ONE

Place-Based Sandusky Histories

It is well known that the Iroquois made extensive use of the Ohio Territory for hunting and trade before the establishment of villages in the Allegheny drainage and permanent settlement in the Sandusky region. Abounding game and "unclaimed" land made the Ohio Territory an important resource for the colonial economies of Iroquois and Algonquian sociopolitical centers further east. However, not until the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries was the Ohio Territory inhabited year-round by Iroquois peoples.[1] Overall, scholars see Iroquois migration, and in particular that of the Seneca, as ". . . part of an ongoing expansion since the end of the previous century . . . [and] . . . as a safe haven from problems at home."[2]

Problems at home consisted of increased pressure to cede lands to white settlers and the infiltration of French and British politics into Six Nations politics. Expansion west by the Seneca, for example, also extended Six Nations' political and economic policy by seeking cooperation with nearby tribes as well as attempting to manipulate the British and French through allegiances with groups such as the Delaware and Wyandotte.[3]

Scholarly conceptions of the Iroquois and their relationship to other peoples in the Ohio Territory vary, but tend toward an inherited interpretive provincialism preserving the geographic solidity of the Six Nations. Some see the Ohio Territory as ". . . a volatile land, a prize in a high-stakes game that pitted various British and French interests against Indians trying to preserve their sovereignty."[4] This line of argument tells us the Iroquois, as well as other groups, were attempting to

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establish their own tribal nation-style governments in the Ohio Territory during the eighteenth century, which were to have been deliberately politically and socially separate from the Six Nations. The Ohio Indian is thought to have sought a sociopolitical identity independent of the Iroquois, fashioned from frontier social relations and recognized by Euro-American governments and regional native populations. Frontier multiculturalism was to have produced native societies based on mutual self-interest. The "multicultural" Ohio Indian population is to have demonstrated their independence from the Confederacy and their European allies by defining "their interests locally" to the extent that foreign and colonial governments were dealing with these communities as individual polities.[5]

Other scholarly interpretations, however, see the "Ohio Country" as a ". . . region the Iroquois [Five Nations] laid claim to on the basis of ancient conquest . . . and the location on it of tribes politically dependent upon them" as evidenced by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768:

> "The immediate result of the impasse [fighting with the British over trade] was the treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, by which the Iroquois surrendered their own and their tribal dependents' claims to the lands south of the Ohio and Susquehanna rivers. The Ohio lands in particular were then used for hunting by, and occupied by villages of Mingo, Shawnee, and other dependents of the Six Nations. The Iroquois, claiming to represent all the occupants and users, negotiated the sale and kept all of the proceeds."[6]

The image of the Ohio peoples as a nationally engaged political entity furthers the notion of a general Ohio Indian with its own hybrid sociopolitical organization under the multiethnic moniker of "Mingo," according to Aquila:

> By 1747, the Five Nations also had to contend with a new political rival. Indians living on the Ohio River and its tributaries were emerging as a power bloc. Pennsylvania officials realized that the Iroquois Confederacy had no control over the Ohio Indians, a conglomeration of individuals from various tribes . . . The Five Nations, fearing that the Ohio Indians would take their place as Pennsylvania's most favored Indian nation moved quickly to prevent a separate alliance between the Pennsylvania government and Ohio tribes.[7]

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Trappers, traders, military men, and later settlers used the term *Mingo* as a stand-in for *Indian* to designate the mixed native population moving into and out of the Ohio Valley, which included Iroquois hunters and translocated Shawnee and Delaware. Mingo, or the idea of a multiethnic sociopolitical power block of Ohio Indians, relies on prevailing academic interpretations of ". . . an identity linked to an emerging 'Ohio Indian' world" where Ohio Iroquois along with Algonquians had formed themselves into a socially and politically distinct unit through cross-tribal alliances.[8] These cross-tribal alliances were to have superseded the local, and thus become the basis of the emergence of a sociocultural hybrid acting as a single political unit in its dealings with colonial authority. These cross-tribal alliances, and their assumed multiethnic melding of tradition, however, allow interpretations such as that posited by Downes, who argues that by 1755: "These Indians were gradually reabsorbed into the ranks of their people and thus lost their identity as a factor in the Indian history of the Ohio Valley."[9] The Ohio Indians, through this lens, become significantly culturally detached from the geographic and cultural origins of their heritage, producing the image of native communities uncritically absorbing one another's culture and transforming themselves into something wholly different.

