

## 3.6 Cultural Resources

### 3.6.1 Introduction

This section identifies cultural resources, which include archaeological resources and historic architectural resources located in the Study Area, and the prehistoric and historic contexts in which to place the cultural resources, and assesses the potential effects of the Proposed Action on these resources. The Study Area comprises the Area of Potential Effect (APE) for the Proposed Action and 1,000 feet of the APE; the APE for this analysis is defined as the 243 parcels (440 tax lots). In addition to determining the potential effects of the Proposed Action on identified cultural resources, the objectives of this analysis were to demonstrate the long history of the Oneida within the Central New York Region and in particular, the parcels owned by the Nation that are subject of the trust transfer to the U.S. government; that the Oneida occupation and utilization of the Central New York Region is part of an even longer term utilization of this area by prior Native American cultures; and the importance of the Study Area (inclusive of the lands now owned by the Nation) to Oneida heritage, tradition, and identity both spiritually and in terms of developed lifeways.

The Oneida homeland extends across present-day Oneida and Madison Counties in the Central New York Region, stretching from the upper Mohawk valley to the Oneida River drainage basin and includes the 17,370 acres of land now owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer. At its greatest historic extent, Nation lands extended from the Saint Lawrence River to the upper Susquehanna valley and beyond, a domain of about six million acres. The core of the Oneida homeland is centered on the Oneida and Cowaselon Creek valleys, southeast of Oneida Lake.

For over 10,000 years, Native Americans have been utilizing the Central New York Region, which includes the 17,370 acres of land now proposed for trust transfer. Native American continuity of occupation on the land, manifested through a variety of cultures, is readily apparent. The Oneida and their ancestors developed special relationships to the land adapting to changing environmental and social conditions first as nomadic hunter-gatherers, later as prehistoric agriculturalists, and finally as historic farmers and tradesmen. While life was at times difficult, Native Americans and their cultures generally thrived. It was the arrival of Europeans and their geo-political and commercial priorities that resulted in drastic lifestyle changes for the Oneida and a century's long battle to retain control of their lands. Government land policies and the ever increasing influx of settlers to the Central New York Region ultimately reduced Oneida control over most of their homeland; this occurred even though the Oneida remained loyal to New York State and the U.S. during the Revolutionary War. Throughout their trials, as stated by Taylor, the Oneida kept hoping that they would cease being treated by the Americans "as inferior beings without the same feelings of hurt, sorrow, and loss that whites would have felt if similarly deprived of their property and respect. Instead the Oneida wished to be honored

and rewarded as trusted friends who had stuck by the United States when and where it most needed allies” (Taylor, 2003).

### 3.6.1.1 Regulatory Framework for Evaluation of Cultural Resources

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 (16 U.S.C. 470) and the New York State Historic Preservation Act (SHPA) of 1980 require Federal and New York State agencies to assess the impacts of certain projects on historic resources that meet the eligibility criteria for inclusion on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places. The task of providing oversight and guidance to New York State and Federal agencies in implementing the statutes in New York State is the purview of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (OPRHP); this agency is also the designated New York State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) under the NHPA. Under New York State and Federal statutes, New York State and Federal agencies are required to identify, evaluate, and avoid or mitigate impacts to buildings, structures, objects or sites that are listed on or considered eligible for listing on the New York State and/or National Registers of Historic Places. Accordingly, compliance with the SHPA and the NHPA is required for projects involving New York State and Federal agencies that includes consideration of historic resources as part of the environmental review process and occurs during the initial stages of a project.

The NHPA defines an historic resource or historic property as “any prehistoric or historic district, site, building, structure, or object included in, or eligible for inclusion in the National Register (of Historic Places); such terms include artifacts, records and remains which are related to such a district, site, building, structure, or object” (United States Department of the Interior, 1985). The National Register of Historic Places defines a historic property as a “district, site, building, structure, or object significant in American history, architecture, engineering, archaeology, and culture. A historic property may be a row of stores having cast-iron fronts or Mount Vernon, a water tower or a city park, a railroad station, an ethnic neighborhood, or the archaeological remains of a prehistoric Indian village. It may be of value to the Nation as a whole or important only to the community in which it is located” (United States Department of the Interior, 1985). The criteria of eligibility for listing of properties on the National Register of Historic Places is that the quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects of state and local importance that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association and that:

- are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history;
- are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past;
- embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction or that represent the work of a master or that possess high artistic values or that

- represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction or
- have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history (United States Department of the Interior, 1985).

Accordingly, based on these definitions and criteria for this analysis an historic resource is any property listed on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places (included National Historic Landmarks) or contained within a district listed on or formally determined eligible for listing on these registers, any property determined to be eligible for listing on these registers by the SHPO, and properties not included in these categories but which nonetheless may meet eligibility requirements for listing on these registers.

Appendix D provides information on the archaeological resources and historic architectural resources identified within the Study Area. Some of the site location information is considered confidential by the responsible agencies; therefore, those data sources are not included in Appendix D.

Archaeological resources consist of the physical remains, usually buried, of past human activities. In New York State, archaeological resources can include the remains associated with Native American and Historic period activities that have potential value for the information that they may provide on the behavior patterns and activities of previous inhabitants or about important historic events. Previously recorded archaeological sites located within the 17,370 acres of land now owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer or located within 1,000 feet of those lands are identified in this section and in Appendix D. The 1,000-foot distance is considered adequate for the identification of archaeological resources in terms of physical, visual, and historical relationships to the APE. Table 1 in Appendix D provides pertinent information on the previously identified Native American archaeological sites. The precise location information for the sites is not provided in order to aid in the preservation of those resources, although due to the activity of amateur archaeologists and other collectors as well as the difficulty inherent in enforcing regulations intended to protect the integrity of such locations, many sites of cultural interest have to some degree been previously disturbed. This damage occurred prior to the Nation's ownership of the lands that contain these archaeological sites. Nation lands that are located within areas generally considered by the SHPO to be archaeologically sensitive are also identified. Table 1 in Appendix D provides pertinent information on Nation lands located within archaeologically sensitive areas.

For historic architectural resources, this section identifies known properties eligible for listing on or are on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places that are located on lands now owned by the Nation, as well as all existing structures 50 years or older that are present on these lands. Table 2 in Appendix D provides pertinent information on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places listed

properties. Table 3 in Appendix D provides pertinent information on existing structures 50 years or older. The potential effects or impacts of the Proposed Action on the identified historic resources are discussed in Section 4.6 Cultural Resources.

The framework that the Nation uses for evaluation of cultural resources is embodied in the Oneida Indian Nation Cultural, Historical or Archeological Resources Ordinance (Ordinance Number 00-01) it has enacted to protect those resources. The value and importance that the Nation places upon the cultural, historical or archaeological resources present within its lands is evidenced by this ordinance. Article 1 of the Oneida Indian Nation Cultural, Historical or Archeological Ordinance states that “The Ordinance protects resources of cultural, historical, and archeological importance on Nation land by requiring internal review of an area’s cultural, historical or archaeological potential before any construction or land development activities begin in that area. It creates a Historic Preservation Committee to evaluate cultural, historical, or archeological sensitivity of a site or of a potential construction site. If construction is likely to harm something of cultural, historical, or archeological value, the Historic Preservation Committee is empowered to recommend further work to evaluate or mitigate such harm. The Ordinance compliments and expands the existing Environmental Protection Ordinance by establishing a specific procedure for identifying evaluating and protecting Cultural, Historical or Archeological resources of the Nation.” Article 2 of this ordinance defines cultural, historical or archeological resources as consisting, without limitation, of the following:

- Any location, structure, district area or site including underground and underwater sites that are of significance in the history, archeology or culture of the Nation which are located on Nation lands;
- Any location, building, structure, district, area or site including underground and underwater sites that contain or in the reasonable opinion of the Historic Preservation Committee, may contain items, articles, artifacts or remains which bear significance to the history, archeology or culture of the Nation;
- Historic when used in the bulleted items above means having a special character or value by reason of significance in or in relationship to, the history of the Nation; and
- The application, interpretation and designation of the term Cultural, Historical or Archeological Resources shall be liberally construed. The interpretation of the term Cultural, Historical, or Archeological Resources by the Historic Preservation Committee shall be presumed to apply.

The Historic Preservation Committee established by the Oneida Indian Nation Cultural, Historical or Archeological Resources Ordinance consists of historical, environmental science, and management professionals, and a Nation Council representative. The Historic Preservation Committee retains staff and the services of consultants including

archaeologists, architectural historians, and other experts to assist it in its historic preservation work.

The Oneida Indian Nation Cultural, Historical or Archeological Resources Ordinance is a powerful tool for historic preservation within the Oneida homeland and is comprehensive in its scope. Its enactment and the implementation of its provisions reflects the long-range commitment of the Nation to protect and whenever possible, preserve the cultural, archaeological, and historic resources that are located within the 17,370 acres of land now owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer. This ordinance demonstrates a seriousness of purpose on the part of the Oneida to act as responsible stewards of their historic heritage.

#### **3.6.1.2 Methodology for Documentation of Cultural Resources**

The methodology used to document existing historic architectural resources conforms to that described in Section 106 of the NHPA for the identification of Historic properties. This methodology consisted of a staged approach to determine whether historic architectural resources are present in the Study Area. The initial step in the assessment identified the APE for the Proposed Action, which are locations that may potentially be directly or indirectly adversely impacted by taking lands into trust. Typically, locations directly impacted by an action are those where construction activities would disturb the ground to such an extent that any significant historic architectural resources present would be destroyed or disturbed to the extent that it would lose integrity to the degree that it would no longer be eligible for inclusion on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places. Indirect impacts to a location also may destroy or disturb archaeological resources and could include construction equipment staging and storage areas or increased or improved access to a site. Construction disturbance is not proposed as part of the trust transfer.

The second step in documenting existing conditions consisted of identifying previously recorded archaeological sites located within the APE or within 1,000 feet of it. Research also was conducted on the Euro-American history and Native American culture history and adaptations of the APE and its vicinity. The analysis involved a review of information in the possession of the Office of the Nation Historian and contained in the OPRHP archaeological site files and library, the New York State Museum (NYSM) archaeological site files, and in other primary and secondary sources. The Nation and OPRHP site files contain information on both prehistoric and historic archaeological sites. Sites identified in the NYSM's archaeological site files primarily are prehistoric or early Historic period Native American occupations. Discussions also were conducted with knowledgeable people including Mr. Anthony Wonderley the Nation Historian, Ms. Cynthia Blakemore of OPRHP, and Mr. Michael Schiefferli of the OPRHP concerning archaeological sites and the APE. In addition, a field inspection of portions of the APE was undertaken. Based on the documentary research and field inspection, the potential impacts of the Proposed

Action on previously identified cultural resources were assessed and are discussed in Section 4.6 Cultural Resources.

### **3.6.2 Historic Context of the Nation**

#### **3.6.2.1 Introduction**

There is a centuries-long association between Native American cultures generally and the Oneida in particular, and the portion of New York State that contains Nation lands. In order to appreciate this association, it is necessary to understand the sequence of Native American cultures and the lifeways and adaptations of the people of these cultures that existed over time within the present-day Madison and Oneida Counties including the 17,370 acres of land now owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer. Archaeologists generally refer to this sequence of cultures within a region as its culture history. Archaeologists and historians generally divide the Native American culture history of New York State into three eras the prehistoric, protohistoric or European-Native American Contact, and historic. These three eras are discussed below.

The Prehistoric era comprises the time between the initial occupations of the Study Area by humans about 11,000 to 12,000 years ago (9,000-10,000 B.C.) to just before the first contacts between Native Americans and Europeans in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This era is sub-divided into a number of periods including the PaleoIndian, Archaic, Transitional, and the Woodland Periods. Knowledge of the Prehistoric era derives entirely from the archaeological record.

The Protohistoric or European Native-American Contact era is the interval between c. A.D. 1500 and the early seventeenth century. In many ways, this era is a transitional time between the prehistoric past and the development of Historic Native American groups. Native American cultures during the protohistoric era began to be affected by contact with European explorers such as Verrazano in 1524 and Cartier in the period of 1530's-1540's and European fishermen, traders, and other adventurers initially sailing along the eastern seaboard of the U.S. but later likely entering into previously unexplored interior areas. Most of what is known about the Protohistoric era derives from the archaeological record since written documentation associated with it is almost unknown.

The Historic era began in the early seventeenth century with the explorations into the Hudson Valley by Henry Hudson and into northern New York State by Samuel de Champlain. Hudson and Champlain's explorations resulted in the first significant accounts of the Central New York Region and its indigenous peoples (Jamerson, 1909; deLaet, 1625; Juet, 1859). Descriptions of Native American lifeways are increasingly part of the documentary record beginning with the early 1600's, as European exploration and settlement of the region increased throughout the remainder of the seventeenth century. The Dutch, in particular, provide much information about Native American cultures after the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

### 3.6.2.2 Prehistoric Era

The Prehistoric era of New York State is subdivided into a number of periods including the PaleoIndian, Archaic, Transitional, and Woodland periods. The PaleoIndian period (10,000 - 8,000 B.C.) represents the earliest human occupation of New York State. The Archaic period (8,000 - 1,700 B.C.) refers to a time prior to the introduction of horticulture and pottery manufacture and is divided into Early, Middle, and Late periods. The Transitional period (1,700 - 1,000 B.C.) witnessed a gradual change in Archaic lifestyles with the development of Woodland period traits. The Woodland period (1,000 B.C. - A.D. 1,600), which is characterized by the use of pottery and reliance on horticulture, also is divided into Early, Middle, and Late periods. The PaleoIndian, Archaic, Transitional, and Woodland periods of the prehistoric era of New York State are described below.

#### ***PaleoIndian Period***

The PaleoIndian period represents the time of the earliest Native American culture firmly recognized in the U.S. and corresponds to the end of the Wisconsin glaciation. Small bands of PaleoIndian hunters and gatherers likely entered the Central New York Region from the south/southeast and possibly the west after deglaciation (glacial retreat) of the area began about 18,000 years ago. The total period of deglaciation is a matter of debate, but is known to have lasted many thousands of years (Ritchie, 1980; Funk, 1993).

A tundra environment characterized the landscape extending southward from the ice sheets during the late glacial and immediate post-glacial periods. As the glaciers retreated northward, water drained from the melting ice sheet creating large inland lakes, bogs, and marshes. One of the lakes, the Proglacial Lake Iroquois, covered portions of present-day Oneida and Madison Counties. Proglacial Lake Iroquois formed at the end of the Wisconsin glaciation approximately 13,000 years ago by melting glacial ice in the Lake Ontario Basin. This lake was an enlargement of Lake Ontario, which had developed as a result of a blockage of the Saint Lawrence River Valley near the present-day Thousand Islands by glacial ice. The melting of the Saint Lawrence River Valley ice dam around 10,000 B.C. resulted in the lowering of the glacial lake to its present level in Lake Ontario. The existing Oneida Lake, which is a remnant of an arm of Proglacial Lake Iroquois, drained for most of its existence to the southeast, through an outlet channel passing near the present day City of Rome, New York. The channel then followed the Mohawk River valley to the Hudson River. The tundra landscape was then succeeded by woodland.

