

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA  
RIVERSIDE

“Worthy to be Gifts”: A Microhistory of Haudenosaunee Moccasins at the Historic  
Northampton Museum

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

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September 2019

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The Thesis of Heather Renee Casseday is approved:

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## **Acknowledgments**

It must be a bit disconcerting to unexpectedly receive an email from a stranger who says they are writing their thesis about a pair of seventeenth-century moccasins in your museum's collection, oh and by the way, the moccasins are probably actually from the nineteenth century. Fortunately for me, the response of Marie Panik and Elizabeth Sharpe at the Historic Northampton Museum was essentially, "That sounds great!" I am so grateful for their forbearance and assistance during my research visit in October 2018, and there is no way I could have written this without their support. Likewise, I am grateful to the staff at the New York State Archives, the Connecticut State Archives, and the Connecticut Historical Society for their guidance, help, and occasional first-aid kits.

Though I approached this project primarily from the Western perspective, connecting with people far more knowledgeable and involved with Haudenosaunee culture than I was vital to its success. In that regard, I would like to thank the Seneca Indian National Museum for showing me their collections and would especially like to thank Michael Galban at Ganondagan State Park, whose knowledge of Haudenosaunee material culture proved invaluable. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Jamie Jacobs for his insight into contemporary quillwork, as well as Leith Mahkewa for her knowledge of beading and for generously allowing me to use a photo of her exquisite work.

Thank you to my committee for their suggestions, and my advisor, Dr. Weems, for his encouragement. Finally, I would like to thank Angela, Shannon, Hanna, and Molly for their support, advice, encouragement, and friendship.

## **Dedication**

To my parents and Cody, for their unwavering faith and support.

## ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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University of California, Riverside, September 2019  
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Though they are common objects in private and museum collections, moccasins frequently lack substantial provenances, which can lead to errors in basic descriptive elements such as attribution or date. Over time, misleading or inaccurate information can be propagated if a museum’s interpretation serves as a reference for the visual identification of artifacts in other collections. This thesis focuses on a pair of alleged seventeenth-century moccasins from the Connecticut River Valley in the collection of the Historic Northampton Museum in Northampton, Massachusetts, investigating the validity of that claim and proposing a probable point of origin. Ostensibly belonging to an ancestor of the donor, I examine the moccasins in the context of New England’s cultural landscape during the seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries, focusing on Anglo-Indigenous interactions, the role of clothing in identity formation, and the conditions in which Indigenous objects like moccasins would be collected. Archival documents and published accounts relating to the donor’s family were used to reconstruct the family’s history and establish the most likely period for the moccasins’ acquisition. This thesis shows that despite the considerable contact

between colonists and the Indigenous inhabitants of the Connecticut River Valley during the late seventeenth century, the moccasins are unlikely to date from either that time or place, but instead are of Haudenosaunee origin, likely purchased as souvenirs in western New York in the early nineteenth century.

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## Preface

How does one write about a marginalized demographic one is not a part of in a way that doesn't contribute to their disenfranchisement? Words have meaning, and it can be difficult to determine the "best" terminology to use when collectively referring to the people who inhabited northeastern North America prior to its invasion and colonization by Europeans. In this thesis, I have endeavored to use tribal identities when discussing specific groups of people in acknowledgment of their self-definition and self-identification. When discussing Indigenous peoples collectively, in order to minimize treating them as a monolith, I have tried to be as regionally specific as possible, using the terms *Algonkian* or *Northeastern Algonkian*, a slight variation on the linguistic group Eastern Algonkian, when collectively referring to the Indigenous inhabitants of the Northeast (with the exception of the Six Nations), and *Haudenosaunee*, *Five Nations* (before 1722), and *Six Nations* (after 1722) when discussing the Iroquois Confederacy. *Eastern Woodlands* is used when referring to the visual and material cultures of all Indigenous inhabitants of northeastern North America. I avoid the terms *Native American*, *American Indian*, and *First Nations* because they are terms collectively applied to Indigenous peoples by the colonizing governments of the United States and Canada, and don't make sense when discussing people who either lived in a time before those political boundaries existed, or who transcend those borders, as in the case of the Haudenosaunee (among others). Likewise, I avoid using *Indian*, unless it is in the context of a source who uses that term. If a generalized descriptor is necessary when discussing Indigenous peoples, I have used *Native* and *Indigenous*, aware of the baggage attached to those terms. It is an imperfect solution.

## Introduction

Martha Woodruff needed to find a home for her family's heirlooms. She never married or had children and had no extended relatives who could inherit her estate. The question of what to do with her family's antiques became more pressing in 1929, when she moved into the Lathrop Home for Aged and Invalid Women in Northampton, Massachusetts, a few blocks over from her house on West Street. Though Martha was born near the Finger Lakes region of New York, her mother's family had deep roots in Massachusetts's Pioneer Valley. In 1877, six years after the premature death of Martha's father, her mother moved the small family to Northampton in hopes of her daughters receiving an education at the recently opened Smith College.<sup>1</sup> Following her move into the Lathrop Home, Martha involved herself in local history as a member of both the Northampton Historical Society<sup>2</sup> and the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. In these organizations, Martha found willing recipients for her family heirlooms, with many kept at the Daughters of the American Revolution Chapter House as long-term loans, and others donated directly to the Historical Society (now Historic Northampton) museum beginning in 1933.

One of the many objects donated to the museum was a pair of moccasins. In December 1953, Martha Woodruff wrote a letter to the museum's co-founder, Edith

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<sup>1</sup> Membership application copy of Martha Woodruff on Jerusha Ann Williams; National Society Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). Martha Woodruff genealogy documents, Historic Northampton Museum.

<sup>2</sup> In 2012, the organization's name was changed to Historic Northampton to avoid confusion with the Historical Northampton Commission, an unrelated body that oversees historic preservation for the city.

Shepherd and brought up the possibility of donating the moccasins, hoping they were “worthy to be gifts” to the museum. She also mentioned that the moccasins were “worn by some Indian,” and were acquired by her Grandfather Woodruff at an unknown date and place.<sup>3</sup> This is the only bit of provenance we have, and if we interpret “Grandfather Woodruff” as her father’s father, the person who first acquired the moccasins was James Woodruff (figure 1). However, a museum cataloging worksheet notes that the moccasins are said to have belonged to a far more remote ancestor, Matthew Woodruff, an early settler of Farmington, Connecticut, who died in 1682.

How did the moccasins become attached to a person who lived 200 years before the likely point at which they entered the family’s collection? The museum’s archives contain the many letters Martha wrote to Edith Shepherd and other prominent figures at the museum; however, most of the letters relate to the artifacts (primarily furniture, textiles, and housewares) from Martha’s mother’s side of the family, who lived in the Northampton area since the eighteenth century. The Woodruff side of her family is not strongly represented in her artifact donations and is primarily mentioned in the genealogical material and notes Martha made for her Daughters of the American Revolution application. The only suggestion of an origin for the alleged connection to Matthew Woodruff is found on an old museum tag, which was probably the source for the

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<sup>3</sup> Martha Woodruff to Edith Shepherd, May 28, 1953, Martha Woodruff accession documents, Historic Northampton Museum.

information found on the cataloging worksheet. Once again, we face the question of where this attribution originated but find no clear answers.<sup>4</sup>

Ultimately, the question of where the seventeenth-century attribution originated is less important than determining, to the best of our ability, the most likely point of origin for the moccasins. This thesis is a microhistory of the Woodruff moccasins and looks at the donor's family history alongside the cultural climate of New England from the seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries to show that instead of seventeenth-century Connecticut, the Woodruff moccasins were probably made in western New York during the early nineteenth century. Spanning the early history of the European colonization of northeastern North America through both the claimed and likely dating, analysis of the moccasins within the context of that period reveals the changing attitude of European colonizers toward the Indigenous inhabitants of the continent through shifting collection practices.

Because of the broad span of time this thesis covers, it is structured conceptually rather than chronologically, with the second part of this introduction dedicated to formal analysis of the Woodruff moccasins. Chapter one covers the concept of reception, discussing interactions, exchanges, friction, and accommodation between English colonists and the Indigenous peoples of the Northeast from the seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries. Woven into this historical overview is the story of the Woodruff family and the conditions in their place of residence that influence interactions with local

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<sup>4</sup> A possible hint might be found at the Stanley-Whitman House museum in Farmington, which has a pair of breeches also alleged to have belonged to Matthew Woodruff in the seventeenth century.

Native peoples. Chapter two builds upon the historical context outlined in chapter one, applying it to the transmission of finished Native products to European and Euro-American audiences. The means by which these goods were acquired by non-Indigenous people are discussed, revealing the circumstances in which Native objects, specifically moccasins, would be collected.

Even though it is not possible to say with 100 percent confidence exactly when, where, and by whom the Woodruff moccasins were made, trying to correct the record to the best of our abilities is still important. Challenging the Eurocentric view of museum collections is a restorative act that occurs on multiple levels and fronts, and artifacts should not be ignored because they are smaller, singular, or less headline-grabbing objects. Failure to examine attributions and provenances only perpetuates false narratives and further alienates objects from the people who created them, as Indigenous artifacts tend to be a liminal space upon which Euro-Americans project their own ideas about Native art and culture. Objects may be familiar enough to recognize, but the ignorance of most Americans regarding the histories of North America's Indigenous peoples allows them to write their own narrative for the artifacts, erasing the artifacts' autonomy and disconnecting them from their creators. This historical ignorance is due to the erasure of Indigenous peoples in the histories that are taught in schools so that they become relegated to historical figures in the public consciousness. As much as we might cringe today at the nineteenth-century concept of Indigenous peoples as a "dying race," the fact of the matter is that there has been minimal effort on the part of the majority settler culture to rectify this problem through engagement with Indigenous and other

marginalized peoples, including their stories alongside familiar figures in American history.

The situation is perhaps gradually improving in the museum world, where major institutions are acknowledging the central role museums play in the colonization process and are undertaking the process of decolonizing their spaces and practices. Expanding the perspectives portrayed in museum exhibitions beyond that of the majority-settler culture is an important step, but decolonization is about more than just increased representation and requires a fundamental overhaul of museum practices. Regarding the representation of Indigenous peoples, Amy Lonetree argues that museums can serve as sites of decolonization by:

honoring Indigenous knowledge and worldviews, challenging the stereotypical representations of Native people produced in the past, serving as sites of “knowledge making and remembering” for their own communities and the general public, and discussing the hard truths of colonization in exhibition in an effort to promote healing and understanding.<sup>5</sup>

Irrespective of whether they were acquired in the seventeenth or nineteenth century, the Woodruff moccasins represent a part of that hard truth of colonization. It is my hope, even though it is not possible to know for certain the exact time and place of their manufacture, that the Woodruff moccasins can still serve as a medium for exploring the dynamics between Native people and Anglo-American colonizers, and, at the very least, this research will assist in the process of correcting museums’ object records.

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<sup>5</sup> Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 25.

## WOODRUFF MOCCASINS: MATERIALS AND ANALYSIS

### *Moccasin Etymology and Appearance*

The word “moccasin,” though used now to describe all soft-soled shoes worn by the Indigenous peoples of North America, is an Algonkian word that shows up in European sources at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Although the term’s spelling in English records varies until the mid-nineteenth century, its use as a reference to Indigenous-made shoes is consistent throughout North American colonies, excepting the terms *soulier sauvage*, used in New France, and its English equivalent “Indian shoes.” Despite stylistic variations among the many Indigenous peoples of North America, moccasins can be described as slip-on shoes with soles and sides made from a single piece of soft, unworked leather, and are instantly recognizable due to their enduring cultural presence as physical objects and through depictions of Indigenous North American people in popular culture. Typologically, the Woodruff moccasins (figures 2, 3) follow this standard and the additional expectation of decorative accents, including beads or “Indigenous” materials like quills or moose hair. Though beads are often the dominant decorative material on moccasins from the nineteenth century and later, the body of the Woodruff moccasins is decorated with dyed porcupine quills, a more traditional material. Sinuous white seed bead designs adorn the ankle cuffs, which are covered in light blue silk, with darker blue and tan silk appliqué accents in addition to wavy lines of quillwork.

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<sup>6</sup> John Smith’s 1612 *A Map of Virginia: With a Description of the Country, the Commodities, People, Government and Religion* includes the word *mockasins* (translated as “shoes”) on the list of common words in Virginia Algonkian that precedes the text. This is similar to the Mi’kmaq cognate for shoes, *mekezin*, noted by Marc Lescarbot in his 1609 book *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*.

Green fabric lines the interiors of the moccasins and tan silk ribbons are attached to the heel of each shoe at the ankle. Despite the considerable contact between colonists and the Indigenous inhabitants of the Connecticut River Valley during the late seventeenth century, the Woodruff moccasins are unlikely to date from either that time or place, but instead are likely Haudenosaunee from western New York, purchased as souvenirs during the early nineteenth century. This conclusion is based on the history of the Woodruff family and is supported by visual comparison with extant moccasins attributed to different Eastern Woodlands peoples, as well as moccasins depicted in artwork from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Instrumental analysis of the material components of the moccasins would provide an empirical basis for their date of manufacture but was not done out of concern for the physical integrity of the moccasins. Analysis through  $^{14}\text{C}$  carbon dating could date the organic components (such as the leather, quills, silk, and cotton) with a best-case accuracy of  $\pm 30$  years, but this method is destructive. A sample size of 300 micrograms is the minimum amount of carbon needed for analysis, but 10–100 milligrams is recommended to enable adequate sample preparation—the rough equivalent of one square inch of leather. Beads could be analyzed via non-destructive instrumental neutron activation analysis; however, this would still require removing the beads from the moccasins and does not reliably indicate when the moccasins were made, since the beads could be far older than the moccasins. Hopefully, at a later date, newer developments in non-destructive analytical techniques will allow for a more objective dating, but until then, their date and place of origin can only be inferred through context and connoisseurship.

### *The Hazards of Connoisseurship*

Before beginning a deeper analysis of the Woodruff moccasins' appearance, it is important to note the hazards of connoisseurship within the field of Indigenous material culture. First and foremost are limitations related to the cognitive process of object recognition, in which humans are able to identify previously seen objects by using recognition memory, a process which is aided by familiarity and context.<sup>7</sup> If presented with an unfamiliar object, or one with an ambiguous context, an observer may rely on similarity to familiar objects to formulate an interpretation, which can result in apophenia, or the tendency to find connections and meaning between unrelated things. The practice of aircraft identification provides an excellent example of the object-recognition process: Beginning in World War I, accurate aircraft identification via a plane's appearance was necessary to determine whether an approaching aircraft was friendly or hostile. World War II increased the utility of this skill, resulting in the proliferation of training materials, including posters, books, scale model kits, and even games, all aimed at familiarizing observers with the silhouettes of planes from different angles, so that even civilians could look up at a plane and tell whether it was friend or foe (figure 4). Connoisseurship of Indigenous objects is not unlike aircraft identification in that, superficially, it compares what is seen with what is familiar, and the degree of similarity determines attribution.<sup>8</sup> The mistaken identification of a friendly for a hostile

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<sup>7</sup> The neuroscience of object recognition is of course incredibly complex, and there are different theories related to object recognition.

<sup>8</sup> The comparison of connoisseurship to aircraft identification is, of course, imperfect, as connoisseurship requires a far more intimate knowledge of the subject matter than simple visual

aircraft is perhaps a more immediately catastrophic error, but the consequences of the misidentification of a Native artifact are not immaterial, as these inaccuracies contribute to misunderstandings about Native material cultures.

One of the best sources for the study of Native material cultures of the nineteenth century and earlier are the artifacts preserved in museums, and their institutional interpretations serve as reference guides for the visual identification of artifacts in other collections. Collecting and museum practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, however, have had a profound impact on the objects within museum collections, as context was divorced from artifacts, and Indigenous meaning overwritten by Euro-American interpretations. Private collections of Native North American artifacts amassed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries often found their ways into public museums through the usual channels of donations and bequests, but some collectors went further and founded their own museums around their collections—the most significant example being George Heye’s Museum of the American Indian.<sup>9</sup> Heye’s collection, begun around the turn of the twentieth century, occurred during the period of “salvage anthropology” in which Euro-Americans, operating under the belief that Indigenous peoples were physically and culturally vanishing from North America, actively sought out artifacts for preservation and study.

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identification alone. Materials, construction methods and techniques, and of course object condition and history are all integral to a connoisseur’s expertise in their field.

<sup>9</sup> Heye’s museum opened to the public in 1922. Its collection became part of the Smithsonian in 1990, and in turn, formed the core of the National Museum of the American Indian’s holdings since its opening in 2004.

In her book on the relationship between Indigenous informants and anthropologists, Margaret Bruchac notes that, despite working with Indigenous informants and agents as their sources within societies, Euro-American researchers became the interpreters of and authorities on Indigenous societies and religions through the artifacts they collected, with the result that “over time, institutional memories about these collections replaced Indigenous memories to such a degree that speculative theories and opinions, if voiced by a prominent enough researcher, were routinely accepted as fact.”<sup>10</sup> Prioritization of institutional over Indigenous interpretations becomes even more consequential with artifacts that lack any sort of provenance or contextual information, as the museum relies on connoisseurship for interpretation. Here, connoisseurship in the realm of Indigenous-artifact collections becomes both unavoidable and potentially problematic if the connoisseur becomes the most important source, as their opinion is a substitute for documentary evidence supporting the claim of an artifact’s age and cultural affiliation.