McConnell's interpretation of the Ohio Valley in the eighteenth century challenges multiethnic melding and loss of community identity by supporting a scenario focused on the ways in which autonomy formed intercommunity social and political organization within multiple levels of cooperation and alliance. McConnell proposes a three-tiered level of organization for the Ohio peoples and the Iroquois in Ohio. First, he focuses on a regional identity, the "Ohio Indian," an identity "shared by all inhabitants of the Ohio Country regardless of ethnic affiliation," which would inevitably form the basis of mutual interest for the Western Confederacy of Ohio Territory natives. The larger category of Ohio native contains various "ethnic groups" oriented toward broad cultural affiliations, such as Seneca, Cayuga, Wyandotte, and Shawnee, who seek similar political goals with Euro-American governments. Unlike his predecessors, he further emphasizes autonomous kinship-based towns or villages as the central source of social identity as well as sociopolitical autonomy. McConnell points out: "Although ethnic identities persisted on the plateau [Allegheny], the broad descriptive categories—Shawnee, Delaware, Iroquois—cannot be equated with 'tribes' in any political sense." Instead, Seneca and other Ohio peoples established autonomous towns or villages held together by kinship ties and localism. Towns were organized and founded around a central lineage figure, either a headman

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or matron. Several multiethnic settlements had been established in the Ohio Valley by the Shawnee, Wyandotte, and Delaware prior to the 1700s, and by the mid- to late 1700s several towns that were identified as ethnically Iroquois had been established within close proximity to the Wyandotte and Delaware in the Sandusky Bay area.[10] The Sandusky Bay as well as the Sandusky River corridor became a geographic homeland for the Wyandotte and Ohio Iroquois peoples.

Sandusky Localism

Making any definitive claims about the origins of the Sandusky Iroquois prior to the early 1800s is made difficult by the multiple sources of information coming from French, British, and American interests. Furthermore, settler and military use of general terms such as *Mingo, Seneca,* and *Six Nations* to refer to a variety of natives further complicates the ability to match specific people with specific locales for any length of time. From the late 1600s until the 1750s the Allegheny Valley contained the largest concentration of Western Algonquian and Iroquois settlements. The move into Ohio, according to McConnell, may have been "predicated in part on knowledge of the Ohio Valley. For the Shawnees, firsthand knowledge of the region, its resources and its important stream and trail systems extended back to the late seventeenth century."[11] The Allegheny settlements established by these pioneers, mostly Shawnee, Seneca, and Delaware, were multiethnic trading centers and towns through which more mobile native populations would move, but also served as permanent homes for emerging cooperative communities made up of residential clusters. Residential clusters of people who shared language and culture maintained allegiance to their kin groups and specific kin-based leaders at the same time as they participated in cooperative sociopolitical and economic relationships with others in a village or village complex. Pressures of colonization and settlement on these cooperative villages within western Pennsylvania sparked another westward migration of the Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware out of the Allegheny toward the Cuyahoga River Valley in the early 1700s along well-known hunting and war trails extending to Detroit and into French Territory.[12]

The Wyandotte, a group of Huron who moved to Ohio in the 1730s, help us better locate the geographic origins of the Iroquois peoples who would be known as the Sandusky Seneca. The close association of the Ohio Iroquois and Wyandotte began when Iroquois and Algonquian people moved west out of the Allegheny, which coincided with the