A PaleoIndian adaptation to the late glacial environment included the movement of small, nomadic bands of hunters and gatherers over long distances to procure food. These bands most likely subsisted on caribou as well as small game and a variety of plants. The diversity and availability of food sources likely increased as the post-glacial climate warmed and the environment changed (Eisenberg, 1978; Funk, 1993; Kauffman and Dent, 1982). It is possible that this adaptation occurred as a latter PaleoIndian innovation. In

this view, the initial PaleoIndian migrants to the northeast during the late Pleistocene era (post-10,000 B.C.) organized themselves into large settlements that provided the support systems necessary to adapt to unfamiliar and relatively harsh territory (Dincause, 1993). As knowledge and familiarity with the landscape increased, the larger communities then divided into smaller bands that became dispersed over larger territories. The available archaeological data provides evidence of the nomadic adaptation, as large sites are rare and small sites more common (Funk, 1976; Gramley and Funk, 1990; Kraft, 1986; Ritchie, 1957 and 1980; Ritchie and Funk, 1973). Regardless of the way by which PaleoIndian groups organized themselves, it is certain that population density was very sparse.

In the northeast U.S., a variety of small, functionally diverse archaeological site types have been identified that include base camps, quarry workshops, rockshelter habitations, open-air hunting camps, kill and butchering sites, and other temporary camps (Funk, 1972; Gardner, 1974; Moeller, 1980; Gramley, 1982). Such sites tend to be found on elevated locations above floodplains and lowlands and on drumlins, terraces, and hilltops (Funk, 1993). Other locations where scattered surface indications of PaleoIndian occupation have been found include kame deltas, moraines, and outwash terraces, as well as higher valley slopes and upland locales (Funk, 1993). Information from known PaleoIndian sites in the New York/New Jersey/Pennsylvania region suggests that the preferred areas of occupation were the raised well-drained areas located near streams or wetlands. Rock shelters, areas near lithic sources, and lower river terraces also were subject to PaleoIndian occupation and use (Werner, 1964; Funk, 1976; Moeller, 1980; Ritchie, 1980; Marshall, 1982).

At least two PaleoIndian sites previously have been recorded for the area of Nation lands. These two sites are the Corditaip site, which is located in the upper Mohawk valley, and a site located near the City of Utica that was recorded in the files of the New York State Museum (NYSM 1274) (Funk and Wellman, 1984). Most evidence of PaleoIndian activity in the northeast, however, comes from scattered surface finds of Clovis Fluted points (Funk, 1976). During the early PaleoIndian period, Native Americans produced finely made chipped stone tools creating a distinctive stone artifact assemblage characterized by a diversity of specialized implements. The most noted of these stone tools are the distinctive fluted-type projectile points that are termed Clovis points. At least five fluted points have been recovered from Madison County while six such points, including three from the Corditaip site, were recovered from Oneida County (Wellman, 1982).

### **Archaic Period**

By 8,000 – 7,000 B.C., the world's climate had warmed and the environment changed from hemlock-spruce to pine dominated forests to an increasingly deciduous hardwood forest, which achieved an essentially modern character by 4,000 B.C. (Salwen, 1975). The hunting and gathering populations that adapted to the changing climatic and

environmental circumstances constitute what archaeologists call Archaic cultures. These cultures existed from c. 7,000 to 1,000 B.C. The Archaic period is divided into the following three sub-periods reflective of changing cultures: Early Archaic (7,000-6,000 B.C.), Middle Archaic (6,000-4,000 B.C.), and Late Archaic (4,000-2,000 B.C.).

Population growth throughout the Archaic period resulted in an increase in both site density and the number of functional site types represented in the archaeological record. Site types recognized for this period include spring fishing camps along major streams, fall open air hunting camps, rockshelter habitations, subsistence-related processing stations, mortuary sites, quarry and workshop sites, and semi-permanent villages (Dincause, 1976; Barber, 1980; Ritchie, 1980; Snow, 1980). While Archaic cultures have been traditionally thought of as reflecting a forest-based adaptation, more recent research has produced a picture of an increasingly varied subsistence pattern based on the seasonal exploitation of various faunal and floral resources (Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Funk, 1976; Kraft, 1986; Starbuck and Bolian, 1980). Most information concerning the Archaic period comes from Late Archaic sites, since evidence for Early and Middle Archaic sites in the region is almost as scarce as for PaleoIndian sites.

Little is known about Early Archaic cultures. Those populations are generally thought to be similar in their adaptations to preceding PaleoIndian groups, although the climate was warmer and dryer. Sites dating to this period, however, are rare indicating that populations were small in number and dispersed. The lack of sites has resulted in a poor understanding of Early Archaic settlement patterns and settlement systems. Groups were relatively small and mobile, and likely consisted of extended family sized units adapted to an environment with limited food resources. The extensive wetlands that existed, however, particularly those associated with the Central New York Region's proglacial lake basins prior to their draining are thought to be principal environmental setting exploited by Early Archaic groups, although other permanent water sources such as springs, lakes, and rivers also likely were the focus of Early Archaic occupation. Such wetlands, lakes, and other water sources provided a relatively large number of species that could be utilized for subsistence and other purposes, as well as sources of fresh water. Accordingly, Early Archaic sites tend to be located near wetlands and other water sources within upland settlements. An Early Archaic component, part of a small fishing-related campsite, also reportedly was present at the Sterling site one of the Oneida ancestral properties (Pratt, 1966 and 1976; Wonderley, 2004). The Sterling site is located within or in proximity to parcels numbered 138, 139, 140, 142, and 150 owned by the Nation in the Town of Verona.

A number of distinctive projectile point types are associated with Early Archaic period cultures in the Central New York Region and most of these have been recovered only as isolated finds. Many of the projectile point types are similar in appearance to types

identified in the southeastern U.S., possibly suggesting a movement of people into the northeastern part of the country as the Central New York Region's climate improved.

As the climate moderated during the Early to Middle Archaic period, deciduous trees, particularly oak, became abundant producing more nuts and browse to attract the principal faunal species exploited by Native Americans. Drainages, shorelines, and stream gradients stabilized during this time period allowing the development of complex riverine, lacustrine, and floodplain plant and animal communities. It is likely that the territories exploited by hunter-gatherer populations decreased in size during the Middle Archaic period as natural productivity of the environment increased and the need for group mobility declined. However, sites dating to the Middle Archaic period remain rare and the cultures associated with this period are poorly understood. While some larger Middle Archaic sites are known from the Susquehanna valley region of central New York State, most known occupations are very small camps or are present as isolated artifact finds (Funk, 1993).

While the climate during the Middle Archaic period is thought to have been moister than that of the Early Archaic period, conditions were still much drier than at present. Accordingly, as with Early Archaic sites, Middle Archaic occupations are more likely to be found near permanent water sources such as Oneida Lake. Since Oneida lake's water levels remained lower during the Middle Archaic period, any sites that formed along this lake's former shoreline would have been inundated as its waters rose in later periods. New styles of broad-bladed projectile points appeared during the Middle Archaic period and are found across New York State. A Middle Archaic component also reportedly was present at the Sterling site (Pratt, 1966 and 1976; Wonderley, 2004).

Environmental conditions moderated by 4,000-5,000 B.C. to the point where the climate was the warmest known for the post-glacial period. Associated with the temperature rise came increased stabilization of wetlands, river and stream channels, and floodplains resulting in continued productivity increases of subsistence-related resources. Archaeologists recognize new cultures developing and adapting to these environmental conditions. This period and the associated cultures are known as the Late Archaic. The large increase in the number, size, and complexity of archaeological sites recorded in New York State dating to this time relative to those of previous periods is directly related to the improved environment and population increase.

A variety of functionally diverse site types such as large base camps, small, hunting camps, multi-task and single task extraction/exploitation sites, quarry sites, lithic workshops, and rockshelters, to name a few, are known from the late Archaic period. Late Archaic Native Americans roamed well-established, relatively small, productive territories with special emphasis on the exploitation of deer, fish, plant-foods, and a variety of nuts and acorns. Evidence exists for the occupation of small sites in a variety of environmental settings and

large multi-acre sites, the latter located near the outlets of lakes such as Oneida Lake, along river floodplains, and in proximity to large, interior wetlands. Such larger sites were oriented towards the exploitation of rich, aquatic resources associated with such waterways and frequently are associated with large roasting pits and storage facilities supportive and reflective of a relatively large, increasingly settled, indigenous population. Increased ritual activities, particularly in the form of human and dog burials, also are associated with such sites.

A proliferation of projectile point types found in the northeastern U.S. during the Late Archaic period suggest that the Central New York Region was divided into culturally distinct sub-regions with varying levels of interaction occurring among them. A number of Late Archaic cultures referred to as phases or complexes, are recognized as occurring within upstate New York and these have been termed the Brewerton, Lamoka, and Frontenac phases of the Late Archaic period (Funk and Rippeteau, 1977; Ritchie, 1980). Large Brewerton phase (c. 2,900-1,800 B.C.) sites such as the Robinson and Oberlander Number 1 sites have been identified near the outlet of Oneida Lake, with other sites identified north and south of the lake and along Oneida Creek (Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Ritchie 1980). The latter location contains land now owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer including the Late Archaic fishing-related occupation represented at the Sterling site (Pratt, 1966 and 1976; Wonderley, 2004). According to Ritchie, the recorded Brewerton aged sites indicate a seasonal cycle of travel with some hunting camps (Ritchie, 1980).

#### ***Transitional Period***

Sites dating to the Transitional period or Terminal Archaic (c. 1,800 - 1,000 B.C.) are most frequently found near major streams, but a limited number of interior campsites probably representing winter habitations, also are known (Funk, 1976; Ritchie, 1980; Vargo and Vargo, 1983). During the Transitional period, the environment was becoming warmer and drier compared to the Archaic period (Funk and Rippeteau, 1977). Human population continued to increase. The variety of functional site types known for the Transitional period is similar to that recorded for the Late Archaic period, with many sites apparently oriented towards the exploitation of riverine and lacustrine subsistence resources. Transitional phase settlement patterns and site location preferences are similar to that recorded for the Late Archaic period in that they continue to reflect growing, semi-nomadic populations occupying diverse environmental settings as part of a seasonal subsistence exploitation system, but for part of the year also establishing semi-permanent habitations employing extensive cooking and storage facilities and other features of uncertain function.

Different broad-bladed projectile point types appeared during this period as did the use, during the latter half, of soapstone vessels. The broad-bladed spear type projectile points have been thought to represent fishing spears due to their association with riverine sites

such as the Sterling site. The archaeological record also indicates that regional and local exchange networks intensified during the Transitional period, compared to earlier periods. A Transitional period to Early Woodland period Orient Fishtail-type projectile point was recovered from the Farm 4 – Smith-Volker-Winterton Farmstead site that is located in the Town of Verona (OPRHP Site # A06522.000098).

### **Woodland Period**

The Woodland period (c. 1,000 B.C.– A.D. 1500) is the time period during which hunting and gathering were supplemented by horticulture and subsequently by large-scale agriculture. Populations occupied semi-permanent and permanent villages and increased their reliance on the use of ceramic pottery. The Woodland period is divided into three sub-periods known as the Early, Middle, and Late Woodland periods. The latter portion of the Late Woodland period is the time of the initial development of Oneida culture.

During the Early Woodland period (1,000 – 100 B.C.), the climate was relatively moist and warm. With the start of the cultural period the use of fired clay ceramic vessels gradually replaced the reliance on soapstone vessels, which characterized the Transitional period. Subsistence practices included a continuation of the hunting, gathering, and fishing of the Archaic period. Along the northeastern seaboard and its estuaries, these subsistence practices were supplemented by an increase in shellfish collecting. It has been suggested that shellfish collecting indicates a trend towards more sedentary lifestyles, at least in those areas (see Funk, 1976; Snow, 1980). Three cultural phases are currently recognized for the Early Woodland period in central New York State, which are the Orient, Meadowood, and Middlesex phases. The Orient phase (c. 1,000-500 B.C.) is better represented along the Atlantic Coast and surrounding areas, but also is somewhat represented in the interior portions of New York State. Orient culture has been traditionally classified as the last phase of the Transitional period, but has been reevaluated and determined to represent an Early Woodland manifestation (Ritchie, 1980). The Meadowood phase (c. 1,000-500 B.C) is another Early Woodland cultural pattern that is widespread in central and western New York State, becoming sparser in its representation as one moves east (Granger, 1978). The settlement pattern consists of small hunting and gathering campsites supplemented by other special purpose sites, as well as large habitation sites containing large storage pits.

Climatic conditions during the Middle Woodland period (100 B.C. - A.D. 1000) became cooler and moister compared to the climate during the Early Woodland period, with hemlock and chestnut species starting to dominate the forests of upstate New York (Funk and Rippeteau, 1977). Human populations during the Middle Woodland period gradually adopted a more sedentary lifestyle with certain occupation sites generally becoming larger during this time with more developed middens and food storage facilities appearing. Native people were exploiting a greater variety of food resources during this period compared with subsistence patterns that characterized earlier periods. Although

subsistence was essentially based on hunting and gathering supplemented by fishing and fresh water shell fishing, horticulture resulting in the domestication of various plants seems to have occurred during the Middle Woodland period (Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Snow, 1980; Starna, 1998). Exploitation of seasonally available fish resources centered on stream rift locations that facilitated such harvests. Sites containing evidence for such activities have been identified beyond the outlet for Oneida Lake (Ritchie, 1969). The increased diversification in subsistence resources utilized by Middle Woodland populations is thought to have been a response to increased stress caused by stationary lifestyles and the possible population growth that frequently results.

The climatic and environmental setting extant during the Late Woodland period was similar to what was recorded during the beginning of the Historic period (c. 1600). With the exception of a pronounced cooling spell around A.D. 1400 referred to as the Little Ice Age, the Late Woodland period was mainly a time of moderately cool and moist conditions with forests dominated by mixed growth of deciduous trees and pine. Climatic conditions proved suitable to the agricultural production of corn, beans, and squash that became the dietary staples of Late Woodland and subsequent Iroquois populations.

It is the significant cultural changes emerging over a wide area starting about A.D. 1,000 that distinguishes the Late Woodland period (A.D. 1,000 – A.D. 1600) from the preceding Middle Woodland. The degree of change, however, apparently was variable producing the high degree of cultural diversity that marks the period. By Late Woodland times, horticulture was the primary subsistence base and permanent, large-scale villages with multiple residential structures existed. These villages served growing populations and were occupied throughout the year and possibly for several years at a time. Use was still made, however, of temporary and special purpose campsites, such as the Frenay site (OPRHP Site # A05313.0000113) at Gifford Point on the Oneida Lake shoreline (Ritchie, 1980; Snow, 1980). Other typical Late Woodland campsites identified along the Oneida Lake shoreline include the Castle Creek phase Wickham and Smith's Pond sites located at that lake's western outlet and the Chance phase Conway site located along its southwestern shore (Weinman and Weinman, 1982).