Uncritical acceptance of the interpretations provided by non-Native experts (who may be unaware of the influence of their own cultural biases) can result in the propagation of possibly inaccurate information. An example of this is seen in two pairs of moccasins at the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (figures 5 and 6), which the museum currently attributes to the Wyandot of southern Quebec during the eighteenth century. However, several publications claim that these moccasins were collected by Jacques Cartier between 1534 and 1542, though ethnohistorian Christian Feest notes that there is

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<sup>10</sup> Margaret M. Bruchac, *Savage Kin: Indigenous Informants and American Anthropologists* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018), 13.

no known reason for this attribution.<sup>11</sup> Despite ample skepticism of the claim due to a lack of supporting evidence dating back to at least the early 1990s, the moccasins were still cited as from the sixteenth century in texts published as late as 2017.<sup>12</sup>

Misinformation also originated with unscrupulous agents and dealers who supplied collectors with artifacts. In her chapter on David Ross McCord, the founder of Montreal's McCord Museum, Moira McCaffrey notes how willing he was to trust in highly attractive yet dubious pedigrees assigned to artifacts by dishonest dealers looking to exploit the Native curio market.<sup>13</sup> Beyond questionable pedigrees are counterfeit artifacts, which are not a modern phenomenon. Eager collectors during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were just as susceptible to a well-made fake as those today, and the passage of time can make it difficult to tell whether an object was made in 1800 or 1900. Although it is easy to be critical of the authenticity of an artifact claiming association with a famous person or event, it is more difficult to discern the accuracy of broader categorizations such as date or tribal affiliation, particularly when those

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<sup>11</sup> Christian F. Feest, "North America in the European Wunderkammer Before 1750," *Archiv Für Völkerkunde* 46 (1992): 84. Like Feest, I was unable to determine where and when the association of the moccasins with Cartier occurred. Prior to the opening of the Musée du Quai Branly in 2006, the moccasins were in the collection of the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Mathé Allain mentions a pair of quilled moccasins at the Musée de l'Homme which Cartier delivered to Francis I in the introduction of her text *The Image of the Indians in Early French Atlases and Travel Accounts* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1989), <<https://web.archive.org/web/20060203095806/http://www.newberry.org/smith/slidesets/ss13.html>>

<sup>12</sup> Roland Viau, "A Sense of Place: Montreal before Cartier," in vol. 1 of *Montreal: The History of a North American City*, eds. Dany Fougères and Roderick MacLeod (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 2017), 59.

<sup>13</sup> Moira T. McCaffrey, "Rononshonni—The Builder: David Ross McCord's Ethnographic Collection," in *Collecting Native America, 1870–1960*, ed. Shepard Krech and Barbara A. Hail (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999), 60.

categorizations are supported by perceived authorities like museums and scholars. Whether by intentional misinformation or suboptimal (by modern standards) collecting practices, we are left with a small sample size of artifacts with sufficient contextual data to make them suitable for use as reference objects. In the case of the Woodruff moccasins, there are only a handful of preserved artifacts from the Native inhabitants of the Connecticut River Valley during the seventeenth century, so we can't say with any degree of certainty whether the moccasins could be stylistically similar.

Finally, it is important to note that while the Indigenous peoples of North America are not a cultural monolith, the visual cultures of the Eastern Woodlands did not occur in isolation from each other. A large amount of exchange and overlap occurred from trade, cultural practices like adoption, the absorption of tribes due to displacement, and the formation of new tribes like the Brothertown Indians and Stockbridge-Munsee during the colonial period. The point is that there are no ur-texts for moccasins to which we can compare examples and declare with certainty that *this* pair came from a particular tribe at a particular date because of X, Y, and Z characteristics. While there are certain attributes we can look to that commonly appear among moccasins from a particular time and place, it is important to remember that using these attributes as a basis of comparison results only in a best guess and does not necessarily take into account the artistic agency of the individuals who made the moccasins.

### *Form*

Caveats issued, we can now move into a more detailed visual and material analysis of the Woodruff moccasins, beginning with their form and body. The Woodruff

moccasins are twenty-three centimeters in length and are made of a single piece of soft, brain-tanned hide, most likely deerskin. Brain tanning is a technique first practiced by the Indigenous peoples of North America and uses animal brains as the tanning agent to convert rawhide<sup>14</sup> to buckskin—a famously soft, durable leather that maintains its flexibility, even after getting wet. Though brain tanning is a comparatively uncommon tanning method today, it is still practiced by people interested in revitalizing traditional techniques as well as wilderness survival enthusiasts, since it requires no more supplies than what an individual animal provides.

A brief perusal of instructional articles, websites, and videos shows that while a degree of procedural individualization exists, the basic steps remain the same and broadly follow the process described by nineteenth-century ethnographer Lewis H. Morgan.<sup>15</sup> Shortly after the deer is killed and its brain removed for later use, it is carefully skinned and “fleshed,” where excess meat, fat, and connective tissue are removed. Following the initial fleshing, the tanner soaks, stretches, and scrapes the hide to remove any remaining tissue and membrane from the flesh side as well as hair, follicles, and grain from the hide’s outer layer. Soaking and stretching before scraping helps to soften and increase the size of the hide and makes the scraping process easier. Soaking the hide in water for several days or even weeks aids hair removal, but the process can also be accomplished by soaking the hide in urine, or water mixed with wood ash. Prior to the braining process,

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<sup>14</sup> Any type of hide can be brain tanned, but deer, elk, moose, and bison are the most common.

<sup>15</sup> Elisabeth Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 115.

the hide is soaked in clean water then wrung to remove excess by attaching the hide to an anchor point before twisting it around a large stick.

The hide is then placed in a tub containing a solution of the deer's brain, which has been heated in hot water then mashed into a slurry. Brain slurry is massaged into the hide and left to soak for several hours before being wrung out. Depending on the hide, soaking, stretching, and braining may require repetition. To prevent fibers from sticking together as they dry, the hide is stretched and worked across a firm surface until softened. At this point, the hide is tanned but does not have the water-resistant properties that make brain-tanned leather famous. Smoking preserves the hide, making it resistant to insects and preventing it from stiffening after exposure to water. The brain-tanned hide is stitched into a cone or a bag shape (or two hides were loosely stitched together) and suspended over smoky coals<sup>16</sup> until achieving an even color, at which point the bag is taken down, turned inside out, and smoked again. Brain tanning is highly labor intensive and time consuming, but finished brain-tanned hides can be also purchased from specialist tanners.

Moccasin styles among the Indigenous peoples of North America vary, but center-seam and gathered toe (also called puckered toe) styles are the most common to the Eastern Woodlands (figure 7). Gathered toe moccasins have a separate vamp<sup>17</sup> insert, which often features elaborate decoration. An advantage to the gathered toe pattern is that when the moccasins wore out, the decorated vamp could be removed and sewn into a new

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<sup>16</sup> Punky wood—soft, rotten wood from the center of a log—is a common fuel source.

<sup>17</sup> The vamp is the part of the shoe that covers the instep, or top of the foot. For reference, in a lace-up shoe, this area would include the tongue.

pair. The Woodruff moccasins, however, were made in the center-seam style.

Construction of center-seam moccasins is straightforward, as they use a single piece of leather of uniform thickness. The center and heel seams of the Woodruff moccasins were sewn with a whipstitch, possibly using sinew thread (a traditional material). Conical projections at the heel and toe were eliminated by pulling the initial loose stitches into a pucker before continuing to sew the open edge with a series of close whipstitches.<sup>18</sup> A plain pair of Seneca moccasins from the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian shows the appearance of the pucker and center seam (figure 8). The cuffs on the Woodruff moccasins are cut into two separate flaps, which—according to Lewis Morgan—indicates they were made for a man.<sup>19</sup>

Unique modifications allowed the Woodruff moccasins to be worn by a person with a larger-size foot than they were originally made for.<sup>20</sup> First, the heel seam was partially unstitched, and the seam secured with a new stitch using a textile thread to prevent the heel from becoming completely undone. In figure 9, one can see regular puckers along the open edge where the seam was originally sewn, as well as the color difference between the original stitching and the new stitch. Accommodating a larger foot

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<sup>18</sup> Catherine Casse, "The Iroquois Moccasin: Its Utilitarian and Symbolic Functions," *Dress* 10, no. 1 (1984): 15.

<sup>19</sup> Tooker, *Lewis H. Morgan on Iroquois Material Culture*, following p. 205, plates 1 and 2. Contemporary moccasins do not necessarily make this distinction.

<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, there is no way to tell conclusively when the modifications were made. According to Martha Woodruff's genealogy documents, James Woodruff was a tall man at 6 feet, but his son was shorter at approximately 5 feet 6 inches. While it is likely that as a taller man, James needed a larger shoe, but height and foot size are not directly correlated in a way that can be predictably calculated.

size meant that the lowest part of the seam would now rest under the wearer's heel, which we can see based on compression of the leather near the sole. Once the heel seam was partially shifted to the sole of the modified moccasin, constant friction from use would cause the seam to split. Attaching a thicker, probably commercially tanned leather sole with a whipstitch would protect the seam and may have also been more comfortable for someone accustomed to hard Anglo shoes (figure 10). Evidence for general use is seen in the worn-down leather over the ball of the foot and heel, but the lack of staining on the body of the moccasins, as well as the good condition of the decorative materials, points to their use as an indoor shoe.

### *Textiles*

Textiles were an important trading commodity between colonists and Indigenous peoples throughout the Northeast from the seventeenth century onward. Examination of agent accounts in the ledger of early Connecticut River Valley settler and fur trader John Pynchon reveals an overwhelming amount of cloth goods in comparison with other kinds of goods.<sup>21</sup> Most of the fabric types are made of wool, which is in accord with the primarily wool-based European textile fragments found in seventeenth-century Native cemeteries.<sup>22</sup> Silk might not have initially been a common trade good due to its expense,

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<sup>21</sup> Peter A. Thomas, *In the Maelstrom of Change: The Indian Trade and Cultural Process in the Middle Connecticut River Valley, 1635–1665* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 457.

<sup>22</sup> Florence M. Montgomery, *Textiles in America, 1650–1870* (New York: Norton, 1984), 143–377; Linda Welters et al., “European Textiles from Seventeenth-Century New England Indian Cemeteries,” in *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, ed. Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman (Winterthur, DE: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1996), 211.

but silk fragments dated circa 1620–1640 found at the Cornish archeological site in western New York show that traded silk was present before the alleged manufacture date of the Woodruff moccasins.<sup>23</sup> Later in the colonial period, smaller silk goods (in the form of handkerchiefs and ribbons) were frequently part of trade inventories, as seen in a March 1795 account for sundries by Indian Agents against the state of New York, which records—among other textiles delivered—two pairs of ribbon to “certain Indians in the city” and four silk handkerchiefs and silk thread to two Seneca men and their interpreter.<sup>24</sup>

As one of the most common trade items received from Europeans, ribbons were used as accents by Indigenous peoples on all kinds of garments. The light blue silk ribbons stitched to the cuffs of the Woodruff moccasins leave a rectangle-shaped patch of bare leather along the inner fold, which is decorated with seed beads and quillwork (figure 11). Bits of scrap fabric or ribbons could have been the source of the dark blue and tan silk appliqués that fill the six oval patches created by the lines of beadwork. Ribbons could also be used to secure the moccasins by wrapping around the ankle and tying at the top of the instep, but this does not always appear necessary. While some artworks show the use of ribbons, particularly with moccasins that have cuffs turned up (figure 12), others do not. Many Eastern Woodlands moccasins in museum collections do not have ankle ribbons, though in some cases this could be because the ribbons were lost

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<sup>23</sup> Diana D. Loren, *In Contact: Bodies and Spaces in the Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Eastern Woodlands* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2008), 101.

<sup>24</sup> Account of goods delivered by Indian Agents Tenbrook and Chapman, March 31, 1795, Document 15:90:a, Series A0802: New York State Comptroller’s Office selected audited accounts of state civil and military officers, vol. XV, New York State Archives, Albany.

at some point in their history. It is not clear whether the brown ribbons on the Woodruff moccasins are original to their creation since the eyelets through which they are attached to the shoes are modifications made when the heel seam was opened. The eyelets were cut on each side of the heel seam near the ankle and reinforced with a whipstitch, which also secured the green cloth liner (figure 13). Ribbons were then threaded through the eyelets and tied to prevent their loss.

The moccasins are lined with loosely woven, low-quality cloth, possibly wool or a wool blend. It is identified as cotton in the museum catalog, but the basis of this identification is unknown and was not confirmed by textile analysis.<sup>25</sup> According to Michael Galban, curator and historian at the Seneca Art & Cultural Center at Ganondagan State Historic Site in Victor, New York, lining a moccasin with fabric was not a Native practice at this time, so the cloth would have been something added by the person who purchased them. This is supported by the number of moccasins dated to the early nineteenth century that lack liners (figures 14 and 15). Adding a liner may have also made the moccasins more comfortable to wear after they were modified by reducing the extent to which the heel seam rubbed the bottom of the foot. Linings were much more common later in the nineteenth century, as moccasins became increasingly popular souvenir items among tourists (figures 16 and 17). Contemporary moccasins may also have cloth liners, depending on the preferences of the artist or the wearer.

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<sup>25</sup> A simple burn test can indicate whether the yarn is cotton, wool, or linen.

## *Quills*

Despite the incorporation of beads and other European materials, quillwork was still widely used as a decorative element by Indigenous artists throughout North America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Birchbark objects such as boxes, cradleboards, handles of tools and weapons, and leather goods were all decorated with quillwork, which had the advantage of either lying flat or in relief, depending on how the artist manipulated the quills. Porcupines were the primary source of quills, though bird quills were occasionally used. After carefully harvesting quills from a porcupine carcass, they are cleaned, sorted according to size, and then dyed.<sup>26</sup> William Orchard detailed the sizes and uses of quills as follows:

The largest and coarsest came from the tail, which were used in broad masses of embroidery, where a large surface was to be entirely covered, or for wrappings on club handles, pipe-stems and fringes. The next size came from the back, and still smaller quills from the neck. The finest were taken from the belly, and were used for the most delicate lines so noticeable in the exquisite work to be found in early specimens.<sup>27</sup>

Before the introduction of aniline dyes in 1856, quills were dyed using natural materials, resulting primarily in shades of red, yellow, blue, and black. Today, synthetic dyes are popular among quillwork artists due to their wider range of colors, increased resistance to fading, and faster processing times. However, this is not necessarily at the expense of natural dyes as plenty of artists use natural dyes in addition to, or instead of, synthetic ones.

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<sup>26</sup> Like their historical counterparts, contemporary artists can acquire their quills through purchase, trade, or directly from the animal. Roadkill is a popular source for quills.

<sup>27</sup> William C. Orchard, *The Technique of Porcupine-Quill Decoration Among the North American Indians* (New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 1916), 6.

As mentioned, porcupine quills are a versatile medium and can be sewn, folded, twisted, woven, and wrapped to form a wide variety of decorative designs. In a message conversation with the author, Jamie Jacobs (Tonawanda Seneca), a ceremonial custodian and quillwork artist, explained that quills are soaked just before use so that they are flexible enough to be manipulated into the desired pattern. The length of time that the quills are soaked depends on the technique to be used, as over-soaked quills won't flatten properly and under-soaked quills are "like trying to fold a plastic straw."<sup>28</sup> Folded techniques were not used for the Woodruff moccasins, so they will not be discussed, but flattening the quills was still necessary for the loomed technique used for the band covering the center seam of the moccasins.

Quillwork covers nearly the entire vamp of the Woodruff moccasins, with the design becoming less geometric and more curvilinear as it moves outward from the center (figure 18). By the 1820s, the density of quillwork patterns on vamps increased alongside the growth of tourism at Niagara Falls, which supports the hypothesis of an early nineteenth-century fabrication date for the Woodruff moccasins.<sup>29</sup> Covering the entire length of the center seam, a loom-woven band less than an inch wide of dyed porcupine quills forms a pattern of diagonal stripes in red, yellow, white, and blue-green. The red quills could have been dyed using stiff marsh bedstraw, the yellow with goldthread or goldenseal, and the blue-green with indigo or wild berries.<sup>30</sup> Natural fiber,

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<sup>28</sup> Jamie Jacobs, message to author, July 29, 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Sherry Brydon, "'Beautiful in Its Materials and Finish': Early-Nineteenth-Century Iroquois Moccasins," *American Indian Art Magazine* 36, no. 4 (2011): 71.

<sup>30</sup> Christina Cole, "The Contextual Analysis of Pre-1856 Eastern Woodlands Quillwork Dyes Through Identification by Liquid Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry" (PhD dissertation,

most likely basswood cordage, was used for the warp (vertical) and weft (horizontal) threads of the Woodruff moccasins, providing structure to the band (figure 19).<sup>31</sup>

Traditionally, the Haudenosaunee used bow looms for weaving, where the warp threads are attached to the ends of a flexible length of wood, similar to an archery bow.<sup>32</sup> Figure 20 shows the weaving process, in which guide beads, roughly the same width as the quills, are inserted on the weft thread to act as spacers, and the weft thread is then woven over and under the warp thread.<sup>33</sup> Dampened and flattened quills are inserted between the warp threads by hooking a folded end over the weft thread. The weft thread is brought under and across the warp threads so that when the downward-pointing quills are gently folded upward, the weft thread is secured between the quills and the warp. Then the weft is run across and above the warp, and the now upward-pointing quills gently folded down on the weft. This process is repeated until the desired length is reached. Quills must be kept damp and flexible so that they can be repeatedly folded up and down during the weaving process.

Many of the quills on the Woodruff moccasins have chipped, revealing the weft thread underneath, but despite the damage, the structure of the woven band remains

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University of Delaware, 2010), 126, 134, 139. Other sources of the dyes are possible. See Cole, Chapter 5 for a more thorough discussion.

<sup>31</sup> Michael Galban, conversation with author, January 28, 2019.

<sup>32</sup> Lewis Henry Morgan, *League of the Ho-Dé-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois*, vol. 2 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1901), 54.

<sup>33</sup> Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center Alaska channel, “Creating Quillwork 6 (of 8): Weaving”, YouTube video, 10:43, Oct 17, 2018, <https://youtu.be/D4XVSOQ5fII>. The YouTube video from which this still image was taken is an excellent tutorial on quill weaving.

intact. The bands are attached to the moccasins by widely spaced whipstitches along the long edges. A rectangular frame of four single-line sewn quills frames the woven band. Two of the bands are dyed red and blue-green, with the other two remaining white. Running along the long sides of the rectangular frame are two wavy lines, like near-mirror-image shallow sine waves. Each is composed of three single-line sewn quills (two white surrounding one blue-green or red), similar to the three sinusoidal quillwork lines outlined in white seed beads on the cuff flaps (figure 11). Single-line quills are not flattened, but left tubular, resulting in a raised line that is sewn on to the surface with sinew, natural fiber, textile, or synthetic thread.

