

messages emphasized the supposed commonalities Indians and Americans shared as natives of the same continent, a notion meant to convince Indians to join the American cause and accept the fruits of American ‘civilization.’ Beneath the surface, however, Congressional communications to Indians were shaped by local agents to reflect their own particular racial prejudices. In their journals, agents like Richard Butler often referred to Indians privately as “savages.”¹¹ In official treaty proceedings, they referred to themselves and the Indians with which they treated using appellations like ‘red’ and ‘white’ that emphasized their racial differences.¹² Eventually, these readily apparent prejudices would feed into the convictions of Indian leaders that their American counterparts were neither willing nor able to protect Indian interests. Ultimately, then, it was the personal just as much as the political that determined the course of events in Congressional Indian diplomacy during the American Revolution.

Such factors found their ultimate expression in the treaty proceedings that regularly occurred up and down the entire length of the American continent during the Revolution. During these proceedings, agents shaped by the commonly held notions of their age attempted to achieve the ambitions of Congressional policies intent upon assimilating Indians into American society. Most importantly, they tried to convince the Indians with which they treated of the common national identities and loyalties they should and (Congress believed) did share with the citizens of the United States. They then endeavored to secure Indian approval for and facilitate the actual enactment of policies that would see the introduction of American goods, manufactures, and cultural agents that could bring ‘civilization’ to Indian communities. Ultimately, they did their utmost to secure alliances with Indians that would, in theory, more firmly attach Indians to the cause of ‘liberty.’ The relative success of such ventures varied from department to department.

¹¹ Butler, 394.

¹² For a discussion of the increasing racialization of dialogue in Indian treaty proceedings, see Merrell, cited above.

In the Southern Department, the diplomatic efforts of American agents were almost entirely rebuffed by the most powerful Indian nations of the region. There, Indian relations with individual British agents were firmly established long before the coming of the Revolution and American agents from the southern colonies were steeped in the virulent racial prejudices of their region. Furthermore, individual southern colonies eager to gain land grants from neighboring Indian nations and profit from existing speculation ventures frequently subverted Congressional policies.¹³ In the Northern Department, such endeavors were at first relatively successful. In the North, Indian land tenure was more willingly recognized and American agents were initially less concerned with maintaining a sense of racial difference. Moreover, British efforts were, in the beginning at least, less effective in the wake of the legendary Sir William Johnson's death. As events took their course, however, American undertakings began to suffer.¹⁴ As a result, American leaders became increasingly convinced that Indians throughout the continent were far too hostile and 'savage' to the American cause to be 'civilized.'

Still, in the first few years of the Revolution Congress did not entirely believe that such efforts were doomed to fail. In Richard Butler's own Middle Department in particular, in fact, Congressional Indian policies were able to reach what might be considered the closest to their full potential. Indeed, diplomatic relations with Indians in the environs of Fort Pitt (particularly the Delaware) gave Congressional agents and their leaders hope that their 'savage' neighbors

¹³ For an examination of diplomatic relations in the South during the American Revolution, see J. Russell Snapp. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

¹⁴ For an examination of diplomatic relations in the North during the American Revolution (as well as the impact of the Revolution on the Indian communities of the North, of which the Iroquois were the largest and most influential group), see Barbara Graymont. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. [Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

could indeed be ‘civilized’ and assimilated into the new American nation.¹⁵ American leaders eagerly welcomed Delaware counterparts like Captain White Eyes (Coquethagechton), Captain Pipe (Hopocan), and John Kill Buck (Gelelemend) to the halls of Congress upon their visits to Philadelphia. During such visits, Congress showered them with effusive praise and awarded them honorary ranks in the Continental Army. All this, because such leaders had demonstrated to the agents of the Middle Department an apparent eagerness to receive all the fruits of American ‘civilization,’ be they missionaries, smiths, trade, or manufactures. What American leaders ignored (deliberately or otherwise), of course, was that their Indian allies took advantage of such services in a calculated attempt to preserve their own independence and culture. By accepting a minimal level of American culture and its products into their own society, such Indians were able to facilitate the ways of life they chose to pursue.¹⁶ What Congressional leaders and their representatives on the frontier saw, however, was an Indian nation willing to abandon their own culture in favor of American ‘civilization.’ To Americans eager to find their hopes confirmed, Indians such as these were not ‘savage.’ Instead, they were treated as if they possessed all the ‘natural virtues’ required for inclusion in a republican nation.

The Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778 served as the culmination of such hopes for Indian assimilation. In many ways, the treaty’s proceedings were typical of those conducted between American agents and Indian leaders during the early years of the war. Early treaties typically began with an explication of the causes for the American rebellion against Great Britain.

¹⁵ For an examination of diplomatic relations in the mid-Atlantic during the American Revolution, see Gregory Schaaf. *Wampum Belts & Peace Trees: George Morgan, Native Americans, and Revolutionary Diplomacy*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Pub., 1990.

¹⁶ In many ways, Indian efforts to preserve their own independence and culture resembled those of later periods studied by scholars like David Rich Lewis. Lewis describes this process of partial acceptance of another culture in order to maintain the important aspects of one’s own culture as cultural reproduction. See David Rich Lewis. *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Usually, American agents appealed to their shared status with Indians' as natives of the same continent using metaphors characteristic of Indian diplomacy. Numerous messages from Congressional agents to Indian leaders before the Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778 contained such language. It was as harmful as it was helpful given its inclusion of labels that highlighted the parties' racial differences. "The White people of the United States want not to hurt the Indians," read one message in 1776. After all, the agents authoring the message reasoned, "we live upon the same Ground with you, and the same Island is our common Mother." We have much more in common with you than do the British, they continued, for they are just as likely to oppress you as they are doing now with us, your American brothers. As such, they concluded, "we are very desirous to establish a firm alliance of Peace between the white Inhabitants of this big Island and the red people which may continue uninterrupted as long as the Sun shines."¹⁷

American agents echoed such protestations of common cause and identity in the proceedings of the Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778. At the time the treaty was signed in 1778, such claims were becoming increasingly less essential to American diplomatic efforts. By then, the successful diplomatic relations of the early years of the Revolution had already led many of the Indians in the Middle Department to allow the products of American 'civilization' to enter their communities. Still, as in many of the treaty councils from earlier years, the Congressional agents at the 1778 Treaty of Fort Pitt began the proceedings by assuring those Indian leaders present of the common cause and identity they shared with the citizens of the United States. "The United States has sent us to you to Offer you their friendship," the agents began, "if you accept the offer, they will Consider you as their own people." Let us establish and preserve an alliance, they continued, "on such principles that if faithfully adhered to, will secure our future peace whilst the

¹⁷ "US Indian Commissioners in the Middle Department to the Senecas, September 8, 1776" in Calloway et al, 124.

Sun or the Earth endures.” They concluded by offering the Delawares educational and religious services as well as manufactured goods.¹⁸

Such offers were typical of those made to Indian nations considered friendly to the American cause and worthy of its concomitant ‘civilization.’ What was not typical, however, was that those offers (and many others) were recorded in the only formally recognized treaty agreement between an Indian nation and the United States government during the Revolutionary period. This unusual agreement contained provisos that made it unique from almost all other treaties concluded between the American government and Indian nations then and since. Unlike unwritten agreements, the Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778 contained stipulations that allowed open passage for any American military forces interested in utilizing paths to frontier destinations that traversed Delaware lands. Even more unusual were Indian agreements to provide auxiliary warriors to any American military force that campaigned in their region. Most interesting, however, was a proposal to “invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interest of the United States, to join the [American] confederation” and “form a state whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress.”¹⁹ This article, which some historians believe was proposed by Captain White Eyes, was most likely an attempt by the leaders of the Delaware nation to preserve the boundaries of their land from American encroachments.²⁰ The American agents present at the treaty proceedings (and the Congressional leaders that heard of them), however, did not interpret the article as such. Instead, they enthusiastically embraced the proposition. They insisted those Indian leaders present formally ratify the Articles of Confederation during their stay in Pittsburgh. They would go on to

¹⁸ “Conference with the Delawares at Pittsburgh, September 12-17, 1778” in Calloway et al, 162.

¹⁹ “Treaty with the Delawares at Pittsburgh, September 17, 1778” in Calloway et al, 169.

²⁰ Francis Paul Prucha. *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1994, 33.

interpret their Indian allies' eagerness to do so as an indication of their willingness to be 'civilized' and assimilated into American society. Within a short time, however, growing resentment between both parties scuttled the proposal before it even had a chance to set sail.

For their own part, the Indian leaders present at the Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778 soon came to believe that American agents had tricked them into agreeing to many of the treaty's stipulations. I have "looked over the Articles of the Treaty," Delaware leader John Killbuck wrote in a letter to Indian agent Colonel George Morgan in January of 1779, "and find that they are wrote down false." "I did not understand the Interpreter," he continued, intimating some level of deception on the part of his American allies, and "could not contradict his Interpretation." "This makes me very sorry and uneasy," he concluded. The distrust in John Killbuck's words was unmistakable. It was a distrust shared by many of his fellow Indians, both within the Delaware nation and in Indian communities that spanned the American continent. This conviction quickly grew among Indians throughout the continent. Many Indians believed that the American agents with which they treated were likely to deceive them and renege upon any agreement that may be reached. This belief combined with internal pressures from young warriors eager to make their name in battle to drive many Indian nations to ally themselves with Great Britain and lash out against American frontier settlements. Frustrations over this turn of events would ultimately lead Congressional agents to abandon any hopes for an assimilation of Indians into American society, especially any on the level entertained at the Treaty of Fort Pitt in 1778.²¹

Instead, agents called for Congressional leaders to support the organization of military expeditions to violently punish all those Indians who had dared to challenge the authority of the American government and rejected their nation's offers of 'civilization.' The letters of agent

²¹ "Delaware Complaints about the Treaty of Fort Pitt: John Killbuck to Morgan, January 20, 1779" in Calloway et al, 173.

James Duane of the Northern Department to various members of Congress during that period are particularly useful in tracking this unfolding of events. In such letters can be seen the process by which the American government turned from attempts to ‘civilize’ its ‘savage’ neighbors to efforts to remove them. Indeed, by the beginning of 1778 Duane was convinced (as he informed the President of the Continental Congress, Henry Laurens) that the “Entreagues and Liberality of [British] Enemies” had swayed the Indians in his department to abandon the American cause. “The Senecas and Cayugaes in particular,” he continued, “can, I fear, no longer be regarded as Friends.” It is “from a Regard to [our] own Dignity as well as the publick Interest,” he confided to his superior, that I would suggest we “proceed to more vigorous and decisive Measures than we had conceivd to be necessary.” Laurens’s fellow Congressmen (themselves resentful of the perceived perfidy of Indians and their apparent unwillingness to be ‘civilized’) wasted no time in acceding to Duane’s suggestion. Within a matter of months, numerous members of Congress had begun calling for military expeditions to attack British-allied Indian nations throughout the American continent. In the south, state governments sponsored a number of small forces in their successful attacks against Cherokee and Creek villages along the frontier. In the Middle Department, Colonel George Rogers Clark captured a number of strategically important British forts in the Illinois country and cut off communications between Indians and British agents in that region. In Duane’s department, Congress financed and guided the infamous Sullivan Expedition in its efforts to rain destruction down upon the Indians of the Iroquois Confederacy.²²

Duane’s satisfaction in the midst of the Sullivan Expedition is readily apparent in his subsequent letters to Congressional superiors (and echoed that of American agents throughout the various Indian departments). “The present operations promise more decision in every quarter

²² “James Duane to Henry Laurens, January 12, 1778” in Smith et al.

of the Continent than any ever yet undertaken,” he wrote to Governor George Clinton of New York in June of 1779. They are sure to fulfill all the hopes of Congress for “reducing [its] savage neighbors to reason and a disposition for lasting peace.” This satisfaction was even more evident in the wake of the expedition. While recounting his experiences in another letter to Clinton after delivering the harsh terms of Congress ordering their ‘vanquished’ Indian enemies to vacate their homelands, for example, Duane’s gloating tone is readily apparent. He read his speech to them “in a Tone becoming the Dignity of Congress,” he wrote with pride, and amply demonstrated “the Spirit and Power of the United States.” The Indians “had the Insolence,” he wrote sarcastically, to “affect their Surprize that while our Tomahawks Stuck in their Heads, their Wounds were bleeding” we “shoud think of inviting them to a Treaty.” This, despite the “Ingratitude, Cruelty, and Treachery” those same Indians had demonstrated in betraying the American cause. The Indians had learned their lesson, he concluded. They now knew “that the Hand of the united States coud reach the remotest Corner of the Country of the Senacas.” Congress could “punish all [its] Enemies & put it out of their power to do [it] further Injury.” The devastation wrought upon the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, Duane seemed to believe, was well worth the effort to which Congress and its agents had gone to achieve it.²³

Indeed, so convinced was Duane of the efficacy of such methods that he soon began to recommend their use in diplomatic relations with Indian nations throughout the American continent. “The Indians have not been so faithful [as we] to their engagements,” he wrote in a letter to Clinton a little over a year after his first. Indeed, “while we were doing our utmost to clothe, protect, and leave them in peaceful security” they were committing atrocities upon American settlements that were both “barbarous and destructive.” Congress must “call them to a

²³ “James Duane to George Clinton, June 12, 1779” in Smith et al.; “James Duane to George Clinton, March 13, 1778” in Smith et al.

severe account,” he continued, “they at least must make a full compensation for all the injuries” they have done “not in words” but “by a large cession of territory.” “There seems to be no doubt,” he concluded, but that “our efforts will be crowned with success, and produce peace and [the] submission” of Indians to the American government.²⁴

By 1780, Duane’s advocacy of such diplomatic procedures had taken on a tone of absolute contempt, evincing his rising distaste for all Indians as ‘savages’ unworthy of American ‘civilization.’ “The Six nations are fools,” he assured General Philip Schuyler of New York, “they will [soon] forget the Loss of their Country in contemplating the Bawbles & Trinkets bestowd upon them.”²⁵ Duane was by no means alone in his opinion. For many American leaders, Indians were no longer considered worthy of receiving the fruits of American ‘civilization.’ They were, by dint of their race, simply too ‘savage’ to be incorporated into the new American nation. They should be removed from American sight and forgotten. They would remain only as idealized stereotypes in the American imagination. Though they would serve as an integral facet of the new national identity, they were simply too ‘savage’ to be included in the dreams of a nation that wished to span an entire continent. Instead, they would unfortunately but ‘inevitably’ fall victim to the forward march of American ‘progress.’ In the aftermath of the Revolution, the members of Congress and their agents in Indian country pursued this belief as much as possible in Indian removal policies forged in the fires of war. Fueled by the successes of expeditions like that under General Sullivan against Indians on the frontier, Congress strove to secure western lands they believed to be theirs by right of conquest.

Equally affected by these victories, Congressional agents took on the tone of triumphant conquerors in the treaty conferences that followed in the wake of their nation’s hard-won

²⁴ “James Duane to George Clinton, March 21, 1779” in Smith et al.

²⁵ “James Duane to Philip Schuyler, May 12, 1780” in Smith et al.

independence. Writing in the summer of 1784, the ever-vengeful agent James Duane of the Northern Department captured the essence of what would become standard practice for Congressional representatives in Indian treaty proceedings during the Confederation period. “If we [continue] the disgraceful system of pensioning, courting and flattering [the Indians] as great and mighty nations,” he cautioned, “this Revolution in my Eyes will have lost more than half its’ Value.” Instead, he suggested, they should, rather than “conforming to the ceremonies practiced in Negotiations” among the Indians, “bring them to adopt . . . our Forms.” “Neither Belts nor strings” of wampum should be used in communications during diplomatic proceedings, he continued. “I would never suffer the word nations,” he added, or “any other Form which would revive or seem to confirm their former Ideas of Independence.” It should be the single most important goal of our diplomatic efforts, he concluded, to remove Indians away from American lands. They should remain far out of sight of the frontier settlements driving American ‘civilization’ forward into the ‘savage’ wilderness of the continent. Indians could play no part in the progress of that drive. They were simply too ‘savage.’ After all, Duane noted, those same Indians had “without any provocation burnt and destroyed our villages and effects and slaughtered our Citizens.” Even then, he wrote, “we foretold to them the Consequences of such a Behaviour.” Alas, they had not listened. In the process, they had proven themselves unworthy of inclusion in the new American nation. As a result, Congress had wrought its vengeance upon their lands. As the government of a newly independent nation eager to prove itself, Duane believed, it should continue to do so.²⁶

Duane’s suggestions for proper diplomatic etiquette on the part of Congressional agents in Indian treaty proceedings largely set the mold for the remainder of the Confederation period.

²⁶ “James Duane’s Views on Indian Negotiations, July/August 1784” in Calloway et al, 298-9.

Furthermore, it helped ensure that his government would both successfully acquire large portions of frontier land east of the Mississippi River for future westward expansion and deeply anger and offend many of the Indians with which agents treated. Even those few Indians who had allied themselves to the American cause fell victim to the 'progress' of such treaties. They had simply not been eager enough to embrace American 'civilization.' When a few influential leaders like Secretary of War Henry Knox called for a return to 'civilization' policies under the new federal government, agents conducting negotiations at the local level politely ignored their instructions. Land cessions continued to be demanded of Indian leaders by such agents throughout the early republic. By the time of the Jefferson administration in the beginning of the nineteenth century, their actions had all but been approved as official government policy. For Jefferson and his agents among the Indians (be they Lewis and Clark or the numerous, less celebrated others), the Revolution had made it clear that Indians were 'savages.' They were unworthy of the 'civilization' the promising future of the young American nation offered them.

After only a few short decades, the Indian policies endorsed by the United States government had transformed from efforts at 'civilization' to attempts at removal. An American president like Thomas Jefferson could in one breath celebrate the natural virtues of Indians and bemoan their ultimate victimization in the name of his nation's 'progress.' In another, he could deliberately espouse policies that would ensure their disappearance east of the Mississippi River. Within a few more decades, the reality of those Indians' existence or their history had been all but forgotten by the large majority of Americans. Even those few Indians who attached themselves to the cause of the United States or at least partially embraced its government's 'civilization' policies were abandoned by their erstwhile allies and forced off of their lands. They had not been eager enough to embrace American 'civilization.' The sense of rejection American leaders

felt at having their 'civilization' refused by 'savages' fed into an emphasis on racial differences and hierarchies that was becoming increasingly important to their society.

This process would find its fullest expression in the Indian Removal Act of 1830. With its enactment, American leaders in the early nineteenth century helped to complete an undertaking that had begun over a half a century earlier. During the Revolution, their predecessors had tried and failed to 'civilize' Indians in order to integrate them as willing citizens of the new American nation. The reluctance of Indians to embrace 'civilization' at the expense of their own culture and independence drove many American leaders to angrily lash out against them. By the end of the Revolution, they had come to believe that Indians were 'incapable' and 'unworthy' of 'civilization.' By the time of the Indian Removal Act's passage, that belief had become all but canon law for most within the United States government. In that age, the head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Thomas L. McKenney, could be derided and dismissed from his position for insisting on treating with Indian nations as moral and political equals.²⁷ The United States was no place for Indians, it seemed, and its government was no place for any that believed otherwise.

²⁷ Herman J. Viola. *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy, 1816-1830*. Chicago: Sage Books, 1974.

Chapter 3: “‘Civilization or Death to All Savages’: Congress’s War on the Frontier”

In the summer of 1879, the citizens of Newtown, New York gathered to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Chemung (also known as the Battle of Newtown).¹ Fought on August 29, 1779 during an American invasion under General John Sullivan of Seneca lands in western New York, the battle opened the way for the destruction of over forty Indian villages in the wake of that nation’s resounding defeat. As the residents of Newtown gathered to celebrate the victory decades later, however, it seemed they were far more concerned with contemporary events than they were with historical ones. Like many such celebrations of the events of the American Revolution in the wake of the Civil War, those at Newtown were, in part, an attempt to heal national wounds through the remembrance of a shared historical heritage. Memories of the Battle of Chemung, however, no doubt held a special sort of resonance for an audience steeped in the events of the post-Civil War era.

In the wake of the Civil War, American citizens like those at Newtown sought to bury their memories of horrific bloodshed and erstwhile strife in part through a reawakened belief in their nation’s promising future in the trans-Mississippi West and beyond. Within only a few short years after the war ended in 1865, the trickle of American citizens migrating westward had become a flood. Thousands of American families rushed to make a new beginning on what they believed to be an untouched, ‘savage’ western frontier. The land they found upon their arrival was, of course, far from untouched. A wide variety of Indian nations had existed in the

¹ For primary sources related to the centennial celebrations of the Battle of Chemung and other events from the Sullivan Expedition, see Frederick Cook and George S. Conover. *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779; with Records of Centennial Celebrations; Prepared Pursuant to Chapter 361, Laws of the State of New York, of 1885*. Auburn, NY: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, Printers, 1887.

American West for centuries before the arrival of settlers from the United States. Those nations' often unsuccessful resistance to westward settlement, many Americans were convinced, was evidence that the Indian 'savagery' they combated as members of a 'civilized' race was in its dying throes. Western Indians, many citizens of the United States believed, would either choose to assimilate or be 'doomed to extinction.' After all, the members of that nation were sure, Indians' stagnantly 'savage' cultures would never be able to facilitate the 'progress' of their nation's bright future as a transcontinental power.²

Of course, it was one thing to believe the West was theirs to take, and quite another to accomplish it. On nearly every occasion possible, Indian nations throughout the West proved themselves ready and willing to resist encroachments on their lands by American settlers with force if necessary. As the citizens of the United States surged across the Mississippi, conflicts between Americans and Indians escalated both in intensity and number. With the proliferation of violence along the western frontier, pleas for the use of military force by the American government to protect its settlers also rose. In 1867, such entreaties were answered with the establishment of the Indian Peace Commission primarily under the leadership of military veterans from the Civil War (most notably General William Tecumseh Sherman). Shortly thereafter, the American West was flooded with federal troops fresh from the Civil War battlefields of the East. Within the course of a few short decades, the Peace Commission had forced many of the most powerful Indian nations to heel. Even when American forces suffered setbacks (like that of the 7th Cavalry at the Battle of Little Bighorn), the American public was quick to mythologize them as the last great clashes between American 'civilization' and Indian

² For a more in-depth analysis of this subject, see Robert F. Berkhofer. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Knopf, 1978. For an analysis of this process outside of the United States, see Daniel Francis. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver, B.C.: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

‘savagery.’³ The war for the American West, the citizens of the United States told each other, was surely all but won.⁴

Such events were undoubtedly foremost in the minds of the citizens of Newtown as they gathered to celebrate the Battle of Chemung. They were perhaps even more so as the main attraction of the day, General William Tecumseh Sherman, rose to deliver what would become the most memorable speech of that afternoon.⁵ “I come here,” he began, “as one of the survivors of the great Civil War” and, though some of you may not be military men, you can be sure that at this moment “we are all at war.” “Ever since the first white man landed upon this continent,” he continued, there has been a “war between civilization and savages.” That war found itself at a major turning point when it reached the events of the Sullivan Expedition, he informed them.⁶ Without it, the promise of a transcontinental United States could never have been fulfilled and the fruits of ‘civilization’ could never have been carried to the farthest corners of the American West. At that moment, he recounted, the “same men, endowed by the same feelings that General Sullivan’s army had, to-day are contending with the same causes and the same races.” Like the actions of Sullivan’s men, he proclaimed, those of himself and others were “not for the purpose of killing,” of “shedding blood,” or of “doing wrong.” They were, he asserted, to “prepare the way for that civilization which must go along wherever [the American] flag floats.” Those actions, he believed, would finally end the great war between American ‘civilization’ and Indian ‘savagery’ in which the Sullivan Expedition had played such an important role. Without that

³ For an overview of the Battle of Little Bighorn’s events and context, analysis of its legacy in American history, and its remembrance in Indian culture, see Charles E. Rankin. *Legacy: New Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn*. Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1996.

⁴ For an analysis of the creation of this myth in American culture, see Richard Slotkin. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-century America*. New York: Atheneum, 1992.

⁵ For the full text of Sherman’s speech, see Cook and Conover, eds., 439-40.