The most notable cultural change of the Late Woodland period is the introduction of corn horticulture. Evidence of this in the Central New York Region is found from a variety of sites with different functions including fortified and possibly unfortified longhouse villages; unfortified villages, camps occupied over the short term containing limited evidence of house structures, and unfortified settlements of undefined type in the Mohawk and Hudson drainages (Cassedy et al., 1993; Funk, 1976; Ritchie, 1980; Prezzano, 1992; Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Stewart, 1990; Stothers, 1977). Corn initially appeared in the northeastern U.S. no later than about the third quarter of the tenth century (c. 950-975) (Cassedy et al. 1993; Hart and Means 2002). Corn horticulture apparently becomes

possible in the northeastern U.S. following the development of a cold-resistant strain of corn referred to today as Northern Flint corn.

Beans and squash are found in association with corn in some of the earliest Late Woodland sites, indicating the importance of these plants in the Central New York Region for some early garden systems and subsistence strategies (Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Yarnell, 1964). The Iroquois traditionally have referred to this horticultural complex of corn, beans, and squash as the Three Sisters. The Nation maintains some of their current lands for the cultivation of these traditional crops and these lands are included as part of the acreage proposed for trust transfer. Historically, these plants provided most of the nutritional requirements for a healthy life with the exception of an amino acid, which can be acquired by eating a small amount of meat or shellfish. The frequency with which these crops were grown together, however, is not well understood. Squash apparently was used as food beginning in the Archaic period in several regions of the eastern woodlands, much earlier in time than either corn or beans. In contrast, beans are absent from many early sites where corn has been reported and may not have become a significant crop in many areas until well after A.D. 1,000 (Fritz, 1990; Smith, 1892).

Late Woodland subsistence practices varied among regions with different emphases placed on corn and bean horticulture, hunting, gathering, and fishing. The common perception has been that a heavy reliance on corn horticulture was supplemented by growing beans, with declining roles for hunting, fishing, and gathering. However, some local cultures with a lower reliance on agriculture may have included wild foods in their subsistence pattern to a larger extent than strong agriculturalists, particularly where animal protein could substitute for the amino acid complement provided elsewhere by beans. In such circumstances as indicated by the archaeological evidence, deer, fish, and/or shell fish would have served adequately as the primary animal form exploited to supplement the grown crops (Cleland, 1982; Funk, 1976; Ritchie, 1980; Ritchie and Funk, 1973).

The earliest cultures featuring corn horticulture in the northeastern U.S. are referred to as Owasco in New York State. The Owasco tradition is divided into four phases referred to as Carpenter Brook, Canandaigua, Castle Creek, and Oak Hill. The last phase has been considered a cultural period that is transitional to Iroquois culture.

The practice of corn horticulture seems to have encouraged population growth, village life, and warfare in some areas including central New York State during Owasco times. It is not known how long it took the horticulture-centralized village-warfare complex to spread more broadly across New York State. It also is not known whether it was developed and adopted in-situ by indigenous populations or introduced from areas where it had been established between A.D. 900 and A.D. 1100. Finally, it may be possible that warfare was intermittent or that it was a geographically or culturally limited threat during this period. This may be so even though warfare is suggested by settlement fortifications identified in

the Susquehanna valley and central New York State and further indicated by a high percentage of deaths by arrows at the middle Owasco Sackett site cemetery located in the Central New York Region, and the lack of fortifications at numerous Owasco and later sites particularly in the Mohawk, Hudson, and Delaware drainage areas.

There is at present a range of opinion regarding the origin of the Iroquois. Whether the commonly recognized Iroquoian cultural characteristics (pottery styles, horticulture, longhouse residence, fortified settlements, and endemic warfare) are evidence of Iroquois presence or represent a widespread complex of co-occurring traits is a matter of debate (Bender and Brumbach, 1992). The traditional model of Iroquois origins has been one of gradual, in-situ development from the earliest Middle Woodland period through Owasco and late prehistoric Iroquois (Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Tuck, 1971). Starna and Funk, however, note the difficulty in assuming an Owasco-Iroquois developmental continuum due to the prevalence of Owasco pottery in areas where long-term cultural continuity would lead to historically documented Algonquian groups (Starna and Funk, 1981). More recently, Snow has argued that the Owasco culture represents an incursion of Iroquois speaking people about A.D. 900 into a region where Algonquian populations were already established (Snow, 1994 and 1998; Storm and Funk, 1981). These people began to move northward about A.D. 900 along the upper tributaries of the Susquehanna River of central Pennsylvania. By A.D. 1000, the Iroquois had displaced Algonquian-speaking people (i.e. Middle Woodland cultures) from the fertile lands of the southern shore of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk River valley (Snow, 1994). The incursion is represented by cultural discontinuity in certain traits indicative of population replacement. The incursion and resultant discontinuity are primarily represented archaeologically by the fundamental differences noted during this period in pottery manufacture; the introduction of the maize, beans, and squash agricultural complex replacing a gathering and hunting subsistence strategy; and the introduction of fortified, longhouse villages after c. A.D. 1200 replacing unfortified villages. Snow sees the source of the incursion as the Clemson's Island culture centered in the middle Susquehanna drainage in the tenth century. He also points to a similar, contemporary development and expansion of comparable cultures in southern Ontario.

Whether a pattern of cultural continuity or discontinuity characterized the sequence of Native American cultures during prehistoric times in New York State is a matter of debate. The chronology of the occupation and abandonment of Late Woodland sites including intra-site chronology as well as the timing and frequency of multiple occupations are currently poorly understood (Curtin, 1992). Archaeologists have generally accepted a traditional model of in-situ cultural development and variability from Middle Woodland origins. However, relatively recent work proposing an incursion into the area of Iroquois cultures and populations is gaining acceptance. A number of such incursion models have been proposed including Snow's model that identifies the earliest Owasco phase as the period of initial immigration of peoples who would eventually become Iroquois. Other

models proposed by Dincauze and Hasenstab, Swihart, and Curtin have proposed post-Owasco incursion into the area of proto-Iroquois cultures (Dincauze and Hasenstab, 1989; Swihart, 1992; Curtin, 1992).

It is known that a cluster of archaeological sites represents each of the five Iroquois nations during the late Prehistoric and Protohistoric eras. Owasco sites frequently occur in close enough proximity to the Iroquois site clusters to suggest an ancestry to the latter, although differences in site locations indicate a change in the settlement pattern between the periods. While Owasco village sites tend to be located on bluffs, terraces or other areas of high ground located adjacent to lakes, rivers, and other large waterways Iroquois habitation sites are most frequently found in hillier upland locales often on defensible landforms near springs or small creeks.

### 3.6.2.3 Protohistoric Era

The Protohistoric era corresponds to a large part with the EuroAmerican-Native American Contact period, the time of the first large scale contacts between Native Americans and European colonists. During this era, the latter part of the Late Woodland period, Native American cultures began to resemble those of groups that were encountered by seventeenth century Europeans.

It was during the period ca. 1400-1600 that Iroquois culture and lifeways developed. The Nation, a matrilineal society comprised of three Clans (the Bear, Turtle, and Wolf), is a member nation of the Six Nations that comprise the Iroquois Confederacy. The other tribal Nations include the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, and Tuscarora.

By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, splinter groups of the Lake Ontario-Mohawk River valley Iroquois had moved farther northward to occupy the northern shores of Lake Ontario, the eastern shores of Lake Huron, and the Saint Lawrence River valley from Lake Ontario to Quebec. Because of these territorial separations, four sub-divisions of the northern branch of the Iroquoian language emerged including an ancestral Iroquoian language spoken by the groups who remained in the region south of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk valley, which was the Oneida (Mithun, 1984; Johnson and Smith, 2003). Thus, the Oneida language is thought to be closely related to the Mohawk language suggesting a recent split between the two. To Snow this suggests that the ancestral Oneida probably lived in the upper or western Mohawk valley until the fifteenth century when they moved westward towards the emerging Onondaga (Snow, 1994). The second Iroquoian language sub-division was an ancestral Huronian or Huron language spoken by the Iroquois who occupied the northern shores of Lake Ontario and the eastern shores of Lake Huron. The third was a language spoken by the Iroquois who settled along the Saint Lawrence River valley (Snow, 1994). The fourth sub-division was spoken by the Tuscarora and Nottoway tribes that the Europeans originally encountered in the seventeenth century in North Carolina and Virginia, respectively. The Tuscarora moved northward in the early eighteenth century. This fourth sub-division was the first to separate from the Iroquoian

language's northern branch (Mithun, 1984). The southern branch of the Iroquoian language is represented by a single language, Cherokee. At contact, the Cherokee occupied an area ranging over what are now the States of Tennessee, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama (Mithun, 1984).

While it is still unknown whether in-situ development of the Iroquois or their relatively recent entrance into the Central New York Region is the more accurate model, it is generally accepted by archaeologists that the historic Iroquois nations including the Oneida were preceded in their home territories by Iroquois ancestors during the late Prehistoric era. The Late Woodland period phases (c. A.D. 1400-1600) generally associated with early Iroquoian culture are the Oak Hill, Chance, and Garoga (Ritchie, 1980; Funk and Kuhn, 2003). These phases are chronologically defined based upon changing ceramic pottery styles. The Oak Hill phase is traditionally considered the transitional phase between Owasco and Iroquois cultures. Radio-isotope dating evidence suggests some degree of overlap between the late portion of the Oak Hill phase and early portion of the Chance phase (Curtin, 1992). The archaeological sites associated with these three phases are typically villages that increase in size and complexity through time from Oak Hill to Garoga.

Influences on the developing Iroquois cultures by further population movements during the Woodland period are varied across New York State. It is accepted, however, that the Oneida are among the Iroquois groups that experienced wholly autonomous development with little external cultural influence within their traditional homeland locality (Ritchie, 1980). The traditional historic homeland of the Oneida consisting of the area where their villages were established during the Woodland period was the area located around Oneida Creek and its tributary Cowaselon Creek that drains into Oneida Lake. The Oneida also controlled the Wood Creek and Upper Mohawk valleys; Wood Creek also flows into Oneida Lake. Hunting territories associated with the Oneida extended northward from this region to the Saint Lawrence River and southward to the Susquehanna River (Beauchamp, 1900; Morgan, 1901; Fenton, 1940; and Campisi, 1978).

The historic dimensions of the territory for the Historic period Oneida population are probably attributable to some extent to the control that the late prehistoric Oneida exerted on their land, with the territories becoming more concentrated through the sixteenth century. The traditional Oneida homeland includes Nation lands proposed for trust transfer to the U.S. government.

It is recognized that the Iroquois and their ancestors moved their villages at intervals of between eight and 25 years during the late Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic eras. Early seventeenth century observations by Champlain and later Europeans suggest that the Iroquois moved to a new location to establish a town every ten to twenty years (Grumet, 1995). The periodic movement may have been related to exhaustion of local resources

such as wood, soil fertility, and local game populations. Pratt has inferred a sequence for Oneida village movement or relocation within their traditional homeland territory across the Prehistoric, Protohistoric, and Historic eras (Pratt, 1976). Village movement sequences also have been proposed for other Iroquois groups (Wray and Schoff, 1953; Lenig, 1965 and 1977; Tuck 1971; Ritchie and Funk, 1973; Niemczycki, 1984; Snow and Starna, 1986; Bradley, 1987; Wray et. al, 1987; and Snow ,1994).

Archaeological investigations by Pratt have revealed the presence of a cluster of Oneida Iroquois sites in similar environmental settings in the hills and small valleys within the Oneida Creek drainage area located southwest of the great eastern bend in the Mohawk River, within the traditional Oneida homeland (see Appendix D) (Pratt, 1976; Grumet 1995). Pratt's work indicates that the sequence of Oneida Iroquois clusters extends in time from the fourteenth century into the Historic era. The earliest identified site in the sequence is the Nichols Pond site (NYSM #651 and #3800; OPRHP #A05305.0001), which is a village site with evidence for multiple palisaded walls. All of the sites in the sequence are clearly Oneida Iroquois in their cultural affiliation, containing no evidence of earlier Owasco or Oak Hill phase occupations.

The Oneida villages apparently existed in an alternating settlement pattern of single and dual village occupations. The villages typically consisted of longhouse clusters, some over 100 feet long, where extended families resided. The sites were palisaded with a wooden fence, which may have been up to three rows thick. The palisade walls likely served as a defensive measure to protect the inhabitants from the endemic warfare and violence that were a prominent feature of Iroquois culture. The villages are typically found on bluffs and hill tops overlooking creeks and other water courses. The high ground also would have protected the villages from possible attacks. The larger of the late sixteenth and seventeenth century Oneida villages probably were home to from one to three thousand people (Starna, 1998).

Prior to around the early seventeenth century, the practice of human burials among the Oneida took the form of single graves or groups of interments located in and around village areas. By the early seventeenth century, burial patterns took the form of large numbers of graves clustered just beyond the walls of a village forming separate cemetery precincts. The first Oneida site displaying a cemetery burial plan is the Beecher site, reportedly occupied between c. 1595 and 1625. According to some, the cemetery interment pattern at the Beecher site constitutes the first evidence of intensifying patterns of conflict, disease, and malnutrition associated with the early years of direct contact between colonists and the Indian people in the area (Grumet, 1995). Some of the lands proposed for trust transfer contain Oneida burial grounds and were specifically reacquired by the Nation in order to forever protect and preserve the archaeological record of the Oneida's associated cultural identity.

According to Pratt, it is likely that the early portion of the Oneida sequence involved the periodic relocation of a pair of villages (Pratt, 1976). This pattern apparently changed temporarily around the year 1475 when the Olcutt site was founded through a merger of two earlier villages. Subsequent settlements, however, apparently reverted to the earlier dual village settlement pattern although the sites reportedly were smaller than the single habitation site. By the early seventeenth century, the Oneida settlements had once again merged to become a single principal village. The Dutch trader Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert visited such a village during the winter of 1634-1635 (Gehring and Starna, 1988). The single principal village settlement pattern continued to characterize Oneida culture for the remainder of the seventeenth century. In addition to village sites, subsistence related campsites including fishing stations along Oneida Lake and Oneida Creek and other special purpose sites are part of the Oneida settlement pattern.

The earliest evidence of European contact in the Oneida homeland derives from this period, being recovered during archaeological investigations at the Vaillancourt site (NYSM #656; OPRHP #A05313.000013), which reportedly was occupied c. 1475-1550. The evidence is in the form of a large iron knife and some brass beads and buttons that were found in associations with (i.e. in the same stratigraphic context) as Chance phase ceramics and triangular (Madison) style chipped stone projectile points. The presence of the non-Native manufactured artifacts at the Vaillancourt site likely was the result of indirect trading over long distances between the Oneida and Native American groups in the Saint Lawrence River area who directly encountered Europeans.

Much of the European trade goods found in the Oneida sites of early Contact period age likely derive from the French, Basque, English, and other fishermen and explorers who sailed along the north Atlantic shoreline of North America during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The first recorded European to explore the Iroquois region was the explorer Jacques Cartier who entered the Saint Lawrence Gulf in 1634. The next year, Cartier sailed up the valley of the Saint Lawrence River as far as what is today Montreal, which at the time was the site of a Saint Lawrence Iroquoian village referred to as Hochelaga (Morison, 1971). By the middle of the century, European trade goods were reaching Native Americans in the Mohawk River valley. The items were derived from the outpost established by the French during this period at Tadoussac, which is located at the mouth of the Saguenay River in the lower Saint Lawrence valley where European fishing fleets came to trade with the local Natives for furs. Soon after, traders and explorers traveled the Saint Lawrence wilderness establishing transient trading stations and settlements. The most notable of these were the outposts established at Quebec in 1608 and Montreal in 1611; the latter remained an outpost until 1642.