The outermost wavy line on both sides of the woven band forms a ground line for three elements, which appear to show a growth cycle of a flower. Closest to the toe, blue-green single-line quills outlined in white quills form a wide V-shape reminiscent of petals or leaves. The center motif has two red, outward-curving lines outlined in white growing out of the center point of the V-shape, which could be interpreted as petals or flower stamens. The third motif, closest to the ankle, is similar to the center, but the double curves are made of only one single-line stitched quill in white, evoking the death of the flowering part of the plant. This double-curve motif, variations of which appear throughout Haudenosaunee decorative art, may be related to the celestial tree of Iroquois creation mythology.<sup>34</sup>

As part of a long oral tradition, there are numerous variations on the creation story, but the basic structure is as follows: Prior to creation, spirit-beings lived in the Sky

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<sup>34</sup> Arthur C. Parker, "Certain Iroquois Tree Myths and Symbols," *American Anthropologist* 14, no. 4 (1912): 20.

World above a landless body of water. The celestial tree also grew in the Sky World, bearing all types of fruits and light-producing flowers. One day, the celestial tree was uprooted, and the pregnant Sky Woman fell through the hole into the world below. As she fell, birds caught her and bore her down to the back of a giant turtle. River mammals brought mud to place on the back of the turtle, which grew to become the North American continent.<sup>35</sup> In some variations, the celestial tree is uprooted out of anger or jealousy by the chief spirit—Sky Woman’s husband or father—who then pushes Sky Woman through the hole. Ethnographer Arthur Parker notes that the use of celestial tree motifs doesn’t necessarily carry any sort of significance, as “with change of environment, myths, symbols, and ceremonial rites may lose their earlier meaning and yet preserve their outward form.”<sup>36</sup> That said, the preservation of pre-contact motifs and meanings is just as important as the preservation of traditional techniques to many artists today, so the potential significance of the symbolism to the makers of the Woodruff moccasins cannot be discounted.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Harriet M. Converse and Arthur C. Parker, “Myths and Legends of the New York State Iroquois,” *New York State Museum Bulletin* 125 (1908) provides a more detailed creation story. Harriet Maxwell Converse was a folklorist and ethnographer of Scottish and Irish heritage who was born in Elmira, New York. Her father and grandfather were Indian traders whose fair dealings earned them adoption into the Seneca Nation. In her career as a non-fiction writer, Converse also worked closely with the Seneca, aiding them in defending the rights of the Haudenosaunee. In 1885, she was formally adopted into the Snipe Clan of Seneca and given the name Ya-ih-wah-non.

<sup>36</sup> Parker, “Certain Iroquois Tree Myths and Symbols,” 619.

<sup>37</sup> Jamie Jacobs, message to author, July 29, 2019.

## *Beads*

Beads are considered the quintessential trade good brought over to North America by the Europeans beginning in the early sixteenth century. In American mythology, their perceived value to Indigenous cultures is tied to the story of Peter Minuit purchasing the island of Manhattan in 1626 for \$24 worth of glass beads and trinkets—the punchline being that the Algonkians valued the novel baubles more than North America’s most economically important piece of real estate.<sup>38</sup> However, archeological evidence points to a long history of bead usage in Eastern Woodlands cultures before European contact, with trade networks transporting marine-shell beads from Chesapeake to the Northeast.<sup>39</sup> The most significant shell beads were the type known as wampum, which played a critical role in the European-Indigenous trade economy during the seventeenth century.

The cylindrical, white and purple wampum beads are made from the shells of the channeled whelk and quahog, two mollusks found along the eastern seaboard. Although its production during the seventeenth century was chiefly associated with the Algonkians along the southern New England and Long Island coast, its use is highly associated with, and significant to the Haudenosaunee. Far from being a simple currency, wampum had many functions among the Haudenosaunee, including but not limited to: a summons to a Council, reminders of the Great Law and formation of the League, a ritual exchange

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<sup>38</sup> This story seems to have been invented in the nineteenth century. No deed has survived, and the only contemporary mention of the transaction is a 1626 letter stating only that the island was purchased for the value of sixty guilders. For a further examination of the myth and its history see Peter Francis, Jr., “The Beads That Did Not Buy Manhattan Island,” *New York History* 67, no. 1 (January 1986): 4–22.

<sup>39</sup> James W. Bradley, “Re-Visiting Wampum and Other Seventeenth-Century Shell Games,” *Archaeology of Eastern North America* 39 (2011): 31.

medium, gifts, and personal adornment.<sup>40</sup> James Bradley proposes four factors for the meteoric rise of wampum as the Northeast's preferred medium of exchange: first was the established production and cultural value of shell beads; second was the introduction of tubular white and blue glass beads by the French in the early seventeenth century; third was the manufacture of comparable beads out of shell by the Native inhabitants around Long Island, and the encouragement of such by Dutch traders; and fourth was the disruption of traditional shell bead sources in the Chesapeake by the Anglo-Powhatan Wars.<sup>41</sup> As a commodity in the first half of the seventeenth century, wampum was second to none, and although its role as a colonial currency diminished and eventually disappeared, it maintained important ritualistic and decorative roles in many Eastern Woodlands cultures.

Concurrent with and contributing to the rise of wampum was the role of glass European trade beads, as mentioned by Bradley above. French and Dutch traders were the earliest suppliers of the glass beads favored by Indigenous people, and by the seventeenth century, beads were widespread throughout the Northeast.<sup>42</sup> Despite disavowing the use of beads in their own dress, even Puritans in New England used glass beads to facilitate social interactions with Native peoples, albeit with the intention of

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<sup>40</sup> Bradley, 26–27.

<sup>41</sup> Bradley, 34.

<sup>42</sup> Laurier G. Turgeon, "Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption: French Beads in North America, 1500–1700," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 9, no. 1 (Fall–Winter 2001–2002): 94.

promoting conversion rather than trade.<sup>43</sup> To the Eastern Woodlands peoples, glass beads were not just beautiful objects of adornment; as appropriated foreign objects, they carried symbolic value as well, in the same way that “exotic” goods from the New World were coveted by Europeans. The symbolic value of beads was connected to both their foreign origin and their materiality:

The hardness of beads denoted permanence, durability and control. Unlike foods and other perishables, beads could neither decay nor wear out; they could not even be divided into separate parts without being destroyed. Immutable, they were icons of completeness, wholeness, and immortality.<sup>44</sup>

Once they traded hands, the function of beads was transformed. Not only were they used to display a wide variety of social signifiers such as wealth, status, allegiance, and gender, but beads were also thought to promote health and cure sickness—a particularly important function in the seventeenth century as disease swept through Indigenous populations.<sup>45</sup>

On the Woodruff moccasins, white glass seed beads of varying opacity decorate the cuffs. Originally, a single, straight line of beads edged each cuff, but due to deterioration and bead loss, this is only apparent on one of the moccasins (51.454.a). Shallow, single-line sine waves are the dominant motif on the cuffs (figures 3, 11). Closest to the cuff edge, double sinusoidal patterns with regularly spaced V-shapes echo that of the vamp quillwork. Above that motif is another double sine wave, but in this

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<sup>43</sup> Diana D. Loren, “Considering Mimicry and Hybridity in Early Colonial New England: Health, Sin and the Body ‘Behung with Beades,’” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28.1 (2013): 156.

<sup>44</sup> Turgeon, “Material Culture and Cross-Cultural Consumption,” 96.

<sup>45</sup> Loren, “Considering Mimicry and Hybridity in Early Colonial New England,” 156.

case, some of the crest and troughs have been enlarged and filled in with alternating blue and tan silk appliqué patches. Finally, closest to the rectangle is a single shallow sine wave with regularly spaced V-shapes. Some single-line quillwork is also found on the cuffs, in the form of wavy lines outlined in white seed beads in a silk-less rectangle near the top fold of the cuff. Sherry Brydon notes that shallow sine waves are one of the most common motifs, indicating the importance of the imagery, which may symbolize cosmological power lines or the Underwater World.<sup>46</sup> Additionally, larger, opaque white pony beads are also found at the top edge of the woven quill band (figure 19), but their purpose is primarily to serve as an anchor point for the woven quillwork technique, as previously discussed. Though we can only speculate as to the symbolic purpose of the beads on the Woodruff moccasins, we can see how new materials were incorporated alongside traditional ones, positioning them as a transition piece in the early period of souvenir art.

As beaded goods, also known as “whimsies,” became popular souvenir items for tourists at places like Niagara Falls, they began to adopt the floral motifs popular during the Victorian period. Beading techniques also shifted into the raised beadwork style synonymous with Haudenosaunee beadwork from the mid-nineteenth century onward, in which small beads are substantially raised above the surface of the piece. This effect is achieved by stringing more beads on the thread than is needed for the length of the stitch, creating a raised arch, which is repeated to form the desired pattern. In her survey of raised beadwork objects, Dolores Elliott identifies an extremely wide range of objects

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<sup>46</sup> Brydon, “Beautiful in Its Materials and Finish,” 67.

that were produced for the tourist trade, including pincushions, purses or pouches, boxes or urns, picture frames, wall pockets and other wall hangings, mats, clothing, pins, necklaces, and other jewelry items (figure 21).<sup>47</sup>

Whimsies and other beaded items were made by women, who gathered to bead in groups, sharing knowledge as a way of ensuring the continuation of the tradition.<sup>48</sup>

Contemporary beadwork artists like Leith Mahkewa (Oneida/Hopi), from the Mohawk community of Kahnawake, are part of this lineage. Mahkewa works in the Mohawk style of raised beadwork, using traditional techniques and finishes on pieces like those seen in figure 22. Art produced by Mahkewa, Jacobs, and other contemporary Haudenosaunee artists can be seen as part of a transition—beginning roughly around the time of the Woodruff moccasins in the early nineteenth century—during which Indigenous artists began utilizing European materials and motifs in conjunction with established traditions. While motifs or materials may be used to appeal to a particular market, as we have seen, the adoption of European materials began long before Euro-Americans sought out these types of Indigenous-made goods in any kind of substantial numbers.

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<sup>47</sup> Dolores N. Elliott, “Two Centuries of Iroquois Beadwork,” *BEADS: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 15 (2003): 7.

<sup>48</sup> Leith Mahkewa, message to author, July 5, 2019.

## Chapter One: Reception

Inevitably, the story of northeastern North America in the seventeenth century can be distilled down to a struggle for control. On the European side of the equation, permanent settlement in the Northeast begins with the Pilgrims' decision to leave Leiden in 1617.<sup>49</sup> During their time in the Netherlands, Leiden offered safety from persecution for their separatist beliefs, but it was at the expense of hard labor, an unfamiliar language, and the “manifold temptations of the place,” which drew away younger members.<sup>50</sup> Seeking an easier life, in part to attract new members to the congregation—but also as a way to preserve their cultural and religious identity—the Pilgrims looked to the New World.<sup>51</sup> While cultural and religious control was the initial impetus to early English migration to New England, another focus for control emerged, one which became universal among the English, Dutch, French, Iroquoian, and Algonkian peoples throughout northeastern North America: trade. The trade markets and networks that developed became integral to the relationships between the different people living in the Northeast and encompassed more than straightforward exchanges of material resources, but exchanges of concepts and cultures as well.

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<sup>49</sup> By this time, Europeans had been visiting the northeast coast for trading, fishing, and whaling, since the late fifteenth century.

<sup>50</sup> William Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation: 1606–1646*, ed. William David (New York: Scribner, 1908), 46.

<sup>51</sup> If you ask any American elementary school student why the Pilgrims left England, they will reply that the Pilgrims were fleeing religious persecution. Religious freedom (specifically a lack of persecution) was unquestionably a major reason why the Pilgrims left England and then Leiden, but their desire to control their social environment was also a contributing factor.

As early settlers in colonial New England, the Woodruff family witnessed the attitudes and events that shaped the relationships between the Indigenous peoples of northeastern North America and Anglo colonizers. This chapter focuses on how Indigenous cultures were received by and intersected with Anglo-American culture, including the role of clothing in identity formation. A nuanced history of the first two hundred years of European colonization in North America is far beyond the scope of this thesis and has been covered extensively by many authors, so only a brief overview is mentioned to provide context.

## EUROPEAN INVASION

### *The Problem with Maps*

Before European colonizers began to fill the Connecticut River Valley in the first half of the seventeenth century, it was inhabited by people who spoke Eastern Algonkian languages and were organized in distinct, seasonally mobile communities connected by marriage, trade, and political alliances. Mapping the territory inhabited by the different communities is a difficult task, not only because of the incomplete information about the communities passed down in the historical record, but because of the role maps play in the colonization process. Seventeenth-century maps of the area of North America christened “New England” by John Smith in 1614 reveal the process of cartographic ethnogenesis undertaken by Anglo settlers. A small map in William Wood’s 1634 book, *New England’s Prospect*, shows several Indigenous villages alongside Puritan towns (figure 23), but by the 1670s, their presence was reduced to vague notations of Native “countries” surrounded by open land. John Seller’s 1675 map of New England (figure 24)

shows this with large areas of land devoid of marked population centers. The *existence* of Indigenous peoples is not denied—indeed the cartouche containing the map title and Seller’s information features two flanking figures of an Indigenous man and woman, and an illustration of a fortified “Indian town.” However, the presence of Indigenous peoples is treated more akin to a geologic feature than an acknowledgment of territorial autonomy.<sup>52</sup> It is probably no coincidence that the areas marked as Native “countries” are filled in with trees, hills, and woodland creatures, the implication being that Native people living in those areas were another natural occurrence in what was seen as functionally unoccupied land, the perceived emptiness justifying colonial expansion.<sup>53</sup> This is to say that colonial maps are unreliable witnesses for the visualization of sachemdoms and say more about European aspirations to North America than the people already living there.

Despite the failings of colonial maps, other colonial records have filled some of the gaps and given us at least a general understanding of the Native inhabitants of the region. In the 1930s, amateur historian Mathias Speiss attempted a reconstruction of the sachemdoms that existed circa 1625 that are now within the boundaries of the state of

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<sup>52</sup> There are two interesting exceptions to this. The first can be seen in the town labeled “Poanntack” at the northernmost branch of the Connecticut River. The label is a misspelling of “Pocumtuck,” the people who inhabited the area and established a village of the same name. English colonists began to settle in the area in 1673, and in 1677 the town of Deerfield was officially incorporated. This map then shows the brief period in which the future Deerfield was still referred to by its Algonkian name. The second exception is the sketch to the right of the Connecticut River showing colonists armed with guns in conflict with a group of nude Indigenous people wielding bows and arrows. Directly below the colonists is a reference to the town of Hadley, which was one of the towns attacked in the first months of King Phillip’s War in 1675.

<sup>53</sup> J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. Paul Laxton (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 190.

Connecticut. Speiss contracted engineer Hayden Griswold to draw a map based on the data compiled from early land records Speiss found in the Connecticut State Library and local archives of early townships (figure 25).<sup>54</sup> Despite the problems and limitations of using a reconstructed map in the European tradition to attempt to show the territories of the Native inhabitants, a map remains the most efficient way of conveying this sort of information. However, the Speiss map should be viewed with the understanding that the names and boundaries are imperfect approximations, and in no way reflect the entirety of how the Native inhabitants identified themselves and their lands. A lack of concrete facts regarding the sociopolitical organization of the smaller sachemdoms along the Connecticut River has resulted in them often referred to collectively as Connecticut River Indians or Connecticut River sachemdoms. Among the Connecticut River sachemdoms, the Tunxis are the most directly significant to the history of the Woodruff family in Connecticut, for it is their land that colonists from Hartford purchased in 1640 to form the plantation of Tunxis, which was incorporated as the town of Farmington in 1645.

### *Colonization*

The European colonization of both New York and the Connecticut River Valley began under the Dutch and Henry Hudson's 1609 exploration up his eponymous river, followed by the establishment of Fort Nassau on Castle Island near Albany, as well as the charting of the Connecticut River in 1614. The governing body of the Dutch Republic, the States General, granted the Dutch West India Company a charter for a trade monopoly

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<sup>54</sup> Elinor H. Bulkeley Ingersoll, *Connecticut circa 1625: Its Indian Trails, Villages and Sachemdoms* (The Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America, 1934), 6.

in North America in 1621. To solidify its claim, the Dutch West India Company settled a small number of families at Fort Orange (present-day Albany), the mouth of the Connecticut River, and on High Island in the Delaware River in 1624. Eager to capitalize on trade opportunities with the Native peoples of the Connecticut River Valley, the Dutch claimed the territory as part of New Netherland and by 1633, established a fortified trading post known as *Huys de Hoop* (House of Hope) or *Fort de Goede Hoop* (Fort Good Hope) at modern-day Hartford.

However, the monopoly hoped for by the Dutch Republic was not to be, for in the same year English settlers from Plymouth Colony set up their own trading post a few miles north at what will become the town of Windsor. Shortly after, with permission from the Massachusetts General Court, Puritans from Massachusetts Bay Colony established additional settlements at Wethersfield (1634) and Hartford (1636), effectively establishing the Colony of Connecticut in 1636. English justification for settlement in lands claimed by the Dutch Republic was based on the so-called “Warwick Patent” signed in 1631 by the president of the Council for New England, Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, which conveyed to certain lords and gentlemen “all that part of New England in America which lyes and extends its self from A River there Called Naraganset River ... to the South Sea.”<sup>55</sup>

Connecticut shared (and argued over) a border with the geographically larger colony of New Netherland, but despite encompassing a much larger territory, New

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<sup>55</sup> Warwick patent copy by John Talcott, circa 1662–1679, Founding Documents of Connecticut, Connecticut State Library. <http://cslib.cdmhost.com/digital/collection/p128501coll11/id/0/rec/1>.