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easterly movement of Huron dissatisfied with their living and trading arrangements with the French in Detroit. The leader of the disaffected Huron was a chief named Angouriot, also known to the French by his baptism name, Nicholas, and to the English as Orontony. Angouriot moved his community from Detroit to the Sandusky Bay in the late 1740s and established the village Etionnontout, located at present-day Castalia, Ohio. The village was also known by the names Ayonoutout and Junundat. Angouriot and his Huron followers became known as "Wendat" by the English; however, I will use Wyandotte, as the community refers to itself today. The village at Etionnontout was a major trade outpost as well as a cooperative community of multiple different native groups including Seneca, Mohegan, Mohawk, and Shawnee. Despite leaving the Detroit area in protest, Angouriot maintained a close trade relationship with the French, who appear to have relied on Angouriot as an eastern ally against the British interests in the area. Despite being considered a "secessionist" for moving away from the Detroit-based Huron, Angouriot received visits from Jesuit priests in 1747 who documented the population of the community at Etionnontout and a nearby settlement they named Aaae. The French Jesuits from Detroit noted the presence of "Six Nations" peoples at the two villages.[13] By 1748 the French had received word that Angouriot and the towns of Etionnontout and Aaae had shifted allegiance to Britain and were planning an attack on Detroit. Angouriot confirmed his break with the French in 1748 when he burned the Huron mission led by Father Pierre-Phillipe Potier on Bois Blanc Island in present-day Ontario, Canada, in retaliation for French militia resistance to his advance on Detroit. He was quite possibly going to the mission to seek allies in his attempt to challenge French domination in the area. However, Father Potier noted the outrage of the Bois Blanc Huron at Angouriot and the "refugee Huron" in a letter to his superior, Father Richardie.[14] After failing to reach Detroit and destroy it, Angouriot returned to Sandusky, burned Etionnontout and fled to Conshake or Konchake (Coshocton, Ohio), where he and a few hundred of his Huron followers lived with other Ohio natives until his death May 20, 1750.[15] The French saw Angouriot's death as ending the Etionnontout "coup," and many of his followers returned to French areas, including Bois Blanc, and others to Etionnontout.[16]

We lose track of Angouriot's people after they migrate back to Sandusky from Conshake or continue west to reunite with the French-allied Huron at Detroit.[17] Angouriot's son Orontondy, however, emerges in the 1770s at Upper Sandusky as an ally to the British against the American

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rebels. Between the collapse of Etionnontout and the Revolutionary War, the Iroquois in the Sandusky region come into more focus with a mention of the Iroquois village of Canahogue in the Mitchell Map of 1755. The village is documented as across a creek from Angouriot's original settlement. John Mitchell, the author of the map, marked the town of Canahogue on the south shore of Sandusky Bay and noted, "The seat of war, the hart[sic] and Chief Nuntin's grounds of the Six Nations of the lakes of Ohio."[18] Archaeologists David Stothers and Timothy Abel have collected evidence suggesting that Canahogue is the same town as Nunqunhanty and Sunyundeand, which was historically recognized as a multiethnic town consisting of Wyandotte, Delaware, Shawnee, Seneca, and other Iroquois. It is important to note that Nunqunhanty appears on the Bouquet map of 1761 as a multiethnic village of four hundred persons. Nunqunhanty is again thought to have been southeast of the entrance of the Sandusky River into the bay and southeast of Orontony's Etionnontout.[19] From the 1750s through removal, the close association between the Wyandotte and the Ohio Iroquois resurfaces with each community signaling the presence of the other, sometimes with only a brief mention of leaders as signatory on treaties. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the documentation bears out a significant political and kin-based allegiance between the two communities; for example, mixed Wyandotte-Seneca emergent leaders during the Revolutionary period, such as Between-the-Logs and Wiping Stick. While not definitive, this close association helps us to come closer to more completely understanding from what early Iroquois groups the Sandusky Seneca emerged.

As the Ohio Territory progresses to the Revolutionary War, the area known as Sandusky at Sandusky Bay on Lake Erie remains a significant British military and trade stronghold in the region, but farther south along the Sandusky River is where the village life of the multiethnic population is centered. The significant British and allied native presence at Sandusky clearly made it a target for Revolutionary as well as French forces and may explain why the communities were concentrated farther south along the Sandusky River. Furthermore, as David Preston points out: "The British army's military colonization of the Ohio Valley, the Euroamerican settlement expansion that followed and intercultural violence were crucial developments in the Ohio Valley in the 1760s. These three legacies of the Seven Years' War would set in motion the fundamental processes shaping Indian-colonist relations in the Ohio Valley for the next fifty years."[20]