### ***The League of the Iroquois***

The most important event in Iroquois culture, which occurred over a still debated span of time during the Protohistoric era, is the development of the League of the Iroquois (the

League). The League was composed of the Mohawk, Onondaga, and Seneca that were identified as the older brothers of the League and the Oneida and Cayuga that were identified as the younger brothers of the League. The League members referred to themselves and still do as the Haudenosaunee, the People of the Longhouse. The longhouse to which these people belong is metaphorical and based upon the physical longhouses where the Iroquois lived and which formed their villages. The Seneca were the guardians or keepers of the western door of the symbolic longhouse of the League, while the Mohawks guarded the eastern door. As with a real longhouse, the central hearth fire was kept at the center of the symbolic longhouse that corresponded to the land of the Onondaga and was kept by them. The League believe that the Tree of Peace extends over all its members, on top of which is perched an eagle to watch over the peace (Snow, 1994).

The development of the League was a response to societal stress caused by increasing conflict and strife both among the Iroquois themselves and against neighboring non-Iroquois Native American groups. It is thought that the League was established by c. 1525, although an earlier date is possible. Archaeological evidence for violence and conflict among the Iroquois and their oral tradition suggest that the League could not have formed prior to 1450 (Snow, 1994). While the League was formed by c. 1525, it likely took much of the remainder of that century to mature and be ready for the first direct contacts with the newly arriving Europeans. Certainly by the period of English conquest of New Netherlands in 1664, the Five Nations of the Iroquois had ceased to fight against each other and acted as a single entity for defense although internal strains continued throughout the League's existence (Jennings, 1984).

As indicated previously, much of the Protohistoric era witnessed almost perpetual violence and warfare among the Iroquois people. Violence was frequently directed at any person who was not a member of one's own or a closely allied village. With strife apparently occurring on a regional level, some prominent Iroquois leaders tried to devise a solution to end all conflict and bring peace and stability to Iroquois life. Their efforts lead to the social and political innovation that has come to be known as the League of the Iroquois. Snow indicates that the traditional story of the formation of the Iroquois League has been preserved in a number of versions, some more complex than others (Snow, 1994).

The fifty League chiefs acted as a council to decide League issues; the Oneida contributed nine League chiefs (Snow, 1994). Custom required consensus of the chiefs in their decision-making. The chiefs and councils were chosen according to custom and continued to function effectively through the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries (Jennings, 1984).

### ***Seventeenth Century Euro-American Contact***

By the early seventeenth century, the Oneida continued to reside in villages that were built during the 1590's. Pits, hearth, and other features from Oneida village sites such as Diable, Cameron, Wilson, and Beecher/Blowers among others included artifacts of stone,

bone, shell, and pottery as well as European trade goods such as quantities of glass beads, white-clay tobacco smoking pipe stems and bowls, copper, brass and iron items, and stoneware and other pottery. During this period, Europeans were starting to penetrate the margins of Iroquois territory. In 1609 the French explorer Samuel de Champlain and a small party traveled southward from the Saint Lawrence valley until they reached the lake that now bears his name. While camped on the west side of the lake near what came to be called Crown Point, the French party became embroiled in a bloody skirmish with some Iroquois. The result of this action was the long lasting enmity of the Iroquois for the French (Lenig, 1977). The French, however, still retained control of the lucrative fur trade and the dispensing of the coveted European trade goods with furs and goods moving through the Saint Lawrence valley to trading outposts. This forced the Iroquois to trade with the French, pitting them against Algonquian groups north of the Saint Lawrence valley as both groups strove for economic control of the valley as an outlet for their furs (Bailey, 1969).

In the year 1609, the Englishman Hendrick Hudson and the crew of the Half Moon sailing for the United Provinces of the Netherlands traveled up to the area around present day Albany. The Dutch recognized the potential of the area for the fur trade and subsequently established an outpost named Fort Orange at this location for that purpose and began to trade with local Native Americans and explore the interior portions of New York State. Soon other Dutch ships and traders arrived in the Hudson Valley, where they established an outpost and traded with the local Native Americans. Large grants of Hudson Valley land were awarded to settlers beginning in 1629 by the Dutch Estates General of the United Provinces to encourage settlement in New Netherlands; grants were awarded to any person who would establish a settlement of over fifty persons. The settlements were referred to as Manors or Patroonships and the grantee was awarded the title of Patroon with associated feudal privileges. The Fort Orange area became part of the Rensselaerwyck patroonship with settlements established at Rennselaerwyck, Beverwijck, and Schenectady (Van der Zee and Van der Zee, 1978; Venema, 2003; Staffa, 2004).

The Dutch desire for pelts especially beaver pelts resulted in the local Mahican Native Americans becoming embroiled in a losing war with the Mohawk for control of that fur trade between 1624 and 1628 (Ritchter, 1992). This secured the Mohawk Iroquois control of the fur trade route to Fort Orange from the west. Prior conflicts and treaties with the French and indigenous groups secured the route from the north.

A 1614 map of New Netherlands documents the first record of European exploration into the homeland of the Mohawk and Oneida. This map depicts the travels of a Dutch trader named Kleyntjen who traveled west into the interior than southward from the Maquas (Mohawk) along the New River (the Susquehanna River) to the Ogehage, the Mohawk name for the Susquehannocks (Gehring and Starna, 1988). The first detailed description of the homeland of the lower Iroquois (Mohawk, Oneida, and Onondaga), however, is

found in a journal by Harmen Meynderstz van den Bogaert, an 18-year-old Dutch barber-surgeon at Fort Orange (Albany). Bogaert's journal description of the Oneida represents the first mention of them in a European written record. His name for the Oneida people is Sinneckens, which generally referred to all Iroquois people living west of the Mohawk, although it eventually was applied only to the Seneca. The journal describes a trip Meynderstz van den Bogaert took in the winter of 1634-1635 along with two other Dutchmen and some Native Americans into the country of the Mohawk and Oneida. The trip was instigated by the Dutch West India Company in order to investigate a decline that had occurred in the fur trade around Oneida and Onondaga Lakes, possibly because of penetrations of the area by French traders and missionaries. Meynderstz van den Bogaert also was to establish with the Iroquois a new price structure for fur (Gehring and Starn, 1988).

By December 30, 1634 Meynderstz van den Bogaert and his party left an overnight camp and proceeded to the principal Oneida village, which they refer to as a Castle in reference to its palisade still about four miles away. Meynderstz van den Bogaert refers to the village and its people as Onneyuttehage; the term apparently derives from the contemporary Oneida name for the village of Oneyote, which reportedly translates to place of the standing stone. They reportedly called themselves Onyota'a:ka, which translates to the people of the standing stone (Snow, 1994). The Europeans subsequently corrupted this name by the eighteenth century into the term Oneida to refer to the indigenous people living in the Oneida country. The term Onneyuttehage also refers to the boulder, the standing stone, believed to always appear providentially to mark the site where newly relocated Oneida villages were to be established. Snow indicates that the standing stone that was at the Oneida village visited by Meynderstz van den Bogaert is reportedly the large boulder that now stands near the community center on the 32-acre parcel owned by the Nation referred to as the Territory (Snow, 1994).

Meynderstz van den Bogaert's journal identifies the words that the Oneida people sang to his party apparently assuring its safe passage and welcome by all Iroquois throughout their territory. The words he transcribed reportedly provide the first contemporary document to list separately the five Iroquois tribes; which are the Oyakaying wee, Onneyatte, Onaondage, Koyockwe, and Kanuhsyu ni the Native American terms for the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, respectively. The journal notes that the Oneida apparently referred to the tribes in the context of Kanuhsyu ni, which likely translates to the extended house (Gehring and Starna, 1988). Gehring and Starna feel that the latter term that Meynderstz van den Bogaert heard and recorded was a reference to the League of the Iroquois that is sometimes also known as the Iroquois Confederacy (Gehring and Starna, 1999). If so, it is the earliest known reference to the League in the historic record (Gehring and Starna, 1988).

Pratt states that the Oneida village visited by Meynderstz van den Bogaert and his party was the Thurston site (NYSM #670; OPRHP #A05314.000012) that was reportedly occupied c. 1635-1655, which is based upon his archaeological investigations there and an understanding of the potential seventeenth century Oneida village settlement pattern (Pratt, 1976). The Thurston site also is referred to in the NYSM archaeological site files as Onneyuttehage, which as indicated above reportedly translates to place of the standing stone. Large quantities of Native American manufactured items including the earliest known examples of shell carved into crescents, discs, and images of birds and European trade goods including brass kettles, blue glass beads, Jesuit rings, and lead shot reportedly dating to the 1620's and 1630's were recovered from the site. Also recovered from the site was archaeological evidence for a gate and double-palisade wall that corresponds to the journal description provided by Meynderstz van den Bogaert.

The Thurston site apparently had been abandoned by 1637 and the Oneida had established another village one mile to the south. That locale is now referred to as the Marshall site; the Oneida reportedly abandoned this site in 1640 (Grumet, 1995). Its relatively quick abandonment after its founding may be the result of a large population loss that reportedly occurred soon after the village's founding. According to the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, the official account of the Jesuits in New France, a large number of the Oneida were captured and killed by Huron and Canadian Algonquian Native Americans soon after the village was established (Grumet, 1995). Oneida society apparently tried to regroup with some Oneida widows and young woman apparently marrying Mohawk men. Such attempts, however, apparently had limited success as demonstrated by the apparent smaller size of the villages (now the Dungey and Stone Quarry archaeological sites) established soon after the Marshall site was abandoned (Grumet, 1995). Marriage to Mohawk men may actually have further reduced the Oneida population since some archaeological evidence exists to suggest that at least some Oneida women possibly moved to the villages of their spouses (Grumet, 1995).

After the English take-over of New York in 1664, the Iroquois allied with them in a multiparty confederation that was called the Covenant Chain. The Covenant Chain was a complex set of formal and informal cooperative agreements between the Iroquois and the English involving military alliance, intersocietal trade, formal treaty negotiations, and the outlay of presents (Jennings, 1984; Taylor, 2003). The Nation has continued the historic tradition of the Covenant Chain and the good will it represents into the present day, expressed as monetary contributions to school districts within Oneida and Madison Counties. The Iroquois affiliated surrounding tribes by dominating them politically and militarily into the League thus indirectly bringing them into the Covenant Chain and increasing the League's own importance in it. Thus, the Covenant Chain can be thought of as a confederation of a number of tribes with the Five Nations of the Iroquois at its head in an alliance relationship with the English. Groups as far away as Ohio, Maryland, and Virginia were at times part of the Covenant Chain.

Affiliation with the Iroquois did not at first prevent affiliated tribes from treating separately with colonial governments or other tribes. However, by the eighteenth century, as a matter of self interest and convenience, some English colonies forced the Iroquois to act as the sole responsible agent and spokesmen for the other tribes, eliminating the need for multiple and redundant relationships and negotiations with a number of subordinate tribes (Jennings, 1984). Native groups absorbed or otherwise dispersed by the Iroquois and the dates by which such actions had occurred include the Mahican, located west of the Hudson River near Fort Orange by 1628; the Wenro, located west of the Genesee River by 1638; the Huron, located north of Lake Ontario by 1649; the Petun, located north and west of Lake Ontario by 1650; the Ottawa River Algonquian tribes by 1650; the Neutral groups located north of Lake Erie by 1651; and the Erie, located south of Lake Erie by 1657 (Hunt, 1940; Richter, 1992).

The relations between the Iroquois and the subordinate tribes operated on the principal of duality and reciprocity, as did most Iroquois political structures. This concept included both responsibilities and privileges for the Iroquois who referred to the subordinate tribes as brethren, nephews or cousins, which was reflective of their status in the relationship. That status also was fluid and could change rapidly depending upon circumstances (Jennings, 1984).

Problems and conflicts during the seventeenth century between the Iroquois and the Erie, Susquehannock, Mahican, French, and Canadian Algonquians resulted in the deaths of large numbers of Oneida men, woman, and children. The introduction of European diseases further devastated the Oneida population. The loss of ethnic Oneida to disease and war combined with their acquisition through war resulted in the fact that by 1668, according to Jesuit accounts, more than two-thirds of the total Oneida population was composed of Huron and Algonquian captives who have become Iroquois in temper and inclination (Grumet, 1995; Jesuit Relations 27).

By the mid to late portions of the seventeenth century, the Oneida were becoming increasingly reliant on European trade goods in their lifestyles. They, like other Native American groups, had made the technological shift to the use of European goods that resulted in traditional technological skills, particularly stone tool making, no longer being employed and the knowledge of these skills no longer passed down to others. However, adopting useful aspects of European culture and technology by the Iroquois was necessary for their survival in a changing world, enabling them to retain their sovereignty and core traditions. The shift in technology made the fur trade increasingly critical economically since the exploitation of fur bearing animals was the only means by which trade goods could be acquired. The shift is reflected by the archaeological investigations at the Sullivan, March, Collins, Upper Hogan, and Primes Hill sites where imported European items almost completely replace Native American produced domestic goods. Most of the imported artifacts reportedly are of English origin reflecting the growing relations between

the Oneida people and their New York Covenant Chain allies (Grumet, 1995). However, the recovery of Jesuit rings and medals from these sites demonstrate the presence of French missionary influence in the Oneida community by this time.

Father Jacques Bruyas established the first permanent mission to the Oneida, named Saint Francois Xavier in September 1667, although it has been suggested that Jesuits had visited the Oneida as early as 1642 (Jones, 1851; Cookingham, 1912). That latter year did see the first recorded missionary visit to the Iroquois when Father Isaac Joques and two companions were captured by the Mohawk from a vessel in the Saint Lawrence River and brought to a Mohawk village in the eastern Mohawk valley (Durant, 1878). In any case, Bruyas' Oneida mission is thought to have been located within the former Oneida village now represented by either the Sullivan or March sites (Grumet, 1995). The earliest recorded Protestant missionary to the Oneida was Godfriedus Deilius, the Dominie of the Dutch Reformed Church in Albany, who reportedly was residing with the Oneida before 1693 teaching the tenets of his faith.

The presence of the Dutch and after 1664 the English ended the French monopoly on the fur trade, providing the Iroquois with another outlet for their furs and another source for trade goods. However, the desire for furs fostered intense competition and conflicts among the European powers, which frequently involved the Iroquois and other local Native Americans. In particular, the rivalry between the English and French forced the Iroquois to ally themselves with one power or the other. According to Lenig, "the competition for new sources of furs resulted in the destruction and dispersal of populations which had coexisted as neighbors to the Iroquois and their ancestors for more than a millennium" (Lenig, 1977). For almost two centuries, European activities within the Mohawk valley and Oneida lands were limited to commercial and military ventures associated with the fur trade or with religious endeavors.