Netherland was continually unable to attract large numbers of settlers and was characterized by a low population in its early years compared with the population of the New England colonies. Its low population can be attributed to the economic boom that the northern Netherlands experienced in the seventeenth century, which, coupled with religious tolerance that reduced pressure on dissidents, gave no compelling reasons for large numbers of Dutch citizens to risk a treacherous sea voyage for an uncertain future in largely unsettled and dangerous terrain. Dutch control of New Netherland ended with the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the latter half of the seventeenth century. The colony was seized by the English in 1664, rechristened as New York, and permanently ceded by the Dutch in 1674 with the Treaty of Westminster.

Beyond Albany to the north and west lay lands inhabited by the Mohawk, members of the broader Haudenosaunee Confederacy known as the Five Nations (figure 26), an alliance of culturally similar peoples who spoke Iroquoian languages.<sup>56</sup> Occupying a strategically critical geographic position, the Confederacy played a key role in the balance of power in the Northeast, but one that only became significant to the English toward the end of the seventeenth century after they consolidated their control over the former Dutch colony of New Netherland. Before the long and complicated relationship between the English and Haudenosaunee that would characterize the colonial frontier of the eighteenth century was forged, English colonists during the seventeenth century were primarily concerned with the Algonkian peoples who lived in the areas

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<sup>56</sup> Also known as the Iroquois League or Iroquois Confederacy, the Five Nations confederation included the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca nations. In 1722, the Five Nations became the Six Nations, when the Iroquoian-speaking Tuscarora nation joined following displacement from their home in the Carolinas by Anglo-European settlement.

along the eastern seaboard and increasingly inland in territories the English sought to claim as their own.

### *Uneasy Neighbors*

By 1640, the best lands in the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield were taken, and residents looked to expand into the surrounding countryside with new plantations. On January 16, 1639/40, the General Court at Hartford called together a committee of six men to “view those parts by Vnxus Sepus wch may be suitable for those purposes.”<sup>57</sup> At the next meeting of the Court on February 20, it was noted that the weather made viewing conditions unsuitable, and so the issue was postponed until the June 15 meeting in which the General Court ruled “the prticular Courte is to conclude the conditions for the planting of Tunxis.”<sup>58</sup> No mention is given of who the first planters were, and no records exist for the first few years of the Tunxis plantation before its incorporation as the town of Farmington in December 1645. Farmington’s original 1640 deed no longer exists, but a confirmatory deed signed on April 9, 1650 by two Tunxis sachems, Pethus and Ahamo, was recorded into the town’s land records in 1667.<sup>59</sup>

The confirmatory deed was written by the English and is the first indication of the conflict over land that would repeatedly occur between the Tunxis and the English. By clarifying the terms of the land deal from the English point of view, it reveals the extent

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<sup>57</sup> J. H. Trumbull, ed., *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, unnumbered vol. 1 (Hartford: Brown & Parsons, 1850), 41–42.

<sup>58</sup> Trumbull, 1:52.

<sup>59</sup> Farmington Land Records, vol. 1, p. 2–3.

to which the Tunxis were disadvantaged. Firstly, the deed reminds the Tunxis that in 1636, the magistrates who purchased Hartford from Sequassen bought the “whole county” to the edge of Mohawk Country, which included the area inhabited by the Tunxis, and notes that the English “did in a friendly maner com to termes with the tunekses Indians that som English might com live amongst them.”<sup>60</sup> Initially, the Tunxis lived near town on the eastern bank of the Tunxis (Farmington) River (figure 27) but moved to the west side of the river in 1659.<sup>61</sup> The tract of land located at the river’s bend became known as “Indian Neck” and was quickly subject to trespass by the English, despite its ostensible protection in the 1650 deed. The Tunxis petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly in 1672 to address the issue, and a new agreement in the form of a second confirmatory deed was signed the following year, which specified the town’s boundaries, and affirmed in a postscript that Indian Neck belonged to the Tunxis.<sup>62</sup> Two hundred acres of upland were granted to the Tunxis who, according to the Council at Hartford in 1675, “thankfully attended to set their wigwams where the authority apoynts.”<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Farmington Land Records, vol. 1, p. 2. The Hartford magistrates’ claim to legal title by the 1636 agreement is undercut by the fact that they had to negotiate the 1640 land deal with the Tunxis in the first place.

<sup>61</sup> Christopher P. Bickford, *Farmington in Connecticut* (Canaan, NH: Published for the Farmington Historical Society by Phoenix Publishing, 1982), 45.

<sup>62</sup> Petition of Tunxis Indians to Connecticut General Assembly, May 13, 1672, and Copy of Confirmation of Tunxis Indian Deed, May 22, 1673, New England Indian Papers Series, Yale Indian Papers Project. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2977>.

<sup>63</sup> J. H. Trumbull, ed., *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, unnumbered vol. 2 (Hartford: F. A. Brown, 1852), 376.

Despite the second confirmatory deed, the rights to Indian Neck remained unresolved and in 1767, a Tunxis man named James Wawowos petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly on behalf of the Tunxis people for the return of lands there taken by the English. Summoned to defend the claim of Farmington resident Daniel Curtis were Zebulon and Sarah Woodruff, who sold Curtis the land after Sarah inherited it from her father.<sup>64</sup> The petition illustrates continuing strained relations between the Indigenous residents of the Connecticut River Valley and the English colonizers, which might suggest a certain physical and cultural distance kept between English and Native peoples. However, the reality of everyday life was, of course, far more complex and intertwined, as Indigenous communities adapted to the growing European population.

The situation regarding land was no less complicated in Iroquoia, the land in what is now western New York south of Lake Ontario and between the Genesee River and Mohawk River valleys (figure 26).<sup>65</sup> As the easternmost members of the Confederacy, the Mohawk had the greatest amount of direct contact with European colonists, beginning in the early seventeenth century with Dutch and French traders. Comparative proximity to European settlements meant that in addition to direct access to desirable European trade goods, the Mohawk were also first among the Five Nations to suffer massive population declines due to European diseases, with the first epidemic occurring in 1633.<sup>66</sup> The

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<sup>64</sup> Summons for Zebulon and Sarah Woodruff, October 7, 1768, New England Indian Papers Series, Yale Indian Papers Project. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/2559>.

<sup>65</sup> Prior to their conquest by the Five Nations during the Beaver Wars of the seventeenth century, the Erie and Wenro peoples lived in the territory between the Genesee River and Lake Erie.

<sup>66</sup> Eric E. Jones, "Population History of the Onondaga and Oneida Iroquois, A.D. 1500–1700," *American Antiquity* 75, no. 2 (April 2010): 400.

Indigenous population in the Mohawk River Valley dropped further in the second half of the seventeenth century, as many surviving Mohawks moved farther north to communities along the Saint Lawrence River and converted to Catholicism, though they maintained ties with their kin remaining in the Mohawk River Valley and elsewhere in the Five Nations.<sup>67</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century, Dutch, English, and Palatine German settlements had spread from Albany as far west as German Flatts, over eighty miles up the Mohawk River from where it feeds into the Hudson just north of Albany. Though squatting and trespassing was a perennial problem, the incursion of colonists into the Mohawk River Valley was not a free-for-all land grab. Historian Alan Taylor describes the Mohawk strategy of leasing or selling land for higher prices to carefully selected customers as one that “sought to preserve their autonomy within a land transformed by growing numbers of settlers.”<sup>68</sup>

No one benefitted from this policy more than the Crown’s Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the northern colonies, Sir William Johnson. Johnson cultivated a relationship with the Six Nations—the Mohawk in particular—that granted him enormous wealth, influence, and power. The alliance between the British colonies and the Haudenosaunee was based on a 1613 agreement originally negotiated between the Mohawk and a Dutch trader. The treaty supported peace, stability, and the facilitation of commerce between two parties that were characterized in oral tradition as independent

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<sup>67</sup> David L. Preston, *The Texture of Contact: European and Indian Settler Communities on the Frontiers of Iroquoia, 1667–1783* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 29.

<sup>68</sup> Alan Taylor, *The Divided Ground: Indians, Settlers and the Northern Borderland of the American Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), 40.

yet equal; bound together by a chain of mutual support and defense.<sup>69</sup> Almost immediately after the British took over New Netherland from the Dutch in 1664, English officials sought to take the place of the Dutch in this “Covenant Chain,” assuring the Haudenosaunee that trade would continue as before, and both sides pledging that offenses committed by either settlers or “Indians” would be investigated and receive satisfaction by all parties.<sup>70</sup> Johnson succeeded as a mediator in part due to his willingness to respect Haudenosaunee autonomy and diplomatic traditions such as hosting councils to demonstrate goodwill and covering the graves of settlers killed in Six Nations territory.<sup>71</sup> Not all colonial officials were comfortable following Native diplomatic traditions though, and a widespread opinion held that the Haudenosaunee, along with other Indigenous peoples, were British subjects, bound by British laws and customs. For most of the eighteenth century, the Six Nations were comparatively insulated from the imposition of British culture; however, they still felt many of the same effects of colonization that the Algonkian peoples farther east contended with.

Beyond the loss of their lands, throughout the Northeast, Native people experienced sweeping political and social changes resulting from colonization. Thrust

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<sup>69</sup> Jon Parmenter, “The Meaning of Kaswentha and the Two Row Wampum Belt in Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) History: Can Indigenous Oral Tradition Be Reconciled with the Documentary Record?,” *Journal of Early American History* 3 (2013): 100–109.

<sup>70</sup> Parmenter, 97.

<sup>71</sup> The Haudenosaunee did not have a legal system for trying and punishing murder. Instead, murders were customarily settled by either revenge killing, in which the deceased party’s male kin tracked down and executed the murderer, or by “covering the grave.” In this alternative, harmony was restored in a public ceremony where the family of the deceased accepted gifts from the killer’s family, “covering the grave” and the memory of the death in exchange for forfeiting their right to enact revenge.

into a system that worked to dispossess and marginalize them, many struggled with poverty and sold themselves into indentured servitude to pay off debts run up with merchants in order to feed and clothe themselves.<sup>72</sup> In 1723, John Pagatoon and his wife Sarah were arrested for breaking the terms of their indenture to Thomas Reves of Southold, Long Island by running away to Hartford. John Pagatoon's examination reveals the web of debts in which many poor Indigenous people found themselves entangled:

Ques: John Pagatoon are you this Thomas Reves servant?

Ans: He paid so much money for me.

Ques: How much?

Ans: A little better than thirty pounds

Ques: Why did Reves pay for much for you?

Ans: I owed another man so much and he has answered it for me to that man and I promised to serve him for it.

And further the said Pagatoon saith he bought him of another man to whom he was bound by indenture and said Reve bought the indentures and gave for him 100 gallons of rum and 100 gallons of molasses.<sup>73</sup>

Perhaps eager to rid himself of such a troublesome pair of servants, at the time Pagatoon and his wife were arrested, Thomas Reves gave his consent for Pagatoon to indenture himself, his wife, and their infant son Sampson to Joseph Bigelow of Hartford. Bigelow agreed to provide "sufficient meat, drink, apparel & lodging suitable for his servants," and to settle John and Sarah's fifty-pound debt with Reves.<sup>74</sup> John and Sarah's bond to Joseph Bigelow stipulated that they would not "absent themselves" from service without

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<sup>72</sup> David J. Silverman, "The Impact of Indentured Servitude on the Society and Culture of Southern New England Indians, 1680–1810," *The New England Quarterly* 74, no. 4 (December 2001): 664.

<sup>73</sup> Examination of John Pagatoon, July 13, 1723, New England Indian Papers Series, Yale Indian Papers Project. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/3504>.

<sup>74</sup> Indenture of John Pagatoon, July 12, 1723, New England Indian Papers Series, Yale Indian Papers Project. <http://hdl.handle.net/10079/digcoll/3507>.

their master's consent, a condition clearly included because of their history of flight, but further conditions of indenture were frequently included in bonds, with one of the most common for children and adolescents (who came of age during their terms) being a prohibition on marriage without their master's consent. The church record for the 1754 marriage between Isaac Whisck and Jerusha Woobbunn notes that both are Indians under the protection of Zebulon Woodruff, Isaac's master, implying that Zebulon gave his permission for the two to marry.<sup>75</sup>

Colonial governments considered Native people subject to English law when they were within the bounds of English plantations, and Connecticut Colony's 1650 Code of Laws reveals the anxieties of government officials over threats posed by Indigenous people within colonial communities:

Forasmuch as out leniency and gentleness towards Indians hath made them grow bold and insolent, to enter into Englishmen's houses and unadvisedly handle swords and pieces and other instruments, many times to the hazard of limbs or lives of English or Indians, and also often steal diverse goods out of such houses where they resort.<sup>76</sup>

In this section of the Code, we can also see one of the primary concerns of the English regarding interactions (particularly trade) with Indigenous people: how to keep from them goods that the English felt might cause trouble, chiefly guns and alcohol. The rationale behind laws prohibiting the sale, trade, or repair of guns to or belonging to Native people is easily understood as an attempt by the English to minimize risk to colonists by preventing Native people from accessing firearms. Regulating the sale of

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<sup>75</sup> Frederic W. Bailey, *Early Connecticut Marriages as Found on Ancient Church Records Prior to 1800*, bk. 4 (New Haven: Bureau of American Ancestry, 1896), 12.

<sup>76</sup> Trumbull, *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, 1850, 1:529.

spirituous liquors was a perennial concern in colonial New England, particularly with regard to Native people, as officials felt the “crying sin of drunkenness reigns amongst them,” endangering the “lives and peace both of the English and Indians.”<sup>77</sup> Despite anxious hand-wringing by the courts and more teetotaling colonists over public intoxication, and despite fines levied upon those who provided Native people with alcohol, the trade in liquor continued. In his book about the effects of the liquor trade on Indigenous communities in early America, Peter Mancall notes that “statutes devised by colonial legislators stressed the three most common consequences of the liquor trade: it interfered with the cultural conversions of Indians; it threatened the safety of colonists; and it endangered peaceful relations between colonists and Indians, especially in the western borderlands.”<sup>78</sup>

The cultural conversion Mancall mentions is defined by conversion to Christianity. While the Puritans did not pursue conversion with the same zeal as the Catholic orders in New France and New Spain, the importance of conversion to the English quest to “civilize” the Indigenous population should not be underestimated. Villages known as “praying towns” were established in Massachusetts Bay Colony during the seventeenth century to convert local Native people. Praying towns were the brainchild of John Eliot, the famed “Apostle to the Indians,” who served as a missionary, translator, and teacher to the Native people of Massachusetts in the mid-to-late seventeenth century. Eliot predicated his missionary work on the assumption that Native

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<sup>77</sup> Trumbull, 1:263.

<sup>78</sup> Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 109.

people wanted to emulate the English way of life and would work to “civilize” and transform themselves once exposed to English customs and religion.<sup>79</sup> Native people living within praying towns were encouraged to adopt English forms of dress, appearance, gender roles, and cultural norms.

Early conversion efforts were a mixed success. By 1675, about 20 percent of the Indigenous population of New England had adopted Christianity, primarily from communities without strong internal cohesion, support, and leadership.<sup>80</sup> In the wake of King Philip’s War, the semiautonomous praying towns were either disbanded or placed under English supervision, as conversion attempts became more paternalistic.

Missionaries residing on tribal reservations assumed the roles of guardian-overseers, which not only gave them control of the church and school but also granted them economic and political power over their purported wards, who were cast in the role of children in perpetual tutelage, incapable of managing their own affairs.<sup>81</sup> Despite the presence of the missionaries and the pressure to conform to English cultural norms, praying towns and other converted Indigenous communities in the eighteenth century became centers of hybridity, where Native ministers led congregations that blended traditional spiritualities and forms of authority with Protestant beliefs and leadership

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<sup>79</sup> Julius H. Rubin, *Tears of Repentance: Christian Indian Identity and Community in Colonial Southern New England* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 27–28.

<sup>80</sup> Jeffrey Mifflin, ““Closing the Circle”: Native American Writings in Colonial New England, a Documentary Nexus between Acculturation and Cultural Preservation,” *The American Archivist* 72, no. 2 (2009): 352.

<sup>81</sup> Rubin, *Tears of Repentance*, 99.

positions. Consequently, new tribes emerged as various Christianized peoples came together.<sup>82</sup>

There is a tendency to look at the colonial period like watching a horror movie, where decisions made by the characters (and mishaps they suffer) so clearly seal their doom to us, the audience, who have the benefit of knowing how narrative tropes play out. Similarly, with the advantage of the long view, we can subjectively interpret interactions between Native people and European colonizers as “good” or “bad” for Native people and view the bad ones as accumulating pieces in a long process of disenfranchisement and subordination. But it is important to keep in mind that people generally don’t see their everyday actions as part of *History*, or evidence in some later historian’s statistical analysis of a period. To lean into the trope of Indigenous North Americans as passive victims of European domination hews uncomfortably towards a deterministic viewpoint that removes individual agency from the Native people who were just trying to live their lives. When they felt their lives (or their interests in general) were threatened, many Native peoples took up arms—sometimes with and sometimes against the European colonizers.

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<sup>82</sup> The Stockbridge-Munsee Community was formed from the Mahican confederation and the Munsee of the Leni Lenape. In the late eighteenth century, they came together to form a praying town at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The Brothertown Indians also formed in the late eighteenth century from members of the “Christian” tribes of lower New England, including Mohegan, Pequot, Niantic, Narragansett, and Tunxis. Both the Stockbridge-Munsee and the Brothertown Indians migrated to the Oneida reservation following the American Revolution but succumbed to pressure by the United States government to sell their lands and moved to Wisconsin in the 1830s.