⁶ Some historians have emphasized, as Sherman did, the role of the Sullivan Campaign in opening the west to American settlement during and after the Revolutionary War (although certainly not in the same manner). See Max M. Mintz. *Seeds of Empire: The American Revolutionary Conquest of the Iroquois*. New York: New York University, 1999.

campaign (as well as his own), he was sure, the victory of American ‘civilization’ in the West would never have been possible.

Like most artifacts of historical memory, Sherman’s speech at Newtown (like those of the numerous poets and speakers that echoed his convictions that day) was founded in processes that obscured complex historical fact in favor of simplistic ideological belief. For some, it might seem easy to disregard his address as simply one more product of the late nineteenth-century American exceptionalism and racism that were so popular in his day. Those familiar with the intellectual traditions of the time Sherman described, however, would be forced to delve much deeper into the roots of his beliefs. Indeed, had any Americans from the period surrounding the Sullivan Expedition heard Sherman speak a century later, they would have undoubtedly agreed with his assessment. For those early citizens of the United States (like Sherman and his audience), the Sullivan Expedition represented a crucial turning point in the conflict between what they perceived as American ‘civilization’ and Indian ‘savagery.’ For them, the Expedition’s almost total victory was the ultimate proof of their culture’s superiority over that of their Indian enemies.⁷

The Sullivan Campaign also served as a turning point for American efforts to ‘civilize’ the Indians of North America and assimilate them into the new United States. Its success allowed many American leaders the opportunity to vent their frustration over failed Indian policies by abandoning ‘civilization’ efforts in favor of removal policies that would force Indians westward away from American society rather than attempt to assimilate them. While many did so, however, there were at least some who did not. When the government of the United States was

⁷ Although some have considered the Sullivan Campaign a strategic failure, for many American leaders at the time the expedition represented both the ‘moral’ victory of their ‘superior civilization’ over Indian ‘savagery’ and an opportunity to put these new policies into effect. (For a strategic analysis of the Sullivan Expedition as a failed military campaign, see Joseph R. Fischer. *A Well-executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign against the Iroquois, July-September 1779*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1997.)

reestablished in 1787 under a new national constitution, for example, a number of influential Americans began to call once more for the ‘civilization’ policies of the early years of the Revolution. Most prominent among them were the new Secretary of War Henry Knox and his Commander-in-Chief George Washington.⁸ Determining why such figures supported the renewal of such efforts when so many of those within the new administration, in Congress, and in treaty councils representing their nation’s interests did not can be, at times, difficult. Understanding why many of those sent to punish their nation’s Indian enemies on expeditions like that under General Sullivan did likewise can be even more so. Fortunately, there is a readily apparent connection between many of those who endorsed a return to the ‘civilization’ policies of the early American Revolution. A large number of them (like Knox, Washington, and the veterans of frontier expeditions like Sullivan’s) shared the experience of actually fighting against and alongside real-world Indians. While such experiences undoubtedly confirmed many of their preexisting biases toward Indian cultures, they also held the potential to be fairly revelatory in nature. Such revelations, I would argue, very well may be key to understanding the basis of support in prominent quarters for ‘civilization’ policies after the Revolution.⁹

An examination of the Sullivan Expedition in particular would perhaps be most useful in understanding the nature of military experiences involving Indians during the Revolution. Not only does it possess what is perhaps the greatest wealth of primary source material of any such expedition, it may also be the expedition most uniquely suited for an in-depth analysis.¹⁰

⁸ For the Washington administration’s most prominent expression of its support for a return to ‘civilization’ policies, see “Report of the Secretary of War on the Southern Indians,” July 7, 1789,” in Colin G. Calloway and Alden T. Vaughan, eds. *Revolution and Confederation*. Vol. XVIII. Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Bethesda, MD: University Publications of America, 1994, 529.

⁹ This will be discussed more completely at a later point.

¹⁰ For a collection of first-hand accounts of Sullivan’s campaign, see Frederick Cook and George S. Conover, cited above. For a brief description of the events of that campaign, see [William Elliot Griffis. "Sullivan's Great March Into the Indian Country." Magazine of History, 2 \(1905\), pp. 295-310, 365-378; 3 \(1906\), pp. 1-10.](#)

American forces mounted numerous expeditions to attack Indians on the frontier during the Revolution (among them those under Colonels Zebulon Butler, Thomas Hartley, William Crawford, and George Rogers Clark).¹¹ Like many such endeavors, the men that composed them were steeped in the racialism and prejudice of their age. In the journals that survive from the veterans of the Sullivan Campaign and other such expeditions, the American soldiers that fought described the Indian enemies almost exclusively as the members of a 'savage' race. Such men were convinced (as were many Americans) that the 'savage' Indians they faced were doomed to succumb to the forces of 'civilization' represented by the western culture of their American neighbors. Some day, they believed, the Indians that lived on their western frontiers would either be 'civilized' and assimilated into American society or would be eradicated from the North American continent. Either way, they would not be allowed to stand in the way of the new American nation's inevitable progress westward to the Pacific Ocean. This belief was given full voice in perhaps one of the most loudly cheered toasts made at the Independence Day celebrations that took place at the outset of the Sullivan Expedition: "civilization or death to all savages."¹²

Unlike the other expeditions of its kind, however, the most powerful leaders of the new nation personally ordered and eagerly observed the invasion of the western frontier under

¹¹ For more information on these expeditions, see David Craft. "The Expedition of Col. Thomas Hartley Against the Indians in 1778, to avenge the Massacre of Wyoming." *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*, 9 (1905), pp. 189-216.; George M. Waller. "George Rogers Clark and the American Revolution in the West." *Indiana Magazine of History*, 72 (March 1976), pp. 1-20.; and Parker B. Brown. "The Battle of Sandusky, June 4-6, 1782." *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 65 (April 1982), pp. 115-151. For primary sources, see George Rogers Clark. *Col. George Rogers Clark's Sketch of His Campaigns in the Illinois in 1778-9 and Major Bowman's Journal of the Taking of Post St. Vincents*. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, 1869.; Gustavus Rosenthal, alias George Rose. "Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky, From May 24 to June 13, 1782." Edited by Baron George Pilar von Pilchau. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 18 (1894), pp. 130-157, 293-328.; Zebulon Butler. "Correspondence of Col. Zebulon Butler, Wyoming, June-December 1778." *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*, 7 (1902), pp. 131-150.; Obadiah Gore, Jr. *The Revolutionary War Diary of Lieut. Obadiah Gore, Jr.* Edited by R. W. G. Vail. New York: New York Public Library, 1929.; and William Lenoir. "Revolutionary Diary of William Lenoir." Edited by J. D. de Roulhac Hamilton. *Journal of Southern History*, 6 (May 1940), pp. 247-259.

¹² Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Lieutenant Thomas Blake, 39.

General Sullivan. Indeed, the members of the Continental Congress played an active role in guiding the campaign to its objectives (and with official government involvement came official government support). Thus, Sullivan's army was (unlike the majority of western expeditions during the Revolution, which were composed primarily of volunteers) made up almost entirely of Continental Army regulars from veteran regiments. Also unlike many such campaigns, it was largely successful in meeting the objectives set for it. This was, perhaps, as many army veterans believed, precisely because it had been fought by regulars, rather the yeoman volunteers so celebrated in the republican ethos of the Revolutionary age.¹³ Regardless, it allowed the leaders in Congress to dictate victory terms to their vanquished Indian enemies almost entirely unchallenged. As a result, Sullivan's campaign would serve as a major turning point both in Congressional Indian policy during and after the Revolution and in the shaping of the American racial mindset.

What is perhaps most unusual about the Sullivan Expedition, however, was how it ended. On the night of October 2nd, 1779, the nearly five thousand soldiers of the Sullivan Expedition gathered to celebrate the victories they had enjoyed since their campaign started that June. Their celebrations were the result of months of shared experiences on the campaign trail. For four months, the troops had marched through unknown terrain, guided only by a few frustratingly unreliable maps and a small group of allied Oneida Indians. Over the course of their journey they had destroyed forty villages belonging to those Indians deemed hostile to the American

¹³ For an analysis of the incompatibility of the Revolutionary republican ethos with the American need to construct a military force capable of effectively waging a long-term conflict and the widespread distaste of volunteer militias among the regulars of the Continental Army, see James Kirby Martin and Mark Edward Lender. *A Respectable Army: The Military Origins of the Republic, 1763-1789*. Arlington Heights, IL: H. Davidson, 1982. Such distaste among regulars for the use of volunteers in frontier expeditions can be clearly seen in the accounts of men like Gustavus Rosenthal (see Gustavus Rosenthal, alias George Rose. "Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky, From May 24 to June 13, 1782." Edited by Baron George Pilar von Pilchau. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 18 (1894), pp. 130-157, 293-328.). In his account of the ill-fated Crawford Expedition in 1782, Rosenthal (a veteran of the Continental Army) resoundingly condemns the unprofessionalism of the militia volunteers and commanders that made up the force in which he served.

cause. Where they could, they lived off the land, feasting on the ripe harvest of pumpkins, corn, squash, and other vegetables they found in the fields surrounding the homes of their enemies. What they could not take with them, they burned, along with the houses of the Indians that were unfortunate enough to live in the expedition's path.

Those that resisted Sullivan's army, though largely unsuccessful in their efforts to protect their homeland, fought to ensure that every inch of ground the invading force gained was dearly won. Almost every day and night that Sullivan's men spent on the western frontier was a new exercise in terror and suspense. Indians throughout North America were renowned for their methods of instilling fear in their enemies.¹⁴ Such methods had a remarkably profound effect upon the American colonists that coveted their lands. As the soldiers of the Sullivan Expedition marched through the foreboding forests of the frontier, they were sure they could feel the eyes of thousands of Indian warriors upon them, waiting for the opportune moment to strike. Such a sense of paranoid terror was an almost ingrained response in the American mindset. As they slept, their friends and comrades on picket duty were convinced they could hear just as many creeping along the outskirts of their camp, ready and willing to slit their throats should they turn their backs for even a moment. Every few hours, a nervous sentry or scout would fire at the shadows or noises around him. Only rarely would something come of such jabs at the unknown. Still, the men of the Sullivan Expedition placed each step with care, no doubt glancing nervously in every direction as they moved slowly through the lands of their enemies on the frontier.¹⁵

¹⁴ For an in-depth discussion of the use of fear as a tactic in Indian methods of warfare, see Silver, cited above.

¹⁵ The descriptive details of daily life for the soldiers of the Sullivan Campaign during their time on the Senecas' lands – as well as their reactions to, and opinions of, Senecas' customs, tactics, etc. – can be found in their journals, compiled in Cook and Conover, eds., cited above. The journals of Lieutenant Eukeries Beatty and Lieutenant Colonels Henry Dearborn and Adam Hubley (cited elsewhere in this chapter) are particularly illustrative of the general tone of the journals kept by soldiers of the Sullivan Expedition during its progress through Seneca territory. See Cook and Conover, eds., Lieutenant Eukeries Beatty, 20. In this section of his journal, Lieutenant Beatty describes an incident in which, "several shots [were] fired before morning, and at Day break we tracked a number of Indians Round about our pickets but never one of them returned our fire." This moment in the campaign, and the

With each new village they reached, their fear grew exponentially. Every single one they found in their path was abandoned. Rather than realizing that the former residents of these communities had most likely fled for their lives before the oncoming invasion, however, the men of Sullivan's Expedition only allowed the deserted homes they found to feed their feelings of dread that much more. Those homes were only empty, they were sure, because the Indians that had once filled them were laying in wait just beyond the nearest ridge. The empty villages were meant only as bait, a cunning deception to lure Sullivan's troops into a false sense of security. As soon as they let their guard down, the men told themselves, the trap would be sprung and they would all be destroyed by the Indian hordes lurking in the forests around them.¹⁶

By the time they reached Chemung (now known as Newtown, New York) on August 29th, their trepidation had reached an almost fevered pitch. As Sullivan's forces began to cross the Chemung River, they were confronted with the scouts of an army of 1500 Indians and Loyalists led by the British Loyalist Colonel John Butler and the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea). They had finally blundered into their enemies' trap, they thought apprehensively; a massacre was sure to follow. Luckily, however, they had been well trained and prepared for such a moment. Many were veterans of the campaigns under General George Washington on the eastern seaboard and had wintered at Valley Forge under the tutelage of the famous drillmaster Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben. As they reached the fortifications of their adversaries, the long months of instruction they had received at his hand finally came to

many like it, were most likely the product of the American troops' fears, rather than any actual Indian enemies that might have been circling the pickets' positions. Regardless, such incidents only fed the existing fear such men felt about the violence of the Indian attacks they believed they would soon be forced to fend off.

¹⁶ See, for example, Cook and Conover, eds., *Lieutenant Eukeries Beatty*, 28, in which Beatty's fear and frustration at entering a town that his Indian enemies "had but just left" and failing to "catch any of them" is readily apparent. The inability of men like Beatty to capture or even find any enemy combatants only heightened their sense of the ephemeral quality of their enemies, opponents that circled ghost-like around the expedition as it traveled further into Seneca territory, always keeping themselves just out of the American soldiers' reach. The particular zeal with which Sullivan's men, in Beatty's words, "burnt the town[s] to ashes" may have been one method by which the American troops vented their fear and frustration at an ever-present yet always unseen enemy.

fruition. With the guidance of General Sullivan and his commanders, they were able to crest a nearby hill, breach their opponents' defenses, and turn their foes' heavily guarded flank.¹⁷

Shortly thereafter, the forces under Brant and Butler were sent into headlong retreat, with the most eager among Sullivan's men in hot pursuit. Those Indians and Loyalists that survived the battle fled with their families to the British fort at Niagara, where thousands of others (mostly Indians) joined them as Sullivan's army destroyed whatever food, shelter, and security they had previously enjoyed. The majority of these refugees were village elders, women, and children, left largely defenseless while the men of their communities rushed to fight Sullivan's invasion. Within a few short hours, the very men who had only one day before quivered at every sound in their vicinity had driven the source of their fears from the battlefield in complete disarray and had almost entirely disrupted the lives of thousands of Indians.

In the process, they had suffered only a few, negligible casualties. They had also, according to the prisoners they took (a Loyalist and a fugitive slave), inflicted a devastating blow to their enemies' cause. Dozens - maybe even hundreds - of enemy combatants had been killed or wounded and carried by their compatriots from the battlefield because Sullivan's troops had, they told themselves, behaved as true soldiers. They had not panicked in the heat of battle, they had followed orders well, and they had fought to protect their comrades. Most importantly, they had waited until the last possible moment to discharge their weapons and had reloaded them smoothly and efficiently. Such skills were cherished in even the most seasoned and professional

¹⁷ See, for example, Cook and Conover, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn, 71-2, in which Dearborn describes his trepidation upon finding the enemy force's fortifications, which were so "artfully mask'd" that their discovery was as "accidental as it was fortunate." According to Dearborn, however, the battle turned in the Americans' favor more by dint of the troops' discipline than from any turn of fortune. Dearborn notes that his regiment "proceeded in much better order than I believed we possibly could have done" and completed a number of complex battlefield maneuvers, writing that his regiment had turned successfully driven the enemy to flight by "revers[ing] the front of the Regt & moov[ing] to [the] assistance" of a nearby unit. The care and painstaking detail with which Dearborn and other soldiers recorded such details indicates the considerable pride they felt in reaping the rewards of their drillmaster's efforts to train them.

military forces of Europe.¹⁸ Their training had served them well. As a result, their enemy had fled almost immediately after their first, well-aimed and well-timed volley. Theirs was a force to be reckoned with, fit to defeat any that stood in its way (perhaps even the vaunted infantry of the mother country against which they rebelled).¹⁹

Of course, they told each other, it was not simply their training that had turned the battle in the favor. Perhaps more importantly, they had faced an enemy that was not nearly as well versed in the methods of ‘civilized’ warfare as they were. Of this Sullivan’s men were certain: the forces under Brant and Butler had laid their defenses well, but their ‘savage’ manners had managed to undo even the best laid of those plans. Indeed, the Indians had intended to trap and ambush Sullivan’s army before it had finished crossing the Chemung River, but their positions were discovered by Sullivan’s scouts before the trap could be sprung. Some, like Sergeant Moses Fellows, shrugged this discovery off as something that happened “very accidentally” in a “fortunate” turn of events.²⁰ Many, however, agreed with Colonel Adam Hubley’s assessment that the Indians laying in wait had been discovered because of the “movement of several Indians” that were “rendered conspicuous from the quantity of paint they had on them.”²¹ Had the Indians simply foregone their ‘savage’ customs in preparing for the battle (like donning war paint), many in Sullivan’s army believed, the conflict might have ended very differently. Had the Indians chosen to practice a semblance of ‘civilized’ warfare, those men were convinced,

¹⁸ For an examination of the increased emphasis on drill and discipline in the military forces of eighteenth-century Europe, see Jeremy Black and John Keegan. *Warfare in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Cassell, 1999.

¹⁹ See, for example, Hubley, 287-8, in which Hubley records with pride that his men had taken “nine scalps (all savages) and two prisoners” who informed him that, thanks to the Expedition’s efforts to destroy Seneca farmland, their forced had until then “Subsisted upon Corn only” and now had “no other Provision with them.” The misfortune of the Senecas most likely only heightened the American soldiers’ glee, and contributed to their growing sense that their enemy was all but defeated and destitute.

²⁰ Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Sergeant Moses Fellows, 88.

²¹ Adam Hubley, Jr. “Adm Hubley, Jr., Lt Colo. Comdt 11th Penna. Regt, Commencing at Wyoming, July 30th, 1779.” Edited by John W. Jordan. *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 33, no. 3 (1909), 286.

their trap may never have been discovered and the soldiers of the Sullivan Expedition might have marched unawares to their ultimate destruction.

Furthermore, while the troops of Sullivan's expedition had firmly maintained order in the heat of battle, the untrained 'savages' they believed they faced did not. When faced with a deadly hail of enemy fire, Sullivan's men had, according to Lieutenant John L. Hardenbergh, "undauntedly pushed on," obeying their orders with a deadly efficiency and executing complex battlefield maneuvers.²² The Indians they fought, however, had maintained almost no semblance of military discipline whatsoever. Unlike their American foes, they had not received months of intensive martial training at the hands of battle-hardened veterans like Baron von Steuben. They had chosen to eschew what Sullivan's men perceived as the most useful knowledge of 'civilized' warfare. As a result, they could not hope to fall back upon their training when they were confronted with the horror of a pitched battle and their sense of panic rose to a fevered pitch. Instead, they could only retreat, in the words of Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty, in "great Disorder."²³ Such an outcome confirmed some of Sullivan's soldiers' most firmly held racial convictions. After all, they had been trained in 'civilized' warfare, while their 'savage' enemy had not. Surely, they told themselves, that was the ultimate proof that 'civilization' could, should, and would ultimately vanquish the forces of 'savagery' that their Indian foes embodied so well.

Only two weeks later, however, this belief was put to the test. On September 13th, an Oneida Indian named Hanyost Thaosagwat guided a band of riflemen under Lieutenant Thomas Boyd on a reconnaissance mission to the village of Genesee Castle, or Little Beard's Town (now

²² Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Lieutenant John L. Hardenbergh, 126.

²³ Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty, 27.

modern-day Groveland, New York).²⁴ There, they happened upon a small party of Indian scouts, whom they quickly overcame. Confident they would meet even less resistance in the aftermath of this small skirmish, Boyd's men halted to make camp while their commander sent messengers back to the main army with a report of the terrain ahead. Shortly thereafter, they were surprised and overwhelmed by a band of several hundred Indians and Loyalists under the Seneca leader Little Beard. Only a few of Boyd's men managed to escape to bring word back to the bulk of Sullivan's army. Boyd himself, they told their compatriots, had fought dearly to ensure the survival of as many of his men as possible.

Still, the Seneca took Boyd and at least a dozen other men in his party (including the Oneida guide Hanyost) captive for subsequent interrogation. Sullivan's men found his body the next day, ritualistically tortured in (according to Colonel Adam Hubley) the "most cruel & barbarous manner that the human mind can possibly conceive."²⁵ Before death, Little Beard's men had skinned, scalped, and branded Boyd and his soldiers. Shortly before beheading them, they ripped the riflemen's fingernails and toenails from their hands and feet. When they were done, they left the corpses for the village's dogs to feast upon.²⁶ The worst fate, however, was reserved for their fellow Iroquois, Hanyost.²⁷ After torturing him, they chopped his body into small bits. Such carnage, wrote Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn, was enough to teach every man in

²⁴ Hanyost's name appears variously as Han Yerry, Hanjoit, and a variety of other spellings in numerous primary sources. I have chosen Hanyost as my preferred spelling based upon its usage in numerous articles, most prominently in one by Lockwood R. Doty. See Lockwood R. Doty. "The Massacre at Groveland." *New York State Historical Association Quarterly Journal* 11, no. 2 (April 1930): 132-40.

²⁵ Hubley, 410.

²⁶ The torture of Lieutenant Boyd and his men followed the pattern of many such tortures, which played an important role in the culture and warfare of the Iroquois and other Indian nations. The removed body parts typically served as spiritual offerings to various deities, while the victim was expected to act with the courage expected of a warrior (which would bring honor both to his own name and those of the men who had defeated him). For more information on the subject, see Knowles, Nathaniel. *The Torture of Captives [by the Indians of Eastern North America]*. New York: Garland Pub., 1977.

²⁷ The more severe treatment of the Oneida Hanyost may have been rooted in an awareness of his status as a sort of 'blood traitor' fighting alongside American forces and against the bulk of his fellow Iroquois. Without any extant sources on the Indian perspectives from the period, however, this suggestion must of necessity find its home in the realm of speculation.

Sullivan's army the "necessity of fighting those more than devils to the last moment rather than fall into their hands alive."²⁸ The Indians, it seemed, had confirmed the worst suspicions of the men that were invading their homeland. They could not be trusted to act according to the 'civilized' rules of warfare in which Sullivan's men placed so much faith. Instead, they had proven themselves capable of committing the most unspeakable atrocities.

Shortly thereafter, Sullivan's army destroyed Little Beard's Town and left the lands of the Iroquois behind, the memory of the massacre at Genesee Castle and the fear it had instilled with them constantly. Men capable of such acts, the soldiers of Sullivan's army told each other, were truly worthy of being called 'savages.' They should, (and if the Battle of Chemung had proven anything) could and would be destroyed. Many of their fellow Americans would have seen (and did see) such a massacre as the ultimate evidence of the incompatibility they perceived between their own 'civilized' race and the 'savage' one of the Indians whose lands they were invading. For many Americans, this perception would soon expand to encompass all Indians, even those like the Oneida who fought for their cause. The men of the Sullivan Expedition, however, did not entirely allow this to happen. The Indians they had faced, they believed, were surely too 'savage' to be saved. The rest of their kind, however, might be a different matter. Throughout the remaining duration of the campaign, Sullivan's soldiers warmly welcomed a number of Oneida Indians into their camp despite the atrocities their fellow Indians had committed. Such Indians were always treated with the utmost respect and deference. This can, of course, be somewhat explained by the role such visitors often played in bringing eagerly awaited news from the east to camp. The outright friendliness and enthusiasm with which they were greeted, however, can be less explained by such a fact.

²⁸ Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn, 75.

Thus, when Sullivan's men gathered to celebrate the end of their campaign in October of 1779, a number of Oneida dignitaries played an integral role in the event's proceedings. When they began their campaign, the men of Sullivan's army had cheerfully toasted "civilization or death to all savages" during their Independence Day celebrations.²⁹ That same night, many of them recorded with considerable annoyance that a number of Oneida Indians had "got Drunk & made a terrible noise" in the process.³⁰ When they ended their campaign, however, there was no such sort of irritation expressed at the Oneidas' presence in camp. No all-encompassing toasts were made at the expense of their visitors' race (other than one remarkably wry wish that the "enemies of America be metamorphos'd into pack-horses, and be sent on a Western Expedition against the Indians"). Instead, they were welcomed eagerly and with open arms. Indeed, such eagerness was openly expressed in the celebration's crowning moment: an "Indian dance" led by a "young Sachem of the Oneida Tribe" and "several other Indians." The "officers who join'd in," wrote Colonel Adam Hubley, covered their faces in "Visiors (alias) Monetas [masks]" and proceeded "after the Indian custom" to dance to the music of a "rattle, a knife and a pipe, which the Sachem continued clashing together." With the Oneida "singing Indian the whole time," the officers of Sullivan's army danced with the members of the very confederacy whose lands they had just destroyed. At the end, the "Indian whoop was set up by the whole." It was, Hubley noted, perhaps the perfect way to "conclude the mirth of the day" and bring an end to their trials and tribulations.³¹

Evidently, while their experiences during the campaign had confirmed many of their suspicions regarding Indians, it had disabused them of some important others. The Indians they had fought were, they believed, 'savages' capable of the worst imaginable atrocities, acts

²⁹ Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Lieutenant Thomas Blake, 39.