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Settler violations of the Boundary Line Treaty of 1768 put pressure on communities from the east, while the French put pressure on the largely British-allied Wyandotte and Ohio Iroquois from the west and northwest. Again, we locate the Sandusky region's Iroquois peoples via the Wyandotte. In the 1760s the most prominent town in the region was a village at Upper Sandusky known, because of its association with the Wyandotte leader Tarhe, or Crane, as Crane's Town. Tarhe became a principle figure in the Revolutionary War and treaty signer for the Wyandotte well into the reservation era.[21] By 1770, two villages on the Scioto River, Darby Town and Hell Town, bordering Wyandotte and Delaware settlements, appear as the primary residential areas for the Sandusky-region Iroquois. Moravian Missionary John Heckewelder notes, "there were 2 small Villages of Senecas close upon the Wyondot Villages for many years together one of which the White People (Traders) called Darby's Town and the other Hell Town between the years 1770 and 1780."[22] Hell Town is thought to have been primarily a Delaware and Seneca town founded, along with Darby's Town, in response to continued pressures of settlement after the Six Nations ceded all lands south of the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers to the British without the consent of Ohio Indians in the 1768 Boundary Line Treaty.[23] The move by Ohio Iroquois to Darby's Town and Hell Town may have also been precipitated by the expedition of Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, against "Mingo" and Shawnee settlements on the Scioto River. Dunmore was acting to quell the insurrection of Ohio Indians against settlement of their territory by British colonists.[24] By 1782 Hell Town, which had a sizeable Delaware population, was largely abandoned in response to the March 8, 1782, Gnatenhutten massacre, in which ninety-six converted Delaware were murdered by a colonial American militia from Pennsylvania. At the end of the Revolutionary War and into the nineteenth century, the majority of Seneca were concentrated around Darby Town.[25]

Sparse evidence and brief mention make it difficult to give a highly specific spatial chronology for the Ohio Iroquois, much less the people who would become the Seneca of Sandusky. At best I have been able to assemble evidence of a presence of Iroquois and their participation in multiethnic cooperative villages and political cooperatives. At the same time, the inability to be precise about exactly who was occupying these villages and exactly what is the 'ethnogenesis' of the Sandusky Seneca allows a shift in how we understand the formation of community. In contrast to a concern over the precise 'identity' of the Sandusky Seneca,

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I am most interested in the ways in which the Sandusky people were a product of a particular moment in a particular location.

The various forms of native settlements in the Ohio Valley, regardless of their status with colonials and societies of origin, attest to the flexibility of a set of core values to consistently orient Iroquois peoples into communities and kin-based associations from which sociopolitical organizations remained consistent and recognizable across geographic and cultural space. The persistence and use of these values did not go unnoticed by colonial officials, who were very aware of the close relationships between communities at the same time that they recognized differences between groups and their practices. For example, in 1787 it was clear to General Butler, Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the Northern Department, that the Delaware and Wyandotte sought to form a considerable armed resistance to settlement west of the Ohio River boundary established by the British prior to the 1783 Treaty of Paris. Even more explicit are his observations of multiple communities and "nations" as independent actors in relations with one another and with the United States. In contrast to the "mischief" of the Wyandotte and their leader Half King, the well-known Seneca chief Cornplanter had communicated to Butler his desire to remain out of the impending conflict between American forces and Ohio Indians.[26]

British failure to secure the interests of their native allies in the treaty with the United States made the Ohio Indians politically vulnerable as American claims to their lands became more intense. Accordingly, by the Battle of Fallen Timbers in August of 1794, where the Western Confederacy was decisively defeated, the entire Ohio Valley was awash with illegal settlement, violence, kidnapping, and irresolvable tensions between Ohio natives and the United States.[27] Disturbed by the escalations of conflict on the western border, President George Washington directed General Anthony Wayne to form the Legion of the United States, which began its military expedition in 1793 from Fort Washington (Cincinnati, Ohio) and met the Western Confederacy force led by Delaware chief Blue Jacket at the Maumee River. Outnumbered four to one, Blue Jacket's warriors had little chance of victory and were decisively defeated by General Wayne's regiment at a place natives called Fallen Timbers.

The defeat of the Western Confederacy resulted in the cession of the majority of present-day Ohio and Indiana at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. Attending the treaty conference, Moravian missionary John Heckewelder noted a single Seneca by the name of Reyn-tue-co as a signer.[28] Significant about Reyn-tue-co's presence at the treaty negotia-

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tions is the recognition of him as a Seneca, but also as a representative of a group of Ohio Seneca from "Sandusky" who went against the prevailing desire of the Six Nations Senecas' leadership to avoid conflict with the United States over the Ohio Territory. Settlers and various government administrators in the Ohio Valley document Seneca participation in the ongoing debates about the status of the territory, their relations with surrounding Wyandotte and Delaware peoples, and their continued contact with the Six Nations. The ten-year period after the end of the Revolutionary War is seen as a critical moment in the founding of a multitribal Ohio Indian power block sometimes referred to as the Western Confederacy, but it is also a moment when individual communities expressed their social, cultural, and individual autonomy.