## *Conflict*

The involvement of Native peoples in armed conflict with European colonists is too complicated a topic to cover in this thesis but is still worth a brief discussion because the conflicts can provide a rough outline of the shifting alliances and political power of the groups involved. It is easy to think of colonial North America as a theater for “Native vs. European” conflict, particularly in light of the contentious interactions discussed in the previous section. Such simplistic thinking, however, ignores the deep-seated politics in play among the Indigenous peoples of the Northeast. Just as European colonizers exploited the political alliances and rivalries between Native people, Native people exploited European alliances and rivalries in kind.

While Connecticut was still officially part of Massachusetts Bay Colony, it became embroiled in the Pequot War of 1636–38, the first large-scale conflict between colonists and Indigenous peoples in the northern English colonies. The Pequot War was a result of escalating tensions between the English colonies and the Pequots of southeastern Connecticut over trade, with the immediate catalyst for armed conflict being the July 1636 murder of trader John Oldham on Block Island and suspected Pequot sheltering of the murderers.<sup>83</sup> Following escalating retaliatory raids by the Pequots and their allies, the Western Niantic, the war’s defining moment was the Mistick Fort massacre, in which the English, along with their Narragansett, Mohegan, and Connecticut River allies, attacked a fortified Pequot village near the Mistick (Mystic) River and slaughtered the more than

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<sup>83</sup> The roots of the Pequot War are more complex than a straightforward trade dispute between two groups, and are discussed by Alfred A. Cave in *The Pequot War* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996) and “Who Killed John Stone? A Note on the Origins of the Pequot War,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 49, no. 3 (1992), 509–521.

400 men, women, and children inside. After the massacre of Mistick Fort, the Pequots began to abandon their villages, fleeing westward in hopes of taking refuge with the Mohawk of eastern New York and other tribes in the region. The war was essentially ended when the Mohawk killed Sassacus—the Pequot’s chief sachem—and sent his head to the English. Following the Treaty of Hartford in 1638, the remaining Pequot were dispersed among the Mohegan and Narragansett, dissolving the Pequots as a political entity.

Though the colony of New Netherland was engulfed in Kieft’s War from 1643 to 1645, the New England colonies saw no further large-scale conflicts until 1675 and the outbreak of King Philip’s War. As in the earlier Pequot War, the web of alliances in King Philip’s War reveals the complexity of English-Algonkian relations by the late seventeenth century, one which was defined by political alliances as opposed to race. This can be seen during King Philip’s War when Philip and hundreds of his allies sought refuge in the colony of New York in the winter of 1675–76, taking advantage of its royalist Governor Andros’s disdain for the independent New England Confederation, and New York’s border disputes with neighboring Connecticut.<sup>84</sup> Ultimately, Philip’s hopes that political tensions between the Confederation and New York would advantage him were in vain, as his encampment was attacked by the Mohawk, who were the traditional enemy of many Northeastern Algonkians. The raid was one of several major setbacks that led to Philip’s death and the eventual defeat of his allied forces in the southern theater in

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<sup>84</sup> Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 130–31.

1676. With the Northeastern Algonkians decimated, the Mohawk emerged as the principal Indigenous power in a territory stretching from their valley in New York south and east to central Massachusetts and north to the Saint Lawrence River.<sup>85</sup>

Northeastern Algonkian peoples had long lived in fear of the Mohawk, the easternmost members of the Haudenosaunee Confederation. Upon the cessation of constant warfare in the mid-fifteenth century, the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca founded the Confederation and established a constitution known as the Great Law of Peace.<sup>86</sup> With the reduction in internal conflict, the Five Nations were able to turn their focus outward to neighboring Algonkian as well as other Iroquoian peoples, including the Wyandot and Erie. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Haudenosaunee waged a series of wars against New France and its Indigenous allies, commonly known as the Beaver Wars, after the dominant interpretation wherein their primary motivation for such extensive warfare was for control of the lucrative fur trade.<sup>87</sup>

From 1754 to 1763, British America and its allies fought against New France in the conflict known as the French and Indian War, the last in the series of four North

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<sup>85</sup> Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 135–36. King Philip’s War was devastating to the Northeastern Algonkians, reducing their numbers from 25 percent of New England’s population to around 8–12 percent. Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King*, 241.

<sup>86</sup> The Great Law of Peace was initially an oral constitution, in which laws and ceremonies were told as part of a narrative, whose meaning was conveyed via wampum belts. Versions of the narrative were later transcribed in translations as well as in the languages of the member nations. Narrative and spelling variations exist, but common points remain across all versions.

<sup>87</sup> The economic theory as the primary motivation behind the so-called Beaver Wars is disputed by José Antônio Brandão in his book *“Your Fyre Shall Burn No More”: Iroquois Policy toward New France and Its Native Allies to 1701* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), where he argues instead for cultural practices related to war, and provocation by French expansion.

American conflicts that occurred from 1688 to 1763 between the French, British, and their respective Indigenous allies. Despite an ostensible alliance with the British by the agreement dating back to the seventeenth century known as the “Covenant Chain,” the Haudenosaunee adopted a position of neutrality after 1701, one that “greatly minimized the effect of intercolonial warfare on their population base yet also preserved their reputation among colonists and other native groups as fearsome antagonists and exerted a profound shaping influence on the course of conflicts in northeastern North America.”<sup>88</sup> Neutrality on the part of the Six Nations did not mean discontinuing military engagements, but rather a strategized participation as French and British allies so that the Haudenosaunee could maintain their reputation for military prowess, as well as serve their own best interests. For the first part of the French and Indian War, the Six Nations maintained this position, but their neutrality began to erode around 1757–58, as they became increasingly discontent with the French as allies, and instead looked to a British alliance as a way to further their interests.<sup>89</sup>

Maintaining the Covenant Chain became even more difficult after the French and Indian War resulted in Britain emerging as the dominant colonial power in eastern North America. Tensions between Native people and the British regarding colonial expansion and British policies mounted as colonial leaders no longer courted the support of the Six Nations in their military endeavors, and instead looked to their lands as prime targets for

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<sup>88</sup> Jon Parmenter, “After the Mourning Wars: The Iroquois as Allies in Colonial North American Campaigns, 1676–1760,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64, no. 1 (2007): 40.

<sup>89</sup> Parmenter, 70–76. Whether fighting for the French or English, Haudenosaunee participation in the war was comparatively low—enough to be visible as allies and gain diplomatic leverage at the end of the war, but not so much that they risked large numbers of casualties.

speculation and settlement. Sir William Johnson attempted to mediate between settlers and Natives (and strengthen his position as the primary intermediary) by championing a border line between Native and colonial lands. The resulting Proclamation Line of 1763 was pushed west in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix, though neither effectively protected the lands of the Six Nations from settlers. To those colonists who identified with the Patriot cause in the lead-up to the American Revolution, however, Johnson's alliance with—and support of the rights of—the Six Nations as sovereign allies of the Crown was not only a threat to colonial liberty (which they equated with the acquisition of Native lands) but also a betrayal of the racial hierarchy favored by Patriots.<sup>90</sup>

Caught between two forces, neither of which ultimately had their best interests at heart, the members of the Six Nations adopted strategies during the American Revolution that they hoped would secure their status with the victors. Unable to maintain neutrality, the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca supported British efforts, while the Oneida and Tuscarora allied with the Patriots in hopes of protecting their lands in the event of an American victory. Whether allied to the British or Patriots, the Revolutionary War devastated all of the Six Nations, as its villages were raided and destroyed, its people displaced and diminished, and its lands flooded by settlers looking to carve their own properties out of the chaos.

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<sup>90</sup> Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 79.

### *Farmington and the Woodruff Family*

Thus was the wider historical context in which the Woodruff family lived. Opportunities abounded for any of Martha Woodruff's ancestors to acquire the moccasins, yet despite the presence of Tunxis and other Indigenous peoples in and around Farmington during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, written records of their material exchanges with English colonists almost uniformly show the English receiving raw goods, including corn, animal skins, and meat over crafted items. Despite lacking clear evidence of the sort of Native-Colonist trade interaction which would support the claim of a seventeenth-century manufacture date for the Woodruff moccasins, colonial records are extremely valuable for what they do reveal regarding the lives of the Woodruff family.

After its incorporation, Farmington kept books of both town meeting records and land records, but unfortunately, the first book of town meeting records has not survived, as the book lost its binding and was not rebound. Instead, clerks transcribed some entries from the first volume into the second, which began in 1682. The land record books are more complete, with the first volume beginning in 1645. Matthew Woodruff Sr. first shows up in the Farmington records in a February 1653 land transaction.<sup>91</sup> His wife, Hannah, and two young daughters, Hannah and Elizabeth, joined the Farmington Church

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<sup>91</sup> Farmington Land Records, vol. 2, p. 28.

on August 2, 1654; however, his sons, Matthew Jr. and John, did not join until May 1658.<sup>92</sup>

Matthew Sr., like most other residents of the rural village, was a farmer. In 1663, the Hartford County Court called on his son to resolve an issue involving the family's cattle. Roaming cattle were a major problem in colonial towns, breaking fences, eating and trampling crops, and generally causing a lot of costly damage for the unfortunate farmer onto whose lands they wandered. Once caught, the cattle were driven to the pound, and the owners had to pay a fine for their release, as well as compensation for any damages caused by the cattle. While William Smith, the unfortunate farmer in the 1663 incident, was driving the rounded-up cattle to the pound, Matthew Jr. and two other men, whose cattle were part of the roaming herd, accosted Smith and rescued their cattle. Smith took the men to court, where they were found guilty and fined. However, the fines to Smith were remitted, as "upon the motion of some friends[,] the parties above sd doe each of them forgive each other, & engage each of them [&?] beare there one charges," and the court only fined the parties 10s each, to be paid to the public treasury.<sup>93</sup> Matthew Sr. was an active member of the community and, along with his wife, was listed as in full communion with the church on March 1, 1679/80.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> First Congregational Church (Farmington, Connecticut). "Farmington Congregational Church Records, vol. 1, 1652–1730," p. 40, baptism of Hannah (Sr.), Hannah (Jr.), and Elizabeth Woodruff, and p. 50, baptism of John and Matthew Woodruff; FHL microfilm 4241.

<sup>93</sup> Hartford district, Connecticut. "Probate records v. 2. 1649–1663; v. 3. 1663–1677," p. 3, judgment of Wm Smith vs. Wm Smith, Thomas Judd, and Matthew Woodruff Jr., Hartford Quarter Court, June 4, 1663, FHL microfilm 4572.

<sup>94</sup> First Congregational Church (Farmington, Connecticut). "Farmington Congregational Church Records, vol. 1, 1652–1730," p. 101.

Upon his death in late 1682, Matthew Sr.'s will divided his lands among his sons, with his youngest son Samuel receiving the family homestead, livestock, and farming equipment, while his wife was given "two cows — one ffether bedd and all the furnetur belonging to itt with the rest off my movabls in my house."<sup>95</sup> Though his estate was inventoried and valued at £251, 10s,<sup>96</sup> his movable goods were not inventoried separately, so we don't know what type of goods he left to his wife, and if they included any items made by the local Tunxis. Both Matthew Jr. and John's estates were inventoried when they died about ten years later, though neither inventory provides substantial insight into the goods they owned.<sup>97</sup> Colonists were not the only ones who utilized the probate system to ensure the distribution of lands and worldly possessions according to individual wishes. Similar to how many Native people quickly adapted to utilizing the colonial court system to address their complaints regarding land rights, some sought to protect their property and interests through the probate system. In her 1999 article for *Connecticut History*, Katherine Hermes identifies eight instances of estates in Connecticut probate records prior to 1747 where the decedent is explicitly identified as "Indian," and while most of the wills concern the distribution and sale of land, the inventory of Sarah

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<sup>95</sup> Hartford district, Connecticut, Probate files collection, early to 1880, no. 6248, Farmington (1682), will and inventory of Matthew Woodruff, Sr.; FHL microfilm 1022276.

<sup>96</sup> The approximate equivalent of £28,784.12 in 2017 according to The National Archives' Currency Converter. <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter>.

<sup>97</sup> Hartford district, Connecticut, Probate files collection, early to 1880, no. 6249 Farmington (1691), will and inventory of Matthew Woodruff, Jr., and no. 6242 (1692), will and inventory of John Woodruff; FHL microfilm 1022276.

Hopewell's estate in 1704 lists her movable goods, including clothing.<sup>98</sup> The shoes mentioned could be moccasins, but could just as easily be European-style shoes, especially given the other textiles and European articles of clothing recorded in the inventory.

Despite their value in documenting the material lives and relationships of their subjects, probate records are not without their own biases. Appraisers, appointed by a judge, were usually neighbors of the decedent and valued the decedent's goods and property according to what they could be expected to bring at a sale. The main issue in this system is immediately apparent: what goods should be counted in an appraisal? Comparisons between archeological finds and probate records reveal how probate records often omitted items considered to be of low value, such as homemade household items, earthenware dishes, or goods not truly belonging to the decedent, such as sewing tools and toys.<sup>99</sup> In the case of Matthew Woodruff Jr.'s inventory, the "wareing cloathes of his first wiffe" are included in his estate inventory, but since he did not leave a will, we have no indication as to whether he intended his daughters by his first wife to inherit her clothing. If her clothing had only sentimental, not market, value, it might not have been inventoried. Similarly, any goods made by Tunxis or other Native people might have been determined to have no market value, and as such, not worth inventorying.

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<sup>98</sup> Katherine Hermes, "'By Their Desire Recorded': Native American Wills and Estate Papers in Colonial Connecticut," *Connecticut History* 38, no. 2 (1999): 158.

<sup>99</sup> John Bedell, "Archaeology and Probate Inventories in the Study of Eighteenth-Century Life," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 2 (October 2000): 224; Holly V. Iazard, "Random or Systematic?: An Evaluation of the Probate Process," *Winterthur Portfolio* 32, no. 2/3 (July 1997): 154.

Even though Native-made goods are absent or at least, difficult to identify conclusively in probate records, we know that many Indigenous people made ends meet by selling woven baskets, chair seats, brooms, and woodenware to colonists.<sup>100</sup> Oral histories recorded in the late nineteenth century provide valuable insights into the lives and economies of Indigenous peoples, supplementing documentary sources. While it is possible that evidence for the sale of moccasins by Native people in Connecticut exists among the myriad town archives, newspaper accounts, local histories, oral histories, merchant account books, diaries, probate records, travel stories, and other sources, I did not encounter any such evidence in the course of my own research. But, as noted by Eva Butler in her addendum to anthropologist Frank Speck's survey of Eastern Algonkian stamped baskets, "a great many records often have to be searched for a small amount of information," so this absence of evidence should not necessarily be taken as evidence of absence.<sup>101</sup>

### *Woodruffs in New York*

Following the American Revolution, the story of the Woodruff family moved from Connecticut to New York, where we find the most likely situation by which the moccasins were acquired. By 1800, Isaac Woodruff lived in the newly formed town of Litchfield, outside of German Flatts in Herkimer County, where his son, James was most

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<sup>100</sup> Donna Keith Baron, J. Edward Hood, and Holly V. Izard, "They Were Here All Along: The Native American Presence in Lower-Central New England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (July 1996): 576.

<sup>101</sup> Eva L. Butler, "Some Early Indian Basketmakers of Southern New England," in *Eastern Algonkian Block-Stamp Decoration*, by Frank G. Speck (Trenton, New Jersey: The Archaeological Society of New Jersey, 1947), 39.

likely born in 1791.<sup>102</sup> Isaac was part of a large migration of people from Connecticut and Massachusetts who moved into lands newly available due to treaties and land deals with the Haudenosaunee that greatly reduced Six Nations territories. He bought 125 acres on lot twenty-four of Bayard's Patent in the mid-1790s from John Tayler, a merchant and agent for New York's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, but sold his parcel in 1808 and with his family, moved farther west to the township of Locke in Cayuga County.<sup>103</sup>

Cayuga County formed part of the Central New York Military Tract, the nearly two million acres of land bounties set aside in 1782 for soldiers who served in the Revolutionary War. Major General John Sullivan's 1779 scorched-earth invasion into the Finger Lakes region on behalf of the Patriots revealed the fertility of the region, and as they burned forty Haudenosaunee villages, many soldiers envisioned themselves returning to the area as settlers after the war.<sup>104</sup> Beyond the Sullivan Expedition, all Haudenosaunee, regardless of alliances, suffered devastating raids during the war, which forced large numbers into refugee camps where they were subject to malnutrition and disease, further depleting the population. Eager to prevent the Six Nations from capitalizing on the weakened state of the new nation following the Revolution by allying with the British, the American government invited Haudenosaunee people who remained

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<sup>102</sup> Isaac Woodruff had a large family. He married three times and had children with each of his wives. His first wife, Sarah Woodruff, was also his third cousin. Judging from the birth dates of Isaac's children, Sarah died within a few years of the birth of James, their seventh child and Martha Woodruff's grandfather. Isaac went on to have four children by his second wife, Sally Bolton, and four children by his third wife, Lydia Cutler.

<sup>103</sup> Isaac Woodruff to John Tayler, January 12, 1808, document 3136, box 1, folder 10, John Tayler papers, 1688–1871, SC20183, New York State Library, Albany.

<sup>104</sup> Taylor, *The Divided Ground*, 98.

at the border region of Niagara to return to their homelands, with the goal of isolating Six Nations peoples on disconnected reservations deep in American territory, surrounded by colonizing settler communities.<sup>105</sup> Figure 28 shows a section of John Ogden Dey's 1825 map of the western part of New York, modified to highlight Haudenosaunee reservations as well as locations significant to the Woodruff family story. The map reveals the extent to which Haudenosaunee lands had been reduced and broken up by land deals in the late eighteenth century. Small reservations for the Cayuga and Onondaga were established around the north of Cayuga Lake and just south of modern-day Syracuse, respectively. Following the war, some Cayuga returned to their homelands, but by the late 1700s, most had sold their lands and departed from the area, functionally dissolving the reservation on Cayuga Lake.