³⁰ Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Lieutenant Erkuries Beatty, 20.

³¹ Hubley, 417; 420.

inconceivable to those who operated according to what were regarded as the ‘civilized’ rules of warfare. The Oneida, however, seemed to Sullivan’s men to be worthy of respect, friendship, and perhaps even a limited sort of emulation. It was a relatively complex belief in an age of increasing racialization that abhorred such complications. Of course, these beliefs were acted upon in ways that operated within firmly held preconceived notions of racial superiority. The manner in which Sullivan’s men participated in the Indian dance that served as the culmination of their victory celebrations and campaign, for example, is directly reminiscent of the rituals of Tammany Societies that celebrated ‘noble savages’ like the Delaware King Tamanend. Such practices became particularly popular during the Revolution and would have most likely been familiar to many of Sullivan’s men. In participating in the Indian dance as they did, then, the soldiers of the Sullivan campaign may have been honoring their Oneida guests as the stereotypical ‘noble savages’ they perceived them to be. Furthermore (and perhaps most importantly), Sullivan’s troops still considered the Oneida Indians with which they interacted to be the members of a ‘savage’ race. Unlike their counterparts in the Seneca nation, however, Sullivan’s soldiers most likely believed them to be capable of still accepting ‘civilization’ and assimilating into American society.

The dichotomy that existed in the American mindset defining Indians hostile to the cause of ‘liberty’ as ‘savages’ and those that were allied with it as capable of being ‘civilized’ had prevailed, of course, for quite some time in Revolutionary thought and policy.³² Many Americans (particularly those in Congress) had largely abandoned this dichotomy in the wake of frustrations over failed diplomatic policies in the years prior to the Sullivan Expedition. In those years, a rising sense of anger and betrayal among the leaders of the United States government

³² See *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. Worthington C. Ford et al. (Washington, D.C., 1904-37). <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjc.html>. (In particular 1776, 6: 1011; 1777, 9: 996.).

over what they perceived as Indian duplicities and lack of cooperation had combined with a increasing belief in white racial superiority. As a result, Congressional leaders largely rejected further attempts to treat with Indians throughout North America as potential allies and countrymen or retain any hope of ‘civilizing’ them. The victories of the Sullivan Campaign were seen by such leaders as the perfect opportunity to exact revenge upon their ‘savage’ Indian enemies by pushing them westward away from the new American nation. In the process, they eventually came to renounce even allied Indians like the Oneida. When, for example, officials in New York sought to obtain Oneida lands (consensually or otherwise), Congressional leaders willfully ignored their Indian allies’ pleas for protection and instead worked to secure the state’s claims to frontier lands.³³ They had, those leaders believed, simply not been eager enough to support the American cause. Therefore, they were unworthy of the benefits of ‘civilization’ or inclusion in the new United States.

Whereas their leaders largely rejected the Oneida, however, the soldiers of the Sullivan Campaign proved remarkably unwilling to do so. Explaining how such beliefs were acted upon is relatively easy. After all, in the wake of the campaign, Sullivan’s army enthusiastically embraced its Oneida visitors and (at least to some extent) a few of their cultural practices. Explaining why such beliefs were so firmly maintained (even in the wake of massacres like that of Boyd’s riflemen by the Oneidas’ ‘savage’ Seneca neighbors), however, is a bit more complicated. Fortunately, it may not be necessary to go any further than that very event itself. It is possible (indeed, I argue it is the case) that the Oneida Hanyost that fought and suffered torture alongside Boyd may have served for Sullivan’s troops as representative of the virtues of his entire nation. After all, he had sacrificed himself for the cause of ‘liberty.’ In consequence, he

³³ “Instructions to the New York Commissioners for Obtaining Oneida and Tuscarora Lands, March 20 1783” in Calloway et. al., 282-283.

had perhaps suffered more than any other in the expedition. The ‘savage’ Seneca Indians had destroyed his body with even more vehemence than they had with Boyd and his men. He was, the men of Sullivan’s army told themselves, a true martyr to the cause. Many, like Major Jeremiah Fogg, remembered him fondly as a man of “integrity and sobriety.”³⁴ All no doubt saw him as the epitome of the ‘noble savage.’ He had bravely and ‘nobly’ given his life for his cause and his comrades, just as a true soldier should and would. He was, therefore, buried with full military honors alongside his fallen brothers-in-arms. Thus, Sullivan’s men deemed him an Indian that, though ‘savage,’ was ‘worthy’ of the ‘civilization’ they believed due to all potential American citizens. He was also ‘worthy,’ they believed, of the loyalty and respect they knew all those who died for independence deserved.

Interestingly, Sullivan’s army seems to have expanded the honor they paid to Hanyost as a fallen brother-in-arms to encompass his fellow Oneida Indians. In an intriguing twist on the essentializing brand of racialism they espoused, Sullivan’s men came to describe almost all Oneida Indians in relation to the martyred Hanyost. Unlike the Indians whom they had just vanquished, the soldiers of the Sullivan Campaign welcomed the Oneidas into their lives and believed them to be worthy of ‘civilization,’ loyalty, and respect specifically because they were of Hanyost’s nation. Throughout the remainder of the campaign, Sullivan’s troops repeatedly described the visiting Oneidas as “our friends.”³⁵ Such friends were, they believed, worthy of a certain amount of leniency. When the Oneidas claimed in the wake of Hanyost’s death that a band of their warriors had been deceived into returning home without fighting in the campaign, for example, Sullivan’s men chose to believe an excuse that might have otherwise been regarded as evidence of Indian ‘duplicity.’ They also chose to believe, furthermore, that the Oneidas were

³⁴ Cook and Conover, eds., *Journals*, Major Jeremiah Fogg, 94.

³⁵ Hubley, 414.

“much rejoic’d” at their “great success against the Seneca Nations” (despite the fact that the Oneidas most likely resented the fact that the army had not spared the Oneidas’ Cayuga allies in its quest for destruction).³⁶

In fact, it seems they were so convinced of the Oneidas’ worthiness as brothers-in-arms that they eagerly participated in the cultural practices the Oneidas introduced to them during their victory celebrations. Furthermore, the morning after those celebrations the men of Sullivan’s army bid a remarkably fond farewell to their Oneida allies. Many echoed the sentiments of Colonel Adam Hubley when he honored the Oneidas as the “Relatives and friends of the unfortunate Indian Han-jost, who bravely fell with the party under the Command of the much lamented Lieut. Boyd.” They had, he recorded affectionately, “faithfully acted as Guides in the Army.” In the process, they had shown that they were truly loyal to the cause of ‘liberty.’ Therefore, because of the loyalty they had demonstrated they could be deemed ‘worthy’ of the loyalty of their brothers-in-arms, the veterans of Sullivan’s campaign. Thus, with the death of a single Oneida, the entire Oneida nation had earned the loyalty of five thousand Continental Army veterans.³⁷

Of course, there is at least some indication that those five thousand army regulars were not alone. The journal of Robert McCready from the failed expedition against Fort Detroit under General Lachlan McIntosh in 1778, for example, emphasizes the close relationship between the American soldiers and Indian warriors that fought alongside one another during that campaign. In it, those Indians considered enemies to the American cause are consistently referred to as ‘savages.’ Those who supported the expedition, however, are treated far more affectionately. When, for instance, a band of auxiliary Indians first arrived in the expedition’s camp on

³⁶ Hubley, 413.

³⁷ Hubley, 420.

November 18th, 1778, they greeted their American allies with “Three Indian Cheirs.” They were answered, McCready recorded, with a “hasty Running Fire.” That “being done,” he concluded, the American soldiers “Encamped round [their] Brethren” the Indians. The friendliness of soldiers’ perceptions of and interactions with the Indians that supported their cause are echoed in the accounts of soldiers in frontier expeditions throughout the war (and distinctly resemble many accounts of interactions between various units composed entirely of Americans). Such examples seem to indicate that soldiers that fought alongside Indians during the war came to consider them (like those in the Sullivan Expedition) as brothers-in-arms ‘worthy’ of their loyalty. This perception would ultimately translate into a sense of their ‘worthiness’ as potential recipients of American ‘civilization’ and citizenship in the United States. The correspondence of those that commanded campaigns involving Indian auxiliaries also indicate that a similar perception was held by those in the higher echelons of the United State military.³⁸

Unfortunately, the primary source material beyond the documents surrounding the Sullivan Expedition and a few isolated others is relatively sparse. Any conclusions made from an analysis of their contents are therefore an exercise in educated speculation. If those conclusions have merit, however, and those that served in the military during the Revolution did, in fact, feel a sense of loyalty to American-allied Indian groups as their writings indicate, it would explain the support for ‘civilization’ policies among military veterans after the war. Commanders like Henry Knox and George Washington watched Indian auxiliaries fight and die alongside their own men. Whatever those Indians’ actual reasons for supporting the American cause, men like

³⁸ Robert McCready and Edward G. Williams, ed. "A Revolutionary Journal and Orderly Book of General Lachlan McIntosh's Expedition, 1778." *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 43 (1960), 16. See also, for example Cook and Conover, eds., Gore, and Lenoir cited above and Consul Willshire Butterfield, ed. *Washington-Irvine Correspondence; the official letters which passed between Washington and Brigadier General William Irvine, and between Irvine and others concerning military affairs in the West from 1781 to 1783*. Madison, Wisc.: D. Atwood, 1882. and Edward Hand. "Correspondence of General Edward Hand of the Continental Line, 1779-1781." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 33 (1909), pp. 353-360.

Knox and Washington would have most likely believed them to be fighting out of an (at least ‘primitive’) sense of obligation to the virtues of republicanism and ‘liberty.’ For these men, the inability or unwillingness of Congressional leaders to provide the Continental Army with much needed supplies during the war had led to a growing sense of bitterness toward the civilian populace of the United States, which they believed had abandoned the ‘defenders of republican liberty’ in their hour of need.³⁹ This bitterness was sharply contrasted with the actions of Indians like Hanyost and the Oneida nation, who often supplied Continental soldiers with food and clothing and died alongside them in battles throughout the war. This contract could have naturally translated into a firm conviction that such Indians were indeed capable of being ‘civilized’ and did, in fact, deserve to be assimilated into the new American nation despite the protests of resented Congressional leaders. Seen in this light, the support of such men (and that of the men they commanded) for ‘civilization’ policies in the years after the Revolution is far more understandable.

There is some indication, at least, that this may have been the case. Washington, for example, expressed the utmost admiration for the Indian allies that fought alongside his troops during the Revolution. “The Oneidas and Tuscaroras,” he wrote shortly after members of those tribes had provided his troops at Valley Forge with much needed supplies and military assistance, “have a particular claim to attention and kindness, for their perseverance and fidelity.”⁴⁰ During the Sullivan campaign itself he continued to write fondly of the expedition’s Oneida allies, who had, he informed his protégé the Marquis de Lafayette (himself a compatriot

³⁹ See Charles Royster. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775-1783*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

⁴⁰ “George Washington to Philip J. Schuyler, May 15, 1778” in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress. Cited from HTML version at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/>.

of Oneida warriors throughout the war), “always lived in amity with us.”⁴¹ For the remainder of the war, Washington proved himself to be a near constant supporter of Oneida interests. I am “well convinced,” he wrote the Congressional War Board in 1781, “not only of the policy, but of the justice of giving support to a tribe, who have manifested so strong an attachment to us as the Oneidas have done.”⁴² As Congressional support for allied Indians slowly disappeared, Washington was often forced to delve into his own constantly dwindling supplies in order to ensure the comfort and safety of his Indian allies.⁴³ Even after the war, Washington continued to fight for the security of his friends among the Indian nations along the frontier. While many, like prominent Indian agent James Duane, called for the stringent punishment of Indian nations in the wake of American victory, Washington continued to offer his wartime allies support and protection long after he had stepped down as commander-in-chief.⁴⁴

In the wake of his election as the first President of the United States, Washington’s fondness for those Indian nations that had fought alongside American troops during the war began to translate into a broad shift in official government policy. For several years after the end of the Revolution, many American leaders had proven themselves determined to punish as harshly as possible all those Indian nations unfortunate enough to dwell within Congressional reach. Firmly convinced of the ineffectiveness of such policies and the ‘fairness’ of their own treatment of ‘friendly’ Indians like the Oneidas, Washington and his supporters (like Henry Knox) fought to steer their government’s policies away from the depths of revenge and toward the shores of what they heralded as ‘benevolent paternalism’.

⁴¹ “George Washington to Marquis de Lafayette, September 30, 1779.” in Fitzpatrick.

⁴² “George Washington to Continental Congress War Board, February 23, 1781.” in Fitzpatrick.

⁴³ See “Washington to Continental Congress War Board,” cited above.

⁴⁴ For Washington’s response to Duane’s suggestions, see “George Washington to James Duane, September 7, 1783.” in Fitzpatrick et al. In this letter, Washington admits his belief in the necessity of an at least partial punishment for some Indian nations, but concludes by maintaining his support for allied nations like the Oneida.

Unfortunately (for those men, at least), the rest of their society had all but abandoned their hopes for an eventual assimilation of Indians into the newly founded United States. Instead, they became more and more intent upon removing Indians westward away from American territory. Federal Indian agents and their supporters in Congress in particular pushed for Indian land concessions regardless of what side any nation had fought on during the Revolution or their relative willingness to be ‘civilized.’ Despite their best efforts, the men of the Washington administration began to realize their own failure before they had even left office. As early as 1791, Secretary of War Henry Knox was writing in frustration to the House of Representatives of that body’s efforts to prevent Oneida Indians from drawing pensions as Revolutionary veterans.⁴⁵ It could only be hoped, he concluded in his missive to Congress, that the Oneidas would be allowed to retain the “lands to which it appears they are entitled, and which it is conceived they may receive without any act of Congress.”⁴⁶ Alas, that was not to be.

Indeed, by the time of the Jefferson administration at the turn of the nineteenth century the Oneida and other allied Indians had lost much of their land. In the interim between the Washington and Jefferson years, forced removal westward had become the chief policy of the American government when dealing with the Indian nations it considered to be under its jurisdiction. By the late 1830s, such policies would find their ultimate expression in the Indian Removal Act, when the Cherokee nation (which had largely embraced American ‘civilization’ policies after the war) was forced to relocate to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma. In that same

⁴⁵ Knox’s frustrations may have been somewhat heightened by the difficulty of *American* veterans to draw pensions as well. As such, it is possible that – to a certain degree – some veterans’ support for Indian ‘rights’ (as they saw them) may have been tied at least partially to their own struggle to receive a modicum of respect from their own government (to be evinced in the form of land grants for veterans, pensions for veteran families, etc.). Rather than weaken their perceived bond with certain Indians like the Oneidas, however, such a shared ‘oppression’ would most likely have strengthened it even further in the minds of former Continental Army soldiers and officers like Secretary of War Henry Knox.

⁴⁶ Henry Knox. “Oneidas and Tuscaroras: Communicated to the House of Representatives, March 3, 1791.” *American States Papers: Indian Affairs* 1: 123.

period, the Marquis de Lafayette would find his repeated requests for an audience with his Oneida brothers-in-arms from the Revolution greeted with nothing but confused stares from the Americans who came to honor him during his tour of the United States in 1825.⁴⁷ The American public, it seemed, had almost completely forgotten that there was a time when Indians like Hanyost fought and died alongside their Revolutionary antecedents. By the time General Sherman spoke at the centennial celebrations of the Battle of Chemung, it was a *fait accompli*.

⁴⁷ For an account of this event, see Joseph T. Glatthaar and James Kirby Martin. *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2006, 6.

Chapter 4: ““By the Aid of the Full Blooded Natives’: Indians’ War for Independence”

From 1916 to 1921, the few Oneida Indians remaining in the state of New York waged a battle in the federal courts to maintain their right to a small tract of communally owned land in Oneida, New York known as Hanyoust Place. In *United States v. Boylan et. al.* in the District Court of Appeals and *Boylan et. al. v. United States* in the Supreme Court, the Oneidas successfully argued that the territory had been reserved for them under the stipulations of the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. They did so over the objections of state officials, who argued that the Oneidas had assimilated into American society long before their contemporary insolvency had prompted the state’s foreclosure and sale of the property. The federal government, however, saw the state’s seizure of Hanyoust Place as a violation of national law. As a ‘dependent’ nation that enjoyed a certain level of local sovereignty within the borders of the United States, the right of the Oneidas to their lands could not be infringed upon by any political entity other than the federal government. Determined to avoid further legal action and establish the parameters of its authority over the Indians still living within its borders, the state of New York formed a commission under Republican Assemblyman Edward Everett to determine the extent of Indians’ land claims in the state. At first glance, the buildup to the Everett Commission is nothing more than a blip in the perennial efforts of American Indians to maintain their independence in the face of pressures to assimilate into American society. The nature of Iroquois cooperation with the commission, however, makes the report it ultimately produced a unique repository for Indians’ notions of their place in the development of American history. Frustrated by their inability to maintain a holding on land that was once entirely in their nation’s possession, many of the Indians of the former Iroquois confederacy used their interactions with the Everett

Commission as an opportunity to lambast the governments of both New York and the United States for their role in the demise of the confederacy during and after the American Revolution. In the process, the report preserved the nature of Iroquois historical memories of that conflict in almost unedited form.

As such, the report provides a rare glimpse into what I would argue represents an attempt by various Indian groups to wield their historical memories of the American Revolution as a tool of cultural resistance in their fight to maintain a modicum of independence in the wake of the war. Furthermore, I would argue that their use of such memories began in the immediate aftermath of the war itself. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1775, many Indian groups attempted to use the same diplomatic methods they had relied upon during the colonial era as tools of resistance by maintaining their neutrality and attempting to play each belligerent off the other. As the war progressed, however, such groups began to ally themselves with whichever side they believed might be capable of helping them to preserve their independence from both. Eventually, most were pulled into the war, where they wielded military methods of resistance for much the same reason that they had wielded diplomatic ones only a few years earlier. In the end, many Indian groups were severely weakened by their involvement on one side or another during the Revolution, and so naturally chose to adopt methods of resistance that might be less taxing than the diplomatic and military tactics they had relied upon during the conflict. For some, like the Cherokees, an at least partial acceptance of American culture became a means of resisting total assimilation without open violence. For others, like parts of the Iroquois Confederacy, the preservation of memories of the war opened an avenue to British and American sympathies that might be manipulated for their benefit. The Iroquois memories of the American Revolution that resonate most clearly from the pages of the report are those of the Oneidas living within the

Onondaga Reservation of central New York and of the Mohawks settled in Brantford, Ontario. This is far from surprising given that the survival of both was perhaps even more contingent upon their participation in the Revolution than the others within the Iroquois confederacy. For the Oneidas, their attachment to the United States during the war represented the establishment of an alliance of mutual obligation that neither could tear asunder. For the Mohawks of Brantford (mostly descendants of the followers of the Iroquois leader Joseph Brant, or Thayendanegea), their support of Great Britain in the war had produced similar circumstances. For both, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had seen the rapid deterioration of that system as the American, British, and Canadian governments each abandoned their obligations to the Iroquois in favor of policies of assimilation. Understandably, then, the leaders of both Iroquois groups used their responses to the questions of the Everett Commission as an opportunity to remind their erstwhile allies of the debt owed to them for their service during the war.

For Chief William Smith of Brantford, the efforts of the Canadian government to force a compulsory citizenship upon his people were particularly loathsome in light of the sacrifices his ancestors had made in fighting the United States during its successful bid for independence. “We have no objection if a man wants [Canadian citizenship],” Smith declares, “but we don’t want it compulsory.” “What business has the Canadian government” to do so, he asked, if his people’s rights as a “separate nation and government” were established over a century before by a British government grateful for their service against the American rebellion? During that war, Smith claimed, British officials had “promised the Mohawks” that “in case they lose anything by helping Great Britain it shall be restored by the government.” The land the British government granted the Mohawks to found Brantford after the war, Smith maintained, represented the fulfillment of that promise. The Canadian government’s forced assimilation of his people could

only be regarded, then, as a violation of that sacred covenant. The independence of the Brantford Indians, he concluded, was dependent upon the Canadian government's continued recognition of that covenant, which could only be secured through his people's preservation of the memories behind it.¹

Like the Brantford Indians, the Oneidas of Onondaga believed that - because of their support of the American government during the Revolution - the United States had a particular obligation to help them preserve their independence in the face of incursions by the state of New York. According to Chief Chapman Skenandoah, the Oneidas were the "only nation that never fought against the 'Stars and Stripes.'" Instead, he reminded his listeners, they had "fought for the United States soldiers" while the "Onondagas, Senecas and all the rest of the Five Nations divided like so many Germans and other people in this last war [World War I]." "I heard these things when a boy," he continued, that "when the kings and dukes landed" the "colonists or rebels whipped them by the aid of the full blooded natives" of the Oneida nation. "You cannot deny and your history cannot deny that our forefathers helped in your battles," he concluded, and the least the United States could do was protect the Oneidas for what they did to "help set up your government." It was the United States's obligation to honor its history he declared, just as the Oneidas had done in "our tradition."²

The tradition to which Skenandoah referred was comprised of far more than the generic assertions of the Oneidas' loyalty contained within the pages of the Everett Report. Instead, Oneidas' memories of their role in the American Revolution went much farther than a simple recollection of an alliance with the United States. Indeed, for many Oneidas memories of their ancestors' role in the Revolution had coalesced in oral tradition as the tale of Polly Cooper. Like

¹ Edward Everett. *Report of the New York State Indian Commission*. March 27, 1922. Accessed November 13, 2013. <http://128.121.13.244/awweb/main.jsp?flag=browse&smd=1&awdid=1>, 318-20

² Everett, 108-10.

Skenandoah, many Oneida leaders had sat at the feet of their elders ‘when a boy’ as they listened to a narrative that had been preserved in Oneida oral history for generations. According to Oneida tradition, Cooper - an Oneida Indian woman - had been instrumental in the survival of George Washington’s army during its stay at Valley Forge in the winter of 1777-1778. Over the course of those months, Cooper and the Oneida leader Skenandoa supplied the Continental Army with desperately needed shipments of corn and clothing while those from the Continental Congress and its citizens dwindled almost to nothing. In honor of her loyalty, Washington and his soldiers presented her with a black shawl they had noticed her admiring in the window of a shop in Philadelphia, a shawl that was preserved by the Oneidas well into the twentieth century and displayed at the New York State Fair in 1928.

Cooper’s association with corn in Oneida tradition elevated her to membership in the pantheon of maternal Indian women that brought sustenance to the earth in numerous Indian creation stories.³ Like the nourishment those women brought to the earth at the time of its creation, Cooper had nurtured the United States in the moment of its birth. By preserving her story in oral tradition, the Oneidas fought for their independence by reminding the United States of the debt they were owed for the role they played in American independence. For Indians like the Oneidas and the Mohawks, then, their twentieth-century war for independence was part of a much older process that began with their ancestors’ efforts to maintain their independence during the colonial and revolutionary periods. Indeed, it was through this lens that the Oneidas interpreted their success in the Boylan cases, which they believed had been decided in their favor because of an awareness of the obligation the United States government owed them for their role in the survival of the fledgling nation.

³ For an examination of Cooper’s role as a figure in Oneida oral history, see Anthony Wayne Wonderley and Hope Emily Allen. *Oneidas Iroquois Folklore, Myth, and History: New York Oral Narrative from the Notes of H.E. Allen and Others*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2004, 210-4.