The Cayuga entered the post-Greenville Ohio Territory in 1807 from the Buffalo Creek Reservation in New York, having recently sold all of their lands to the United States government. Prior to their migration to the Ohio Territory, the Cayuga became involved in the political affairs of the Ohio Seneca as representatives at the Treaty of Fort Industry on July 4, 1805: "The Indians residing in Western New York, having some claim to the land, sent a deputation of not far from thirty of their number, to attend the treaty at Cleveland."[29] In this treaty the Wyandotte, Ottawa, Chippewa, Munsee, Delaware, Potawatomi, and Shawnee Indians relinquished one-half million acres of land south of Lake Erie and west of the Cuyahoga River in northeastern Ohio. While the Seneca are not explicitly mentioned, it is likely they were subsumed under the Wyandotte or Delaware as they had been for previous treaties.

Having already established themselves with the Sandusky people at meetings during the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Fort Industry, the Cayuga sold their three small tracts of land in New York in 1807 and began migrating to live with the Sandusky Seneca.[30] After migrating to the Sandusky region, these Cayuga became identified along with the Seneca as the "Senecas of Sandusky." John Johnston, who would become Indian agent at the Piqua Agency, as well as surrounding Anglo settlers regarded the Seneca and Cayuga as a single community occupying settlements along the Middle Sandusky River and in an area known as Stoney Creek some forty miles west of Sandusky. What was known by settlers as "Seneca Town" near present-day Fort Seneca, Seneca County, Ohio, was the social and political hub for the concentration of the Seneca and Cayuga populations in the area.[31] There is no documentation concerning intracommunity distinction about who was Cayuga or Seneca, although certain community members are sometimes identified by their "nation" in settler and agent accounts.

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Figure 1.1. Sandusky Region Settlements and Reserves. *Source:* Brian J. Gilley and Mary Connors

By 1811 Johnston's agency did the best it could to provide the annuities, supplies, and assistance guaranteed to the signers of the Greenville treaty, but during the fifteen years preceding the War of 1812 it was difficult to keep the natives under his supervision happy while also monitoring British incursions into the area. During the War of 1812, it is presumed that the Senecas on the Sandusky and Stoney Creek remained neutral as they signed an 1814 treaty acknowledging their

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allegiance to the United States and the prewar property boundaries.[32] Alexander Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, with duties in the War Department during 1815, explicitly acknowledged continued Sandusky Seneca allegiance to the United States. However, Dallas is unequivocal in his concern over the possibility that the Indians of the "Territory" did not fully understanding that the Treaty of Ghent between the British and the United States was also meant to end hostilities with the native allies of England.

Peace between the Western Indians (primarily the Wyandotte and Shawnee) and the United States was to come at no cost to the natives in terms of land cessions or loss of annuities. In return for agreements to end all hostilities as stipulated in the Greenville treaty, the US would provide redress for past failures to "protect and provide." Additionally, President Madison directed the Western Tribes to "be taught a habit of giving to the public agent constant information of any occurrences that concern the peace and the safety of the Country."[33] Within eighteen months any idea of a slowdown in requests for cession treaties disappeared and John Johnston was directed to begin conversations regarding the establishment of a reserve for each of the Ohio Territory tribes.[34]

In the period leading up to the 1817 Treaty of the Maumee Rapids, John Johnston met repeatedly with the various communities under his agency, attempting to negotiate agreeable terms for land cessions in exchange for defined reservations and increased annuities. Of particular consequence for the Sandusky and Stoney Creek Seneca were attempts by communities of the Six Nations to cede their lands in New York and move to the Ohio Territory to live with their "brethren."[35] Throughout the summer of 1817, numerous councils were held between Indian agents under the Michigan Superintendency and Six Nations tribal leaders. Charles Jouette, Chicago Indian agent, wrote: "The fidelity displayed by these people [the Six Nations] during the recent war, their long habits of intimacy with the whites and the large amount of annuities they receive, being between twenty and thirty thousand dollars, it is thought will furnish a secure guarantee for their good conduct and will interpose a desirable barrier between the other Indians and our frontier settlements."[36] The Six Nations were to be a mediating force between settlers and the Western Indians deemed hostile, such as the Wyandotte, Pottawatomie, Shawnee, and Delaware. The difficulty for the government and the Six Nations was "soliciting a site, which other indians [sic] are ready to grant."[37] However, the Wyandotte, under which the agents included the Seneca and Cayuga living at Sandusky, were unwilling to