By 1640, two competing fur trade networks had developed. One of these was comprised of the Algonquians, Hurons, and French while the latter consisted of the Iroquois and the Dutch. The British replaced the Dutch 24 years later after their takeover of New Netherlands. Each network sought to exploit the same diminishing supply of fur, spawning a period of nearly continuous warfare between these groups that lasted at least 60 years (Campisi, 1978).

Most of the Oneida generally sided with the British against the French during conflicts prior to the American Revolution. In 1696 during one such period of conflict referred to as King Williams War (1689-1698), a French force invaded the Oneida homeland and destroyed their principal village. The destroyed village was described by a European visitor named Wentworth Greenhalgh in 1677 as consisting of about 100 houses located east of a small river that flowed into Oneida Lake. The village reportedly was newly settled in 1677 causing the inhabitants to purchase corn from the Onondaga

(O’Callaghan, 1849-1851; Beauchamp, 1900; Campisi, 1978). While the Oneida reportedly suffered few casualties during the invasions, much devastation was caused bringing hardship and poverty to them. The French and British excluded the Oneida from negotiations whereby the conflict ended with a joint declaration of neutrality towards the Iroquois (Campisi, 1978). The exclusion outraged the Oneida. This exclusion plus the losses they suffered and a desire among the population to end fighting in their homeland territory compelled Oneida leaders to press the Iroquois League to create a peace accord between the League and the French. Oneida leaders reportedly played a large role in the negotiations that led to the signing of the treaty with the French in 1701 (Grumet, 1995).

### ***The Early to Mid-Eighteenth Century Period***

Regardless of their earlier tensions with the French, by the early eighteenth century many Oneida as well as neighboring Onondaga had developed strong economic, political, and social ties with French colonial authorities, traders, and missionaries. Likewise, the binding of the Iroquois to the British was reinforced by the Albany Congress, which was held in June 1754 on the eve of the French and Indian War (1756-1763). Recognizing that war was imminent, British officials urged colonial leaders to prepare for a common defense and called a meeting that came to be known as the Albany Congress. Native Iroquois leaders, colonial officials, and representatives from seven British colonies attended the meeting that discussed the alliance of the Iroquois in the coming conflict. Native leaders were not anxious to commit themselves to siding with either the British or the French, but preferred to wait and see which power would prevail. Nevertheless, Albany officials did succeed in winning a tepid commitment from the Iroquois to side with the British in return for substantial amounts of supplies and weapons (Jennings, 1984). Another issue discussed at the Albany Congress was the so-called Albany Plan of Union, which was a proposal for the establishment of federated colonial government drafted by Benjamin Franklin and Massachusetts Governor Thomas Hutchinson. The Albany Plan of Union was never approved.

The Oneida homeland including the area associated with the Nation’s Trust Application apparently was of particular importance in the Iroquois - European fur trade. Not only did the Oneida guard the Susquehanna valley that provided access to all Iroquois lands, their homeland formed part of a relatively easy route connecting the Great Lakes and inland regions via the Mohawk River to the Hudson River and the Atlantic shore across which the fur trade flowed. A short mile and a half portage from the Mohawk River leads to Wood Creek, which flows into Oneida Lake. The Oneida name for this portage area is recorded as Deo-wain-sta, which reportedly translates as the place where a canoe is carried between two streams (Wager, 1896; Child, 1869; Scott, 1945; Taylor, 2003). The portage came to be called by the Europeans as the Great Carrying Place, the Carry or the Portage. From Oneida Lake access could be had to the Oneida and Owasgo Rivers, providing access to Lake Ontario and points west and south. Accordingly, the flat, marshy land located between Wood Creek and the Mohawk River represented a choke point in the fur

trade route. Whoever controlled the portage area effectively dominated the trade route and the economic fortunes of the Iroquois. The importance of Oneida lands generally, and of the portage in particular, took on increasing strategic importance as the rivalry between the French and British intensified during the eighteenth century. While the Oneida resisted British attempts to built forts and fortified outposts near their principal villages, they did allow construction of forts further removed. This decision was unlike that made by the Mohawk, who allowed construction of forts in their homeland by the early eighteenth century (Grumet, 1995). Accordingly, in 1722 Fort Oswego was constructed in Oneida territory at the mouth of the Oswego River. Not only did the fort provide some protection against the French and a counterweight to French influence, it also served as a strategically-located marketplace for the Oneida.

A French military force of 259 soldiers and 103 Native American allies defeated a combined English and colonial force at the Great Carrying Place in March 1756, destroying the British fort and reportedly massacring almost the entire garrison (Jennings, 1984; Scott 1945). Wager comments on the military use of the area during the French and Indian War period (1755-1763) when he states that “not a road was laid out, not an acre of land cleared, not a tree felled, not a building erected for any object other than of, or for, a warlike purpose” (Wager, 1896). Due to the fall of Fort Oswego in 1756, the British destroyed all of their facilities around the Oneida portage and withdrew to German Flatts 30 miles to the east (Scott, 1945; Richter, 1992). The British refortified the area in 1758 when they constructed Fort Stanwix, now the site of the present day City of Rome, with the purpose of protecting the Mohawk valley and its inhabitants. This angered some Oneida who resented the presence of a British fort and garrison within their traditional lands. Others, however, readily accepted the presence of the British and worked as laborers carrying goods along the portage route and as scouts. Soon, however, some whites settled the area around the fort further antagonizing those Oneida who did not want the British there in the first place and the others who feared losing their jobs to the newcomers. With the British conquest of Canada in 1760, Fort Stanwix and the region’s other forts lost their purpose and fell into disrepair, although a trickle of settlers continued to migrate to the area (Ball and Ruby, 1976).

Although no permanent settlements had been constructed by the British in the Mohawk valley west of German Flats, construction of the forts and trading posts caused increasing worry to the local Native American groups (Durant, 1878; Scott, 1945). In addition, the constant traffic of teamsters with supplies, traders, and military personnel crossing Nation lands particularly across the Oneida portage, was a source of irritation particularly to the young warriors. To settle these troubling issues, a great treaty council arranged by Sir William Johnson (1715-1774) was held at Fort Stanwix during the autumn of 1768.

Johnson immigrated to the American colonies from Ireland in 1738 and soon established a trading post in the Mohawk Valley about 25 miles west of Schenectady, New York. He is

noted for establishing strong relations with Native American tribes especially the Mohawk, and earning their respect. Johnson learned the Mohawk language, adopted their clothing and customs, and effectively tried to preserve Iroquois lands from encroachment by settlers. As important, Johnson provided the Indians with educational opportunities, as well as religious instruction. Eventually, the Governor of New York appointed Johnson as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Five Nations of the Iroquois.

The 1768 Fort Stanwix Council was attended by commissioners representing the States of New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and Pennsylvania and by the chiefs of the Five Nations of the Iroquois under the supervision of Sir William Johnson. The purpose of the council was to renegotiate the boundary line between Native American lands and white settlement, which was established by the Proclamation of 1763 and formally ended the French and Indian War. The British hoped that a new boundary line would end the conflicts between whites and Indians along the frontier, which had taken many lives and become economically burdensome. For the Indians, the hope was that a permanent boundary line would stop white encroachment onto Native American land and end colonial expansion.

The Fort Stanwix Council produced the document entitled the Property Line Treaty of 1768 on November 5, 1763 by which a new boundary for Iroquois lands was established along the tributaries of the Susquehanna River and down the Ohio River (Snow, 1994). The new treaty extended the line much further to the west than had been established by the earlier 1763 proclamation. For the Oneida, the treaty recognized their eastern boundary as running parallel to the upper Mohawk River before extending south along the Unadilla River to the Susquehanna River. However, the Oneida did retain ownership of a sixteen square mile tract of land east of the line to accommodate their village of Oriske, which is located along the upper Mohawk River. The western edge of their recognized territory was located near the western end of Lake Oneida and its outlet where it bordered the lands of the Onondaga. North to south Oneida lands extended from the Adirondack Mountains to the Pennsylvania-New York State border (Starna, 1998; Taylor, 2003). The 17,370 acres of land currently owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer are included within this domain.

Thus, by the provisions of the 1768 Property Line Treaty, the Iroquois ceded to the British control of all lands east of the Allegheny Mountains including territory not then under Iroquois control. Some lands reserved for the Mohawks and other groups were excluded by this treaty. Many Native American groups such as the Shawnee, Delaware, and Cherokee who resided and used some of the lands in question had no role in the negotiations, thereby setting the stage for future conflicts.

Native American population movements into and out of the Oneida homeland occurred during the eighteenth century. The Oneida allowed a number of immigrant Native American tribes to move into their homeland, mainly as a way to strengthen their numbers for war and as a way to hold onto their territory (Taylor, 2003). Some Oneida, however, moved away to the south and west. The first immigration allowed by the Oneida into their territory took place in the second decade of the century. Following their defeat in the so-called Tuscarora Wars (1711-1713) in North Carolina, the Tuscarora moved northward to seek refuge among the Iroquois. The Tuscarora, who spoke a Northern Iroquoian language dialect, may have split off from other ancestral Iroquoian groups as those populations moved into the Great Lakes region during the Late Woodland period, instead moving southward to the coastal plains of North Carolina (Mithun, 1984; Snow 1994). The eighteenth century Iroquois accepted the displaced Tuscarora around 1712. About 500 Tuscarora families moved to New York the following year. Some of these families settled along the Susquehanna River and its tributaries while others established a village located somewhere between the Oneida and Onondaga lands.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Oneida residence patterns apparently had changed. Palisaded villages containing a number of multiple-family longhouse dwellings were the pre-eighteenth century Iroquois residence pattern, as seen by the archaeological record and recorded by Meyndertz van den Bogaert in his journal. The palisaded village-longhouse pattern had disappeared by this period, being replaced by a pattern of nuclear family cabins with the traditional longhouse maintained only as a community meeting house or as a lodge for visitors. This shift is recorded in documentary records dating to the period and supported by archaeological evidence for the presence of decentralized, unfortified communities during that time from the Prime's Hill, Lanz-Hogan, Sterling, and Oneida Castle archaeological sites (Grumet, 1995; Snow, Gehring and Starna, 1996).

The principal Oneida villages continued to be located near Oneida Creek during this period. Prime's Hill village reportedly was abandoned around 1720 when the Lanz-Hogan site was first occupied. By mid-century, the principal village was located about six miles from Oneida Lake and a smaller village existed on the lake's shore (Campisi, 1978). The Sterling archaeological site apparently represents the principal village. By the late eighteenth century Kanonwalohale, which is also known as Oneida Castle, served as the principal Oneida village, with at least three other villages and many small hamlets also in existence (see Appendix D). Located along Oneida Creek about eight miles from Oneida Lake, Kanonwalohale was home to about 500 people representing about a third of the Oneida population at the time (Taylor, 2003). This village also served as the home of the Oneida stone, the sacred stone that give the Oneida their name. The artifact assemblages recovered from the sites consist almost entirely of English made goods and materials indicating continuing change in the technological base along with accompanying changes in value systems and exchange networks.

Although adapting European manufactured goods to suit their purposes, the Oneida and other Iroquois did so in ways that preserved their cultural identity. In particular, commercial values and the accumulation of wealth were not considered acceptable or admirable traits among the Oneida people. Those who exhibited such traits were the subject of ridicule and scorn and were frequently ostracized from family, neighbors, and village. Those fortunate individuals who contributed to the collective security of clan and village by generously providing food and other necessities were honored. According to Taylor, “These values of hospitality and reciprocity spread resources through the seasons and across a village, sustaining a rough equality. No one starved in an Oneida village unless all did so. Moreover, the Oneida did not treat their land as a commodity for sale by individuals, but instead defined it as a “dish” shared by all their kin, adopted as well as blood” (Taylor, 2003). Such a worldview, however, was incomprehensible to most Europeans who “distained the Iroquois as improvident and impecunious, living from hand to mouth and held back by their lack for individual accumulation” (Taylor, 2003).

Throughout the eighteenth century increasing numbers of Oneida moved to Iroquois controlled Native American villages located in the Susquehanna Valley. At these villages the Oneida settled with the Mohawks, who also did not want to live near European settlers that were moving to their lands, and with other Native Americans who had been displaced from their homelands further to the east. Although ostensibly neutral in the French-British struggle for control of the continent, these village populations generally tilted towards the British and nevertheless held a precarious position between the two powers, with inhabitants frequently becoming involved in conflict.

After 1749, other Oneida sympathetic to the French and hostile to British expansion into their territory joined the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Mohawk who had similar feelings at the French outpost and village of La Presentation. By 1755, more than 1,000 Native Americans had moved to the village (Grumet, 1995). Most of the Native Americans fought alongside the French during the French and Indian War. After France’s defeat in the conflict, some continued to oppose the British moving westward to join Native Americans involved in Pontiac’s War or Pontiac’s Rebellion (1763-1766). The new British North American Governor-General Sir Jeffery Amherst’s decision in 1763 to discontinue the practice of presenting gifts to the Native tribes, which was a long standing practice of the French, particularly stoked the animosity of some Oneida as well as other Iroquois towards the British. Other Oneida, nevertheless, shifted their allegiance to the British and aided them in the conflict against Pontiac and his forces at the urging of Sir William Johnson (Grumet, 1995).

In 1767 Samuel Kirkland, a young Presbyterian minister, settled among the Oneida and established a church. Kirkland rejected the traditional values and beliefs of the Oneida that stressed the worth of the individual and preached repentance and acceptance of Jesus and the New Light for salvation. This outlook was in contrast to the usual manner by which

the British dealt with the Oneida, which was through the tribe's hereditary leaders and its traditional social and political power structures. Kirkland followers mainly came from the Oneida Pine Tree Chiefs. While the factionalism that existed between the sachems and the warriors already existed, Kirkland's presence provided a religious validation to the political reality that was already extant. According to Campisi, "Kirkland capitalized on this division and challenged the efficacy of the political structure by his insistence upon the rejection of Iroquois religious beliefs. In so doing, he attacked the symbolic basis of the political structure, thus weakening the position of the hereditary chiefs. Needless to say, they opposed Kirkland's religion and, by extrapolation, his politics. However, Kirkland's influence did not depend upon the support of the sachems but of the warriors who, by converting to the new religion, found a means of challenging the structures and limitations of the Iroquois political system. The sachems were in the unenviable position of not being able to act without risking the loss of what influence they had in the tribe as the result of a test of strength" (Campisi, 1978). The split between pro-American and Loyalist factions in the Oneida community reflected similar divisions in most other Iroquois communities.

By the 1760's, the Oneida were in dire straights. Although professing neutrality in the French and Indian War regardless of the outcome of the Albany Conference, pressure was exerted upon them from both the French and British. Eventually their support was given to the British cause. Oneida territory also was coming under increasing pressure from whites attempting to settle this land. Repeated famine also afflicted the Oneida during the decade. All of these circumstances created large-scale stress on Oneida society resulting in an increase in alcoholism, factional disputes, and crime. These tragic events also served to strengthen Kirkland's hand in his attempt to reform and revitalize Oneida society. His religious proselytizing during a trying time for the Oneida along with practical improvements to the community such as construction of a school, training and employing religious converts, and supplying food and other provisions to the people, resulted in Kirkland attracting a large following.