This was a notion that the American justices involved in the *Boylan* cases flatly denied, writing that their decision had “nothing whatever to do with compensation for loyalty or services or losses during the Revolutionary War.”⁴ The response of those justices reveals an important difference between Americans’ and Indians’ conceptions of the nature of diplomatic relations. For Americans, diplomacy centered on relationships founded upon ‘quid pro quo’ notions of compensation. For Indians like the Mohawks and Oneidas, however, diplomacy was based on a system of mutual obligation.⁵ Through their historical memories, these groups played upon both conceptions in an effort to maintain their independence by emphasizing the standing obligation the Canadian and American governments owed them as compensation for the efforts during the Revolution over a century earlier.

For the justices in the *Boylan* cases, however, the Oneidas’ struggle for independence in the twentieth century had little to do with events that occurred over a century earlier. Instead, the case was nothing more than the product of government policies that had been abandoned in the aftermath of the Revolution but rejuvenated later in the wake of the western Indian Wars of the late nineteenth century.⁶ For Indians like the Oneidas, however, this notion indicated a willful ignorance that might succeed in destroying their last vestiges of independence. For these Indians, the Revolution represented not an *American* War for Independence, but one moment in a much larger *Indian* one, one with a number of parallels to that of the United States. Like their American neighbors, Indian groups throughout North America were beginning to embrace a rising racial consciousness that increasingly informed their decisions throughout the war. Also

⁴ Quoted in Wonderley, cited above, 210.

⁵ For an examination of this diplomatic system, see Timothy J. Shannon. *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*. New York: Viking, 2008.

⁶ Assimilation policies were an important facet of the character of the nineteenth-century Indian Wars conducted in not only the United States, but in Mexico and Canada as well. See Bruce Vandervort. *Indian Wars of Mexico, Canada and the United States, 1812-1900*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

like the Americans that shared their continent, the War for Independence confronted them with an escalating series of local political divisions that threatened to tear their lives apart. Often, as in the United States, these divisions arose along the line between soldier and civilian. Young warriors eager to prove their names in battle became more and more frustrated at older political leaders desperate to avoid bloodshed and increasingly struck out on their own at the expense of group cohesion. At almost every level of their societies, then, the Indians of North America fought to preserve their individual and collective independence in the face of new and sometimes violent challenges to their sovereignty from both American and British forces. For some, like the Oneidas and Delawares, the new policies of the United States presented them with an opportunity to partially embrace American cultural practices in an effort to forestall the imposition of more. For others, the continued reliance of British agents upon familiar diplomatic practices convinced them that they might be able to ride out the storm of war without being forced to sacrifice their independence by a nation that celebrated it but did little to understand it. Meanwhile, for most, the fight for independence meant a daily battle in which their very survival was at stake.

For many Indian groups throughout North American, this battle was simply one more in a long struggle that began during their first interactions with European colonizers centuries earlier. As historians like Richard White have noted, such groups often proved adept at carefully manipulating the various conflicts that arose between the imperial interests of European nations like England, France and Spain to their advantage as the colonial period progressed.⁷ Indeed, such manipulations were often key to Indians' struggle to maintain their cultural independence, territorial sovereignty, and basic survival as the colonial frontier inched farther and farther

⁷ See Richard White. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

westward and nearer and nearer to their communities. Treaty council meetings between Indian and colonial leaders often provided the most frequent and decisive opportunities for Indian groups to turn the European imperial struggle over the continent to their benefit. Typically, they did so by insisting upon a reliance on their own diplomatic methods at such events.⁸ In some cases, the trade relationships entailed by such methods allowed Indian groups that frequently interacted with Europeans to tilt the local balance of power in their favor by enabling them to expand their spheres of economic and political influence. The acquisition of guns and other European manufactured goods often provided Indian groups close to the frontier with the military might and financial resources they needed to augment their numbers by bringing other groups under their influence. By doing so, they hoped to establish a more effective barrier between the continuously expanding colonies and their own communities, while preventing any of the various European imperial forces from seizing power in the region themselves.

Perhaps more personally, however, Indians' diplomatic methods emphasized the establishment of a network of fictive kinships intended to attach colonial leaders personally to their interests through a relationship of mutual obligation that was rendered inviolable through regular maintenance. Throughout much of the colonial period, many Indian leaders struggled to construct and preserve such relationships in the face of continued colonial expansion. While they retained their numerical superiority and regional influence, these efforts were at least somewhat successful. According to James Merrell, this success was dependent upon the industry and determination of cultural mediators throughout the continent like Conrad Weiser of

⁸ For an examination of Indians' use of diplomatic practices to maintain their independence and preserve their political voices in colonial relations, see Daniel K. Richter. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Pennsylvania and the Delaware leader Teedyuscung.⁹ Such mediators worked tirelessly to alleviate the rising tensions between their peoples throughout the period, and the intimately personal relationships they developed over the course of their diplomatic careers proved to be an invaluable resource for Indian groups eager to avoid weakening themselves through open conflict with European colonizers. As European colonists began to overflow the bounds of their territory and flood into indigenous lands over the course of the colonial era, such individuals became increasingly important to Indians' efforts to safeguard their independence. The tenuous peace they helped preserve allowed the indigenous groups of North America to maintain their neutrality in the face of ongoing attempts by the agents of various European imperial forces to tie such groups to their interests at the expense of those of their enemies. In turn, this refusal by many Indian groups to affiliate themselves with any particular colonial power often forced the representatives of those powers to reluctantly accommodate and support their struggle to prevent the expansion of the colonial frontier.

With the seizure of French colonial holdings in North America by the British during the Seven Years War, however, this reluctance increased exponentially. Without the threat of imperial competition on the continent (or the fear of a French-Indian alliance that might overrun its colonial borders), the imperial policies of the British crown began to emphasize a more cost-effective administration of its colonial enterprises in the Americas.¹⁰ More and more frequently, British agents refused to conform to financially prohibitive diplomatic practices like the presentation of gifts at treaty council meetings and insisted upon trade relationships that maximized their economic profits. Additionally, the generation of cultural mediators that

⁹ See James Hart Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: Norton, 1999.

¹⁰ For an examination of the situation of North America in the wake of the Seven Years War, see Colin G. Calloway. *The Scratch of a Pen: 1763 and the Transformation of North America*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2006.

successfully prevented the eruption of an all-out frontier war in the early eighteenth century began to die off piecemeal without preparing for the eventuality of their departure from frontier diplomacy. Without a sufficient number of experienced diplomatic intermediaries, tensions continued to rise between the expanding British colonies and the Indian communities that stood in their way. Had the many colonial leaders eager to profit from land speculation ventures in the trans-Mississippi West gotten their way, such tensions may have boiled over into yet another continent-wide conflict. After being forced to combat and suppress the Indians of the Ohio country in Pontiac's War at great expense, however, British officials became determined to avoid further such expenditures.¹¹ In the "Royal Proclamation of 1763," the British crown expressly forbade colonial expansion beyond the Appalachian Mountains in an effort to reduce tensions with Indian groups along the frontier.¹² Unfortunately, it remained largely unable to actually enforce the decree throughout the remainder of the colonial period. Thus, the absence of European competition on the continent robbed Indians of the ability to manipulate the diplomatic landscape to their advantage at a time when colonial defiance of imperial edict made such manipulations all the more critical to their efforts to preserve a modicum of independence.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, however, Indians throughout North America saw an opportunity to use the conflict as an attempt to return to their reliance on the diplomatic strategies of the early colonial period. In the early stages of the fighting, many Indian groups refused to be swept away in the torrent of war, instead choosing to maintain their neutrality in the hopes of once again manipulating European competition to their advantage. For groups like the Iroquois whose lives had been dramatically disrupted by the European imperial contests that took

¹¹ For an examination of Pontiac's War within the larger context of imperial politics in the Ohio Valley after the Seven Years War, see Eric Hinderaker. *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673-1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

¹² See "The Royal Proclamation of 1763." Avalon Project. October 7, 1763. Accessed November 16, 2013. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/proc1763.asp. for the text of the "Royal Proclamation of 1763."

place over the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, avoiding the destruction that might be brought down upon them by an alliance with the wrong party seemed particularly appealing. Thus, they were among the first groups to issue official declarations of their diplomatic independence from the conflict (which, they hoped, would in turn help to preserve their cultural and territorial independence as well).

Of these, the “Oneida Declaration of Neutrality” delivered at Kanonharoghare in June of 1775 is particularly representative, and reveals the care with which such groups attempted to balance the concerns of both parties in an effort to preserve the peace that had just recently returned to their lives. “In these times of great confusion,” they declared, “we desire not to meddle with any disputers that are now in agitation.” “We would evidence to the world our regards for the English nation by fighting for their defense,” they continued, but “let our New England Brethren be fully assured” that “no one shall prevail with us, or persuade [us] to take up arms against you.” “So Let all be easy in their minds [that] we are for Peace,” they concluded, “ye are Brethren that are at variance and this is the reason we desire to be nutrails.” Thus, the Oneidas declared that the American War for Independence was not their concern. Instead, they, the rest of the Iroquois confederacy, and Indians throughout the continent chose to fight their own war for independence by working to reestablish the diplomatic landscape of the early colonial era.¹³

At first, American and British agents were forced to at the very least acknowledge the neutrality of groups like the Oneidas and others while their attention was focused on the battlefields of New England and New York and could not withstand the pressure of a war with multiple fronts. As the war continued, however, the nominal respect each professed for the

¹³ “Oneida Declaration of Neutrality,” in Colin G. Calloway and Alden T. Vaughan. *Revolution and Confederation*. Vol. XVIII. Early American Indian Documents: Treaties and Laws, 1607-1789. Bethesda, MD: University Publication of America, 1994, 4.

decision of such groups to remain neutral in the conflict began to shift to an active effort to attach the indigenous peoples of North America to their cause in an attempt to force the other to fight the very multi-front war they hoped to avoid themselves. For smaller Indian groups near the frontier like the Oneidas and Delawares (who were largely unable to resist such efforts militarily), the diplomatic strategies under which they operated became all the more important. With that rising importance came an impulse to fall back upon the few residual pockets of a familiar diplomatic landscape that they continued to enjoy. For the most part, these pockets were encompassed within the presence of the small number of cultural mediators they had retained from the colonial period. For the Oneidas, the Presbyterian minister Samuel Kirkland represented one of the few men still capable of acting as an effective intermediary in their diplomatic endeavors. Indeed, it was Kirkland himself that communicated their “Declaration of Neutrality” to the new American government with the help of an Oneida interpreter named Jacob Reed. Because his sympathies lay with the American rebellion, it was also Samuel Kirkland who would prove the most influential in convincing the Oneidas that their interests would be best served by an alliance with the United States.

Throughout the war, Kirkland proved tireless in representing the interests of each to the other. His efforts were considered so important, in fact, that the Continental Congress officially sponsored his missionary efforts. As early as November of 1775, American leaders had issued a Congressional missive declaring that for the “propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, and conciliating their affections to the United Colonies, and thereby preserving their friendship” Kirkland should be paid a sum of sixty-five pounds sterling out of the Continental treasury. The missionary’s role as a cultural mediator was, American leaders asserted, essential to defeating the “machinations of the emissaries and agents of the british Ministry” on the frontier. For the

Oneidas, however, Kirkland served first and foremost as a diplomatic barrier that might protect them from the machinations their American allies were so fond of relying upon in their quest for Indians' territory. Because many Oneidas had chosen to convert to Christianity under his ministrations, this was a role Kirkland enthusiastically embraced by assuming the mantle of a shepherd for his flock. Throughout the war and afterwards, Kirkland refused to engage with American authorities without the express permission of his Oneida congregants and they, in turn, refused to engage with the same without his participation. This relationship had a remarkably profound impact on regional politics and diplomacy and was so successful in preserving Oneida independence that it was not until Kirkland's death in the first decade of the nineteenth century that the state of New York was able to execute its designs on Oneida territory to full effect.¹⁴

The Oneidas' choice to embrace the 'civilization' Kirkland and his nation offered represents an attempt made by many American allied Indians during the war to avoid total assimilation by accepting only as much of American culture as necessary to placate their allies. Furthermore, the facets of American culture they chose to embrace were only those cultural practices that might facilitate the survival of their own lifeways. By accepting American culture under these restrictions, they hoped to preserve as much of their own culture and independence as possible while adapting to a changing social and political landscape. Such adaptations were by no means unique to the revolutionary period. Historian David Rich Lewis's study of the nineteenth-century Indian groups of the American Southwest has explored such processes perhaps most deeply. In his book *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change*, Lewis characterizes such efforts as aspects of a process known as cultural

¹⁴ *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, ed. Worthington C. Ford et al. (Washington, D.C., 1904-37). <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwjc.html>, 1775, 3: 351

reproduction.¹⁵ As Lewis notes, the nineteenth-century Indians of the American Southwest only accepted as many American cultural practices as were necessary to help them maintain a modicum of independence, and only those cultural practices that might help to facilitate their own. The actions of American allied Indians like the Oneidas during the Revolution were similarly motivated. Throughout the war and afterwards, the Oneidas retained many of their cultural lifeways while nominally converting to Christianity and adopting a number of smaller American cultural practices. During that period, however, they also consistently refused to grant their military allies passage through their territory for fear that it would open the way for subsequent incursions upon their land. By at least partially acquiescing to their allies' wishes while continuing to hold them at arm's length, groups like the Oneidas carefully tread the line between independence and destruction over the course of the war.

Like the Oneidas, the American allied Delawares of western Pennsylvania nominally adopted American cultural practices (like Christianity) in an effort to avoid being forced to accept them wholesale. By doing so, they, like the Oneidas, hoped to preserve their cultural and territorial sovereignty. Unlike the Oneidas, however, the Delawares' alliance with the United States went much further. Over the course of the colonial period, Delaware leaders like John Killbuck (Gelelemend) developed deeply personal relationships with a number of cultural mediators - chief among them Moravian missionary David Zeisberger - who would later prove sympathetic to the American cause.¹⁶ These relationships convinced men like Killbuck to lead their

¹⁵ David Rich Lewis. *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

¹⁶ Killbuck's relationship with Zeisberger was so close, in fact, that the Delawares leader chose to settle in a Moravian missionary village after the war. For primary source material on Zeisberger's relationship with Delawares and other Indian leaders, see Earl P. Olmstead and David Zeisberger. *David Zeisberger: A Life among the Indians*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1997.; and David Hermann Wellenreuther Zeisberger and Carola Wessel. *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger, 1771-1781*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005. For an examination, in part, of Zeisberger's role within the larger context of the frontier, see Earl P.

communities into an alliance with the United States in the early years of the war. This alliance culminated in the 1778 Treaty of Fort Pitt, which contained a clause providing for the formation of a state “whereof the Delaware nation shall be the head, and have a representation in Congress.”¹⁷ For the American agents that signed the Treaty of Fort Pitt, the creation of an ‘Indian state’ represented the penultimate step in their nation’s attempts to assimilate the Indians of North America into the United States. For them, the Delawares were simply the first of a hoped-for many. For the Delawares, on the other hand, this clause served to construct a well-defined barrier between their lands and those of the rebellious colonists, a barrier that - because it operated within the Americans’ own political system - might force the colonists to recognize Delawares’ claims to territorial and cultural sovereignty.

Unfortunately for the Delawares, the American agents at Fort Pitt also included a clause in the treaty - possibly without their allies’ knowledge - that allowed American troops free passage through Delaware lands. Upon hearing of the clause, Delaware leaders like Killbuck quickly acted to express their outrage to the men responsible. In a letter to the Congressional Indian agent Colonel George Morgan, Killbuck protested that he had “looked over the Articles of the Treaty again” and found that they were “wrote down false.” “I did not understand the Interpreter,” he continued, and so “I could not contradict his Interpretation.” “I throwed down every thing that was bad, and which came from our Enemies the English,” he reminded the American agent, it “makes me very sorry and uneasy” that I have been treated in this manner. It is evident from his letter that Killbuck suspected that the alterations made to the treaty by his American allies might have been deliberate. This suspicion of American perfidy, according to him, had caused “much confusion among my People.” To call it confusion, however, is to put it

Olmstead. *Blackcoats among the Delaware: David Zeisberger on the Ohio Frontier*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1991.; James H. O'Donnell. *Ohio's First Peoples*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004.

¹⁷ “Treaty with the Delawares at Pittsburgh, Sept. 17, 1778.” in Calloway et al, 169.

lightly. Upon his return to Delaware territory after the treaty council at Fort Pitt, Killbuck found himself rapidly losing control of his community. This was especially true after the death of his political ally, the Delaware leader White Eyes (Koquethagechton) later that year. Because Killbuck enjoyed roughly the same level of coercive power as his Congressional counterparts, he was unable to prevent the division of his community as those wary of American attempts to rob them of their territory and independence began to increasingly call for an abandonment of their alliance with the United States. As the war progressed, more and more Delawares found themselves at odds with Killbuck's policies. As a result, many chose to seek an alliance with Great Britain, whose agents held out tantalizing offers of a return to the boundary established by the "Royal Proclamation of 1763" once the American rebellion was suppressed. This choice – repeated by Indian groups throughout the continent – signaled an increasing shift in their war for independence from a reliance on diplomatic methods of resistance to more military ones as the American Revolution progressed.¹⁸

For many Indian groups throughout North America, Britain's offers of a return to colonial boundaries were far more enticing than the 'civilization' and assimilation offered by the agents of the United States, whose government proved largely incapable of restraining its citizens on the frontier from continuing their incursions on Indians' lands. The cash-strapped American government – often unable to even supply its own troops – also proved largely incapable of providing the sort of financial and trade incentives necessitated by Indians' diplomatic practices. British agents – like Sir Guy Johnson (son of Sir William Johnson and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the northern colonies) and John Stuart (Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the southern ones) – on the other hand, had the financial resources of the entire imperial system

¹⁸ "Delaware Complaints about the Treaty of Fort Pitt: John Killbuck to Morgan, Jan. 20, 1779" in Calloway et al, 174.

behind them. These resources, though somewhat limited, were still far more substantial than those of the Continental Congress. As a result, British Indian agents were able to offer substantially larger diplomatic gifts than were American ones. Over the course of the war, these lucrative financial gifts – and the promises of protection from American territorial incursions that accompanied them – convinced many Indian groups throughout North America to embrace an alliance with the British crown. The relationship such agents had developed with large Indian groups like the Mohawks and Senecas in the north and the Creeks and Cherokees in the south over the course of the colonial period made such offers all the more persuasive.¹⁹ Thus motivated, Indians like the Mohawk warrior Joseph Brant and the Cherokee warrior Dragging Canoe (Tsiyu Gansini) openly defied their political leaders and led their followers into an alliance with the British. For these men, such an alliance offered them the opportunity not only to prove their names in battle, but also to do so while - they hoped - more effectively preserving their peoples' independence in the face of American incursions on their lands and Congressional attempts to 'civilize' and assimilate them.

As a result of such decisions, Indians' attacks on the frontier became increasingly common in the later years of the war. By late 1778, outraged American leaders had determined that the only appropriate response to such attacks was violence in kind. The congressionally sponsored Sullivan Expedition of 1779 against the British allied Seneca Indians of western New York was the result. During this campaign, the war for independence fought by Indians throughout North America became, for many Senecas, a struggle for their basic survival. This struggle is reflected in their pragmatic approach to the Battle of Newtown in August of 1779. As discussed

¹⁹ For an examination of the role of Sir Guy Johnson and his father Sir William in colonial and revolutionary Indian diplomacy, see Fintan O'Toole. *White 'savage': William Johnson and the Invention of America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.; For an examination of the role of John Stuart, see J. Russell Snapp. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

elsewhere, this American victory would convince many of Sullivan's troops and his superiors in Congress of the 'inherent inferiority' of the Indian 'savages.' The mix of Seneca and Mohawk warriors under the leadership of Joseph Brant that fought against Sullivan's army in the battle, on the other hand, believed otherwise. Such Indians' memories of the battle differ significantly from those of Sullivan's men. According to the Seneca warrior Chainbreaker (Tah-won-ne-ahs or Thaonawyuthe - also known as Governor Blacksnake), who was present at the Battle of Newtown, what Sullivan's troops had seen as the Indians' panicked flight from the field of battle was in fact a conscious, rational decision. "After we got Down" to the battlefield, he recounted, we saw that the "american[s] had more men [than] we ware of." "So," he continued, "we concluded to stand back" until "we get better Chance" to "stand against them." Their 'defeat,' then, represented nothing more than a pragmatic retreat in the face of a superior force so that they might continue their fight at a later date when the odds might be more in their favor (a pragmatism that is reflective of many Indians' aversion to the European notion of a total war).²⁰

Their chance came shortly thereafter at Little Beard's Town. There, several hundred warriors led by the Seneca warrior Little Beard (Si-gwa-ah-doh-gwih) successfully ambushed and captured a detachment of twenty-five American riflemen and an Oneida guide named Hanyost Thaosagwat under Lieutenant Thomas Boyd. Little Beard's followers ritualistically tortured the men they captured over the course of the next day. Upon their deaths, their bodies were beheaded, cut into pieces, and fed to the village dogs. The fate of the Oneida guide Hanyost, however, was arguably worse. When Sullivan's men discovered his body several days later it was completely unrecognizable as a human form. For these men, Hanyost's death became a symbol of the loyalty of his people to the American cause. For the Seneca warriors

²⁰ Chainbreaker or Blacksnake, Benjamin Williams, and Thomas S. Abler. *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary War Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake as Told to Benjamin Williams*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989, 140.

present at the torture itself, however, Hanyost's death represented a well-deserved retaliation for his betrayal of their race and its fight for independence against white Europeans. According to Chainbreaker, Hanyost suffered the worst torture because he "had [an] Indian Skull [scalp] tide on his belt."²¹ Because he had attacked members of his own race and betrayed their fight for independence, then, the warriors under Little Beard's command chose to punish him with particular zeal. Their decision reveals a growing perception among many Indians of both the common bonds they shared with others of their race and the increasing divide they felt between themselves and white Americans. This perception was increasingly reflected in the racialized language of their leaders in treaty council meetings held over the course of the later years of the war, language that was also becoming common among American leaders and their agents on the frontier.²²

Such language was indicative of an emerging sense among both Indians and Americans of the futility of attempts to resolve their differences and unite within a common continental framework. For many Indians, this sense represented a conviction that their best chance of preserving both their cultural and territorial independence lay in their separation from American society, a separation that British agents offered them with their promises of a return to the boundary established by the "Royal Proclamation of 1763." For American leaders, on the other hand, the decision to separate their society from that of the Indians on the frontier translated into a growing push to adopt policies of removal that would force Indians like the Senecas westward away from the borders of their nation. Because many Senecas had fled from the Sullivan Expedition to take refuge under British protection at Fort Niagara (and the few that returned to their lands found themselves barely able to survive without the food the expedition had so

²¹ Chainbreaker et. al., 141.

²² For an example of this racialized language, see "Meeting with Various Iroquois, July 21, 1779." in Calloway et. al., 80-83.; and "Council with the Chickasaws, Oct. 25, 1782." in Calloway et. al., 275-277.

industriously destroyed), they were largely unable to resist such policies.²³ As a result, the Senecas and others like them were pushed farther and farther away from the boundaries of the United States and would eventually be dispossessed of their homelands – the source of much of their independence – entirely.

Believing that they had in no way been conquered during the war and desperate to preserve their independence, Indian leaders reacted to such efforts with an increasing sense of outrage. In numerous communications with American officials, such men protested what they considered unjustified incursions on their lands. We “do not think that we were drunk when we gave our Assistance to the King,” Mohawk leader Joseph Brant warned General Philip Schuyler (the American military commander on the northern frontier) in a letter from 1783, “nor do we mean to trifle, in adjusting a peace.” “Why [have] so many of Your People . . . made themselves so busy to explore [our] Country,” he asked; after all, it was “knowd to be ours at the Treaty held at Fort Stanwix in the Year 1768.” Within the next year, however, American agents had concluded a new Treaty at Fort Stanwix, in which they were able to further dispossess Brant’s people of their lands and independence while he was absent from the council proceedings.²⁴

Fearful of the fate of their own independence in the wake of this treaty, members of the Iroquois, Huron, Delaware, Shawnee, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, Miami, Cherokee, and Wabash nations worked to unite their peoples in a confederacy founded upon common racial bonds. This confederacy was primarily created in an effort to preserve such groups’ independence by opposing the removal policies of American leaders on a stronger, united front.