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accept the Six Nations people into their lands and were not willing to be party to a treaty that included them.[38]

The Treaty of Fort Meigs, also known as the Treaty of Maumee Rapids, on September 29, 1817, gave the "Senecas of Sandusky" a thirty-thousand-acre reservation in Seneca County, Ohio, in close proximity to the Sandusky River. Before that treaty was put into effect, another treaty signed on September 17, 1818, enlarged the reserve to forty thousand acres. Reservation life "officially" began on January 4, 1819, when both the 1817 and 1818 treaties were "proclaimed." James Montgomery, a Methodist minister, was assigned as the subagent for the Sandusky Seneca Reservation under the Piqua Agency and the Michigan Superintendency. The Seneca and Cayuga peoples who lived on the Sandusky Reservation occupied a 61.9-square-mile tract in the northern section of the reserve. Because the Cayuga were included among the "Senecas of Sandusky" and were considered Seneca by government officials, they were included in the two five-hundred-dollar annuity payments granted the "Senecas of Sandusky" by the United States in the 1817 and 1818 treaties.[39] The schedule from the 1817 treaty included eighty-three persons all named as the heads of "Senecas of Sandusky" households. In addition to the eighty-three "household heads" were two white captives, William Spicer and Jacob Knisely, known as Crow, who were both married to Seneca women. Therefore taking into account the Wyandotte captive John Vanmeter and his family, who were given a one-thousand-acre tract on the reservation, the total for the population in 1817 was 424 persons. Sometime around 1819, subagent Montgomery reported that there were five groups living within his subagency on the Seneca Reservation. Montgomery reported that there were: ". . . 19 Cayuga families, 157 persons; 9 Seneca families, 64 persons; 9 Oneida families, 48 persons; 6 Mohawk families, 46 persons; 1 Onondagaga family, 7 persons . . . total, 322 persons."[40] By all accounts the Sandusky people, much like their Wyandotte and Shawnee neighbors, combined hunting with small-scale agriculture on one- to two-acre plots. The staple crop was what local settler Isaac Dumond referred to as "soft corn"—also known to botanists as flour corn—which was pounded into meal for cooking and used to create a thick soup. Most of the farming was done by hand with a hoe by women, but toward the end of the reservation era men began to use plows pulled by oxen.[41] The industry of the Sandusky Seneca was noted by Piqua agents, as was their tendency to irrationally cling to "ways of their fathers."

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Decolonizing Fragments

Richard White titled chapter 1 of the *Middle Ground*, "Refugees: A World Made of Fragments" and begins: "The Frenchmen who traveled into the pays d'en haut, as they called the lands beyond Huronia, thought they were discovering new worlds. They were, however, doing something more interesting. They were becoming cocreators of a world in the making. The world that had existed before they arrived was no more. It had been shattered. Only fragments remained."[42] In this opening chapter of his now famous argument, White goes on to frame the Ohio Country as a place occupied by indigenous refugees of settlement, colonial imposition, and disease, which were to have produced creative responses among various culturally disparate peoples. The arguments presented here, in this book, do not necessarily challenge White's analysis, because I am convinced that the middle ground was most likely one of multiple intersecting forms of sociopolitical adaptation among the variety of peoples occupying the Ohio Country during a particularly volatile and challenging time period. The middle ground and its general categories of indigenous allegiances no doubt existed parallel to the microsociological entities governed by kinship, language, and shared cultural practice. Also, I am not questioning that colonialism disrupted all facets of indigenous life—communities, economies, cultural transmission, and well-being—challenging the very ability of people to exist. Rather, I question the effect of an analysis framing peoples as refugees and fragments, which goes to the very heart of my criticism of the cultural and historical treatment of Ohio Iroquois peoples in light of Iroquoianist provincialism. Scholars such as Susan Miller criticize White for his erasure of tribal community differences under broad categories, such as Algonquians, and his tendency to artificially disconnect contemporary communities from their Ohio ancestors.[43] I do not disagree with Miller because I see her criticism as reflecting the very thing I am attempting to address albeit from a different angle. The recognition of a general Indian within the *pays d'en haut* and its inability to account for community-level social organization did not begin with White. Rather, it reflects a general disregard for the possibility of communities who chose the Ohio Country as their home and continued to persist in their use of the sociocultural and political practices they brought with them. To name the Seneca and other Iroquois living in the Sandusky region as fragments does not recognize the ways in which these groups of people