### ***The Oneida and the American Revolution***

The Oneida population numbered approximately 1,500 people in the years immediately preceding the American Revolution (Taylor, 2003). The Oneida remained in possession of a vast six million acre-tract of land centered on Oneida Lake that includes the 17,370 acres now owned by the Nation and proposed for trust transfer. As the Revolutionary War approached the Oneida fractured into two camps, those following Kirkland and those more in accord with the tribe's sachems that tended to be in agreement with the pro-British advocacy of Sir William Johnson the British commissioner of Indian Affairs. Rejecting the British and their attempt to control the Oneida, Kirkland and his followers supported the revolutionary sentiments of the American patriots causing Johnson to attempt to have Kirkland and other pro-American New England ministers removed. The Oneida rejected these attempts but at the price of increased disharmony within the tribe and with other Iroquois tribes. The cause of pro-British sentiment among some Oneida, as

well as among most of the other Iroquois tribes, related to intense resentment against colonial land acquisition and encroachment and a British guarantee of Iroquois territory boundaries. The British also could supply their Native American allies with more goods throughout the war compared to the Americans due to better financing and a more efficient supply system. The importance of this last point is seen by the lack of material support the pro-American Oneida apparently received from the Americans during the conflict. Addressing the Americans in 1778, the important Oneida leader Lagwilondonwas, also known as Good Peter, stated that the Loyalist Iroquois “are wallowing in plenty, while we are pining in poverty and all this is occasioned by our attachment to you. Brother – it is well known that the defection of part of our Confederacy is owing to the frequent presents made them by the King, but we are determined to adhere to you” (Wonderley, n.d.).

When the Revolutionary war broke out in 1775, Kirkland continued to convince many Oneida to actively support the Americans. American officials promised the Oneida liberty and security for their lands if they supported the Patriot cause and also joined the Oneida in their cause by casting it as a common defense of property of all American-born people, both Indians and colonists, against the British (Taylor, 2003). Conversely, some Oneida remained loyal to the British. Although the Oneida sachems tended to be pro-British, the pro-American warriors led by the noted Shenandoah who was a close confidant of Kirkland prevented decisive action being taken by the Oneida and other members of the Iroquois League against the Americans. Iroquois indecision took hold as to which political and military course to follow, which lasted several years.

In 1777, unable to achieve consensus and recognizing the impasse, the League’s sachems covered the Iroquois council fire held by the Onondaga at their principal village for more than two and a half centuries. This literal and symbolic dousing of the fire by the League allowed each Iroquois tribe to act as they saw fit as circumstances warranted (Grumet, 1995). Many pro-American Oneida joined the American forces throughout the war, freely serving from Valley Forge in Pennsylvania to Saratoga and along the Canadian frontier. Many also served at Fort Stanwix during the conflict, which was reconstructed by the Americans and renamed Fort Schuyler. Still others served as scouts and intelligence agents for the Americans, frequently traveling to Canada to gauge the level of pro-American sentiment among the tribes there and to determine British and Loyalist troop strength and intentions. In total, it was estimated that at least 1,000 Oneida actively aided the American forces in battle during the Revolutionary War. The decision by the Oneida to actively support the Patriots during the war contributes mightily to their self-image today. As stated by Taylor, the commitment to the Americans “has framed their [the Oneida’s] distinctive identity as reliable allies true to the Americans through the darkest moments of the revolution - but a people subsequently deprived of the promised rewards of that alliance” (Taylor, 2003).

In 1777, British forces under General Barry St. Leger attacked Fort Stanwix as part of a coordinated three-pronged effort to split the American colonies at the Hudson Valley and crush the revolution. The invading force besieged the fort after its American commander, Colonel Peter Gansevoort, refused to surrender. British troops and their Loyalist and Indian allies, in an action that has come to be known as the Battle of Oriskany, ambushed an American relief column under the command of General Nicholas Herkimer heading towards the fort. However, suffering casualties from the battle and demoralized by the loss of their supplies, the British and their allies withdrew on August 21 after rumors reached them that a second American relief force commanded by General Benedict Arnold was fast approaching. The British failure to capture the fort and continue down the Mohawk Valley to join with the British force under General John Burgoyne eventually lead to the latter's defeat at the Battle of Saratoga. Oneida warriors participated in this battle on the side of the Americans. The Americans along with an Oneida contingent occupied Fort Stanwix throughout the remainder of the Revolutionary War; it was the only American fort not captured by the British during the war.

The roles of the Oneida in the Battle of Oriskany, and at Fort Stanwix, and at the Battle of Saratoga were recognized by the New York State legislature which expressed its appreciation by resolution stating, "Resolved that the Oneida Nation are the allies of this State and that we shall consider any attack upon them as an attack upon our own People" (Wonderley, n.d.). A month after the Battle of Oriskany, Oneida and Tuscarora gathered at Albany to formally declare war against the British. About 150 of these individuals led by Louis Cook (Atiatoharongwen), Peter Bread, and Honyery immediately set out to join the American army at Saratoga in its fight against Burgoyne and the British (Taylor, 2003). During the Saratoga fight, the Oneida reportedly served with much valor and courage and were responsible for capturing many prisoners and some British dispatches sent to General Burgoyne by the British commander at Fort Ticonderoga. The leader Louis Cook, subsequently obtained a Continental Army commission as a Lieutenant Colonel the highest rank awarded to a Native American in the American cause (Taylor, 2003).

In March of 1778, the Oneida met the Marquis de Lafayette at a Council held at Johnstown that was organized by American General Philip Schuyler. The Native Americans were enthralled with Lafayette not only because of his position in the American army and his friendship with George Washington, but because of his relationship to the French King. The Oneida adopted the Marquis, creating a special bond between them. Lafayette ordered the construction of a small fort at Kanonwalohale to protect his new brothers. In gratitude, about fifty Oneida and Tuscarora joined Lafayette's brigade in Pennsylvania, seeing action at the Battle of Barren Hill in May of 1778 (Taylor, 2003).

After the war, the Oneida leader Lagwilondon was explained the Oneida commitment to the American cause, "From the beginning of your troubles in the late Revolution, to the

time you publicly declared yourselves a free and independent people; I, my Nation, were a constant spectator – not only a constant spectator - but our minds united with yours in that final declaration; as all hopes of a reconciliation were then passed. The frequent and repeated declarations of the King, that the Americans with all who joined them, would be reduced to wretchedness, had no effect upon the minds of my Nation. And on the other hand, his promises of a rich reward, on condition of our adhering to his councils, did not excite covetous desires in us; but the love of peace, and the love of our land which gave us birth, supported our resolution” (Wonderley, n.d.). The U.S. Continental Congress was grateful to the Oneida for their aid and contributions towards American victory. The U.S. Continental Congress expressed their gratitude, “We have experienced your love, strong as the oak, and your fidelity, unchangeable as truth. You have kept fast hold of the ancient covenant chain and preserved it free from rust and decay, and bright as silver. Like brave men for glory you despised danger. You stood forth in the cause of your friends and ventured your lives in our battles. While the sun and moon continue to give light to the world, we shall protect you, and love and respect you. As our trusty friends, we shall protect you, and shall at all times consider your welfare as our own” (Wonderley, n.d.).

Unfortunately, the important role that the Oneida played in the conflict and their contributions towards aiding the U.S. achieve independence are little known today. Campisi provides a summary of the Oneida and their circumstances following the covering of the council fire, “The pro-American element of the Oneidas and their allies, the Tuscaroras, did not remain neutral. They urged that the council fire at Albany be rekindled and that Fort Stanwix (Rome, New York) be refurbished to prevent attacks in the Mohawk Valley. They steadfastly refused to join other pro-British members of the League, often boycotting meetings. (New York Commissioners of Indian Affairs, 1861). The Oneida contribution to the American cause extended beyond diplomacy and participation in a single raid. When the British forces attempted in 1777 to divide the rebellious colonies by capturing the New York Colony, Oneidas fought valiantly at the Battle of Oriskany to blunt Col. Barry St. Leger’s and Joseph Brant’s invasion. In 1779, they reputedly drew from their meager resources to provision Washington’s army” (Campisi, 1978).

Like their colonial allies, the Oneida suffered the privations of war (Wonderley, 1998). The devastation to virtually every Native American village including those of pro-British Oneida located along the upper Susquehanna River by the Americans under the command of General John Sullivan and James Clinton in 1779 was horrific with lasting effects in terms of poverty and starvation afflicting the surviving Native American people for years to come (Graymont, 1972; Williams, 2005). Many of the displaced Oneida who fled to Fort Niagara subsequently joined Iroquois war parties to avenge the American attacks, destroying the homes of pro-American Oneida families during a raid through Oneida homeland in the summer or fall of 1780 (Grumet 1995). Some of the Oneida whose homes were destroyed were forced to accompany the raiders back to Fort Niagara,

establishing temporary new homes in the Genesee Valley (Grumet, 1995). They followed about 30 Oneida families who had moved to Niagara before the attack by the pro-British raiders (Campisi, 1978). Other families whose homes were destroyed by the raiders moved to American settlements at Schenectady for protection where they lived in squalor and misery with little food or clothing, and dependent upon handouts for the rest of the war (Graymont, 1972). Disease was a frequent companion to these families and they also were the focus of often violent bigotry from their American neighbors. Hence, at the end of the Revolutionary War the Oneidas were scattered from Fort Niagara to Schenectady, their villages were destroyed, their fields laid waste, their social system was disrupted, and their brothers in the Iroquois League were alienated from them. With famine a yearly occurrence, the following years were extremely trying and difficult for the Oneida (Campisi, 1978; Grumet, 1995). They had paid a high price for their loyalty to the U.S. A statement made by an elderly Oneida in 1909 to William Rockwell an Oneida leader dramatically illustrates the heartbreaking price they paid. According to Rockwell apparently drawing on oral tradition and tribal memory, stated that, “If all the skulls of the Oneida Indians killed by British forces in fighting to help the colonials get their freedom were piled together, the pile would be larger than the capital building in Albany” (Wonderley n.d.).

While experiencing such physical, emotional, and psychological hardships it is not surprising that social disorganization dramatically affected Oneida culture. Alcoholism, murder, suicide rates, and political factionalism all reportedly increased during the post-war period (Campisi, 1978). Both pro-British and pro-American Oneida families returned to the Oneida Lake area rebuilding their homes in five adjacent villages, but their divergent political sympathies just served to intensify their internal conflicts. Some Loyalist families, however, moved to Canada. Many of the Oneida who did resettle the area remained on their land until the early nineteenth century when American authorities convinced many of them to move elsewhere (Grumet, 1995). Many of the descendants of those who did not move comprise the members of the Nation, which today continues to live in Madison and Oneida Counties.

Each of the resettled Oneida Lake villages reportedly also had their own council. This likely further hindered the development of unity of purpose and thought among the inhabitants. Although joint meetings were frequently held among the councils during the remaining years of the eighteenth century, resolution of basic tribal differences did not occur (Campisi, 1978).

### ***Oneida Treaties and Land Losses During the Post Revolution War Period***

At the end of the Revolutionary War, both New York State and the U.S. governments acknowledged the sacrifice and important contribution made by the Oneida. As a result, the U.S. Continental Congress guaranteed the territorial integrity of nearly six million acres of Nation lands by the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. This treaty established the

western and southern boundaries of Iroquois territory promising them security of the lands they inhabited east and north of the stated boundaries. These secured lands included most of the Iroquois territory located in New York State and the Iroquois tribes had to relinquish all claims to its lands in the States of Ohio and Pennsylvania. A separate Article (II) of the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix also specifically stated, “The Oneida and Tuscarora nations shall be secured in the possession of the land on which they are settled.” According to Campisi, the land guarantees provided for in this treaty, “...covering nearly six million acres, was repeated in the treaties of Fort Harmar, 1789; Canandaigua, 1794; and Oneida, 1794. In addition, the United States Congress passed the Indian Non-Intercourse Act in 1790, reserving to the national government the exclusive right to negotiate with Indian tribes. The state of New York appeared to be similarly concerned with the protection of Indian lands in that its constitution prohibited the purchase of Indian land by individuals and invalidated all such purchases made without legislative approval after 1775” (Campisi, 1978). The same guarantees for land protection and security for the Oneida and Tuscarora stated in the 1784 Treaty of Fort Stanwix are specified in the 1789 Treaty of Fort Harmar (Treaty with the Six Nations, January 9, 1789).

In 1785, New York State made its first post-revolutionary war purchase of Oneida land in the Treaty of Fort Herkimer. The Oneida sold 350,000 acres in the Susquehanna River area to New York State for \$11,500. During the following two years, New York State resold 343,594 of those acres for \$125,955 (Taylor, 2003).

In 1788, three years after the Fort Herkimer Treaty, the State of New York under Governor Clinton and the Oneida entered into the Treaty of Fort Schuyler (the former Fort Stanwix). Through this treaty, Governor Clinton secured for New York State about five million acres of Nation lands for a cost of \$2,000 in cash, \$2,000 in clothing and metal goods, \$1,000 in provisions, and \$500 to build a grist mill. New York State also agreed to provide the Oneida with an annuity of \$600 payable every June 1 at Fort Schuyler. By the terms of this treaty, the Oneida were left with a reservation of some 300,000 acres in central New York State, a fraction of the land that was their original territory (Taylor, 2003). With a 1788 population of 588 individuals, the annuity provided each Oneida with a little over one dollar per year (Taylor, 2003).

The U.S. Constitution reasserted Federal sovereignty in all Indian affairs including the approval of all land sales, for a while discouraging but not stopping attempted land grabs by New York State. In 1790 the First U.S. Congress passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act, also known as the Non-Intercourse Act, to protect Indian lands from such aggressive acquisition tactics by states and others. The Non-Intercourse Act prohibited the purchase of Indian lands without Federal supervision and consent. The 17,370 acres of land proposed for conveyance into trust by the Nation are all located within the

reservation that resulted from the 1788 Treaty of Fort Schuyler and were further subject to the protections of the Non-Intercourse Act.

Representatives of the U.S., Oneida, and other Iroquois nations signed the Treaty of Canandaigua in 1794. This treaty established territories for the Five Iroquois Nations, referring to this Indian land as reservations. The Treaty of Canandaigua acknowledged the Oneida's 300,000-acre reservation and reaffirmed their sovereignty and rights with respect to its reservation lands. In consideration of friendship between the parties, the U.S. government provided the Five Iroquois Nations a payment of goods worth \$10,000. In addition, the Iroquois was provided a yearly annuity worth \$4,500 for the purchase of "clothing, domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils suited to their circumstances, and in compensating useful artificer, who shall reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit" (Treaty of Canandaigua, November 11, 1794; Campisi, 1978; Taylor, 2003). Through this treaty the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga received protection for their lands and their sovereignty as nations continued to be recognized. The U.S. government on its part agreed never to disturb the nations or claim their lands. The relevant article (2) of the Treaty of Canandaigua states, "The United States acknowledges the lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga and Cayuga Nations, in their respective treaties with the State of New York, and called their reservations, to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturbed them or either of the six Nations, nor their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof; but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States, who have the right to purchase" (Treaty of Canandaigua, November 11, 1794).