²³ For a primary source account of the struggle of the Senecas to survive in the wake of the Sullivan Expedition, see Mary Jemison, James E. Seaver, and William Pryor Letchworth. *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison, De-he-wā-mis, the White Woman of the Genesee*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1898. For an academic analysis of the period and the role of the Iroquois in the American Revolution in general, see Barbara Graymont. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution*. [Syracuse, N.Y.]: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

²⁴ “Joseph Brant to General Schuyler, Oct. 23, 1783.” in Calloway et al, 294-5.

In a message to Congress following the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, the “United Indian Nations” echoed Brant’s sentiments in a message to Congress, declaring with the “general voice of the whole confederacy” that they had done “every thing in [their] power, at the treaty of fort Stanwix, to induce” the United States to “promote peace and concord” rather than the “mischief and confusion” that American agents were so fond of manipulating to their own advantage.²⁵

Abandoned by their former British allies, however, the confederacy and other Indian groups like it were largely unable to convince American leaders to abandon their plans to expunge their enemies on the frontier from lands that were nominally within their borders. In an effort to preserve their independence in the face of these incursions, Indian groups like the Creeks, Chickamaugas, and Cherokees abandoned diplomatic efforts and resorted to open warfare in an attempt to drive American settlers from their lands.

The death and destruction that resulted from these violent conflicts on the frontier convinced a number of prominent American officials to abandon their nation’s former policies of conquest and removal in the wake of the American confederation’s demise in 1787. Among them were men like Secretary of War Henry Knox and President George Washington, revolutionary veterans that were already eager to defend the rights of Indian groups like the Oneidas and Delawares that had supported them in the war while the Congressional leaders that persecuted them could not. The return to the ‘civilization’ policies of the early years of the war that such men engineered represented a concerted effort to both end frontier violence and rejuvenate the dream of a united American continent. With the renewal of these policies, some Indian groups that had fought against the United States during and after the war (like the Cherokees) chose to follow groups like the Oneidas and Delawares in adopting the techniques of cultural

²⁵ “Speech of the United Indian Nations to Congress, Dec. 18, 1786.” in Calloway et al, 356.

reproduction in an effort to preserve their independence and claims to lands east of the Mississippi River. By embracing certain aspects of American culture (among them religion, methods of agriculture, and the ownership of slaves), the Cherokees were able to maintain their independence and holdings in the east long after most Indian groups had been removed westward.²⁶ It was not until the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 – when the United States government officially endorsed removal policies that had for much of the early nineteenth century remained the unspoken byword of Indian relations among American leaders – that the Cherokees were finally forced off of their lands and marched westward to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma.

Like the Cherokees, groups like the Oneidas spent much of the early nineteenth century working to preserve their independence in the face of increasing pressures from many American leaders to vacate their lands and move westward across the Mississippi.²⁷ As the few remaining cultural mediators like Samuel Kirkland they trusted enough to represent their interests to American leaders began to pass away, this struggle became even harder. Eventually, they would be forced westward just like the Indian groups they had fought against in the war.²⁸ Some would take up residence on the western rim of the Great Lakes, while others would accompany Joseph Brant's followers into Canada, where the Mohawk leader had secured a land grant from the British crown for the purpose of establishing a refuge for others that had been dispossessed of

²⁶ See William Gerald McLoughlin. *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

²⁷ American attempts to seize Oneida lands began almost immediately after the Revolution, an indication of the brevity of American memories of the war and the Oneidas' role in it. See Calloway et. al. "Instructions to the New York Commissioners for Obtaining Oneida and Tuscarora Lands, Mar. 20, 1783," 282-283.

²⁸ See Laurence M. Hauptman and L. Gordon. McLester. *The Oneida Indian Journey: From New York to Wisconsin, 1784-1860*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.; and Karim M. Tiro. *The People of the Standing Stone: The Oneida Nation from the Revolution through the Era of Removal*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011.

their lands in the aftermath of the war.²⁹ The Indians that took up residence in this community (later named Brantford) had experienced almost unimaginable devastation during the Revolution and had been deprived of the large majority of their cultural mediators in its aftermath – circumstances they shared with groups like the Oneidas. Such losses made the preservation of diplomatic and military practices from the colonial and revolutionary eras as tools in their fight for independence less and less feasible. In the wake of this absence, they began to actively tailor their oral culture and historical memory to appeal to a growing sense of nationalism among British leaders by emphasizing their sacrifices in the name of the British Empire. This use of historical memory as a tool of resistance was echoed in the development of an oral tradition among the Brantford Indians' Oneida brethren. In this tradition, the Oneidas deliberately linked the fate of their people to the contributions of their ancestor Polly Cooper during the foundation of the United States. This was an appeal they believed would be received particularly well by a nation that – like the British Empire – was in the throes of a rising sense of nationalism. For both groups, this refashioning of historical memory served as a new addition to the growing arsenal of resistance methods they had begun collecting centuries earlier during the colonial period. By adapting their cultures in creative new ways to a rapidly changing sociopolitical landscape, the Oneidas, the Mohawks, and others like them fought to preserve their independence in an era that was becoming increasingly hostile to their efforts.

²⁹ For primary source material relating to the establishment of Brantford, see Charles Murray Johnston. *The Valley of the Six Nations; a Collection of Documents on the Indian Lands of the Grand River*. [Toronto]: Champlain Society for the Govt. of Ontario [by] University of Toronto, 1964.; For a scholarly analysis of Brant's role during and after the war, see Stanbridge, Joanne. *Joseph Brant: Leader and Protector*. Don Mills, Ont.: Pearson Education Canada, 2005.

Epilogue: “‘A Civilized People’: A Digital Analysis of the Indian Removal Act’s Revolutionary Inheritances”

By the time the Indian Removal Act reached the floor of Congress in the spring of 1830, all but a few Indian groups had been pushed westward by earlier removal policies that had arisen in the midst of the Revolutionary War.¹ I would argue, that the act was in part the product of processes that began during the American Revolution. The act itself was largely based on its predecessors from the latter years of the Revolution, while the Cherokee society that it helped remove was the direct product of Secretary of War Henry Knox’s ‘civilization’ policies (inherited from the early years of the war). Like the Oneidas and the Delawares, the Cherokee nation embraced the American government’s ‘civilization’ policies in an attempt to stave off further assaults on their territorial and cultural sovereignty. So, they chose to own slaves, adopt a written constitution, publish a regular newspaper, and even apply for American citizenship.² Opponents of Indian removal predicated their arguments against the act, in part, upon that fact. Those who opposed the Indian Removal Act of 1830 believed that, as ‘civilized’ Indians, the Cherokee were worthy of inclusion in the American nation. This belief was, I would argue, an inheritance from the American Revolution, when some (like Secretary of War Henry Knox) believed that an Indian group’s choice to ally itself with the United States and adopt American cultural practices justified their inclusion in the new nation.

Like their opponents, supporters of the act seem to have similarly taken their cues in part from the events and intellectual trends of the revolutionary era. Some of the most impassioned

¹ This epilogue is the result of a larger digital project that can be found online (see http://npwuertenber.iweb.bsu.edu/Violence_and_Removal/Introduction.html).

² See William Gerald McLoughlin. *Cherokee Renaissance in the New Republic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

defenses of the act were those delivered by men like James Wayne, John Forsyth, and Richard Wilde, who recalled Cherokee attacks along the revolutionary frontier in tones of deep-seated bitterness in order to argue that the Cherokees had demonstrated their eternal ‘savagery’ in that war and were thus unworthy of protection from the American government. These men were among the first generation to espouse the popular democratic ideals that came to define Jackson’s presidency as an “Age of the Common Man.”³ Perhaps more importantly, however, these men linked their notions of democracy to a rising sense of virulent white supremacy.⁴ They had grown to maturity in a nation whose constitution implicitly protected the institution of slavery and had in their youth heard tales of or witnessed firsthand the ‘savagery’ of Indian attacks on the ‘peaceable inhabitants’ of the frontier.⁵ They had also experienced the growing and increasingly volatile division of their nation between north and south as the nation - and its institutions - expanded westward across the North American continent. These divisions would have a profound impact on the individual characters of each member of Congress and are reflected in their support of or opposition to the Indian Removal Act of 1830.

At first glance, one of the most powerful indicators of congressional support for or opposition to the Indian Removal Act of 1830 seems to be party affiliation (see chart 1). It is evident that members of Congress voted almost entirely along strict party lines. This is by no means an original observation.⁶ For that matter, it is of little surprise that the members of Jackson’s party would support an act he had officially sponsored, especially in a political climate as divisive as was the one found in Congress and the United States at the time.

³ See Arthur M. Schlesinger. *The Age of Jackson*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and, 1945.

⁴ See Robert V. Remini. *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845*. New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1984.

⁵ For an examination of the United States Constitution’s role in protecting the institution of slavery, see David Waldstreicher. *Slavery’s Constitution: From Revolution to Ratification*. New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2009.

⁶ See Daniel Walker Howe. *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Chart 1. Breakdown of the vote by party (%).

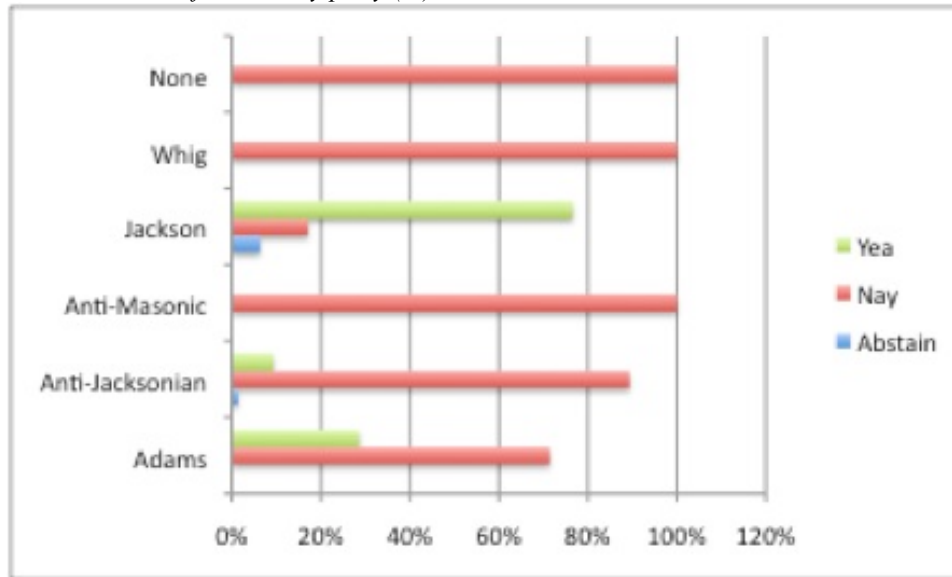
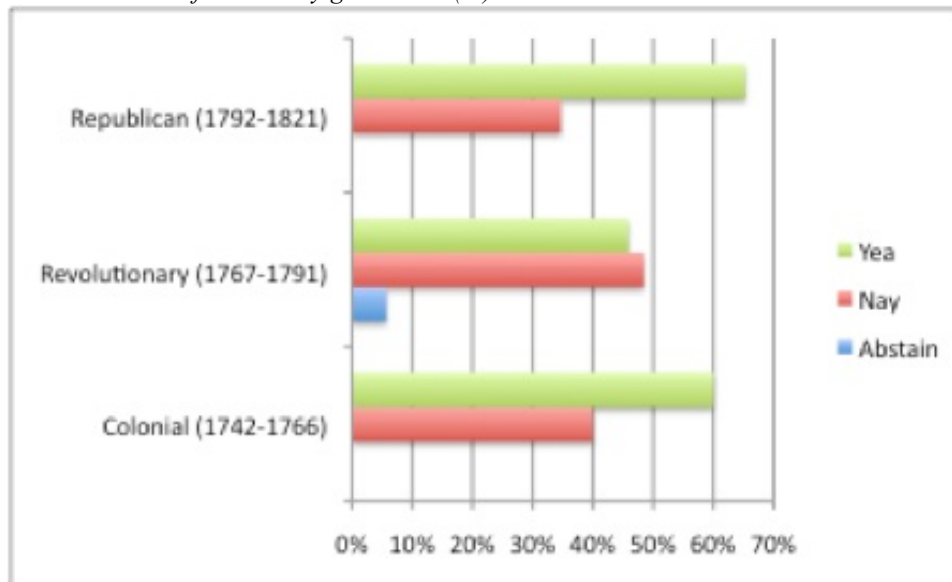


Chart 2. Breakdown of the vote by generation (%).



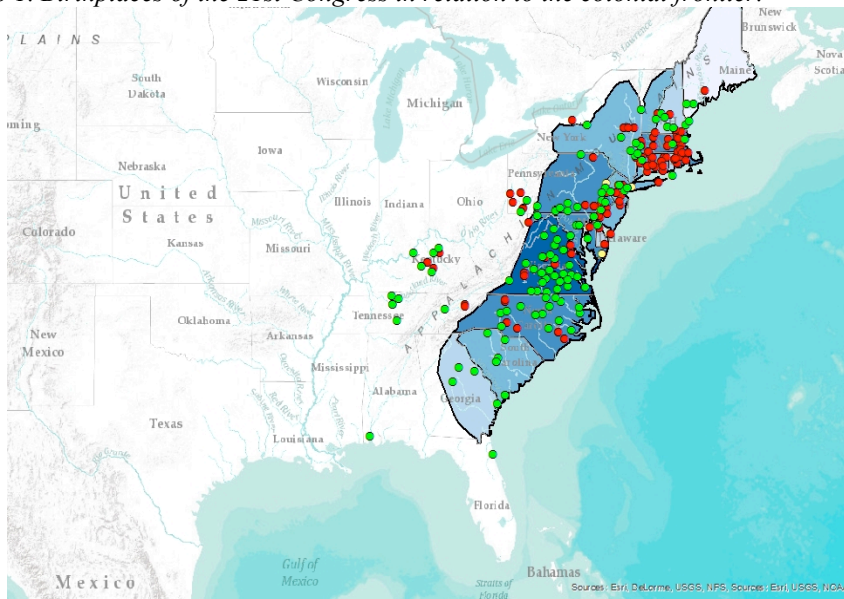
All charts featuring demographic analysis that are included in this work were created using data provided by the Congressional Biographical Directory (<http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>) and the Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives (http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/bioguide-front/21.pdf), which were compiled into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for graphing and has been provided as an appendix (Appendix B) in this work.

Still, when one begins to delve into other demographic trends, the possibility that processes of historical memory, in part, motivated the act becomes more readily apparent. Further examination of the voting record in light of the biographical information available for the members of Congress reveals a significant generational trend that may have been a factor motivating voting patterns (see chart 2). The generation born after the American Revolution (here labeled “Republican”) was far more likely to support both the Jacksonian party and Indian removal, while the one born during that event (here labeled “Revolutionary”) were almost evenly split in both respects. Meanwhile, the voting patterns and party affiliations of the generation that actually took part in the Revolution (here labeled “Colonial”) tended to mirror those of the generation they were more likely to have parented (the one born after the war).

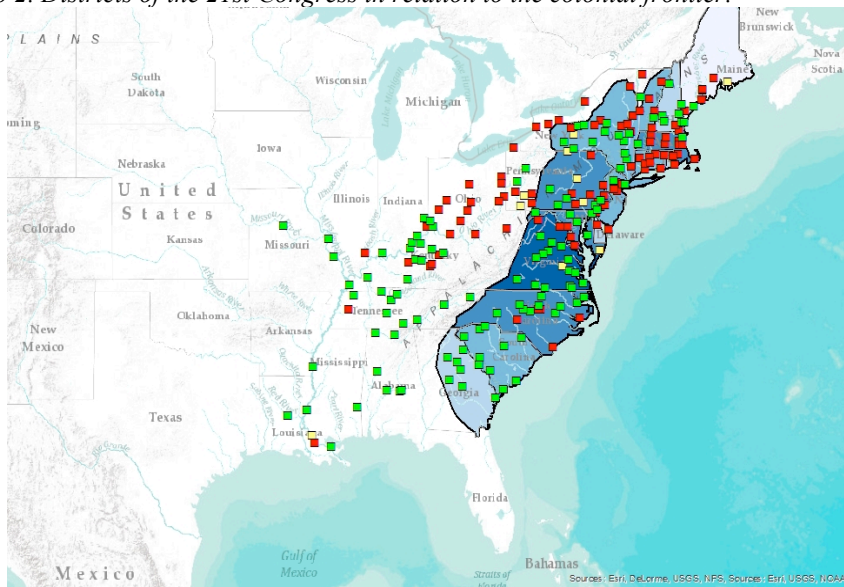
Admittedly, those that made up the generation that took part in the Revolution composed a relatively small proportion of legislators by the 1830s, forcing any conclusions based on their behaviors to be somewhat conjectural. Still, it would seem to indicate that some sort of belief motivating those in favor of Indian removal was being passed down from older to younger generations, while those born in between proved far more ambivalent (perhaps, I think, because they were born and raised in the immediate aftermath of the war, when the legacy and nature of the new American nation were still hotly contested and uncertain and ‘civilized’ Indians were still proximate to American territory). If beliefs motivating those in favor of removal were, in fact, being passed down through the generations, this might indicate that some form of historical memory may have been at play.

This becomes even more likely when considering the location of the birthplaces and districts of both opponents and supporters of the act in relation to the American frontier. When analyzing these locations, the most apparent and recognizable geographic pattern is, of course, the divide

Map 1. Birthplaces of the 21st Congress in relation to the colonial frontier.



Map 2. Districts of the 21st Congress in relation to the colonial frontier.



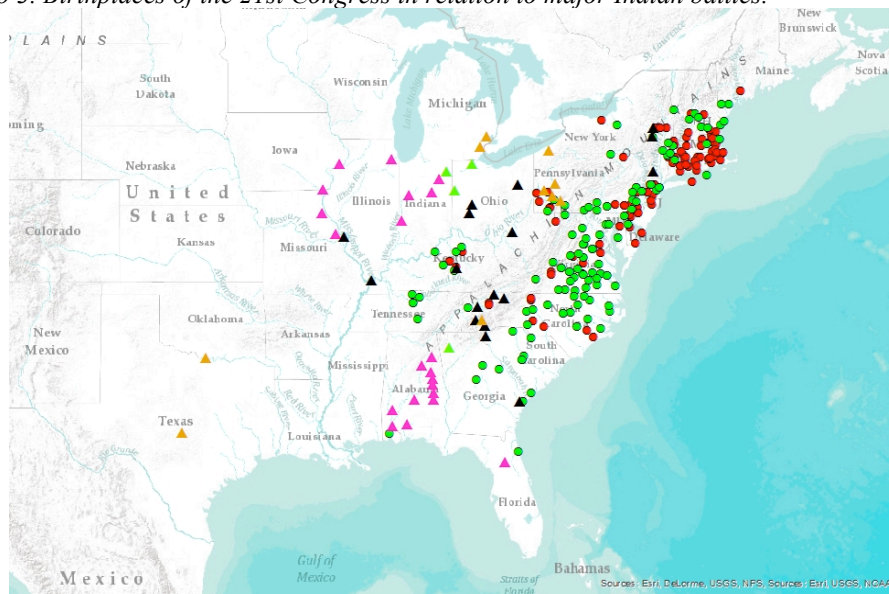
The symbols on these maps signify as follows: Circles (Red: Birthplace of Congressman that Voted Against the Indian Removal Act; Green: Birthplace of Congressman that Voted in Favor of the Indian Removal Act; Yellow: Birthplace of Congressman that Abstained from Voting on the Indian Removal Act); Squares (Red: District of Congressman that Voted Against the Indian Removal Act; Green: District of Congressman that Voted in Favor of the Indian Removal Act; Yellow: District of Congressman that Abstained from Voting on the Indian Removal Act).

between congressmen from the northern and southern states. Those congressmen that were born in or represented districts in the north, particularly in New England, were far more likely to oppose the act than support it. Those that were born in or represented districts in the south, on the other hand, were more likely to vote in favor of the act. This pattern fits the standard narrative of antebellum American history quite nicely.⁷ As the period progressed, a variety of factors led to a growing separation between the sociopolitical cultures of the northern and southern states. By the time of the Indian Removal Act's passage in 1830, this separation had hit its stride.

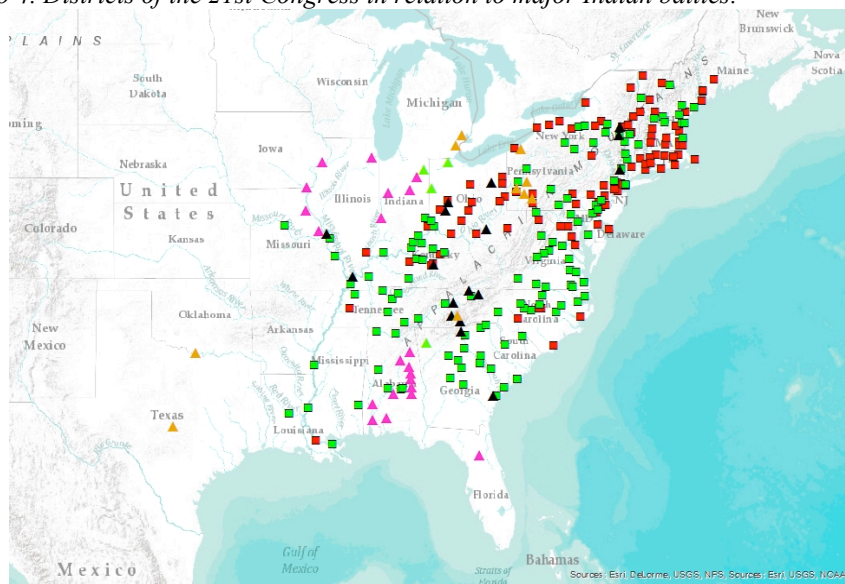
Although the north-south divide is the most obvious geographic voting pattern, however, it is not the only one. When the locations of the birthplaces and districts of supporters and opponents of the act are mapped in relation to the early American frontier, a number of significant trends emerge (maps 1 and 2). Most generally, supporters of the act were more likely to both be born in and represent districts near the frontier as it stood immediately prior to the American Revolution. Meanwhile, opponents were more likely to be born in and represent districts far from that boundary. This would seem to indicate that supporters of the Indian Removal Act were more likely in general to be more personally familiar with the experience that came with life on the early American frontier than their opponents. Indian violence (or the perceived threat thereof) is perhaps one of the most significant aspects of this frontier experience. Because they were the most immediate threat to many Indian groups' territorial sovereignty, American settlements along this frontier typically bore the brunt of such groups' attempts to defend their lands militarily. So, the members of Congress that were born in or represented districts near such areas would most likely either have their own memories of violent Indian attacks or have heard them

⁷ See Howe, cited above.

Map 3. Birthplaces of the 21st Congress in relation to major Indian battles.



Map 4. Districts of the 21st Congress in relation to major Indian battles.



The symbols on these maps signify as follows: Circles (Red: Birthplace of Congressman that Voted Against the Indian Removal Act; Green: Birthplace of Congressman that Voted in Favor of the Indian Removal Act; Yellow: Birthplace of Congressman that Abstained from Voting on the Indian Removal Act); Squares (Red: District of Congressman that Voted Against the Indian Removal Act; Green: District of Congressman that Voted in Favor of the Indian Removal Act; Yellow: District of Congressman that Abstained from Voting on the Indian Removal Act); Triangles (Orange: Major Indian Battles in the Seven Years War; Black: Major Indian Battles in the American Revolution; Green: Major Indian Battles in the Early Republic; Pink: Major Indian Battles in the War of 1812).

recounted by older generations or constituents.⁸

This likelihood becomes even stronger when the location of the birthplaces and districts of supporters and opponents of the act are mapped in relation to the sites of major Indian battles from early American history (maps 3 and 4). Because they were more likely to be born in or represent districts near the early American frontier, supporters of the act were also more likely than opponents to be born in or represent districts near major incidents of Indian violence that occurred over the course of early American history. So, supporters of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 were not only more likely to be familiar with the frontier experience than their opponents, they were also more likely to be familiar with the experience of Indian violence. Thus, the fact that Indian removal enjoyed a significant locus of support in locations near the early American frontier and major incidents of Indian violence might indicate that supporters of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 were in part motivated by personal or inherited memories of trauma caused by Indian violence.