Roughly twenty-three miles away from Locke as the crow flies, only the Onondaga reservation was left as the closest to where James Woodruff lived during the time in which he might have acquired the moccasins. But the reservation's relative proximity should not be seen as the probable origin of the moccasins, as it was still about a day's journey away, and it is not known whether James would have ever had reason to travel through the reservation. We should also not assume that a reservation was his only local opportunity to purchase moccasins, as Native presence in the Finger Lakes region did not disappear completely as many families moved away, but the population statistics were grim: by 1791, about 130 Cayugas and 180 Onondagas had returned to the area.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Taylor, 118.

<sup>106</sup> Taylor, 134.

Opportunities for James Woodruff to encounter members of the Six Nations were far better during his time as a soldier on the Niagara Campaign during the War of 1812.

James mustered-in to the Cayuga county militia at Locke on September 8, 1813 and spent the duration of his three-month term at Fort George, a fortification on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, nearly opposite Fort Niagara.<sup>107</sup> Built by the British in the last years of the eighteenth century after treaties required them to withdraw from Fort Niagara, Fort George was taken by American forces during the Battle of Fort George in May 1813. The Americans intended to use it as a base for an invasion of Upper Canada. Attempts to push farther into Canada from that location were, however, unsuccessful, and militia forces were raised to reinforce Fort George, as the main body of regular troops were withdrawn for Major General James Wilkinson's ultimately failed expedition to capture Montreal. By mid-October, Brigadier General George McClure had "about one thousand effective militia in Fort George, and two hundred and fifty Indians, a force not more than sufficient to garrison the post."<sup>108</sup> By December, the terms of service for the militia had ended, and inclement living conditions, along with partial wages, meant that militiamen could not be convinced to continue in service, and most returned to their homes, including James Woodruff.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Claim 11057 (James Woodruff), New York State Adjutant General's Office Claim Applications for Service in the War of 1812, series A3352, microfilm roll 57, New York State Archives, Albany.

<sup>108</sup> E. Cruikshank, ed., *The Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier in 1812-14*, Vol. IX (Welland, Ontario: The Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1908), 49.

<sup>109</sup> E. Cruikshank, ed., *The Documentary History of the Campaigns upon the Niagara Frontier in the Year 1813, Part IV* (Welland, Ontario: The Lundy's Lane Historical Society, 1907), 264.

While garrisoned at Fort George, James would have been in close proximity to the Haudenosaunee who joined the American war effort, which opens up the possibility of him acquiring the moccasins at this time. The acquisition of the moccasins from a Haudenosaunee person here rather than in a mercantile setting closer to home could be supported by the modifications to the moccasins if they were made by James (or his wife) to accommodate his larger foot size. This also hints at the possibility of a more personal exchange between James and the unknown owner of the moccasins, even if the exchange was ultimately transactional. Perhaps the moccasins had some sentimental value that made James want to wear them, rather than simply keep them as a wartime curio, but their true significance, like most details about how he acquired the moccasins, is impossible to know for sure. The fact that James wore the moccasins often enough for the leather sole to show evidence of such on the heel and sole, as seen in figure 10, reveals the shifting boundary between “English” and “Indian” attire that begins to occur in the late eighteenth century.

#### CLOTHES MAKE THE MAN

##### *Costume in Puritan New England*

Central to understanding the English fascination with—and apprehension regarding—Indigenous clothing and appearance is the role of cloth and clothing in early modern England. In the seventeenth century, as now, clothing communicated a great deal of information about the wearer: their gender, age, wealth, social status, rank, political affiliations, religious beliefs, and—in North America, where Native peoples did not

produce woven cloth—their ethnicity.<sup>110</sup> Clothing was also thought to have transformative powers. Not only did it mark the passage from child to adult, bound servant to freeman, pagan to Christian, but it caused the wearers to embody the roles they now outwardly assumed. Identity was thus assigned and communicated by signs like clothing but was also reciprocally shaped by outward appearance.<sup>111</sup> Because of its dual power to both mark and transform, clothing was an abiding preoccupation throughout the colonies, but in New England, the Puritan roots of the colonies presented more reasons to scrutinize dress.

The New England colonies, Massachusetts Bay Colony in particular, were unique compared to other early North American colonies, as dissident religious beliefs formed their societal and political foundations. This is not to say that religion wasn't deeply important to other colonies—Jesuit missionaries were an important part of French and Spanish colonies—but the Puritan colonies in New England intended to stand as a unique moral beacon for the rest of the world to see, by working together for the betterment of the community, which was a reflection of Puritan ideals. Emphasis on unity meant that nonconformity did not just reflect poorly on the community but posed a potential existential threat. By adhering to a particular dress code that differed so dramatically from the prevailing court style under Charles I in England, Puritans visually

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<sup>110</sup> Ann M. Little, “‘Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman’s Coat On!’: Cultural Cross-Dressing on the New England Frontier, 1620–1760,” *The New England Quarterly* 74, no. 2 (June 2001): 240.

<sup>111</sup> Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “Presentment of Civility: English Reading of American Self-Presentation in the Early Years of Colonization,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (January 1997): 222.

demonstrated their religious and political beliefs, as well as reinforced their group identity.

For certain Protestant denominations such as the Brownist Separatists, Baptists, Puritans, and Quakers, clothing also reflected a person's character; therefore plain, modest dress indicated one's humility and devotion.<sup>112</sup> Ostentatious dress was a corrupting influence, particularly for common folk, so as early as 1634, the Massachusetts General Court passed the first of several sumptuary laws regulating colonists' dress, targeting "newe & im̄odest fashions" and forbidding decorative apparel including: gold, silver, and silk laces, girdles, or hatbands; clothing with lace on it; slashed clothes (other than one in each sleeve and another in the back); and embroidered or needlework caps and bands. Men were also prohibited from wearing "newe fashions, or longe haire, or any thing of the like nature."<sup>113</sup> Not only did this sort of legislation attempt to maintain moral order, but it also tried to preserve social order in the colony by preventing people from dressing above their rank. In 1651, the General Court acknowledged that these laws "hath not yet taken that efect which where to be desired," but instead excess in dress had spread from the upper to lower classes, so that "men or women of meane condition, educations, & callings should take vppon them the garbe of gentlemen."<sup>114</sup> In an attempt to prevent blurring of social lines, the General Court decided

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<sup>112</sup> Martha L. Finch, *Dissenting Bodies: Corporealities in Early New England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 107.

<sup>113</sup> Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. 1 (Boston: William White, printer to the Commonwealth, 1854), 126.

<sup>114</sup> Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, vol. 3 (Boston: William White, printer to the Commonwealth, 1854), 243.

anyone whose net worth was less than £200 would be fined ten shillings for each offense of wearing gold or silver lace, gold or silver buttons, any bone lace above two shillings per yard, or silk hoods or scarves. Poorly enforced, sumptuary laws failed at regulating appearance, and “by the end of the century, fashionable dress could be worn by any and all who could afford it.”<sup>115</sup>

The failed sumptuary laws are emblematic of the decline of Puritanism in North America beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century. Never achieving the desired uniformity of beliefs and practices among the Anglo population of New England, the power of Puritan leaders further eroded due to increasing religious diversity, the expansion of commerce, and the dissemination of knowledge and information via institutions such as universities and newspapers.<sup>116</sup> Puritanism in North America ended by the 1730s and 1740s with the spiritual revivalism known as the Great Awakening, which saw the emergence of evangelicalism and shaped the face of American Protestantism going forward. Nevertheless, as we shall see, sentiments regarding appearance and identity—specifically as they apply to Indigenous dress—remain remarkably consistent from the seventeenth century through the late eighteenth century.

*“Drest in the Indian manner”*

Beyond social and religious differentiation, clothing served an even more fundamental function as a marker of identity in determining *English* versus “*Indian*” in

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<sup>115</sup> Little, “Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman’s Coat On!,” 242.

<sup>116</sup> Giles Gunn, *The Pragmatist Turn: Religion, the Enlightenment, and the Formation of American Literature* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 62.

colonial New England. While there were occasions when colonists, particularly fur trappers and traders living on the frontier, adopted Indigenous attire, Native people far more commonly wore European clothing. “Cultural cross-dressing” raised an important question for English colonists: how to tell who is English and who is Native. This section looks at what it meant to be “drest in the Indian manner,” and the ways Indigenous clothing was used to construct identities in colonial North America.

Descriptions of the appearances of Algonkian and Haudenosaunee people occur in numerous sources, including letters, travelers’ accounts, and diaries; however, captivity narratives provide the most valuable resource for discerning both the appearances of Native people during the colonial period and Anglo colonists’ perceptions of their appearances. North American captivity narratives became a popular genre beginning with Mary Rowlandson’s 1682 memoir in which she recounts her eleven-week captivity following the raid on Lancaster, Massachusetts by allied Algonkians during King Philip’s War.<sup>117</sup> Rowlandson’s account established the conventions of the genre by describing her ordeal (as well as her captors’ appearances) in great detail, paying particular attention to both their kindness and cruelty—the latter being a reaffirmation of their inherent savagery.

Colonists looked to descriptions of Indigenous appearance to find both similarities and differences with themselves. Like the colonists, Algonkian and Haudenosaunee people used clothing and bodily adornment to differentiate gender, status, origin, and role

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<sup>117</sup> Mary Rowlandson, “The Sovereignty & Goodness of God [...],” in *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1675–1724*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981).

within society, and authors often took great pains to describe the variations of hair, clothing, and adornment they saw.<sup>118</sup> Despite the volume of accounts describing the clothing worn by Indigenous peoples, they were also, rather contradictory, often described as “naked.” In this context, the term naked did not necessarily mean entirely without clothing, but could also mean a lack of familiar clothing, or a lack of adequate defenses against man, nature, or ideas. More importantly, nakedness signified the fundamental difference between “English” and “Indian”: civility versus savagery. The equation of undress with savagery and the civilizing power of clothing was rooted in sixteenth-century interactions between the English and Irish, as were fears of degeneration after Englishmen living in Ireland began to adopt Irish dress, language, and customs.<sup>119</sup> The New World reinvigorated and amplified this fear, particularly in the face of raids where English captives would be forced to live among Native peoples, increasing the possibility of degeneration.

Despite the supposed civilizing power of clothing, colonists often viewed Indigenous people who wore European-style clothes with suspicion. Diplomatic exchanges used gifts of cloth and clothing to cement alliances and reward loyalty throughout the seventeenth century, and Christian Algonkians in praying towns wore English clothing as a sign of their conversion.<sup>120</sup> However, alliances failed, and

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<sup>118</sup> James F. O’Neill, ed., *Their Bearing Is Noble and Proud: A Collection of Narratives Regarding the Appearance of Native Americans from 1740–1815* (Dayton, OH: J.T.G.S. Publishing, 1995).

<sup>119</sup> Wendy Lucas. Castro, “Stripped: Clothing and Identity in Colonial Captivity Narratives,” *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 6, no. 1 (2008): 122–23.

<sup>120</sup> Little, “Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman’s Coat On!,” 251.

conversion did not necessarily guarantee loyalty, so the English could not always tell friend from foe by dress alone. The inability to easily discern loyalty through attire was problematic during conflicts in which one might have Indigenous allies as well as enemies, and during King Philip's War, Connecticut Colony issued regulations for "friendly Indians" so that they would not be fired upon.<sup>121</sup> At one point during Mary Rowlandson's captivity, she saw what at first appeared to be a company of Englishmen on horseback, but as they drew nearer, she realized they were Algonkians wearing "English apparel, with hats, white neckcloths, and sashes about their waists, and ribbons upon their shoulders."<sup>122</sup> Some colonists even viewed the English clothing worn by Native peoples as evidence of an existential threat. Benjamin Thompson's 1676 poem, *New-England's Crisis*, voices Anglo paranoia when the narrator, speaking as King Philip, declares:

Now if you'll fight I'll get you English coats,  
And wine to drink out of their Captains throats.  
The richest merchants houses shall be ours,  
We'll lie no more on mats or dwell in bowers.  
We'll have their silken wives take they our squaws,  
They shall be whipt by virtue of our laws.<sup>123</sup>

While Puritan colonists would agree that the Christianization and civilization of Native peoples was a worthy goal, the potential for disruption to the established social order clearly created an element of unease.

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<sup>121</sup> Trumbull, *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, 1852, 2:272, 359, 376.

<sup>122</sup> Rowlandson, "The Sovereignty & Goodness of God [...]," 58.

<sup>123</sup> Benjamin Thompson, *New-England's Crisis* (Boston, 1676), reprinted in Little, "Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!," 270.

Aside from death, one of the biggest threats posed by captivity was the threat to a colonist's English identity. A common component of captivity narratives is the author's description of being stripped of their clothing—the outward marker of their identity as English and Christian. But clothing was not taken from captives only as booty, or a form of psychological torment. For many captives, being stripped was a precursor to adoption.<sup>124</sup> Captives chosen for adoption often went through a series of ceremonial initiations in which they were first forced to run the gauntlet or otherwise endure ritualized torture before being stripped of their English clothing and painted, washed, styled, redressed in Indigenous clothes, and decorated with piercings or jewelry.<sup>125</sup> Dressing captives in Indigenous clothing had a practical side as well. After his capture in 1745, Nehemiah How recalled how, when given a pair of moccasins by his captors, “I travel'd with abundant more Ease than when I wore my own Shoes.”<sup>126</sup> Moccasins better suited speedy travel across the frontier than hard-heeled English shoes, so prisoners were sometimes given them before a long journey, as in the case of Reverend John Williams, who was given a pair of “Indian shoes to prepare us for travel” by his Mohawk captors following the 1704 Deerfield raid.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Castro, “Stripped,” 107.

<sup>125</sup> Castro, 128; James Axtell, “The White Indians of Colonial America,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (January 1975): 71–72; Little, “Shoot That Rogue, for He Hath an Englishman's Coat On!,” 255.

<sup>126</sup> Nehemiah How, *A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How [...]* (Boston, 1748), 6.

<sup>127</sup> John Williams, “The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion,” in *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1675–1724*, ed. Alden T. Vaughan and Edward W. Clark (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981), 173.

Redressing in an “Indian manner,” even as a matter of practicality, could ultimately be the first step on a path toward assimilation. When Titus King was redressed as part of his adoption in 1755, he noted that he “began to think [he] was an Indian.”<sup>128</sup> Some Anglo captives, particularly those who were taken as children, refused to return home, preferring to stay with their adoptive families. The French-American writer and diplomat J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur mused that life as an adopted captive “cannot be, therefore, so bad as we generally conceive it to be ... for thousands of Europeans are Indians, and we have no examples of even one of those Aborigines having from choice become Europeans!”<sup>129</sup> Between 1677 and 1763, more than 1,600 colonists were held captive, but less than half of them returned home.<sup>130</sup> Some were killed by their captors, and others simply vanished from the record, but many chose to live as French-Canadians, Algonkians, or Haudenosaunee. Eunice Williams, the daughter of Reverend John Williams was one of those who chose to remain. Captured at age seven in the Deerfield raid, Eunice was taken to the Mohawk settlement of Kahnawake in Quebec, where she was adopted into a Mohawk family, and fully assimilated into her new life. Despite her father and brother’s repeated attempts to persuade her to rejoin them in New England

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<sup>128</sup> Titus King, *Narrative of Titus King of Northampton, Mass. A Prisoner of the Indians in Canada, 1755–1758* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1938), 10.

<sup>129</sup> J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer [...]* (London: Printed for Davies & Davis, 1783), 294–95.

<sup>130</sup> Alden T. Vaughan and Daniel K. Richter, “Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605–1763,” *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings* 90 (1980): 58.

following their release, Eunice chose to stay with her Mohawk family.<sup>131</sup> Though we cannot truly know the actual number of English who stayed with their captors and completely assimilated, St. John de Crèvecoeur's assertion—that more English became “Indian” than the inverse—is likely correct. Nevertheless, compared with the Anglo population of the colonies, the number of colonists who assimilated into Eastern Woodlands cultures remains small and appears restricted to those who were captured and chose to remain.

In the seventeenth century, English cultural dominance in the Northeast was far from assured. Culturally ambiguous clothing sent mixed signals about one's ethnicity, and by extension, loyalty. In the immediate aftermath of King Philip's War, when the Woodruff moccasins were allegedly made, colonists in New England remained fearful and suspicious of raids, not only by exiled Algonkians but those remaining in the colonies as well.<sup>132</sup> In this atmosphere, in which deviation from sartorial expectations could be viewed as evidence of moral degeneration or even disloyalty, it seems unlikely that Matthew Woodruff would have much use for a pair of moccasins. Moving forward into the eighteenth century, clothing, identity, and ethnicity remain intertwined in Anglo-American culture. However, by looking at portraits made near the beginning and end of the century, we can see how the connotations of “Indianness” varied.

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<sup>131</sup> The Williams family's experience is the topic of John Demos's book *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994).

<sup>132</sup> Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King*, 241–43.

### *The Four Indian Kings*

In John Verelst's series known as "Four Indian Kings," painted in 1710, we see not only how Indigenous people used European clothing, but how European clothing indicated relative power, status, and civilization. These portraits are of four delegates—three Mohawk and one Mohican—who traveled to the court of Queen Anne in 1710 as part of an attempt by colonists to gain support from both Britain and the Haudenosaunee for a military expedition into New France. The men depicted were not kings, and only one of them (Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row) was a member of the Mohawk council. However, this fiction served both the British and the Six Nations, as the pro-English Haudenosaunee factions and their allies stood to gain access to the fur supply of New France, and the British knew they could not hope to defeat the French in North America without the help of the Six Nations. Though it was clear to many Londoners that the visitors were not monarchs, Queen Anne received the delegates as if they truly were heads of state, and the resulting commissioned paintings convey "both the Indian Kings' authority and their otherness without allowing the one to undermine the other."<sup>133</sup>

The Kings are all dressed in a combination of Indigenous and European clothing. One of the Kings, Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, wears a black suit and burden strap inappropriately worn as a belt under his red mantle (figure 29), while the other three wear only a long white shirt tied with a similar burden strap under theirs (figures 30, 31, and

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<sup>133</sup> Kevin R. Muller, "From Palace to Longhouse: Portraits of the Four Indian Kings in a Transatlantic Context," *American Art* 22, no. 3 (September 2008): 35.