Recognizing the attempts made by New York State to acquire Nation lands, Federal commissioners during the treaty negotiations warned the Oneida to avoid any land transactions with New York State officials without a Federal treaty commissioner being present. Speaking directly to the Oneida, Thomas Pickering castigated New York State representatives in land transactions as "deceivers, who want to take your beds from under you" concluding his plea by stating that, "The land is yours and the State cannot take it from you without your own consent. And if any agents come to you to buy it, tell them plainly, that you will make no bargain but in the presence of the faithful men whom the President shall appoint. ...Speak strongly and be not afraid. Follow this advice, and nobody can hurt you, for the United States will protect you" (Taylor, 2003).

The 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua is considered to be sacred by the Oneida and pursuant to its terms each year the U.S. provides the Annuity Treaty Cloth to tribal members 18 years of age or older (Wonderley, n.d.). To present-day Oneida tribal members, the Annuity Treaty Cloth "is tangible proof that the articles of the [Canandaigua] treaty are, and will remain, indelible. The pledges, signed on a government-to-government basis, are part of a living document and will continue forever" (Wonderley, n.d.). The Annuity

Treaty Cloth is provided to the Oneida yearly in the form of three bolts of muslin, which are equally divided among qualifying tribal members.

A second treaty between the U.S. and the Oneida signed in 1794 formally acknowledged the assistance provided by the Oneida to the Americans during the war and the resulting obligations of the U.S., “Whereas, in the late war between Great Britain and the United States of America, a body of the Oneida and Tuscarora and the Stockbridge Indians, adhered faithfully to the United States, and assisted them with their warriors; and in consequence of this adherence and assistance, the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, at an unfortunate period of the war, were driven from their homes, and their houses were burnt and their property destroyed: And as the United States in the time of their distress, acknowledged their obligations to these faithful friends, and promised to reward them; and the United States now being in a condition to fulfill the promises then made; the following articles are stipulated by the representative parties for that purpose; to be in force when ratified by the President and the Senate” (Treaty with the Oneidas, December 2, 1794). As compensation to settle its obligations, this second treaty provided that the U.S. government would pay the Oneida an award of \$5,000 and promised to construct a gristmill, sawmill, and church. The U.S. government also would pay one or two millers to manage the mills for a period of three years. In return for the compensation, the Oneida relinquished all other claims for compensation against the U.S. government as a result of the Revolutionary War (Treaty with the Oneidas, December 2, 1794).

***The Oneida after the Late Eighteenth Century: Further Land Reduction and Tribal Division***

Commencing in 1795 and continuing through 1846, the State of New York purchased Nation lands in a series of transactions conducted almost without exception in violation of the requirement of Federal supervision and consent. New York State was able to buy Nation lands very cheaply and resell them at a premium, reaping large profits (Taylor, 2003). As lands were lost during the early nineteenth century, the once-fertile soils of the Oneida territory became less productive. Previously, the Iroquois had relocated their village periodically as local fields became exhausted and as easily collected firewood in surrounded forests was depleted. With the establishment of reservations, such movements of village settlements were increasingly difficult. The Oneida were forced to adopt European agricultural techniques in increasing numbers by the turn of the nineteenth century. Although requiring more work, these agricultural techniques enabled the Oneida to produce more foodstuffs on the available land. The annuities that the Nation received from the sale of their land facilitated somewhat the transition that they were experiencing as their economy changed from one based partly on hunting and partly on horticulture to one almost totally dependent upon intensive agriculture (Tooker, 1978).

Opposition to Kirkland and his followers renewed the divisions in existence among the Oneida since the years of the Revolutionary War. These divisions also reflected the degree

to which the Oneida would adjust to the values of the dominant white society (Campisi, 1978). The two factions fought for political control of the Oneida with the Christianized, pro-white society warriors who were pro-American during the Revolutionary War on one side and those who supported the traditional hereditary political and religious system on the other side; the latter were pro-British during the late war and continued to be opposed to contact with white society. By 1805 the differences between the two factions, which came to be referred to as the Christian Party and the Pagan Party, had become irreconcilable forcing them to sign articles of agreement dividing their territories around Oneida Lake into two separate tracts ((Tooker, 1978; Campisi, 1978).

Increased white contacts during the early nineteenth century further disrupted elements of traditional culture such as religious beliefs, clan system, and political structures (Campisi, 1978). Oneida men were encouraged to become farmers, seek education in white schools, and practice religion in white-controlled churches. A male dominated nuclear family was the model put forth to replace the traditional Oneida structure of a matrilineal extended family. Individuals who attempted to maintain traditional beliefs and practices were held to be backward or primitive and in need of salvation (Campisi, 1978).

A revival of traditional Native American beliefs took hold among the Iroquois beginning in the late eighteenth century, stimulated by the social and physiological conflicts occurring within their society, the leadership of a few tradition-minded sachems, and the appearance of new prophets. By the early nineteenth century, revitalized Iroquois religious beliefs were well established among the Oneida and associated with a decline in Christian Church membership (Campisi, 1978). The death of Samuel Kirkland in 1808 contributed to the decline in church membership among the Oneida.

The War of 1812, the second British-American conflict, saw the Oneida again take up arms in support of the U.S. Over 100 Oneida out of a population of 650 tribal members reportedly willingly and freely fought on the American side during the conflict, taking part in a number of battles along the northern New York State frontier (Babcock, 1927; Snyder, 1978; Benn, 1998; Wonderley, n.d.). The sacrifices of the Oneida during this conflict brought them little. According to Wonderley, the Oneida “Bore the burden of hosting their younger brothers, the Tuscaroras, who had been burned off their lands near Niagara in late 1813. Hardships were endured without help from the Federal government, which during the years 1813-1817, suspended all annuity payments to the Iroquois (Benn 1998). And Oneidas experienced the same gratitude New York State had shown them after the Revolution. Following a brief pause during the war years, New York’s remorseless efforts to acquire Oneida land started back up again (land cession treaties ceased between 1811 and 1815)” (Wonderley, n.d.).

Beginning in 1823, there was a movement among some Oneida to part with additional Nation lands in New York State and move to a new location near Green Bay, Wisconsin.

The instigator behind this act was Eleazar Williams, an Episcopal lay reader and catechist who moved to the Oneida reservation in 1816. Williams found support for his ideas among some factions of Oneida, but it generally was met with opposition. However, Williams persisted and, "...with the support of a few young warriors, influential congressman, and the Ogden Land Company, which held preemptive rights to the Iroquois lands, negotiations were entered into with the Menominee and Winnebago [of Wisconsin]. Once again the tribe split into two factions with some members of the First and Second Christian Parties willing to follow their leaders to Wisconsin and others, now calling themselves the Orchard Party, opposed to any move. Without waiting for tribal approval, Williams and a delegation of Oneida made several trips to Wisconsin. By 1823, they had secured from the Menominee joint and undivided occupation of more than 4,000,000 acres of land for approximately \$3,000. President James Monroe, concerned over the size of the grant, reduced it to 500,000 acres. In 1838, it was reduced again, this time to 65,426 acres. Oneida began emigrating in 1823, and by 1838 there were 654 relocated in Wisconsin. For some, the move suggested a way of protecting the Oneida from the worst effects of White acculturation, by permitting time for adjustment. For the Ogden Land Company, it was a way to clear title by securing alternate lands for the New York Indians. For Williams, the move meant the establishment of an Iroquois ecclesiastical empire with him as its leader, an empire that would include the bulk of the six Iroquois nations, resettled in the vastness of Wisconsin. Although the motives of the three parties differed, each was aware of, and gave support to, the objectives of the other. It is no wonder that the rejection by the Oneida of the plan to resettle them in the west had no effect on the outcome" (Campisi, 1978).

In 1838, the U.S. concluded the Treaty of Buffalo Creek with the Five Iroquois Nations, then referred to as the New York Indians. Under the terms of this treaty, the Oneida had the opportunity but not the obligation to resettle in what later became the State of Kansas. In fact, only a small number of Oneida journeyed to the State of Kansas; the journey was arduous and the land was unattractive. Those who did not perish en-route returned to New York. By the 1840's, there were three Oneida communities that were located in the States of New York and Wisconsin, and in Canada. According to Campisi, the Oneida, "divided into three groups: those intending to move to Ontario, those desirous of moving but uncertain where, and a few who wished to remain in New York. In 1839, 242 Oneida sold their land in New York and pooling their money, purchased a tract of 5,200 acres near London, Ontario. Between 1840 and 1845, 410 moved to Ontario, and by 1848 only 200 Oneidas resided in New York on the remnants of their land or at the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse, New York. In 1843 New York State passed legislation permitting the division of the remaining lands in severalty" (Campisi, 1978).

By the late 1840's, transactions between New York State and the Oneida left them with possession of only a small fraction of the 300,000-acre reservation. The 1843 New York State legislature permitted the allotment of reservation lands to individuals, which resulted

in the gradual alienation of most of the land over the next century (Snow, 1996). By 1920, the Nation retained only 32 acres located in Madison County of the original reservation in New York State. This parcel itself was the subject of earlier New York State foreclosure proceedings, which resulted in the loss of possession of this parcel in 1909. In 1916, however, the Federal government brought suit on behalf of the Oneida to recover these lands, which were restored to the Oneida pursuant to Federal law and court order. The Nation was confined to these 32 acres of land until 1987.

### **3.6.3 Historic, Cultural, and Religious Properties**

Within the Group 1, 2, and 3 lands (17,370 acres) or within 1,000 feet of those Nation lands there are a number of properties that have particular cultural, historic, and/or religious significance to the Oneida. Many of these properties or sites have been mentioned above and are discussed in detail in Appendix D. In addition, formal requests for consultation under the National Historic Preservation Act Section 106 have been made to both the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin and the Stockbridge-Munsee Community Band of Mohican Indians. These requests were meant to establish if the Oneida of Wisconsin or the Stockbridge-Munsee attribute religious or cultural significance to any Nation lands that are proposed for conveyance into trust. These requests dated January 20, 2006 and June 13, 2006 are presented in Appendix J. Responses to these information requests are pending from both the Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin and the Stockbridge-Munsee Community Band of Mohican Indians.

In Section 3.7.11 Lifestyle and Cultural Values, properties of cultural or religious significance to the Nation that are currently in use for various programs and services are described in detail. These include, for example, the Shako: wi Cultural Center, Ray Elm Children & Elders Center, the Festival Site, the traditional Three Sisters cropland, and others. In this section, some of the properties that have had special ancestral importance to the Oneida heritage, tradition, and identity are highlighted. Most of these properties are potentially eligible for listing on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Because of their nature and/or location, the ancestrally significant Nation lands typically supported a combination of salient historic, cultural, and religious events and activities. In other words, these properties do not usually lend themselves to significance due to either history or culture or religion only. For example, there are a number of ancient Oneida burial sites located throughout the reservation that have been acquired by the Nation or are located in immediate proximity to Nation lands and include archaeological sites such as Cameron, Clark, Ancestors, Olcott, Thurston, Simpson, Nichols Pond, and NYSM sites numbered 3805, 3808, 3832, 4112, 4113, 4118, 4119, 4121, and 9342. An Oneida burial ground with interments dating from at least 1837 to 1931 is located along NYS Route 46 in the City of Oneida. The Beecher (Blowers) site overlooking Stockbridge Valley to the west, which was occupied from 1620-1635, contains what may be the

earliest Oneida cemetery burial plan site with 19 interments. These properties all have implied religious or cultural importance because they have known Oneida burial grounds. However, in almost every case the burial grounds are associated with a past village site that has New York State and county historical value as well.

Another example of significant Nation lands is Nichols Pond, which is a dual village site occupied from around 1350 to 1400 and is considered one of the most important and sacred locations for the Oneida. A limestone boulder located at this site is considered to be an Oneida Stone and is referred to as a Council Rock. This stone may link the village to the origin of the Nation and the formation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. In the earliest record of Iroquois traditions written by Tuscarora David Cusik an Iroquois in 1825, the Oneida are seated in their territory by their god Sky-holder (Tallonyawagon, Upholder of the Heavens, the Good Mind) at a creek called the Pineries, Kaw-na-taw-te-ruh. This is the area of Nichols Pond. Clearly Nichols Pond has material consequence to the understanding of the Nation's history, culture, and religion.

Some of the other prominent Oneida ancestral properties; all of which bear evidence of intertwined historic, cultural and religious import to the Nation include the following:

- Vaillancourt – This is a large habitation site of about 20 acres located on a high plateau that slopes eastward toward Cowaselon Creek. This site was occupied from 1475 to 1550 and contained major traditional longhouses that have been unearthed and researched. Some of the earliest evidence of European contact in the Oneida homeland is associated with this village.
- Sterling – This is a large multicomponent site located on level ground along the east side of Oneida Creek in the Town of Verona. This site was used as a fishing camp dating back to 6,000 B.C. and was variously inhabited from then to the eighteenth century, a record of nearly 8,000 years of usage. Louis Cook, an Akwasasne Mohawk who fought with the Oneida in the Revolutionary War, lived there during the late 1780's and early 1790's. Cook was valued by the Oneidas because he could speak English and French and they thought he could help negotiate land leases, but he submitted to personal interests and betrayed the Oneida in a number of land schemes.
- Onneyuttehage – This is a village site of about five acres overlooking Stockbridge Valley that was occupied from 1635 to 1655. This site was visited by the Dutch trader Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert in 1634-1635 and he is believed to be the first European to meet the Oneida. Meyndertsz van den Bogaert referred to the village and its people as Onneyuttehage, which derives from the contemporary name of that village Oneyote the place of the standing stone. They called themselves Onyota' a:ka or the people of the standing stone, the name later converted by the Europeans to the term Oneida. Onneyuttehage also refers to the boulder, the standing stone, believed to always appear providentially to mark the site for a new Oneida village. The standing stone from the Onneyuttehage village now stands at the Oneida Cultural Center.

- Oneida Castle – This Oneida village, which was occupied from about 1750-1850, covered much of the present Village of Oneida in the Town of Vernon along Oneida Creek. This village was traditionally referred to as Kanonwalohale and became the principal Oneida village in 1765 with a population of over 700 with 70 houses. This village was also home to the noted missionary Samuel Kirkland and to Oskanondonha (Skenando), the famous and long-lived war chief of the Oneida Wolf Clan. The Oneida supported the American cause during the Revolutionary War with the Oneida Castle settlement becoming the center of pro-American sentiment and activities. Oneida Castle was attacked and destroyed by Joseph Brant in 1780, but subsequently rebuilt by the Oneida after the Revolutionary War.
- Dungey - This site, which was approximately ten acres in size, is located on the crest of East Hill with a view towards Oneida Lake and the Stockbridge Valley. This site is thought to represent a principal Oneida village c. 1655-1670. French Jesuits reportedly visited the village in the winter of 1656-1657 and in the late fall of 1663; eighteenth century cultural material was also recovered from this site.
- Simpson - This site, which is approximately three quarters of an acre in size, is situated on raised ground overlooking a steep ravine on the east and a low-lying pond on the south. Native American use of this location is thought to date to c. 1350-1400; burials were reportedly found on this site. A Historic house constructed around 1828 and the remains of a saw mill constructed prior to 1853 are also located on this parcel. Local tradition identifies the saw mill as a stopping point along the Underground Railroad. A small shed on the property was constructed in 1941 as a shelter for Civil Air Patrol volunteers on-watch for enemy airplanes.