The early American frontier was, of course, far from a static boundary. Indeed, by 1830 the frontier had expanded beyond the Appalachian Mountains that served as its boundary during the colonial and revolutionary eras to extend beyond the banks of the Mississippi River. That is not to say, however, that the American frontier in 1830 was in any way uniform. Indeed, although American settlers had begun to make their way into the vast expanse of land that had been purchased by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803 in the Louisiana Purchase, parts of the trans-Mississippi west remained in the hands of Indian groups like the Cherokees. So, in some parts, the American frontier had extended significantly into the Great Plains, while in others the Mississippi River still largely served as the rough dividing line between American settlements

⁸ For examinations of the role of trauma and violence in shaping memory, see Paul Antze and Michael Lambek. *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory*. New York: Routledge, 1996.

and Indian territories. One might expect that Congressmen that represented areas along this amorphous American frontier in 1830 would be more likely to support a federal policy of Indian removal as a means of more uniformly opening access to western lands. This is, in fact, the case: Congressmen that represented areas along the 1830 frontier were more likely to support the Indian Removal Act than to oppose it. A comparison between Congressmen's voting patterns and the location of their birthplaces and districts in relation to the colonial and 1830 frontier seems to indicate, however, that the colonial frontier was a more powerful motivating factor than was the one in 1830. Indeed, Congressmen that were born in or represented districts near the colonial frontier were more likely than their 1830 counterparts to support Indian removal. They also represented a larger proportion of frontier support for the Indian Removal Act overall. This would seem to indicate that memories of the colonial frontier and Indian violence were a more influential factor motivating support for the act than were contemporary concerns about westward expansion.

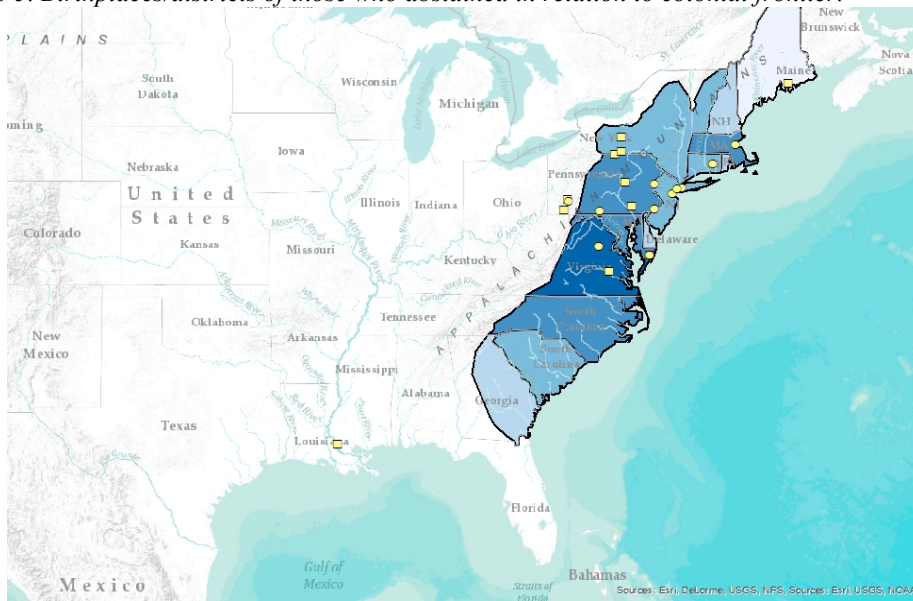
Further comparison would indicate that, among those for whom memories of Indian violence played a role in their support for Indian removal, the memories that seemed to play the largest role were not those held by individual congressmen, but by their constituents. Congressmen that represented districts near the colonial frontier were by far the most likely to support the Indian Removal Act of 1830. This trend can be more fully understood if it is examined within the larger context of contemporary political developments. Many of the act's supporters (and particularly those that represented frontier districts) were members of the Jacksonian Party, which championed a more representative form of American democracy than had been common up to that time. Such men were typically staunch defenders of the belief that politicians should be actively responsive to the demands of their constituents and should not act

without first consulting the voters of their districts.⁹ Their opponents, on the other hand, continued to subscribe to the republican ideals espoused by earlier generations in American history. These men believed that politicians should base their decisions on the values they had developed as educated elites, rather than on the desires of the less informed masses.

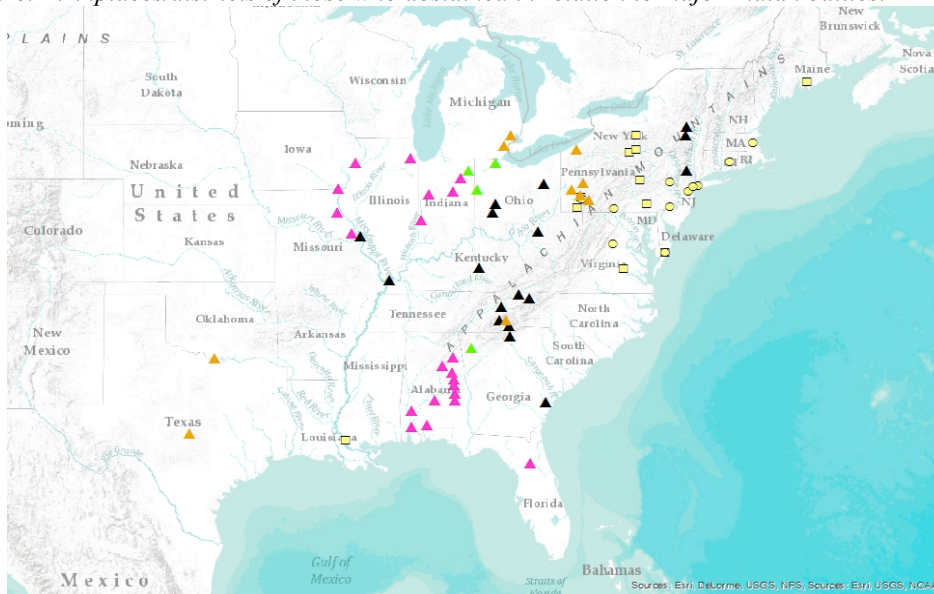
It is of little surprise, then, that among the few opponents of the Indian Removal Act that represented districts along the colonial frontier the large majority were born in locations far removed from that boundary. This would seem to indicate that such men, inculcated with a value system that had little to do with the frontier experience, might have voted against the wishes of their constituents because they believed that their decision should be based on their own beliefs rather than those of the voters within their districts. Supporters of the act that represented districts along the colonial frontier, on the other hand, voted in favor of Indian removal regardless of their birthplaces. Unlike their opponents, then, they did not allow their own personal beliefs to play as much of a role in their overall decision-making process. Instead, they chose to more responsively represent the wishes of their constituents. This trend is further borne out by mapping the birthplaces and districts of the few Congressmen that chose to abstain from voting on the Indian Removal Act of 1830 (maps 5 and 6). Most such men represented districts located near the colonial frontier, but were born in locations distant from that boundary. This might perhaps indicate that these men – in an effort to compromise between their own beliefs and those of their constituents – chose to avoid the decision entirely rather than alienate

⁹ Representatives like the famous frontiersman Davy Crockett were the rare exception to this trend. Crockett, who had long worked beside and cooperated with Indians like the Cherokees considered them sufficiently ‘civilized’ to be treated as American citizens (unlike the majority of those supported the bill, who had more frequently clashed with – or watched as their friends and families clashed with – such groups and would thus, I argue, be less likely to consider them ‘worthy’ of inclusion in ‘civilized’ American society). See David Crockett to Charles Schultz. December 25, 1834. Accessed April 2, 2014. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/collections/fb04d22b-3553-485d-84a4-438054052480>, in which Crockett complains that President Andrew Jackson and his supporters were as “sly as a red fox” and believed they had the “full power to transfer the people of these united States at [their] will” and claimed that he had “almost given up the Ship [nation] as lost” (Crockett was ousted from his seat in Congress after his first term and left for Texas in disgust).

Map 5. Birthplaces/districts of those who abstained in relation to colonial frontier.



Map 6. Birthplaces/districts of those who abstained in relation to major Indian battles.

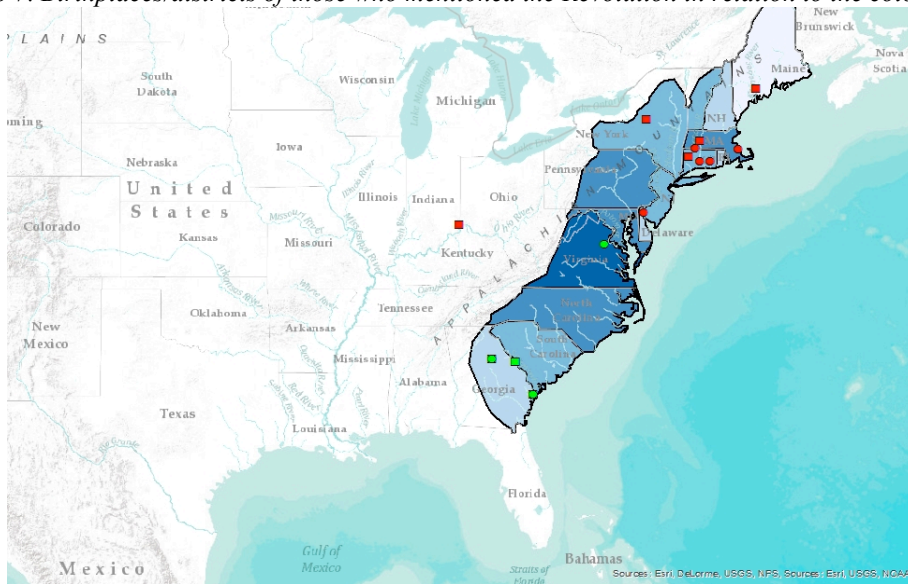


The symbols on these maps signify as follows: Yellow Circles: Birthplace of Congressman that Abstained from Voting on the Indian Removal Act; Yellow Squares: District of Congressman that Abstained from Voting on the Indian Removal Act; Triangles (Orange: Major Indian Battles in the Seven Years War; Black: Major Indian Battles in the American Revolution; Green: Major Indian Battles in the Early Republic; Pink: Major Indian Battles in the War of 1812).

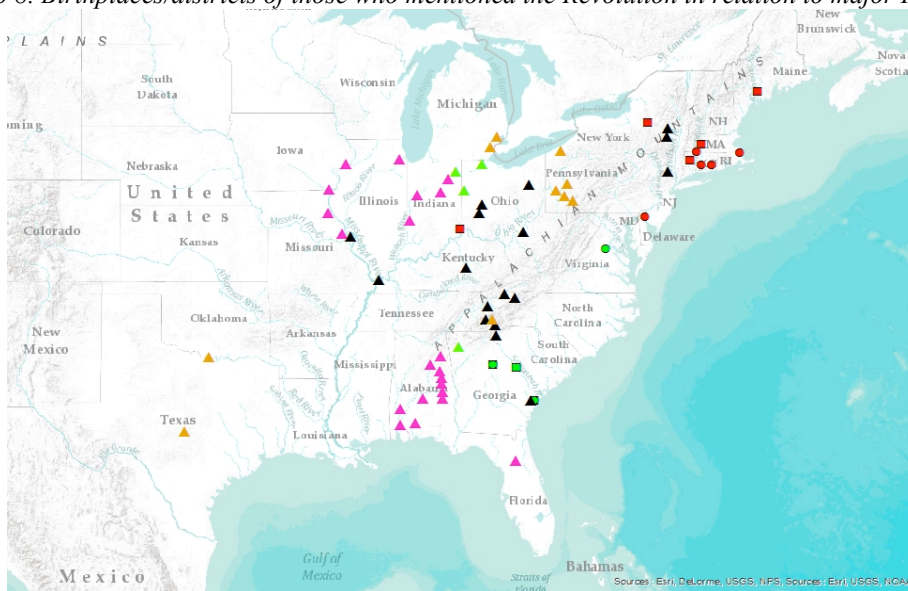
the voters in their district. This geographic division is even stronger among the segment of Congress that specifically mentioned Cherokee violence in the American Revolution in their speeches either in favor of or against the act (maps 7 and 8). Additionally, almost all of the supporters of the act that mentioned Cherokee violence in the American Revolution were either born in or represented areas in close proximity to major incidents of that violence during the war. Almost all of the opponents of the act that mentioned Cherokee violence in the American Revolution, on the other hand, were born in or represented areas far from that boundary. This would seem to indicate memories of Indian violence along the frontier were a particularly important factor motivating support for Indian removal among those for whom Cherokee violence in the American Revolution was a specific source of personal trauma either in their own lives or in those of their constituents. This indication seems even more likely after an analysis of the sections of the speeches delivered during the debates over the Indian Removal Act of 1830 that specifically mention Cherokee violence during the American Revolution. In these sections, supporters of the Indian Removal Act recalled incidents of Cherokee violence during the American Revolution with a viscerally apparent bitterness. Opponents of the act, on the other hand, proved far more forgiving of such incidents in light of the Cherokees' efforts to adopt American 'civilization' in the years afterward.

Overall, then, a geographic analysis of the voting patterns of the members of Congress in relation to the early American frontier would seem to indicate that memories of Indian violence were at least a partial motivating factor in support for Indian removal. Furthermore, it would seem that the collective memories of Indian violence held by those members' constituencies were generally more influential in motivating support for the act than the individual memories held by any given Congressman. This hints at the possibility that memories of Indian violence

Map 7. Birthplaces/districts of those who mentioned the Revolution in relation to the colonial frontier.



Map 8. Birthplaces/districts of those who mentioned the Revolution in relation to major Indian battles.



The symbols on these maps signify as follows: Circles (Red: Birthplace of Congressman that Voted Against the Indian Removal Act; Green: Birthplace of Congressman that Voted in Favor of the Indian Removal Act); Squares (Red: District of Congressman that Voted Against the Indian Removal Act; Green: District of Congressman that Voted in Favor of the Indian Removal Act); Triangles (Orange: Major Indian Battles in the Seven Years War; Black: Major Indian Battles in the American Revolution; Green: Major Indian Battles in the Early Republic; Pink: Major Indian Battles in the War of 1812).

played an even more important role in motivating support for Indian removal among the general American populace than they did among elite American leaders. This idea is especially important given the sociopolitical context at the time the Indian Removal Act was passed in 1830. At that time, the citizens of the United States were experiencing the rise of a political system that was more responsive to the wishes of that general American populace than any up to that point in American history.¹⁰ So, the beliefs of American citizens outside of the elite classes were becoming increasingly important.

Such beliefs were, in part, informed by the individual and collective memories those citizens held. Thus, when the time came to decide the fate of an Indian group like the Cherokees that had played a significant role in attacks along the colonial and revolutionary frontier, at least some Americans seemed to have based their decision to support the act on their individual and collective memories of Indian violence in general and Cherokee violence in particular. In the increasingly responsive American political system of the time, this decision was then reflected in the choice of at least some of these Americans' Congressmen to support the act as well. The process by which such decisions were made - and the memories behind them - become significantly more apparent in an analysis of the debates that occurred in Congress prior to the vote itself.¹¹ Supporters and opponents of the act used these debates as an opportunity to represent both their own beliefs and those of their constituents, as well as explain the role those beliefs played in their vote. The language they used in such explanations - perhaps more than anything else - reveals the manner in which memories of Indian violence influenced the decision of the United States and its citizens to support Indian removal as an official federal policy.

¹⁰ See Schlesinger, cited above.

¹¹ The text of the Congressional debates surrounding the Indian Removal Act of 1830 can be found online as part of the Library of Congress's American Memory project. See *Register of Debates in Congress*. (Washington D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1830). <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwrdr.html>.

At first glance, an analysis of the Congressional debates surrounding the Indian Removal Act of 1830 would seem to indicate that memories of Indian violence had little influence over the decision of various Congressmen to either support or oppose the act. Instead, those that voiced their opinion regarding the act seemed to have been - for the most part - concerned with questions of legality. For several decades prior to the passage of the act, Indian removal had served as the foundation of state Indian policies throughout the nation. Indeed, almost immediately after the United States emerged victorious from the American Revolution, many of the former colonies began to pressure various Indian groups along the frontier to sell their ancestral homelands and move westward across the Mississippi River. By 1830, the Cherokees were one of the few Indian groups that remained in the eastern United States.

For much of that period, the official Indian policies of the federal government had been at least nominally based upon the ‘civilization’ and assimilation policies established by Secretary of War Henry Knox during George Washington’s first term as President. Many states in the new nation chose to ignore such policies, and instead continued to force Indian groups within their borders to move westward. When Knox stepped down as Secretary of War in 1794, the federal government - while nominally focusing upon Knox’s policies of ‘civilization’ and assimilation - began to unofficially condone state removal policies. Transitioning from passive support to active enforcement, however, could initiate a dramatic reappraisal of national values that many in the United States found difficult to swallow. This was especially true for those that could find no precedent for that transition in federal law. As such, much of the debate was concerned with establishing the relative legality of federal support for Indian removal as an official policy of the American government. This concern is borne out in the analysis of frequency of word use during the debate (figures 1 and 2). Because opponents of the act dominated the debate, an

Figure 1. Frequency of word use in speeches of opponents.



Figure 2. Frequency of word use in speeches of supporters.



Word clouds like those featured in this chapter are visual representations of textual data that are constructed using online tools like Wordle.net and others. Words are sized according to their relative frequency in the text, so words that are used more often appear larger than those that are used less often. The word clouds featured in this chapter are based on a corpus of text downloaded from *Register of Debates in Congress*. 14 vols. Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1824-1837. Accessed February 16, 2014. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwrdr.html>, at the Library of Congress's American Memory Project (cited elsewhere). The debates ran in the House of Representatives from May 18-25, 1830 during the first session of the 21st Congress and in the Senate during the same session from January 25th to May 26th. Members of Congress continued to debate the act during the second session, however, mentioning it as late as December 6, 1830 in the Senate and February 18, 1831 in the House. The text of the debates was downloaded as images (a total of 284 pages), converted to PDF format, then saved as raw text files using the optical character recognition software ABBYY Fine Reader Express for Mac. It was then analyzed using the free online services Voyant-Tools and Wordle.

analysis of the debate in its entirety is very similar to an analysis of the speeches of the opponents specifically. Words like “government,” “right,” “jurisdiction,” “power,” and “law” are some of the most frequently used words both in the entire debate and in the speeches opposing the act (for an overview of some of these words in context, see tables 1 and 2).¹² This would seem to indicate that opponents of the act were particularly concerned with the act’s potential illegality. After all, the federal government had recognized the right of various Indian groups - including the Cherokees - to retain their holdings east of the Mississippi River in treaties that were concluded decades before the Indian Removal Act arrived in Congress in 1830. For many, ignoring such agreements represented both a threat to national honor and a potential opening for future legal action against the federal government.

Because their speeches were typically made in response to those delivered by opponents of the act, supporters spent much of their time defending the legality of Indian removal as an official federal policy. Understandably, then, an analysis of the frequency of word use in the speeches of supporters reveals that they used almost the exact same language as did opponents. The major difference, however, was the manner in which this legal language was used. Supporters’ defense of the act was profoundly influenced by a growing belief among the members of the Jacksonian Party in the importance of resisting federal infringements upon states’ rights. Thus, for many supporters, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 served as both a federal acknowledgement and endorsement of state policies that had been established years earlier.

Although the word use in the speeches against and in favor of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 was almost entirely the same, there is a slight deviation. When opponents of the act

¹² The words “government” and “right” were used over 800 times, the word “power” over 600, the word “law” over 500, and the word “jurisdiction” over 200.

Tables 1 and 2. Use of "power" and "law" in context.

Left	Keyword	Right	Left	Keyword	Right
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt		
...must necessarily posse	power	of protecting itself again...	...of politicians, that the se	law	was unconstitutional.W...
his judicial dignity, claims a	power	which Congress couldthat Congress shall ma	law	abridging the freedom of...
But yet he claims the	power	of trying and punishing ...	refer to the Eng-lish	law	for the purpose of show...
...and admitted, pos-sess	power	to do, apart from any	Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt		
it is not in the	power	of Congress to remove,...	it should be done by	law	. Reso-lutions of a similar
...reason, an excess of de	power	, he is at liberty to	...direction.Mr. JOHNSO	law	was not necessary in this
...of Congress, or the trea	power	, after that power has b...	a similar case, read the	law	, which granted a pensio...
...the treaty-making power	power	has been exercised in the	Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt		
are void, for want of	power	to enact them?: If so	...Congress to remove, b	law	which they could enact." If
...which provides that "the	power	! shall extend to all cases	...can make them, the su	law	of the land, and declared
...over them, and, conseq	power	to annihilate their political...	if the Executive deems a	law	of Congress, or a treaty
t within the range of	power	granted by the States to	extend to all cases in	law	and equity arising under...
Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt			Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt		
SPEAKER. It is in the	power	of the Speaker, or of	the repeal of the Indian	law	of last session, &c, was
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt		
...of alienation at pleasure	power	of alienation is not, and	...of Congress, shall beco	law	, is a dead letter.The
...or occupancy, and the	power	of acquiring that right." In	...lawfully refuse to execu	law	, or enforce the provisio...
...tribes should become e	power	to exclude other nations...	he will not execute a	law	, because he consi-ders it
Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt			...entertained and acted o	law	may depend for its exec...
that Congress is the only	power	by which this can be	Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt		
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			argument to prove that a	law	substantially coeval wit...
pro-fessed to have the	power	to convey. It was the	...without an argument, re	law	unconstitutional, and m...
...Government, yet the pr	power	of selling it to any	...treaty; and by the interc	law	framed in pursuance of the
...some of them suppose	power	to convey was absolute...	treaty, as the supreme '	law	, " &c. Governor Troup, ...
			...she passed a su, 1828	law	, to take effect prospect...

The tables featured in this chapter are based on a corpus of text downloaded from *Register of Debates in Congress*. 14 vols. Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1824-1837. Accessed February 16, 2014. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwrld.html>, at the Library of Congress's American Memory Project (cited elsewhere). The debates ran in the House of Representatives from May 18-25, 1830 during the first session of the 21st Congress and in the Senate during the same session from January 25th to May 26th. Members of Congress continued to debate the act during the second session, however, mentioning it as late as December 6, 1830 in the Senate and February 18, 1831 in the House. The text of the debates was downloaded as images (a total of 284 pages), converted to PDF format, then saved as raw text files using the optical character recognition software ABBYY Fine Reader Express for Mac. It was then analyzed using the free online service Voyant-Tools.

discussed the Cherokees, they specifically used that term. Supporters of the act, however, used the more generic - and more racialized - term “Indians,” indicating that they approached the act in a more racialized manner than did opponents. This hints at the growing sense of white supremacy that was becoming increasingly common among members of the Jacksonian Party and citizens of the United States in general throughout the early nineteenth century.

It also might indicate, however, that supporters and opponents of the act thought of the Cherokees in very different ways. This becomes an even stronger possibility when an analysis is made of the debate with a particular focus on the sections in which the Cherokees are discussed directly by supporters and opponents of the act. Almost all of these sections contain an underlying rhetorical trend that I would argue was a linguistic inheritance from the revolutionary era. According to this rhetoric, Indians were ‘savages’ that should be ‘civilized’ and assimilated into American society. Conversion to Christianity and the adoption of European agricultural practices were considered indicators of a ‘civilized’ society by early nineteenth century Americans (and their eighteenth century antecedents). The members of such a society would in theory be ‘worthy’ of citizenship in a ‘civilized’ nation like the United States. Violent and ‘unprovoked’ attacks like those committed by the Cherokees during the American Revolution, however, would be a sign of ‘savagery’ that would preclude a group from American citizenship.