32).<sup>134</sup> Kevin Muller argues that even though their outfits (mantle, linen shirt, black waistcoat, breeches, hose, and shoes) were made by a theatrical tailor, warriors in the North American wilderness did, in fact, wear shirts without breeches, which Verelst either knew already or was told in order to ensure accuracy.<sup>135</sup> Quilled moccasins tied with large red ribbons complete the warriors' ensembles, bearing several similarities to the Woodruff moccasins. The top seam and puckered toe are covered by a long band of red and white quillwork, which is flanked by geometric quillwork designs, similar to a pair of moccasins at the British Museum (figure 33). The designs on the Kings' moccasins, however, are much simpler than those on the later Woodruff moccasins, which may be due to influences and tastes changing over one-hundred-plus years. Although cuffs are turned up, we can see that they are split in the back, and a ribbon wraps around the ankle to secure the moccasins on their wearers' feet. The ribbon's material is not known, but the mantle was described as a "scarlet in-grain cloth mantle." In-grain cloth was made with yarn that was dyed before weaving, and was a superior product to piece-dyed cloth.<sup>136</sup> While the same outfits were made for all the Kings, only Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row wears the hose, waistcoat, and shoes in the portraits, leaving the question as to whether the moccasins were part of the outfits made by the tailor, or if they were brought to England by the delegates.

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<sup>134</sup> Eric Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1996): 506.

<sup>135</sup> Muller, "From Palace to Longhouse," 37.

<sup>136</sup> As quoted from William Smith, Jr., *The History of the Province of New York (1757)*, edited by Michael Kammen (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), in Hinderaker, "The 'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," 491.

During their visit to England, the four men may have been publicized as “kings,” but their statuses were not equal, which is reflected in their attire. As the statesman—indicated by his more-or-less European costume, as well as the wampum belt he offers in alliance—Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row is the most closely aligned with European standards, though certain indecorous details, such as his unbuttoned shirt and coat and beaded belt, ensure he could not be mistaken for an English gentleman. While the Native warrior might possess military prowess, political power—and by extension civilization—is found in the adoption of European ways.<sup>137</sup>

#### *Colonel Guy Johnson*

The “redemptive power of empire” is shown in the Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row’s adoption of European dress, but later in the eighteenth century, we can see Europeans assume the perceived positive aspects of Indigenous cultures by appropriating their attire.<sup>138</sup> In 1776, Guy Johnson, the nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, traveled to London along with a Mohawk man named Karonghyontye, where they visited the studio of Pennsylvania native Benjamin West and commissioned him to paint the portrait seen in figure 34, in which Johnson and a figure interpreted as Karonghyontye appear in Mohawk garb.<sup>139</sup> Guy Johnson was appointed to the position of Superintendent

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<sup>137</sup> Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians in British Art, 1700–1840* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), 39.

<sup>138</sup> Hinderaker, “The ‘Four Indian Kings’ and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire,” 506.

<sup>139</sup> Kevin R. Muller, “Pelts and Power, Mohawks and Myth: Benjamin West’s Portrait of Guy Johnson,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 40, no. 1 (March 2005): 51. Muller argues in this article that while Karonghyontye probably was a reference figure for the painting, the way in which West depicts the Mohawk man (in shadow, using a more painterly style, and with physiognomy similar

of Indian Affairs following his uncle's death in 1774 and continued the personal alliance with the Mohawk established by his uncle. Johnson's appearance in West's portrait is that of a man who confidently straddles the aristocratic world of British colonial administrators as well as the world of Six Nations people, whose support the British government needed in the event of rebellion by the colonists.

Even a person unfamiliar with Johnson's position could view West's portrait and understand the hybrid world in which he lived through the clothing he wears, which is a blend of British military and traditional Haudenosaunee warrior attire. Johnson wears the Haudenosaunee pieces as *accents* to his base outfit, which is the uniform of the British Army, albeit one lacking the details and embellishments that would normally indicate his commissioned rank of colonel. In his right hand, Johnson holds a *gustoweh* (a traditional Haudenosaunee headdress), and in his left a musket. His coat hides the powder horn for the musket, but the beaded sash holding it is just visible across his chest. A fur mantle painted in geometric patterns on one side is draped across one shoulder and tied across his chest. Deerskin leggings are worn over his uniform, tied just below the knee with beaded garters. He wears moccasins, which may be the same as a pair in the collection of the British Museum known to have come from West's studio (figure 35). These moccasins are center-seam, with red and yellow quillwork covering the vamp and cuffs. Metal cones with dyed hair known as "tinklers" are also attached to the edges of the cuffs and at the midpoint of the vamp quillwork. West might not have been a portraitist of the

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to the generic "Indians" of earlier paintings) shows that the figure was not intended to be a true double portrait, and instead the figure served as an accouterment that further clarified the viewer's understanding of Johnson vis-à-vis his portrait.

same skill and renown as Reynolds or Gainsborough, but he did have a reputation as the most authentic painter of the North American scene.<sup>140</sup> Indigenous objects present in his studio likely aided his reputation for authenticity, and perhaps Johnson gave West the items used as models in this portrait.<sup>141</sup>

Although the details were convincingly authentic, West idealized his overall depictions of Native North Americans—particularly the Mohawk—with bodies modeled after classical Greek sculpture. The “perfect” beauty of classical Greek sculpture was not just aesthetic but was considered by art historians like Johann Winckelmann to be reflective of a culture uncorrupted by modernity, a characteristic that West subsequently transferred to the Indigenous subjects modeled after pieces like the *Apollo Belvedere*.<sup>142</sup> As we saw in *The Four Indian Kings*, the Haudenosaunee had long incorporated European clothing into their attire by the time West painted Johnson’s portrait. However, the Mohawk man standing behind Johnson wears traditional warrior attire (the presence of trade goods like beads and cloth notwithstanding), deliberately evoking Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s optimal state of human societal development, in which the natural man has evolved beyond base animalistic drives but is not yet debased and weakened by modern civilization. Despite their long contact with Europeans, the Mohawk were thought to retain the positive attributes of the natural man, which made them powerful yet noble

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<sup>140</sup> Leslie Reinhardt, “British and Indian Identities in a Picture by Benjamin West,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 290.

<sup>141</sup> J.C.H. King, “Woodland Artifacts from the Studio of Benjamin West, 1738–1820,” *American Indian Art Magazine* 17, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 34–47.

<sup>142</sup> Muller, “Pelts and Power, Mohawks and Myth,” 62.

warriors. By donning the trappings of a Mohawk warrior on top of his English clothing, Johnson *augments* his gentlemanly English virtues with the Mohawk warrior's masculine values, which resist the feminizing effects of European culture. Although the association of "Indianness" with primitiveness and nature—especially the wilderness of North America—was not new, the shift in the quality of that association, from negative to positive, begins in the eighteenth century and lays the foundation for the widespread collection and use of Indigenous goods such as moccasins discussed in chapter two.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> See Kupperman, "Presentment of Civility" for a discussion of English ambivalence towards Indigenous North Americans in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

## Chapter Two: Transmission

“Trade,” or more broadly “exchange,” is the hallmark of colonial and Indigenous interactions and is most commonly viewed as the exchange of raw materials (such as furs and food) by Native peoples for finished European or Euro-American goods. Finished goods predominantly flowed one way through the colonial period, and an industry for finished goods produced by Native peoples did not arise within the wider Euro-American culture until the nineteenth century. Where chapter one examined the cultural landscape of Native-colonist interactions and the significance of costume, chapter two looks at how finished Indigenous-made goods—specifically moccasins—ended up in the hands of colonists and Europeans.

Before the nineteenth century and the widespread rise of souvenir art, the procurement of finished Indigenous goods in North America by Europeans, whether visitors or colonists, was predicated by either an object’s rarity, material qualities, or functional use. Souvenirs, however, had a metonymic purpose, and though any object could function as a souvenir, *souvenir art* was specifically created to fulfill this need.

### KUNST- AND WUNDERKAMERN

Since the earliest days of its colonization, North America was seen by Europeans not only as a source of natural resources and raw materials, but also of exotic treasures. Perhaps the most visually spectacular type of artifact brought back to Europe from the New World are the so-called “feather paintings” of Mexico. The feather paintings, which appeared in European *Kunst-* and *Wunderkammern* beginning in the sixteenth centuries,

married Christian religious iconography and existing Indigenous visual traditions.<sup>144</sup>

Featherworks are arguably more similar to souvenir art of the late nineteenth century than other pre-nineteenth-century artifacts in European collections, in that they were produced for European audiences utilizing European motifs. Though Indigenous artisans (primarily Nahua) made them, featherworks were commissioned by Spanish missionaries and were initially based on prints shipped over from Europe, which served as templates for the artists. The iconography of the largely German or Dutch prints adhered to the stylistic conventions of the Counter-Reformation, and for the most part, Nahua artists followed them faithfully.<sup>145</sup> We can see the extent of the Nahua artists' fidelity in Juan Cuiris' *Weeping Virgin*, one of several featherworks in the *Kunstkammer* of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolph II, and the print upon which it was based (figures 36 and 37). Art produced by the Indigenous peoples of the Northeast for European and Euro-American audiences diverged from this formula—at times a complete inversion—in how it retained traditional forms but incorporated European materials.

European Kunst- and Wunderkammern (also known as cabinets of curiosity) housed natural history specimens and ethnographic artifacts from all over the world, including objects from North America beginning in the seventeenth century. Curiosity

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<sup>144</sup> While some featherworks remained in Mexico, most were shipped to Europe. Though a thorough discussion of featherworks is both geographically and topically removed from Eastern Woodlands art, they are still worth a brief mention because they were such a (relatively) common export. The book *Images Take Flight: Feather Art in Mexico and Europe 1400–1700* (Alessandra Russo, Gerhard Wolf, and Diana Fane, eds., Munich: Hirmer, 2015) discusses featherworks in Mexico and Europe at great length.

<sup>145</sup> Marita Martínez del Río de Redo, "Featherwork During the Viceroyalty," in *The Art of Featherwork in Mexico*, ed. Teresa Castelló Yturbide (Mexico City: Fomento Cultural Banamex, A.C., 1993), 119.

cabinets were products of Renaissance humanism, “sites of representation and knowledge” that ordered and facilitated understanding of the world while also endowing the owner with prestige.<sup>146</sup> With their origins in medieval royal treasuries, *Kunstammern* initially served as extensions of their royal owner’s power and status. Encyclopedic, universal collections, like that of Rudolph II represented “his control over a microcosm, that reflected his claims to mastery of the macrocosm of the greater world, and over the body politic of which he was sovereign.”<sup>147</sup>

European fascination with the exotic was not restricted only to acquiring and displaying goods but also extended to people. Beginning in the late fifteenth century with Christopher Columbus, Indigenous people were brought back to Europe as living curiosities. American children learn that the Pilgrims were successful in establishing their settlement at Plymouth because of Tisquantum (better known by the diminutive Squanto), a Patuxet man who introduced the Pilgrims to regionally suitable planting techniques and served as a liaison to local Algonkians. This narrative omits the fact that Tisquantum was familiar with the English and spoke their language because he, along with other Patuxet and Nauset people, was kidnapped in 1614 by Thomas Hunt, who intended to sell his captives as slaves in Spain. According to William Bradford, Tisquantum “got away” to

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<sup>146</sup> Isabel Yaya, “Wonders of America: The Curiosity Cabinet as a Site of Representation and Knowledge,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 20, no. 2 (2008): 174.

<sup>147</sup> Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “From Treasury to Museum: The Collections of the Austrian Habsburgs,” in *Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and John Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 145.

England, and was eventually brought back to New England, where his skills as an interpreter enabled the Puritans' survival.<sup>148</sup>

Where the rigors of travel often proved fatal to human “specimens” brought back to Europe, ethnographic artifacts were a durable, more biddable way of harnessing wonder through the rare and exotic. Familiarity, however, breeds contempt, and wonders lost their appeal once they became too widely disseminated, driving collectors to acquire new objects. By the late seventeenth century, a culture of collecting had begun to spread beyond the closed halls of the aristocracy to the middle class. As intercontinental trade grew with colonization, collecting objects from far-off places was “an important way of making sense—and cultural capital—of foreign lands.”<sup>149</sup> In 1992, Christian Feest surveyed surviving specimens of North American ethnographic artifacts in European collections that can be reliably dated to before 1750. Although clothing and moccasins were documented in seventeenth-century collection records, the artifacts have since been lost.<sup>150</sup> Continuing in the tradition of aristocratic *Kunstammern*, early modern curiosity cabinets not only demonstrated status and authority, but also served as philosophical tools, whose heterogeneous, unsystematic displays are seen in illustrations of famous collections, like those of Neapolitan apothecary Ferrante Imperato (figure 38) and Danish physician, natural historian, and antiquarian Ole Worm (figure 39). By studying material

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<sup>148</sup> Bradford, *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation: 1606–1646*, 110–12.

<sup>149</sup> Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 23.

<sup>150</sup> Feest, “North America in the European Wunderkammer Before 1750,” 84.

objects, man could—through rational thought—achieve a true, objective understanding of the nature of the world.<sup>151</sup>

In England, one of the premier collections of “rarities and curiosities” in the seventeenth century belonged to John Tradescant, and unlike the *Kunstkammern* of the European aristocracy, was open to the public. The variety of objects in the Tradescant collection, located in the family’s home outside London in South Lambeth, encompassed botanical and natural history specimens, in addition to ethnographic and art objects. In a lengthy accounting of the things he saw during his 1638 visit, German traveler Georg Christoph Stirn described (among other things) “all kinds of shells, the hand of a mermaid, the hand of a mummy, a very natural wax hand under glass, all kinds of precious stones, coins, a picture wrought in feathers, a small piece of wood from the cross of Christ ...”<sup>152</sup> In 1656, John Tradescant the younger published a catalog of the collection, which mentions numerous items from North America, including the habit of Powhatan, “King of Virginia,” shoes from Canada, and “black Indian girdles made of Wampam.”<sup>153</sup> The Tradescant collection originated with John Tradescant the elder, who worked as a professional gardener and acquired rare plants and other oddities on behalf of his wealthy employers, as well as for himself through the merchant contacts he developed on behalf of these aristocratic connections. After the elder Tradescant’s death in 1638, his

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<sup>151</sup> Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 112.

<sup>152</sup> Herman Hager, transcription of Bodl. Add. B. 67, Appendix 11 to his review of K.H. Schaible, *Geschichte der Deutschen in England*, 450, quoted in Swann, *Curiosities and Texts*, 28.

<sup>153</sup> John Tradescant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum: Or, A Collection of Rarities Preserved at South-Lambeth Neer London* (London, 1656), 47–50.

son continued to maintain and augment the collection, making several trips to Virginia, though it is not clear if he acquired “Powhatan’s mantle” during these trips, and unlike much of the collection, is still in existence at the Ashmolean Museum (figure 40).<sup>154</sup>

Tradesant listed Powhatan’s mantle and the “shoes from Canada” in the “Garments, Vestures, Habits, Ornaments” category, alongside objects such as “Edward the Confessor’s knit gloves,” and a “Turkish belt wrought with gold.”<sup>155</sup> Their inclusion alongside these items, which are both familiar and spectacular, suggests an organizational scheme meant to showcase the rare and spectacular, as well as the type or purpose. As Christian Feest notes, “sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans describing the material products of the peoples of North America were wholly convinced of the superiority of their own way of life, yet were willing to accept that native Americans had found acceptable, and even admirable solutions in dealing with the resources and technologies at their disposal.”<sup>156</sup> As discussed in chapter one, clothing was fundamental to the English conception of civility, and displaying clothes from the New World proved both the similarity and difference of its Native inhabitants. Initially, the English saw the similarities in clothing’s social role as evidence that the Indigenous people were “only a

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<sup>154</sup> Wahunsunacock was the proper name of the man known as King or Chief Powhatan by the English. He was also the father of Pocahontas. Tradesant the younger could not have acquired the mantle directly from Wahunsunacock, as he died in 1618, but one of the more widely accepted theories is that it was among the gifts for King James I presented by Wahunsunacock to Captain Christopher Newport in 1608. See “Powhatan’s Mantle,” Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, January 17, 2019. <https://web.archive.org/web/20190117124532/https://www.ashmolean.org/powhatans-mantle>

<sup>155</sup> Tradesant, *Musaeum Tradescantianum*, 49, 51.

<sup>156</sup> Christian F. Feest, “European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art,” *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, no. 1 (1993): 5.

few short steps” away from full civility, but later in the seventeenth century—in the face of Native peoples’ commitment to their cultures, competition for land and resources, and outright hostility—the English increasingly saw them as permanently Other.<sup>157</sup>

At the same time, collecting paradigms started shifting toward ethnographic artifacts that represented other cultures, rather than items considered individually for their unique properties.<sup>158</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century, the collections of the intellectual elite in British North American colonies began coalescing into museums. Following the Revolution, Native objects in American collections and museums had an ideological significance as they became part of the United States’ emerging national narrative. But many collectors, including Sir William Johnson, still collected Indigenous artifacts as part of a cabinet showcasing a gentleman’s wealth and intellectualism, where the allure lay in the objects as decontextualized, singular entities.<sup>159</sup> While intermediaries were often used to acquire items, the wars fought during the eighteenth century for control of eastern North America brought an influx of British soldiers and military officials and the rise of a new type of collecting paradigm.

#### SOLDIERS’ SPOILS

Aside from acquisition via direct trade or through intermediaries, the other way Indigenous artifacts arrived in European collections was through military personnel who

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<sup>157</sup> Kupperman, “Presentment of Civility,” 227–28.

<sup>158</sup> Feest, “European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art,” 6.