#### ***New York State/National Registers of Historic Places***

National Register listed Historic period architectural resources are not located within any of the parcels owned by the Nation that constitute the current APE. However, one parcel lies within the bounds of a Historic District and a Multiple Resource area in the Village of Canastota. Eight other parcels lie within the bounds of another Historic District, located in the City of Oneida. In addition, nine listed properties and a third Historic District all located in the Village of Canastota are situated within approximately 1,000 feet of Nation lands that are included in the Proposed Action. These properties and districts are identified below, described in detail in Appendix D, and shown on Figures 3.6-1 through 3.6-3.

Eight of the significant architectural properties referred to here are individually listed on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places while those properties included in the Historic Districts are listed on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places as contributing structures within single (District) nominations. The individually listed properties, which are all located in the Village of Canastota, are:

- The Peterboro Street Elementary School,
- Canal Town Museum,

- Canastota U.S. Post Office,
- United Church of Canastota,
- Residences at 326 and 328 North Peterboro Street, and
- Residences at 115 and 203 South Main Street.

The two Historic Districts are the South Peterboro Street Commercial Historic District and the South Peterboro Street Residential Historic District, also located in the Village of Canastota. Parcel 33 owned by the Nation is located within the South Peterboro Street Commercial Historic District, the South Peterboro Street Residential Historic District, and the Canastota Multiple Resource Area. All listed structures were built between 1820 and 1941.

Both the individually listed properties and the two Historic Districts also are included within the Canastota Multiple Resource area. A Multiple Resource Area is comprised of noncontiguous but geographically linked properties that are recognized as components of a significant group of significant properties. These properties are collectively nominated for listing on the National Register of Historic Places but also may be individually listed (Shaver, 1993). The United States Post Office in Canastota also is included on the National Register of Historic Places within a Thematic Resources category; Thematic Resources are noncontiguous but thematically linked properties (Shaver, 1993). The category containing the U.S. Post Office in the Village of Canastota is United States Post Offices in New York State 1858-1943.

In addition to the properties indicated above, the Canastota Multiple Resource Area consists of five other houses, the Canastota Public Library, and the Canastota Methodist Church (Shaver, 1993). These historic properties are not located within approximately 1,000 feet of Nation lands.

Two other properties listed on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places are located within approximately 1,000 feet of Nation lands. One property is located in the City of Oneida (Mount Hope Reservoir) and one is located in the Village of Vernon (Vernon Methodist Church). The Broad-Main-Grove Streets Historic District is located within the City of Oneida. This district bounds include eight parcels owned by the Nation, although those properties are not part of the district nomination.

***Properties 50 Years and Older Located within Nation Lands***

All structures 50 years of age or older that are located on Nation lands proposed for conveyance into trust were identified by architectural historian Ms. Cynthia Carrington-Carter for the Nation Historian's Office (see Appendix D and Figures 3.6-4 through 3.6-13). Ninety structures were recorded, briefly described, and evaluated as to their significance. The Nation Historian concluded that three of the structures are considered eligible for inclusion on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places with

seven other structures considered potentially eligible for listing. The remaining 80 properties are considered to be architecturally insignificant. Detailed information on the 90 structures is provided in Appendix D.

### **Architectural Resources**

This section identifies the National Register of Historic Places listed Historic period architectural resources or architectural properties considered to be eligible for listing, that are located within the APE for the Proposed Action or within approximately 1,000 feet of it (Appendix D). In addition, all existing structures 50 years or older that are present within the current APE also are referenced.

## **3.6.4 Archaeological Resources**

### **3.6.4.1 Previously Identified Archaeological Sites**

Eighty-one Native American and Historic period archaeological sites have been previously recorded within the site files of OPRHP, NYSM, and the Office of the Nation Historian that are now located within or in proximity to the APE for the proposed trust transfer (see Figures 3.6-14 through 3.6-23). More precise information concerning the locations of the sites is not provided in order to protect them from disturbance and aid in their preservation. In addition, available data on the sites is insufficient to provide definitive information as to their boundaries. Such boundary information as well as a determination as to a site's eligibility for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, following current OPRHP guidelines, typically is generated as a result of Phase II level archaeological investigations of that property. Accordingly, none of the sites are listed on the New York State or National Registers of Historic Places or have been determined eligible for listing.

A preliminary evaluation of the eligibility of the sites, based upon the information available in the collections and files of the agencies identified above as well as the archaeological literature, has determined that 36 of the sites are potentially eligible for listing on the New York State and National Registers of Historic Places and 12 of the sites are not eligible for listing. Not enough information is available for a determination to be made for the remaining 33 archaeological sites. The National Register of Historic Places status of the sites is indicated in Appendix D. Regardless of their status, however, none of the identified archaeological sites will be affected by the trust action because the undertaking is not ground disturbing and there will not be a change in property use. Consultation between the BIA and the OPRHP currently is on-going.

The majority of the sites (64 sites or 79 percent) reportedly contain only Native American components while eight (10 percent) contain only evidence of Historic period occupation. Thirty-five of the Native American sites cannot be assigned to any specific Native American period of occupation. Two of these (NYSM #8791 and OPRHP A05315.000092), in fact, consist of only stray finds of single Native American artifacts; NYSM #8791 consists of a stone gouge-like tool and OPRHP A05315.000092 consists of a

single chert flake likely derived from stone tool making or maintenance activity. Five (six percent) sites also reportedly contain Native American and Historic period components. No recorded information as to cultural affiliation or site function is available on the files for four (five percent) OPRHP sites that are located within the current APE.

By municipality, 27 (33 percent) of the identified sites are located in the Town of Verona; 21 (26 percent) are located in the Town of Stockbridge; seven (nine percent) are located in the City of Oneida; five (six percent) are located in the Town of Vernon; four (five percent) each are located in the Towns of Cazenovia, Lincoln, and Smithfield; three (four percent) are located in the Town of Lenox; two (two percent) are located in the Town of Fenner; and one (one percent per town) each are located in the Towns of Vienna, Sullivan, and Sherrill and the City of Rome. Appendix D provides more detailed information on the sites contained in the files of the OPRHP, the NYSM, and the Office of the Nation Historian. The Native American sites identified within the APE may date to the time prior to the European colonization of New York, referred to by archaeologists as the Native American Cultural Periods identified below:

- PaleoIndian Period
- Archaic Period
- Transitional Period
- Woodland Period including late prehistoric Oneida
- Protohistoric Oneida

Further descriptions of these cultural periods are provided above under Section 3.6.2 Historic Context of the Nation. Two of the recorded sites are identified as dating to the Archaic period; one contains Early through Late Woodland period components; four are identified as containing Late Woodland components; 13 contain late prehistoric or Protohistoric Oneida components; and 15 are associated with the Historic Oneida. Two archaeological sites are identified in the site files only as Prehistoric sites.

The Native American archaeological resources previously identified on Nation lands consist in part of camp sites (10) likely related to hunting, gathering, tool-making, and other production related activities; village/habitation sites (32) of which nine contained burials; other mortuary sites (11); and stray finds (two). Nine other site areas are described in the NYSM's files as consisting of traces of [Native American] occupation, which are based on the descriptions and work of the avocational archaeologist Arthur C. Parker in the early twentieth century (Parker, 1922). Usually no further information is recorded in the NYSM's files on those occupations, which may have dated to any of the Native American culture historic periods mentioned previously. No information on site function or cultural affiliation is available for four of the sites identified (see Appendix D).

Twenty-seven of the village sites comprise the accepted Oneida village development sequence (Wonderley, 2004). Of the 27 village sites, 15 are located within the current APE and described in Appendix D. Those indicated by a \* are not located within the current APE, but are, nevertheless, described in Appendix D due to their importance to Oneida culture and identity. The accepted village development sequence is identified in Table 3.6-1.

**Table 3.6-1  
Oneida Village Sites Located within the APE that are  
Part of the Accepted Oneida Cultural Development Sequence**

Site	Period of Occupation
Nichols Pond	c. 1350-1400
Dougherty <sup>1</sup>	c. 1350-1400
Simpson	c. 1350-1400
Tuttle <sup>1</sup>	c. 1400-1425
Buyea <sup>1</sup>	c. 1425-1475
Moon	c. 1425-1475
Goff	c. 1425-1475
Bronck	c. 1425-1475
Olcott <sup>1</sup>	c. 1475-1525
Vaillancourt	c. 1475-1525
Bach <sup>1</sup>	c. 1525-1575
Diable <sup>1</sup>	c. 1525-1575
Cameron	c. 1605-1620
Beecher	c. 1620-1635
Wilson	c. 1620-1635
Thurston <sup>1</sup>	c. 1635-1655
Marshall <sup>1</sup>	c. 1635-1655
Stone Quarry	c. 1650-1660
Dungey	c. 1655-1670
Sullivan	c. 1665-1680
Marsh	c. 1655-1670
Upper Hogan <sup>1</sup>	c. 1665-1685
Collins <sup>1</sup>	c. 1677-1685
Primes Hill*	c. 1685-1750
Lanz-Hogan <sup>1</sup>	c. 1720-1770
Sterling	c. 1750-1762
Oneida Castle	c. 1762-1820

Note: <sup>1</sup>These sites are located within the APE.  
Source: Wonderley, 2004.

#### 3.6.4.2 Previously Identified Areas of Archaeological Sensitivity and the Proposed Action's APE

The OPRHP has identified general areas that are considered to be archaeologically sensitive for the presence of Native American sites (see Figures 3.6-24 through 3.6-23). The criteria for determining such areas is based on the presence of previously identified Native American sites in the vicinity and environmental characteristics similar to those of known sites in the region. These characteristics typically include the presence of high, well-drained ground (knoll, ridge top, terrace, etc.) in proximity to a fresh water source (watercourse, pond/lake, wetland, spring, etc.). Other characteristics that may result in an area being determined to be archaeologically sensitive include the presence of outcrops of

certain types of stone (chert, quartz, quartzite, etc.) that are suitable for the production of tools and the presence of caves or rockshelters, particularly when located near a fresh water source, which may have been utilized by Native Americans.

One hundred and ninety-two (192) parcels owned by the Nation that are included within the current APE are situated within OPRHP zones of general archaeological sensitivity for Native American sites. The designation indicates that Native American sites may be found almost anywhere within an archaeologically sensitive area which has not been previously disturbed. By municipality, the sensitive parcels are distributed as follows:

- 92 (48 percent) parcels are located within the Town of Verona;
- 27 (14 percent) parcels are located within the Town of Stockbridge;
- 22 (11 percent) parcels are located within the City of Oneida;
- 17 (nine percent) parcels are located within the Town of Lenox;
- 11 (six percent) parcels are located within the Village of Canastota/Town of Verona area;
- Eight (four percent) parcels are located within the Town of Vernon;
- Five (three percent) parcels are located within the Town of Lincoln;
- Three (one percent per township) parcels are located within the Town of Verona/City of Rome area;
- Two (one percent per township) parcels per town each are located within the Towns of Sullivan and Smithfield; and
- Single parcels (0.5 percent per township) are located within the Towns of Augusta, and Sherrill and the Village of Cazenovia.

In addition, the OPRHP recognized areas of archaeological (Native American) sensitivity and the parcels owned by the Nation that are included within these areas are indicated on an archaeological sensitivity map recently prepared by O'Brien and Gere for New York State as part of the its comments on the Nation's Trust Application (O'Brien and Gere, 2006). The information provided in Appendix D and the O'Brien and Gere map are generally comparable.

One of the most important regions in terms of historical and archaeological sensitivity and Oneida tradition is the Stockbridge Valley area. The location represents the ancient Oneida homeland with a number of occupied villages formerly located there over the span of more than a hundred years from the late sixteenth century to early eighteenth century (Wonderley, 1999a). The recognized sites and their periods of occupation, which are discussed in Appendix D are identified in Table 3.6-2. These sites are part of the basic Oneida village development archaeological sequence and represent the movement of a village over a span of time.

**Table 3.6-2  
Previously Identified Native American Village Sites Located in the Stockbridge  
Valley Area, Ancient Oneida Homeland**

Beecher	c. 1595-1625	Dungey	c. 1650-1660
Wilson	c. 1595-1625	Sullivan	c. 1660-1677
Thurston	c. 1625-1637	Marsh	c. 1660-1677
Marshall	c. 1637-1640	Collins	c. 1677-1685
Stone Quarry	c. 1640-1650	Primes Hill	c. 1696-1720

Source: Wonderly, 1999a.

### 3.6.4.3 Archaeological and Historic Resources Located Within Groups 1, 2, and 3

This section presents a general overview of the recognized archaeological and historic resources (including potentially eligible buildings/structures 50 years or older on Nation lands) contained within Nation lands and the APE according to their distribution in Groups 1, 2, and 3. Table 3.6-3 shows the number of cultural resources by category in each of the Groupings. On occasion, these sites or building/structure locations overlap with more than one location occurring on an individual property or within its respective APE. As the table illustrates there are more historic and cultural resources located within Groups 1 and 2 than are found within Group 3.

**Table 3.6-3  
Cultural Resources Located on or within 1,000 feet of Nation Lands**

Resource Type	Group 1 Lands	Group 2 Lands	Group 3 Lands	Total
New York State and National Register of Historic Places	0	11	2	13
Properties with Buildings 50 Years or Older <sup>1</sup>	12	55	18	85
Archaeological Sensitive Properties	33	116	43	192
Archaeological Sites	6	94	57	157
Total Resource Count	51	276	120	447

Note: <sup>1</sup>Seventy-nine (88 percent) of the 90 identified structures on 85 parcels that are owned by the Nation were determined not to be architecturally significant while two (two percent) other structures were determined to be architecturally significant. Seven structures (eight percent) are considered eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or potentially eligible while two (two percent) are considered not to be eligible for listing.

Sources: Nation, 2005; New York State Historic Preservation Office, 2005; National Register of Historic Places, 2005.

#### **Group 1 Lands**

Group 1 lands contain the least number of cultural resource sites/buildings among the Groupings and has 51 or 11.4 percent of the total number. Group 1 lands contains six (3.8 percent) of the 157 currently identified archaeological sites on or within Nation lands or its APE.

**Group 2 Lands**

Group 2 lands and the associated APE have the largest number of cultural resources, 277 or 62 percent of the total. Group 2 lands has in fact the most sites in all four of the categories shown in the above table, which is, in the numbers of National Register of Historic Places, Properties with Buildings over 50 years in age, Archaeological Sensitive Properties, and identified Archaeological Sites. Some of the more notable historic and archaeological sites located within Group 2 or its APE include Nichols Pond, Sterling, Oneida Castle, and McNab. These sites are described in detail in the above sections and/or in Appendix D.

**Group 3 Lands**

Group 3 lands and their associated APE have the second largest number of cultural resources, 119 or 26.6 percent, of the total among the Groupings. Some of the more prominent historic and archaeological sites located within Group 3 lands or their APE include Vaillancourt, Dungey, Wilson, Simpson, Marsh, Stone Quarry (Clark), and Onneyuttehage.