When examining the speeches of opponents and supporters of the act it becomes apparent that those opposed to removal were far more likely to use positive qualifiers when describing the Cherokees, while those that supported it were far more likely to describe the Cherokees negatively. For the most part, opponents of the act portrayed the Cherokee nation as a ‘civilized’ group that should be assimilated into American society. Supporters of the act, on the other hand, tended to characterize the Cherokees as ‘savages’ that should be pushed away from their nation’s

Chart 3. Positive qualifiers in speeches of opponents (raw numbers).

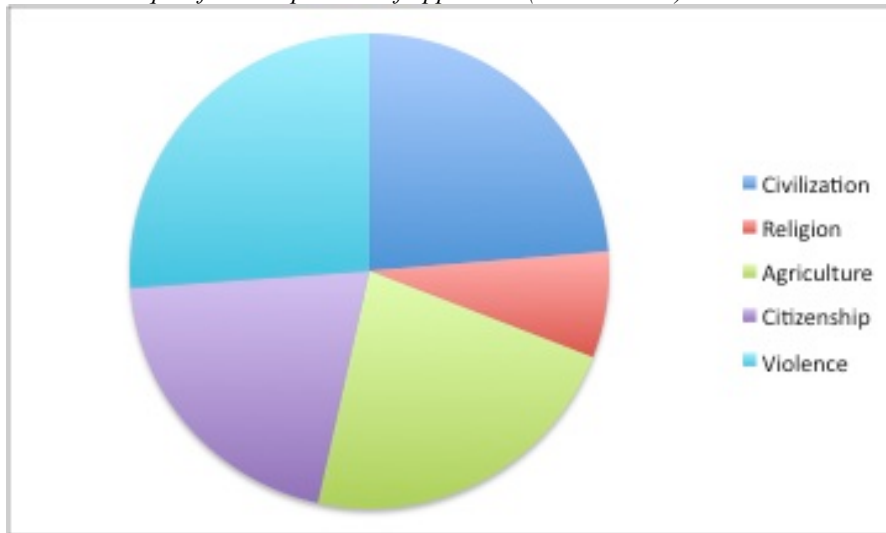
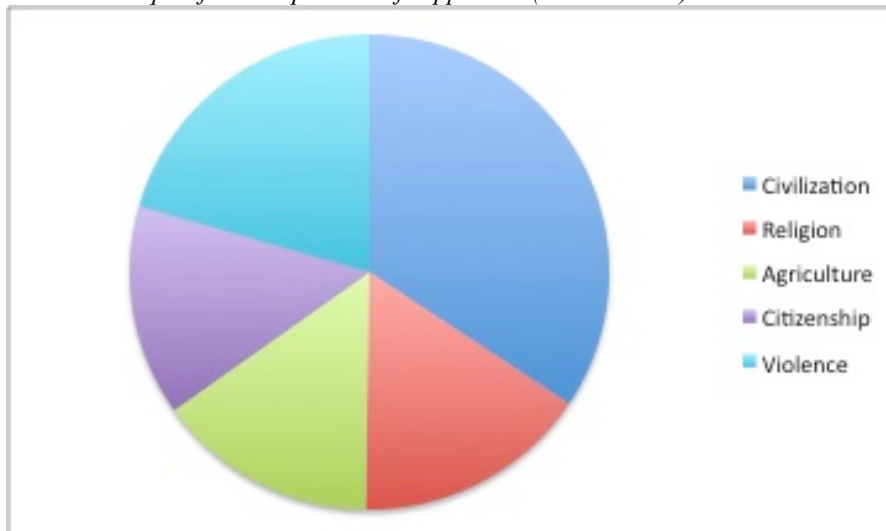


Chart 4. Positive qualifiers in speeches of supporters (raw numbers).



The speeches of opponents and supporters of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 were compiled using the process described above and then analyzed with Voyant-Tools using a list of 'positive' and 'negative' qualifiers that related to conceptions of 'civilization' and 'savagery': Positive Words Related to Civilization (Civilized, Civilize, Civil, Civilization, Civilizing, Tame, Tamed); Positive Words Related to Christianity (Christian, Christianize, Christianized, Christianity, Convert, Converted, Converting, Religion, Religious, Moral, Godly); Positive Words Related to Agriculture (Cultivate, Cultivated, Culture, Agriculture, Agricultural, Farms, Farming, Farmer, Plantation, Plant, Planters, Planting, Improve, Improvement); Positive Words Related to Citizenship (Citizen, Citizenship, Fellow-Citizens); Positive Words Related to Violence (Peace, Peaceable, Peaceful, Peaceably, Passive); Negative Words Related to Civilization (Uncivilized, Savage, Wild, Barbarous, Untamed); Negative Words Related to Religion (Unchristian, Pagan, Superstition, Superstitious, Faithless, Immoral, Godless, Irreligious); Negative Words Related to Agriculture (Uncultivated, Barren, Waste, Wilderness); Negative Words Related to Citizenship (Foreigner, Foe, Enemy); Negative Words Related to Violence (Barbarity, Hostile, Hostility, Warlike, War, Attack, Violence, Warriors, War-whoop, Warfare, Scalp, Tomahawk, Weapon, Aggressor, Aggression, War-party, Aggression, Kill, Death, Killing, Killer, Killed, Combat, Murder, Wage, Conquer, Barbarism).

Chart 5. Negative qualifiers in speeches of opponents (raw numbers).

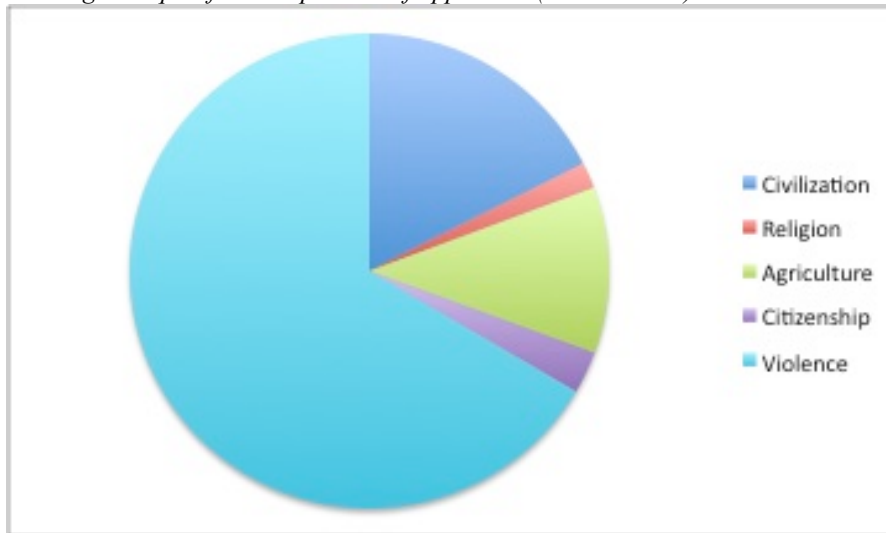
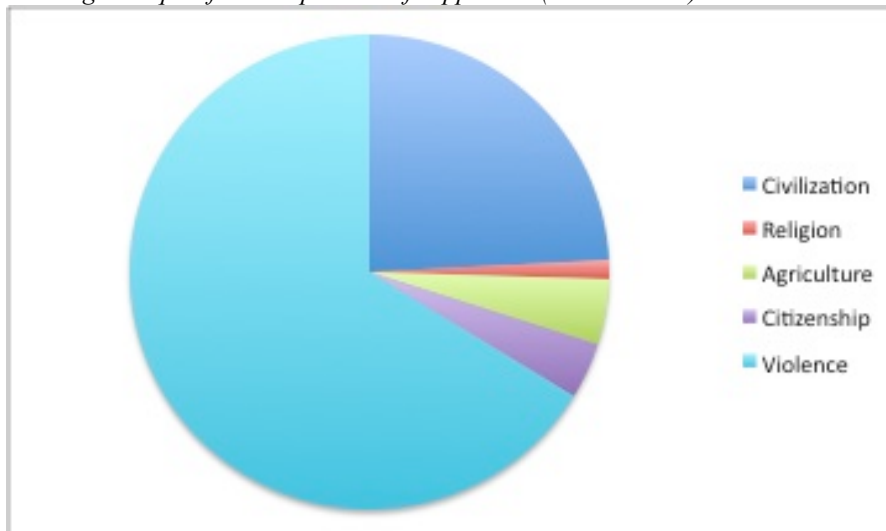


Chart 6. Negative qualifiers in speeches of supporters (raw numbers).



The speeches of opponents and supporters of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 were compiled using the process described above and then analyzed with Voyant-Tools using a list of 'positive' and 'negative' qualifiers that related to conceptions of 'civilization' and 'savagery': Positive Words Related to Civilization (Civilized, Civilize, Civil, Civilization, Civilizing, Tame, Tamed); Positive Words Related to Christianity (Christian, Christianize, Christianized, Christianity, Convert, Converted, Converting, Religion, Religious, Moral, Godly); Positive Words Related to Agriculture (Cultivate, Cultivated, Culture, Agriculture, Agricultural, Farms, Farming, Farmer, Plantation, Plant, Planters, Planting, Improve, Improvement); Positive Words Related to Citizenship (Citizen, Citizenship, Fellow-Citizens); Positive Words Related to Violence (Peace, Peaceable, Peaceful, Peaceably, Passive); Negative Words Related to Civilization (Uncivilized, Savage, Wild, Barbarous, Untamed); Negative Words Related to Religion (Unchristian, Pagan, Superstition, Superstitious, Faithless, Immoral, Godless, Irreligious); Negative Words Related to Agriculture (Uncultivated, Barren, Waste, Wilderness); Negative Words Related to Citizenship (Foreigner, Foe, Enemy); Negative Words Related to Violence (Barbarity, Hostile, Hostility, Warlike, War, Attack, Violence, Warriors, War-whoop, Warfare, Scalp, Tomahawk, Weapon, Aggressor, Aggression, War-party, Aggression, Kill, Death, Killing, Killer, Killed, Combat, Murder, Wage, Conquer, Barbarism).

‘civilized’ society. It is also apparent that both supporters and opponents used terms related to the notion of ‘civilization’ the most frequently when describing the Cherokees positively (see charts 3 and 4), and terms related to acts of violence when describing the Cherokees negatively (see charts 5 and 6). This would seem to indicate that - to a certain extent - both were relying upon a shared base of knowledge. Both agreed that the Cherokees had been ‘civilized,’ and both agreed that the Cherokees had perpetrated ‘savage attacks along the frontier (for the use of these words in context, see tables 3 and 4).

The interpretations of this information, however, varied widely between both groups. While acknowledging that the Cherokees had at one time lashed out violently against frontier settlers, opponents of the act argued that this fact had been mitigated by the group’s subsequent acceptance of American ‘civilization’ and its ‘civilized’ cultural practices (among them the adoption of Christianity and European agricultural practices). Supporters of the act, on the other hand, acknowledged that the Cherokees had embraced American ‘civilization,’ but argued that nothing could mitigate the fact that they had at one time committed violent attacks along the frontier. Because of these actions, the Cherokees should always - according to supporters of the act - be considered as ‘enemies’ unworthy of citizenship in the American nation.

Such trends continue into the sections of opponents’ and supporters’ speeches in which they specifically discuss Cherokee violence during the American Revolution. In opponents’ speeches, the word use is almost exactly the same between these sections and the rest of their speeches, indicating that opponents of the act used their discussions of the American Revolution as simply one more part of their case against Indian removal. The sections of supporters’ speeches that discussed Cherokee violence during the American Revolution, however, are vastly different from the rest of their speeches. In these sections, supporters of Indian removal

Tables 3 and 4. Use of "civilized" and "savage" in context.

Left	Keyword	Right	Left	Keyword	Right
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt		
ed to. the claims of	civilized	communities, over thos...	...good degree reclaimed	savage	state. Under their patro...
Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt			and had fled to this	savage	sanctuary. The matterw...
...industrious pursuits of a	civilized	life; that, finding it imprac...	Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt		
progress in the arts of	civilized	' life, and of the	...civilized communities, o	savage	tribes." " That the princi...
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			...among them, and beco	savage	as the Indians themselv...
...States with other nation	civilized	or not should be made	...sovereignty and indepen	savage	tribes; and because cer...
Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt			Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt		
...was carried on through	civilized	world. All na-tions were	...the colonies and a pow	savage	foe. But I let that
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt		
...the abhorrence and exe	civilized	man, and calidown the	...who had suffered much	savage	violence, if it should be
Document: 2) Complete Debates 2nd Session.txt			...long- continued presen	savage	neighbors, and sometim...
nation shall become so	civilized	and enlightened as to be	...the West, have retaild	savage	ha-bits." He then recom...
...and inhospitable chara	civilized	men who should be co...	...entirely reclaimed fromt	savage	habits, and be brought to
...fields, and their pastures	civilized	, improved, and christia...	changing the habits of the	savage	for those of civilized life
...into the possession of t	civilized	and christian brethren; ...	day, will perceive a more	savage	, superstitious, and diab...
...no less destructive vice	civilized	life, operating on an infe...	...destroying the resource	savage	, doom him to weakness...
Document: 1) Complete Debates 1st Session.txt			...the West, have retained	savage	habits. A portion, howev...
...Indians had increased, f	civilized	and converted, could n...	...were created? Shall the	savage	not on-ly disdain the
progress in the arts of	civilized	life, have lately attempte...	and had fled to this	savage	sanctuary; the matter w...
claims to be considered a	civilized	people; that we are willing	su-perior claim over the	savage	life; that the earth was
that they are to be	civilized	by a legis-lative act	...usurp the possessions	savage	. All these might be very
due from us as a	civilized	, enlightened, and christ...	...civilized man cove-nant	savage	man, the compact is not
of all the blessings of	civilized	society. It appears to me	a right to prevail over	savage	life' Suppose it be so
...the pursuits of agricultu	civilized	life-in the country-they t...	the inevitable fate of the	savage	to perish whenever civili...
			of reclaiming them from the	savage	state. The treaty of 1817

The tables featured in this chapter are based on a corpus of text downloaded from *Register of Debates in Congress*. 14 vols. Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1824-1837. Accessed February 16, 2014. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwrd.html>, at the Library of Congress's American Memory Project (cited elsewhere). The debates ran in the House of Representatives from May 18-25, 1830 during the first session of the 21st Congress and in the Senate during the same session from January 25th to May 26th. Members of Congress continued to debate the act during the second session, however, mentioning it as late as December 6, 1830 in the Senate and February 18, 1831 in the House. The text of the debates was downloaded as images (a total of 284 pages), converted to PDF format, then saved as raw text files using the optical character recognition software ABBYY Fine Reader Express for Mac. It was then analyzed using the free online service Voyant-Tools.

dramatically shifted from using language related to matters of legal precedence to language that seems to reflect memories of Cherokee violence during the war (see figures 3 and 4). Some of the most common words used by supporters when discussing the American Revolution were terms like “conquered,” “barbarism,” and “dictated,” words that were dramatically different from those used by supporters in their speeches in general. This difference would seem to indicate that different thought processes were at play during supporters’ discussions of Cherokee involvement in the American Revolution, and that those processes were directly related to memories of Cherokee violence during the war. While opponents of the act argued that Cherokee violence had been mitigated by their efforts to adopt American ‘civilization,’ supporters of the act spent much of their time focusing on bitter memories of Cherokee violence (see charts 7 and 8). This violence was, in their minds, directly related to the ‘savagery’ they believed Indian groups like the Cherokees possessed. This ‘savagery’ - according to them - could never be removed from the character of Indian societies.

It would seem, then, that memories of ‘savage’ Indian violence played at least some part in the adoption of removal as an official federal policy. Of course, it should be noted that - though powerful - memories of frontier violence were by no means the only or major motivating factor informing the decision of American leaders to support Indian removal in the early nineteenth century. This should not be interpreted in any way as a refutation of traditional examinations of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Instead, it should be treated as an attempt to uncover yet another of the many underlying factors motivating that decision, acknowledge the complexity of those factors’ interrelations as a whole, and more fully appreciate the influence of historical memories on the social and political movements of the early nineteenth century. Still, the idea that Indians’ ‘inherent savagery’ precluded them from membership in the American nation

Chart 7. Negative qualifiers in opponents' speeches that discuss the Revolution (raw numbers).

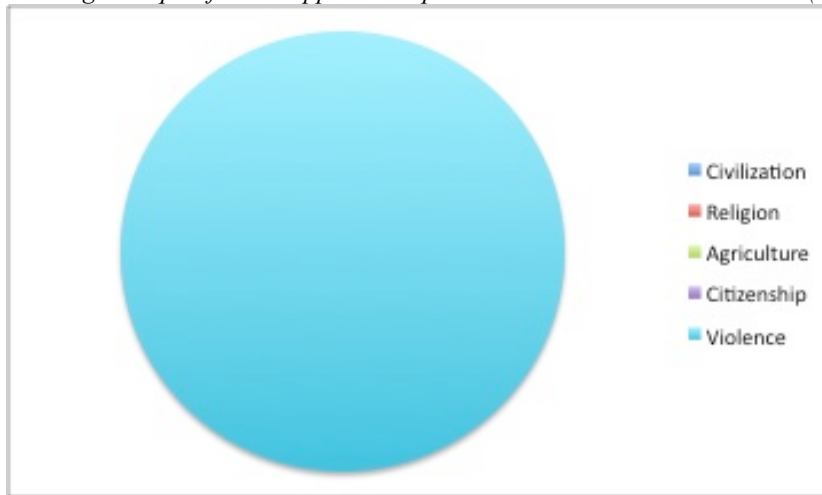
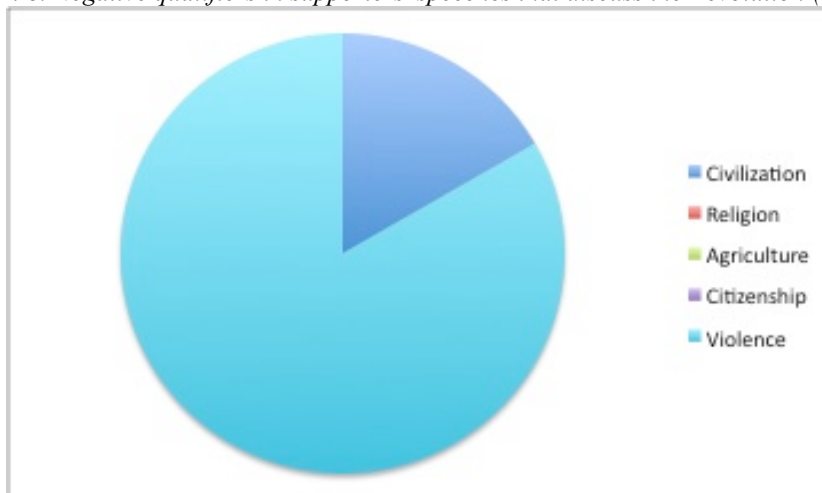


Chart 8. Negative qualifiers in supporters' speeches that discuss the Revolution (raw numbers).



The speeches of opponents and supporters of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 were compiled using the process described above and then analyzed with Voyant-Tools using a list of 'positive' and 'negative' qualifiers that related to conceptions of 'civilization' and 'savagery': Positive Words Related to Civilization (Civilized, Civilize, Civil, Civilization, Civilizing, Tame, Tamed); Positive Words Related to Christianity (Christian, Christianize, Christianized, Christianity, Convert, Converted, Converting, Religion, Religious, Moral, Godly); Positive Words Related to Agriculture (Cultivate, Cultivated, Culture, Agriculture, Agricultural, Farms, Farming, Farmer, Plantation, Plant, Planters, Planting, Improve, Improvement); Positive Words Related to Citizenship (Citizen, Citizenship, Fellow-Citizens); Positive Words Related to Violence (Peace, Peaceable, Peaceful, Peaceably, Passive); Negative Words Related to Civilization (Uncivilized, Savage, Wild, Barbarous, Untamed); Negative Words Related to Religion (Unchristian, Pagan, Superstition, Superstitious, Faithless, Immoral, Godless, Irreligious); Negative Words Related to Agriculture (Uncultivated, Barren, Waste, Wilderness); Negative Words Related to Citizenship (Foreigner, Foe, Enemy); Negative Words Related to Violence (Barbarity, Hostile, Hostility, Warlike, War, Attack, Violence, Warriors, War-whoop, Warfare, Scalp, Tomahawk, Weapon, Aggressor, Aggression, War-party, Aggression, Kill, Death, Killing, Killer, Killed, Combat, Murder, Wage, Conquer, Barbarism).

expressed by Georgia's congressional representatives became an increasingly fundamental aspect of American national identity. Furthermore, federal Indian policies began to focus almost exclusively on the separation of 'civilized' American society from the 'savage' Indian ones that were found as the United States progressed westward. Even the United States government's attempts to terminate the reservation system in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were at least nominally founded upon the notion that the Indians of North America were the members of 'savage' cultures that must be 'civilized.'

The idea that much of American national identity and federal Indian policy was founded upon a dichotomy between American 'civilization' and Indian 'savagery' has been well documented.¹³ What have been less well documented are that idea's at least partial origins in the revolutionary era. During that period, the conception of indigenous cultures as 'inherently savage' became for perhaps the first time one of the single most important features of national government policies toward the Indians of North America. As the period progressed, that idea only became stronger. By the time the Indian Removal Act came up for debate in the spring of 1830, the notion that Indians were 'inherently savage' and that membership in American society required the practice of 'civilized' American culture – both inheritances from the revolutionary era – had been all but cemented in the national psyche. Even those that opposed the act fell into this trap more often than not. When Congressman Edward Everett of Massachusetts rose to dispute the claims of men like Wayne, Forsyth, and Wilde, for example, he did so with language that seems to be a direct echo of the sort used by the members of the Continental Congress in the

¹³ See, for example, Richard Slotkin. *Regeneration through Violence; the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973.; Bernard W. Sheehan. *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.; Roy Harvey Pearce. *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.; Richard Slotkin. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-century America*. New York: Atheneum, 1992.

early years of the Revolutionary War. “The people whom we are to remove are Indians, it is true,” he declared, “but they are not all savages.” “They are planters and farmers tradespeople and mechanics,” he continued, and “they have cornfields and orchards, looms and workshops, schools and churches, and orderly institutions.” “Are such men savages?” he asked. They may have not, he told his listeners, “purged off every relic of barbarism.” Still, he concluded, “they are essentially a civilized people . . . not in the same degree that we are, but in the same way that we are.”¹⁴

Everett’s was a sentiment that just as easily could have been spoken by someone like Secretary of War Henry Knox while fighting to protect ‘civilized’ Indians like the Oneidas that had fought at his side during the American Revolution from the predations of local governments. Like Knox, however, Everett’s were the sentiments of little more than an outspoken minority. Like Knox, Everett faced a growing consensus among the American people that Indians of any kind were simply too ‘savage’ to be included in their ‘civilized’ nation’s trek across the continent. While men like Knox very well might have agreed with men like Everett, those like Wayne, Forsyth, and Wilde were far more likely to find inspiration in the writings of ‘illustrious’ forebears like James Duane, Thomas Jefferson, and James Monroe. It was the latter that would emerge predominant in the nineteenth century, while the former found itself on the wrong side of historical memory (though not of history). Eventually, the minimization of Indians on the North American continent would translate into their minimization in American history. While the American nation continued to relegate Indians in its origin narrative to the “minimal and negative role” described by Colin Calloway in *The American Revolution in Indian Country*, however, Indians like the Oneidas of Onondaga and the Mohawks of Brantford fought just as

¹⁴ 6. *Cong. Deb.* (1830), 1069.

determinedly to avoid that relegation.¹⁵ Ultimately, then, it would seem that the sorts of negotiations between Americans and Indians that began in the revolutionary era continued long after men like Duane, Jefferson, and Monroe believed their victory was complete.

¹⁵ Colin G. Calloway. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, xii.

Appendix A: Digital Research Methodology

The large majority of the information about the digital research methodology used for this work (particularly the epilogue) has been explained throughout the text in a series of footnotes and captions. I have also, however, chosen to include it here, in a single location so that it can be more easily found and understood.