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were in fact continuing to conduct themselves in very Iroquois ways. More importantly, however, is the academic tendency to artificially terminate inquiry into the Ohio peoples in the Revolutionary War era. The best possible explanation one can think of is that if the communities occupying Ohio Country appeared to academics as "fragmented" in their organization, political allegiances, and culture before the Revolution, then after the war and into the reservation era, Ohio Indians are even more difficult to form into cohesive analytical social units. A subtextual reading of "fragment" seems to be a sign for "inauthentic" or so thoroughly "hybridized," the natives in question become homogenized into the category Ohio native, otherwise known as Mingo. The fragment is one disconnected from millennia-old cultural traditions at the moment of their settlement in Ohio in the eighteenth century and during their residence on reservations in the nineteenth century. White's disconnect between the eighteenth-century Mingo of Ohio and the contemporary Seneca-Cayuga pointed out by Miller is simply a natural byproduct of an analytical positioning of the Ohio peoples in a transitional epistemic space. White, it seems, was merely following a long-established academic trend artificially separating Ohio peoples from their cultures of origin. Rather than offering an unnecessary corrective to White and other Ohio "in-betweeners," I seek to provide an intimate portrait as is possible of a single community who were a product of the *pays d'en haut*, as well as other ongoing and parallel sociopolitical, economic, and cultural engagements. This modest goal is inspired by the simple fact that we cannot explain the cultural persistence and sociopolitical continuation of communities such as the Sandusky Seneca into the Seneca-Cayuga of the twenty-first century through an analysis prioritizing "fragmentation."

The goal of my shift in analysis is to puzzle out the ways in which the telling of Iroquois cultural histories follows an epistemological pattern having the effect of endorsing certain cultural patterns while alienating others. This book also tells a story about the ways in which Iroquois studies has dealt with a mixed group of Iroquois—Seneca, Cayuga, Mohawk, Onondaga, and Oneida—who began a geographically mobile orientation in the mid-1700s and found themselves on reservations by 1815. By telling this story I will also tell the early cultural history of the Seneca-Cayuga of Oklahoma, who are the direct descendants of the Seneca of Sandusky as well as the Lewistown Seneca and Shawnee Mixed Band. These stories are intended to begin an overdue conversation about the effects of a unified Iroquois history congealed around highly specific categories of knowledge. With these goals in mind, chapter 2 intro-

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duces life at the Sandusky Reservation by explaining cultural continuity and community sustainability through the Midwinter ceremonial. The Midwinter, documented to varying degrees of detail over a ten-year period, provides the scaffolding for "thinking through the Longhouse." "Thinking through the Longhouse" is my way of recognizing the ways in which the community was using local values and practices to orient their social lives. Thinking through the Longhouse is also a way to avoid the ethnohistorical trap of "validation," which seeks to definitively name ceremonies, practices, and other activities or ignore them as inauthentic and unreliable. It is a way of making use of limited documentation without exaggerating or completely ignoring compelling evidence. Thinking through the Longhouse allows us to recognize the ways local cultural logics prevail in the Sandusky people's sociopolitical engagement with the settler state and removal. Chapter 3 examines the community and administrative buildup to removal by offering an interpretation prioritizing community strategies for sociocultural maintenance. In chapter 4 the tragedy, social upheaval, and loss associated with removal is analyzed as an aspect of continual historical mobility rather than simply a narrative for victims of state power. The impact of these analyses, I hope, is to revive the conversation about natives who occupied the Ohio Valley; and in conclusion, I will call on other scholars to extend our understanding of the complexity of the social, political, and economic situatedness natives faced into the nineteenth century.

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