1) The digital research featured in this work is the result of a larger digital project that can be found online (http://npwuertenber.iweb.bsu.edu/Violence_and_Removal/Introduction.html).

2) All charts featuring demographic analysis were created using data provided by the Congressional Biographical Directory (<http://bioguide.congress.gov/biosearch/biosearch.asp>) and the Office of the Clerk of the House of Representatives (http://clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/bioguide-front/21.pdf), which were compiled into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet for graphing and has been provided as an appendix (Appendix B) in this work.

3) The textual analysis featured in this work is based on a corpus of text downloaded from *Register of Debates in Congress*. 14 vols. Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1824-1837. Accessed February 16, 2014. <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lwrld.html>. at the Library of Congress's American Memory Project (cited elsewhere). The debates ran in the House of Representatives from May 18-25, 1830 during the first session of the 21st Congress and in the Senate during the same session from January 25th to May 26th. Members of Congress continued to debate the act during the second session, however, mentioning it as late as December 6, 1830 in the Senate and February 18, 1831 in the House. The text of the debates was downloaded as images (a total of 284 pages), converted to PDF format, then saved as raw text files using the optical character recognition software ABBYY Fine Reader Express for Mac. It was then analyzed using the free online services Voyant-Tools and Wordle.

4) Coordinates of map location markers were determined using Google Maps before being entered into the geospatial analysis tool ArcGIS Desktop 10. In some cases, the names of the districts or birthplaces of the members of the 21st Congress had changed. In these cases, the current name of the location was determined whenever possible. When the current name could not be determined, location markers were placed at the seat of the county that was determined to encompass the former location. The map of the colonial frontier was obtained through the ArcGIS online forums

(<http://www.arcgis.com/home/item.html?id=0df9bce5fe0b4386af8421fe68cbca9a>), while the map of major Indian battles was obtained from Portland State University's TAHPDX Westward Expansion project (http://www.upa.pdx.edu/IMS/currentprojects/TAHv3/West_Expand_GIS.html).

By using these tools, it was possible to understand the vote for Indian removal in 1830 within a much larger context than would have been feasible otherwise. The existence of technology that can compare the childhood and adulthood homes of Congressional representatives in relation to the ever-changing early American frontier and major incidents of Indian violence as they progressed historically, while linking that to trends in the frequency of word use found in the speeches such men made in Congress allowed me to seize opportunities for a broader insight into my historical subject that would have been unavailable to me (or other historians) even a decade ago. These tools will continue to shape and expand our ever-evolving understanding of history, just as it has mine over the course of completing this work. Without them, I would consider my research – and my argument – incomplete.

Appendix B: Demographic Data for the 21st Congress

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Robert Adams	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1792	Rockbridge County, VA	Natchez, MS	
Mark Alexander	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1792	Boydton, VA	Lombardy Grove, VA	4
Robert Allen	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1794	Woodstock, VA	Mount Jackson, VA	17
Willis Alston	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1769	Littleton, NC	Hyde Park, NC	2
John Anderson	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1792	Windham, ME	Portland, ME	2
William Angel	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	New Shoreham, RI	Burlington, NY	13
William Archer	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	"The Lodge," Amelia County, VA	Elk Hill, VA	3
William Armstrong	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1782	Lisburn, Ireland	Romney, VA	16
Benedict Arnold	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1780	Amsterdam, NY	Amsterdam, NY	16
John Bailey	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1786	Stoughton, MA	Milton, MA	10
Noyes Barber	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1781	Groton, CT	Groton, CT	
John Barbour	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Brandy Station, VA	Culpeper, VA	15
Philip Barbour	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1783	Gordonsville, VA	Gordonsville, VA	11
Isaac Barnard	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1791	Aston Township, Delaware County, PA	West Chester, PA	
Robert Barnwell	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1801	Beaufort, SC	Beaufort, SC	2
Daniel Barringer	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1788	"Poplar Grove," Cabarrus County, NC	Raleigh, NC	8
Mordecai Bartley	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1783	Fayette County, PA	Mansfield, OH	14
David Barton	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1783	Greeneville, TN	St. Louis, MO	
Isaac Bates	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1779	Granville, MA	Northhampton, MA	8
Robert Baylor	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1793	Lincoln County, KY	Tuscaloosa, AL	2
Thomas Beekman	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay		Wayne County, NY	Peterboro, NY	22
John Bell	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1796	Nashville, TN	Nashville, TN	7
Samuel Bell	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1770	Londonderry, NH	Chester, NH	

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Thomas Benton	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1782	Hillsboro, NC	St. Louis, MO	
George Bibb	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1776	Prince Edward County, VA	Yellow Banks, KY	
James Blair	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Waxhaw Settlement, Lancaster County, SC	Camdem, SC	8
John Blair	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Jonesboro, TN	Jonesboro, Tn	1
Abraham Bockee	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1784	Shekomeko, NY	Federal Store, NY	5
Ratliff Boon	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1781	Franklin County, NC	Boonville, IN	1
Peter Borst	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1797	Middleburg, NY	Middleburg, NY	12
Thomas Bouldin	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1781	Charlotte Court House, VA	Charlotte, VA	5
John Brodhead	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1770	Lower Smithfield, PA	Newmarket, NH	
Bedford Brown	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1795	Greensboro, NC	Browns Store, NC	
Elias Brown	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1793	Baltimore, MD	Freedom, MD	5
James Buchanan	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1791	Mercersburg, PA	Lancaster, PA	4
Tristram Burges	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1770	Rochester, MA	Providence, RI	
Jacob Burnet	Sen.	Adams	Nay	1770	Newark, NJ	Cincinnati, OH	
Samuel Butman	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1788	Worcester, MA	Dixmont, ME	7
William Cahoon	Rep.	Anti-Masonic	Nay	1774	Providence, RI	Lyndon, VT	5
Churchill Cambreleng	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Washington, NC	New York City, NY	3
John Campbell	Rep.	Jackson	Yea		Brownsville, SC	Brownsville, SC	3
Samuel Carson	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1798	Pleasant Gardens, NC	Pleasant Garden, NC	12
Ezekiel Chambers	Sen.	Adams	Nay	1788	Chestertown, MD	Baltimore, MD	
Thomas Chandler	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1772	Bedford, NH	Hillsboro, NH	
Dudley Chase	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1771	Cornish, NH	Randolph, VT	
Timothy Childs	Rep.	Anti-Masonic	Nay	1785	Pittsfield, MA	Rochester, NY	27
Thomas Chilton	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1798	Lancaster, KY	Elizabethtown, KY	11
Nathaniel Claiborne	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1777	Chesterfield, VA	Rocky Mount, VA	7
James Clark	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1779	Peaks of Otter, Bedford County, VA	Winchester, KY	3

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Clement Clay	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Halifax County, VA	Huntsville, AL	1
John Clayton	Sen.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1796	Dagsboro, Sussex County, DE	Dover, DE	
Richard Coke	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Williamsburg, VA	Williamsburg, VA	8
Nicholas Coleman	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1800	Cynthiana, KY	Washington, KY	2
Lewis Condict	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1772	Morristown, NJ	Morristown, NJ	
Henry Connor	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1793	Amelia Court House, VA	Sherrills Ford, NC	11
Richard Cooper	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1768	Gloucester County, NJ	Camdem, NJ	
Richard Coulter	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1788	Westmoreland County, PA	Greensburg, PA	17
Henry Cowles	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1798	Hartford, CT	Carmel, NY	4
Hector Craig	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1775	Paisley, Scotland	Craigsville, NY	6
Robert Craig	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1792	Christiansburg, VA	Montgomery, VA	20
Joseph Crane	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1782	Elizabethtown, NJ	Dayton, Oh	3
Thomas Crawford	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Chambersburg, PA	Chambersburg, PA	11
William Creighton	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1778	Berkeley County, VA	Chillicothe, OH	6
Jacob Crocheron	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1774	Staten Island, NY	Smithfield, NY	2
David Crockett	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1786	Greene County, TN	Crockett, TN	9
Benjamin Crowninshield	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1772	Salem, MA	Salem, MA	2
Henry Daniel	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Louisa County, VA	Mount Sterling, KY	1
Thomas Davenport	Rep.	Jackson	Yea		Cumberland County, VA	Meadville, VA	6
John Davis	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1787	Northboro, MA	Worcester, MA	5
Warren Davis	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1793	Columbia, SC	Pendleton, SC	6
Edmund Deberry	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1787	Mount Gilead, NC	Lawrenceville, NC	7
Harmar Denny	Rep.	Anti- Masonic	Nay	1794	Pittsburgh, PA	Pittsburgh, PA	16
Robert Desha	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1791	Gallatin, TN	Gallatin, TN	5
Charles DeWitt	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Greenhill, NY	Kingston, NY	7
Mahlon Dickerson	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1770	Hanover, NJ	Succasunna, NJ	
John Dickinson	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1767	Middletown, CT	Troy, NY	8

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Philip Doddridge	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1773	Bedford County, VA	Wellsburg, VA	18
Clement Dorsey	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1778	Oaklands, MD	Chaptico, MD	1
William Drayton	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1776	St. Augustine, FL	Charleston, SC	1
Charles Dudley	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Johnston Hall, England	Albany, NY	
Edward Dudley	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1789	Jacksonville, NC	Wilmington, NC	5
Joseph Duncan	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1794	Paris, KY	Brownsville, IL	1
Henry Dwight	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Yea	1788	Stockbridge, MA	Stockbridge, MA	9
Jonas Earll	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Onondaga County, NY	Onondaga, Ny	23
Powhatan Ellis	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Red Hill, Amherst County, VA	Winchester, MS	
William Ellsworth	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1791	Windsor, CT	Hartford, CT	
George Evans	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1797	Hallowell, ME	Gardiner, ME	4
Joshua Evans	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1777	Paoli, PA	Paoli, PA	4
Edward Everett	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1794	Dorchester, MA	Charlestown, MA	4
Horace Everett	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1779	Foxboro, MA	Windsor, VT	3
Isaac Finch	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1783	Stillwater, NY	Jay, NY	19
James Findlay	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1770	Mercersburg, PA	Cincinnati, OH	1
Samuel Foot	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1780	Cheshire, CT	Cheshire, CT	
James Ford	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1783	Perth Amboy, NJ	Lawrenceville, PA	9
John Forsyth	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Fredericksburg, VA	Augusta, GA	
Chauncey Forward	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1793	Old Granby, CT	Somerset, PA	13
Thomas Foster	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Greensboro, GA	Greensboro, GA	
Theodore Frelinghuysen	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1787	Millstone, NJ	Newark, NJ	
Joseph Fry	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1781	Upper Saucon Township, Lehigh County, PA	Fryburg, PA	7
Nathan Gaither	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1788	Mocksville, NC	Columbus, KY	8
John Gilmore	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Somerset County, PA	Butler, PA	16
William Gordon	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1787	Fredericksburg, VA	Lindsey's Store, VA	10

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Benjamin Gorham	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1775	Charlestown, MA	Boston, MA	1
Innis Green	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1776	Hanover Township, PA	Dauphin, PA	6
George Grennell	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1786	Greenfield, MA	Greenfield, MA	7
Felix Grundy	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1777	Berkeley County, VA	Nashville, TN	
Henry Gurley	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Abst.	1788	Lebanon, CT	Baton Rouge, LA	2
Thomas Hall	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1773	Prince George County, VA	Tarboro, NC	3
Jehiel Halsey	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1788	Southampton, NY	Lodi, NY	26
Joseph Hammons	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1787	Cornish, ME	Farmington, NH	
Jonathan Harvey	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Sutton, NH	Sutton, NH	
Joseph Hawkins	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1781	New York	Henderson, NY	20
Robert Hayne	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1791	St. Paul's Parish, Colleton District, SC	Charleston, SC	
Charles Haynes	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1784	Brunswick, VA	Sparta, GA	
Joseph Hemphill	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1770	Thornburg Township, Chester County, PA	Philadelphia, PA	2
William Hendricks	Sen.	Adams	Yea	1782	Ligonier Valley, Westmoreland County, PA	Madison, IN	
Thomas Hinds	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Berkeley County, VA	Greenville, MS	1
James Hodges	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1790	Taunton, MA	Taunton, MA	12
Michael Hoffman	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1787	Half Moon, NY	Herkimer, NY	15
John Holmes	Sen.	Adams	Nay	1773	Kingston, MA	Alfred, ME	
Benjamin Howard	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1791	Baltimore, MD	Baltimore, MD	5
Henry Hubbard	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1784	Charlestown, NH	Charlestown, NH	
Thomas Hughes	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1769	Cold Spring, NJ	Cold Spring, NJ	
Jonathan Hunt	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1787	Vernon, VT	Brattleboro, VT	1
Jabez Huntington	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1788	Norwich, CT	Litchfield, CT	
Peter Ihrie	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1796	Easton, PA	Easton, PA	8
Ralph Ingersoll	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1789	New Haven, CT	New Haven, CT	

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
James Iredell	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1788	Edenton, Chowan County, N.C.	Edenton, NC	
William Irvin	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1778	Charlottesville, VA	Lancaster, OH	9
Thomas Irwin	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1785	Philadelphia, PA	Uniontown, PA	14
Jacob Isacks	Rep.	Jackson	Yea		Montgomery County, PA	Winchester, TN	4
Leonard Jarvis	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1781	Boston, MA	Ellsworth, ME	6
Jonathan Jennings	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Yea	1784	Hunterdon County, NJ	Charlestown, IN	2
Kensey Johns	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1791	New Castle, New Castle County, DE	New Castle, DE	
Cave Johnson	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1793	Robertson County, TN	Clarksville, TN	8
Richard Johnson	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Beargrass, Jefferson County, KY	Great Crossings, KY	5
Josiah Johnston	Sen.	Anti- Jacksonian	Yea	1784	Salisbury, Litchfield County, CT	Alexandria, LA	
Elias Kane	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1794	New York City, NY	Kaskaskia, IL	
Joseph Kendall	Rep.	None	Nay	1788	Leominster, Worcester County, MA	Leominster, MA	6
William Kennon	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1793	Uniontown, Fayette County, PA	St. Clairsville, OH	10
John Kincaid	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1791	Danville, Mercer County, KY	Stanford, KY	7
Adam King	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1783	York, PA	York, PA	10
Perkins King	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1784	New Marlboro, MA	Freehold, NY	11
William King	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Sampson County, NC	Selma, AL	
Nehemiah Knight	Sen.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1780	Cranston, RI	Providence, RI	
Henry Lamar	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1798	Clinton, Jones County, GA	Macon, GA	
Pryor Lea	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1794	Knox County, TN	Knoxville, TN	2
Joseph Lecompte	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1797	Georgetown, Scott County, KY	New Castle, KY	6
George Leiper	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1786	Philadelphia, PA	Leiperville, PA	4
James Lent	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1782	Queens, NY	Elmira, NY	1
Robert Letcher	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1788	Goochland County, VA	Lancaster, KY	4
Dixon Lewis	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1802	Dinwiddie County, VA	Montgomery, AL	3

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Edward Livingston	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1764	Clermont, NY	New Orleans, LA	
George Lovall	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Norfolk, VA	Norfolk, VA	1
Wilson Lumpkin	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1783	Dan River, Pittsylvania County, VA	Monroe, GA	
Chittenden Lyon	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1787	Fair Haven, VT	Eddyville, KY	12
John Magee	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1794	Easton, PA	Bath, BY	28
Rollin Mallery	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1784	Cheshire, New Haven County, CT	Poultney, VT	2
William Marks	Sen.	Adams	Nay	1778	Fogg's Manor, Chester County, PA	Pittsburgh, PA	
Alem Marr	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1787	Upper Mount Bethel, Northampton County, PA	Danville, PA	9
William Martin	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Martintown, Edgefield District, SC	Barnwell, SC	4
Henry Martindale	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1780	Berkshire County, MA	Sandy Hill, NY	18
Lewis Maxwell	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1790	Chester County, PA	Weston, VA	21
Thomas Maxwell	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1792	Athens, Bradford County, PA	Elmira, NY	25
William McCoy	Rep.	Jackson	Yea		Warrenton, Fauquier County, VA	Franklin, VA	19
William McCreery	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1786	Omagh, County Tyrone, Ireland	Florence, PA	15
George McDuffie	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Columbia County, GA	Edgefield, SC	5
Rufus McIntire	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1784	York, York County, ME	Parsonsfield, ME	1
John McKinley	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1780	Culpeper County, VA	Florence, AL	
Louis McLane	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Smyrna, DE	Wilmington, DE	
Charles Mercer	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1778	Fredericksburg, VA	Leesburg, VA	14
Daniel Miller	Rep.	Jackson	Nay		Philadelphia, PA	Philadelphia, PA	3
George Mitchell	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1781	Elkton, Cecil County, MD	Elkton, MD	6
Robert Monell	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1786	Columbia County, NY	Greene, NY	21
Henry Muhlenberg	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1782	Lancaster, PA	Reading, PA	7
Arnold Naudain	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1790	Dover, DE	Wilmington, DE	

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
James Noble	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Yea	1785	Berryville, Clarke County, VA	Brookville, IN	
Ebenezer Norton	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1774	Goshen, Litchfield County, CT	Buffalo, NY	30
William Nuckolls	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1801	Hancockville, Cherokee County, SC	Hancockville, SC	7
Walter Overton	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1788	Louisa Court House, VA	Alexandria, LA	3
Dutee Pearce	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1789	Prudence, RI	Newport, RI	
Spencer Pettis	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1802	Culpeper County, VA	Fayette, MO	1
Isaac Pierson	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1770	Orange, Essex County, NJ	Orange, NJ	
George Poindexter	Sen.	Jackson	Nay	1779	Louisa County, VA	Natchez, MS	
James Polk	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1795	Little Sugar Creek, Mecklenburg County, NC	Columbia, TN	6
Robert Potter	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1800	Williamsboro, NC	Oxford, NC	6
Gershom Powers	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Croydon, Sullivan County, NH	Auburn, NY	24
William Ramsey	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1779	Sterretts Gap, Cumberland County, PA	Carlisle, PA	11
James Randolph	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1791	Middlesex County, NJ	New Brunswick, NJ	
John Reed	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1781	West Bridgewater, MA	Yarmouth, MA	13
Abraham Rencher	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1798	Raleigh, NC	Pittsboro, NC	10
Joseph Richardson	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1778	Billerica, MA	Hingham, MA	11
John Roane	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1766	Uppowac, King William County, VA	Rumford Academy, VA	12
Robert Rose	Rep.	Anti-Masonic	Nay	1774	Amherst County, VA	Geneva, NY	26
John Rowan	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1773	York, York County, PA	Louisville, KY	
Benjamin Ruggles	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1783	Abington, CT	St. Clairsville, OH	
William Russell	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1782	Ireland	West Union, OH	5
Nathan Sanford	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1777	Bridgehampton, Long Island, NY	Albany, NY	
John Scott	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1784	Gettysburg, PA	Alexandria, PA	12

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
Benedict Semmes	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1789	Charles County, MD	Piscataway, MD	2
Horatio Seymour	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Yea	1778	Litchfield, CT	Middlebury, VT	
William Shepard	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Yea	1799	New Bern, NC	Elizabeth City, NC	1
Augustine Shepperd	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1792	Rockford, Surry County, NC	Germantown, NC	9
James Shields	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1762	Banbridge, County Down, Ireland	Dicks Mills, OH	2
Thomas Sill	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1783	Windsor, CT	Erie, PA	18
Nathanael Silsbee	Sen.	Adams	Yea	1773	Salem, MA	Salem, MA	
Samuel Smith	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1795	Harrow, Nockamixon Township, Bucks County, PA	Doylestown, PA	8
William Smith	Sen.	Jackson	Nay	1762	North Carolina	Charleston, SC	
Jesse Speight	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1795	Greene County, NC	Stantonsburg, NC	4
Ambrose Spencer	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1765	Salisbury, Litchfield County, CT	Albany, NY	10
Richard Spencer	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1796	Spencer Hall, Talbot County, MD	Easton, MD	7
Peleg Sprague	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1792	Duxbury, MA	Hallowell, ME	
Michael Sprigg	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1791	Frostburg, MD	Frostburg, MD	4
William Stanbery	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1788	Essex County, NJ	Newark, OH	8
James Standifer	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1782	Virginia	Mountairy, TN	3
Philander Stephens	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1788	Montrose, Susquehanna County, PA	Montrose, PA	9
John Sterigere	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1793	Ambler, Montgomery County, PA	Norristown, PA	5
Andrew Stevenson	Rep.	Jackson	Abst ain	1784	Culpeper County, VA	Richmond, VA	9
Henry Storrs	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1787	Middletown, CT	Whitestown, NY	14
William Storrs	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1795	Middletown, CT	Middletown, CT	
James Strong	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1783	Windham, CT	Hudson, NY	8
Joel Sutherland	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1792	Gloucester County, NJ	Philadelphia, PA	1
Samuel Swan	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1771	Scotch Plains, Somerset	Somerville, NJ	

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
					County, NJ		
Benjamin Swift	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1781	Amenia, NY	St. Albans, VT	4
John Taliaferro	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1768	Fredericksburg, VA	Fredericksburg, VA	13
John Taylor	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1784	Charlton, NY	Ballston Spa, NY	17
Littleton Tazewell	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1774	Williamsburg, VA	Norfolk, VA	
John Test	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1771	Salem, NJ	Lawrenceburg, IN	3
Wiley Thompson	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1781	Amelia County, VA	Elberton, GA	
John Thomson	Rep.	Jackson	Nay	1780	Ireland	New Lisbon, OH	12
Phineas Tracy	Rep.	Anti-Masonic	Nay	1786	Norwich, CT	Batavia, NY	29
James Trezvant	Rep.	Jackson	Yea		Sussex County, VA	Jerusalem, VA	2
George Troup	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1780	McIntosh Bluff, AL	Dublin, GA	
Starling Tucker	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1770	Halifax County, NC	Mountain Shoals, SC	9
John Tyler	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Charles City County, VA	Charles City, VA	
Joseph Vance	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1786	Washington, Washington County, PA	Urbana, Oh	4
John Varnum	Rep.	None	Nay	1778	Dracut, Middlesex County, MA	Haverhill, MA	3
Gulian Verplanck	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1786	New York City, NY	New York City, NY	3
Samuel Vinton	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1792	South Hadley, MA	Gallipolis, OH	7
George Washington	Rep.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1789	Oak Grove, Westmoreland County, VA	Rockville, MD	3
James Wayne	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1790	Savannah, GA	Savannah, GA	
Daniel Webster	Sen.	Anti-Jacksonian	Nay	1782	Salisbury, NH	Boston, MA	
John Weeks	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1781	Greenland, Rockingham County, NH	Lancast, NH	
Campbell White	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1787	Ireland	New York City, NY	3
Edward White	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1795	Nashville, TN	Donaldsonville, LA	1
Hugh White	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1773	Iredell County, NC	Knoxville, TN	
Elisha Whittlesey	Rep.	Whig	Nay	1783	Washington, CT	Canfield, OH	13
Charles Wickliffe	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1788	Springfield, Washington	Bardstown, KY	9

Congressman	Pos.	Party	Vote	Born	Birthplace	District Town	Dist. #
					County, KY		
Richard Wilde	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Dublin, Ireland	Augusta, GA	
Calvin Willey	Sen.	Adams	Nay	1776	East Haddam, CT	Tolland, CT	
Lewis Williams	Rep.	Anti- Jacksonian	Nay	1782	Surry County, NC	Panther Creek, NC	13
Ephraim Wilson	Rep.	Jackson	Abst.	1771	Snow Hill, MD	Snow Hill, MD	8
Joseph Wingate	Rep.	None	Nay	1786	Haverhill, Essex County, ME	Bath, ME	3
Levi Woodbury	Sen.	Jackson	Yea	1789	Francestown, NH	Portsmouth, NH	
Joel Yancey	Rep.	Jackson	Yea	1773	Albemarle County, VA	Glasgow, KY	10
Ebenezer Young	Sen.	None	Nay		Killingly, Windham County, CT	Killingly Center, CT	

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