<sup>159</sup> Wanda Burch, “Sir William Johnson’s Cabinet of Curiosities,” *New York History* 71, no. 3 (July 1990): 261–282.

brought Native objects home when returning from one of the many North American campaigns during the eighteenth century through which England and France staked their imperial claims to the continent. These sorts of collections give us some of the earliest reliable documentation regarding dates and tribal affiliations of the objects, and as Ruth Phillips argues, two different collecting paradigms: one of curiosity, and the other of adoption.<sup>160</sup>

Phillips' first paradigm, curiosity, is the same as the motivating factor behind the Kunst- and Wunderkamern previously discussed, characterized by a "distanced, recreational gaze."<sup>161</sup> The second paradigm is one of embodiment or adoption, where the objects in a collection represent the collector's greater engagement in Indigenous life.<sup>162</sup> These two collecting paradigms were not mutually exclusive, as seen in the case of Sir William Johnson. Sir William's success as Britain's Superintendent of Indian Affairs was predicated on his strong personal relationship with the Mohawk, epitomized in his common-law marriage to Molly Brant, sister of the Mohawk military and political leader Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea). Sir William immersed himself in the cultures and traditions of the Six Nations, even appearing at conferences theatrically dressed as a War Chief.<sup>163</sup> Many of the items from Iroquoia in his collection, particularly the wampum and calumets (ceremonial pipes), were objects of diplomacy given to Sir William in his role

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<sup>160</sup> Ruth B. Phillips, "Reading and Writing between the Lines: Soldiers, Curiosities, and Indigenous Art Histories," *Winterthur Portfolio* 45, no. 2/3 (June 2011): 111.

<sup>161</sup> Phillips, 113.

<sup>162</sup> Phillips, 116.

<sup>163</sup> Burch, "Sir William Johnson's Cabinet of Curiosities," 266.

as a representative of the British government, but Sir William also collected “curiosities,” particularly from the less-familiar Indigenous peoples of the western Great Lakes and farther afield.<sup>164</sup> After his death in 1774, the carefully curated objects in Sir William’s collection were a casualty of war, scattered in the wake of the Revolution in auctions held by the Committee of Sequestration.

Sir William Johnson was not the only gentleman collector to adopt aspects of the Indigenous cultures with whom he had regular contact. From 1776 to 1778, Sir John Caldwell, an Anglo-Irish baronet was stationed with the Eighth, or King’s, Regiment at Detroit and Niagara, where he “was one of a small number of officers from his Regiment employed in Indian relations,” exchanging gifts with the tribes in the Great Lakes region.<sup>165</sup> In an undated and unattributed portrait (figure 41), Caldwell appears wearing what Phillips calls “an elaborate assemblage of aboriginal clothing.”<sup>166</sup> An inscription on the back of the portrait gives perhaps some context to the painting and reads:

“Sir John Caldwell, 5th Bart., an Officer of the 8th Regiment of the Foot, elected chief of the Ojibboway Indians, N. America, and given the name ‘A. petto’ or ‘The Runner’ as he appeared at a Grand War Council held by him at the Wakeetomike village January 17, 1780.”<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Burch, “Sir William Johnson’s Cabinet of Curiosities”; Simon Jones, “Caldwell and DePeyster: Two Collectors from the King’s Regiment on the Great Lakes in the 1770s and 1780s,” in *Three Centuries of Woodlands Indian Art*, ed. J.C.H. King and Christian F. Feest (Altenstadt, Germany: ZFK Publishers, 2007), 40. There was considerable overlap between a diplomatic relationship with Sir William and one with Britain, as Sir William positioned himself as the singular intermediary between the Six Nations and Britain.

<sup>165</sup> Jones, “Caldwell and DePeyster,” 39.

<sup>166</sup> Phillips, “Reading and Writing between the Lines,” 116. There are two existing versions of this portrait. The one reproduced in figure 41 is at the National Museum Liverpool and, according to Simon Jones, is a copy of a slightly more detailed original held by Caldwell’s descendants.

<sup>167</sup> Quoted in Jones, “Caldwell and DePeyster,” 38.

The young baronet seems to have had a great enthusiasm for adventure, writing to his father “I never enjoyed myself more, nor my health better, than when on a Voyage, with a Bear skin to sleep on, and salt pork for breakfast.”<sup>168</sup> Yet his costume is not necessary evidence of true acculturation, as argued by Beth Fowkes Tobin in her book *Picturing Imperial Power*. Tobin questions the accuracy of the painting’s inscription on the basis that Caldwell lacked the standing to convene a war council, and views his outfit—an assortment of decontextualized clothing from various tribes—as a presentation of generic “Indianness” more in the spirit of a souvenir commemorating his time spent on the frontier.<sup>169</sup> However, the reality could very well lie somewhere in the middle. Perhaps there was an element of exaggeration to the painting’s inscription, and Caldwell didn’t hold the war council, but merely attended it in some capacity. His motley of clothing might not be “accurate” to one particular tribe, but—given his role in formal gift exchanges—could be representative of his acceptance among the different tribes with which he had dealings.

A full Anishinaabe man’s outfit collected in Michigan around 1790 by Andrew Foster, a British army officer, has several components similar to those worn by Caldwell, such as a calico shirt, feathered headdress, leggings, garters, sashes, gorgets, and highly decorated moccasins (figure 42). According to family tradition, Foster was taken prisoner and made an honorary chief, adding another element of similarity between him and Caldwell, and recalling the re-clothing aspects of the adoption ceremonies discussed in

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<sup>168</sup> Quoted in Jones, 39.

<sup>169</sup> Beth Fowkes Tobin, *Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1999), 84–87, 252.

chapter one.<sup>170</sup> Caldwell and Foster’s possible adoptions (for which captivity was not a requisite) could have been misunderstood by the men or their descendants as an elevation of social status (to a chief) instead of a gesture of mutual kinship and protection.<sup>171</sup>

Major Foster’s collection also includes a pair of worn, plain moccasins typical of daily use (figure 43). These point to a more everyday familiarity between Foster and the Anishinaabe, one which would have been familiar to frontier soldiers. During the eighteenth century, particularly the Seven Years’ War, a growing cultural confluence occurred in the backcountry between the British regulars, provincial volunteers, and their Indigenous allies. On the frontier, the presence of Indigenous allies influenced British military strategies for fighting in the woods, as commanders—exasperated with their willful allies—allowed them to not only fight by their own methods but also train the volunteers and “make Indians” out of the provincial soldiers.<sup>172</sup> In his article on the cultural interactions between British soldiers and Native allies on the Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia frontiers during the early years of the French and Indian War, David Preston examines how identities became blurred as personal relationships formed during Anglo-Native war parties. Preston notes that most of the provincial troops adopted aspects of Indigenous dress and “many provincial rangers became so indistinguishable

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<sup>170</sup> Phillips, “Reading and Writing between the Lines,” 118–19.

<sup>171</sup> Phillips, 120.; Ruth B. Phillips and Michael Witgen (Ojibwe), “Anishinaabe outfit collected by Andrew Foster,” *Infinity of Nations: Art and History in the Collections of the National Museum of the American Indian*. Ongoing, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C.

<sup>172</sup> David L. Preston, “‘Make Indians of Our White Men’: British Soldiers and Indian Warriors from Braddock’s to Forbes’s Campaigns, 1755–1758,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 74, no. 3 (2007): 292–93.

from their native allies that they too had to wear identification markers [to avoid friendly fire].”<sup>173</sup> The use of Indigenous dress by soldiers fighting in the woods is not surprising if we recall how captives’ shoes were swapped for moccasins to better facilitate travel. Moreover, many European settlers across the frontier and backcountry adopted aspects of Native cultures, such as hunting techniques and dress. In the Mohawk Valley, European merchants near German Flatts traded in Indigenous handicrafts, including moccasins, which “were among the most common items listed in merchants’ account books.”<sup>174</sup> But unlike their British commanders, provincial troops’ proximity to Native peoples may have rendered certain objects so familiar that they would not have felt the need to bring back utilitarian goods like moccasins as souvenirs.

#### TOURISTS AND SOUVENIRS

As tempting as it might be to apply the level of cultural blending present on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to James Woodruff’s experience on the Niagara Campaign, the level of decoration on the Woodruff moccasins precludes this romantic notion. While it is very possible James acquired them at or near Niagara Falls during or around the War of 1812, they were probably not made for a Haudenosaunee person (or an enculturated colonist) as an “everyday” pair. They, like so many other pairs of moccasins in museum collections, were most likely made and purchased as a souvenir. As colonists took lands formerly used for planting and hunting, Native people turned to

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<sup>173</sup> Preston, 295–98.

<sup>174</sup> Preston, *The Texture of Contact*, 208.

alternative ways to support themselves, one of which was crafting goods for Euro-Americans. Commonly known as “souvenir” or “market” art, the production of decorative objects by Native artisans during the nineteenth century for Euro-American consumers directly correlated with the increase in tourism by middle-class Americans, as visitors to iconic locations wanted to bring unique and exotic objects home from their travels.

Although the focus of this section is the nineteenth century, it is important to note that in the Northeast, specialized production of souvenir arts by Indigenous peoples began in the eighteenth century. Souvenirs were sold alongside performances of ethnicity, such as ceremonial dances staged for tourists who, during this period, wanted to experience the “wild power of nature,” or view picturesque scenes combining “landscape, interesting buildings, and colorfully dressed people.”<sup>175</sup> Niagara Falls was an ideal location, where tourists could be dazzled by the foremost example of the American sublime (figures 44, 45, and 46), observe “picturesque Indians,” and purchase some of their authentic goods. Steamship routes, the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, and the construction of various railway lines in the 1830s through the 1850s eased travel and enabled more middle-class people to take vacations to Niagara Falls, with around sixty thousand visiting a year by 1850.<sup>176</sup> Guidebooks catered to the needs of travelers, describing points of interest, suggesting itineraries, and providing information about transportation, lodging, and dining. One of the local sites to visit was the Tuscarora

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<sup>175</sup> Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 26.

<sup>176</sup> Phillips, 28.

Reservation (in figure 28, the reservation closest to Fort George), which featured a village “delightfully situated on a high bank commanding an extensive prospect of the surrounding country, and of Lake Ontario.” Tourists, however, were advised that “visitors at the Falls have been in the habit of going, sometimes in crowds, to this village on the Sabbath; but the Indians, with their Missionary, have often expressed the desire that visitors would not interrupt them at that time.”<sup>177</sup> Steele’s guidebook emphasizes the village’s picturesque qualities but also notes that most of the Tuscarora actually lived in a settlement a mile and a half away, raising the possibility that the village is, to some extent, a staged production like the dances performed for tourists. The reluctance of the Tuscarora to engage with tourists in the village during what is essentially their personal time further supports this possibility.

Steele’s statement also gives insight into tourists’ eagerness to interact with Tuscarora people on their own land as a desire for authenticity—of the people, their goods, and the tourists’ own experiences. Purchasing souvenirs from Indigenous villages guaranteed their authenticity, but entrepreneurial sellers didn’t just wait for tourists to come to them; they sold their wares (figure 47) at train stations, designated souvenir stores in resort towns (figure 48), and—of course—at Niagara Falls itself (figure 49).<sup>178</sup> The question of authenticity in Indigenous art is beyond the scope of this thesis, so for the purpose of this discussion, the tourist’s idea of an “authentic” souvenir was one that was 1) made by an Indigenous person local to Niagara Falls, and 2) purchased by the tourist

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<sup>177</sup> Steele’s *Book of Niagara Falls*, 7th ed. (Buffalo: Oliver G. Steele, 1840), 74–75.

<sup>178</sup> Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 29–35.

during their visit to the Falls.<sup>179</sup> For Niagara Falls whimsies and other objects made for tourists, their perceived authenticity was important because it was tied to their function as souvenirs.

In her book *On Longing*, Susan Stewart locates the existence of souvenirs as one born out of a need to distinguish its owner's experiences:

We do not need or desire souvenirs of events that are repeatable. Rather we need and desire souvenirs of events that are reportable, events whose materiality has escaped us, events that thereby exist only through the invention of narrative. Through narrative the souvenir substitutes a context of perpetual consumption for its context of origin. It represents not the lived experience of its maker but the "secondhand" experience of its possessor/owner.<sup>180</sup>

A souvenir thus validates and narrates its owner's experience by making something ephemeral tangible. By bringing back a souvenir from Niagara Falls, a tourist possessed not just a physical marker of their trip but also one that represented the Falls themselves. This secondary association is due to the symbolic association of Niagara Falls with Native peoples. Like the Falls, Indigenous peoples were seen as the embodiment of nature as it was viewed in the nineteenth century—wild and free, but also increasingly domesticated. When purchasing a Native-made souvenir, a tourist was "in effect taking home a 'piece' of the Indian—and by association, a 'piece' of the falls themselves."<sup>181</sup>

Directly related is a third association embodied by a Niagara Falls souvenir, which is the

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<sup>179</sup> This definition differs from how authenticity was generally considered in the world of ethnographic and fine art collecting of the early twentieth century, where "authentic" is equated with premodern, and European influences were considered evidence of degeneration.

<sup>180</sup> Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993), 135.

<sup>181</sup> Beverly Gordon, "Souvenirs of Niagara Falls: The Significance of Indian Whiteness," *New York History* 67, no. 4 (October 1986): 392.

tamed exotic. Made by Native people in a style that distinctly marked it as such, the souvenir, once displayed in the tourist's home, became a trophy marking the triumph of imperialism, representing the dispossession of Indigenous people via cultural consumption and appropriation by Euro-Americans.<sup>182</sup>

#### APPROPRIATING “NATIVENESS”

Souvenirs allowed tourists to symbolically possess nature and by extension Indigenous peoples, but displaying an artifact differs from wearing it, as wearing carries the risk of alternative identities. In that case, how did wearing Indigenous clothing become acceptable, even fashionable, for the average Euro-American? After the Revolution, Americans still viewed Indigenous peoples as bloodthirsty savages, particularly in the face of Indigenous resistance to westward expansion.<sup>183</sup> Although the noble savage trope of the eighteenth century idealized their perceived positive attributes, the “friendlier, more nostalgic image” of Indigenous peoples did not emerge until the 1830s—after they were physically removed from the east.<sup>184</sup> Eventually, physical removals and the symbolic linking of Native people with the past produced the myth of the “vanishing Indian,” which flourished in the nineteenth century and held that Indigenous peoples were becoming extinct from North America as they either died off or assimilated into American culture. Lewis Henry Morgan wrote about this assimilation,

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<sup>182</sup> Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, 146–47; Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 43, 65.

<sup>183</sup> Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 44–45.

<sup>184</sup> Deloria, 63–64.

seeing it as evidence of the cultural evolution of Native peoples as they progressed toward civility:

The Red races are passing away before the silent, but irresistible spread of civilization. The tenure of Indian sovereignty is as precarious as the habitation of the deer, his co-tenant of the forest. Their gradual displacement is as inevitable as the progress of events. A portion, indeed, of the Indian family, if present indications are to be trusted, is destined eventually to be reclaimed, and raised to a citizenship among ourselves. But this can only be accomplished by their adoption of agricultural pursuits, and the diffusion of knowledge among them. When this change is effected, they will cease to be Indians.<sup>185</sup>

Decreased visibility and population decline in the Northeast due to assimilation, disease, warfare, removals, and other catastrophes of colonialism made this trope more believable, but as others have pointed out, Native people were still very present in New England and elsewhere throughout the United States.<sup>186</sup> By the middle of the nineteenth century, Native people were romanticized on two fronts: they both lived “an unfettered and unacquisitive life amid unspoiled nature,” and were no longer around to present an existential threat; factors which facilitated their romanization and appropriation as part of American identity formation in the wake of the Revolution.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, when America was still establishing its cultural independence from Britain, James Fenimore Cooper wrote his *Leatherstocking Tales*, which portrays the new American nation as on the brink of civilization, yet still retaining the attractiveness of the wilderness and its promise of

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<sup>185</sup> Lewis Henry Morgan, *Third Annual Report of the Regents of the University on the Condition of the State Cabinet of Natural History and the Historical Antiquarian Collection Annexed Thereto* (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1850), 97

<sup>186</sup> Baron, Hood, and Izard, “They Were Here All Along”; Jean M. O’Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

renewal and plenty.<sup>187</sup> His protagonist, Natty Bumppo reconciles the exotic with the familiar in his very being: an Anglo-American who was partially raised by Delawares, Natty is a skilled woodsman and mediator between untamed nature and civilized society—the embodiment of the frontier. Natty “usurps the place of native noble savages,” as he is equally fit for life in the wilderness but free of the taint of unacceptable savagery that dogged Indigenous peoples.<sup>188</sup> Natty Bumppo shows how the frontiersman was a critical component to the appropriation of “Nativity” by Euro-Americans. Frontiersmen such as Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark also played a significant role in the narrative America was creating about itself and its (white) citizens, one in which men adopt aspects of Indigenous culture as signifiers of their ability to master the wilderness but are never *lessened* by those aspects. In this way, they become better suited for the frontier than its Indigenous inhabitants. In figure 50, Meriwether Lewis wears his frontiersman’s regalia (buckskin coat, leggings, fur cap and tunic, and a pair of moccasins) and confidently gazes out of the picture plane, one hand on his hip, the other casually holding the barrel of his long rifle. Sketched just after he returned to Washington upon the success of his expedition to the far West with Clark, Lewis has every reason to be confident—not only did he and Clark make it to the Pacific Ocean and back, but in doing so, established the legal basis for the United States to lay claim to the land, beginning the process of taming it.

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<sup>187</sup> Renata R. Mautner Wasserman, *Exotic Nations: Literature and Cultural Identity in the United States and Brazil, 1830–1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), 168–79.

<sup>188</sup> Wasserman, 177–78.

The frontier was the catalyst for the widespread adoption, or appropriation, of Indigenous dress by Euro-Americans. As we have seen, backcountry soldiers adopted Native apparel along with tactics, as did many people living in the borderlands throughout eastern North America. In Detroit, though, this practice developed into a moccasin industry where Euro-Americans oversaw the creation, production, and distribution—a significant departure from both the moccasins ordered for use by backcountry soldiers and those sold as souvenirs to tourists, both of which were produced by Indigenous people.<sup>189</sup> Catherine Cangany has shown that the use of frontier-made moccasins in the east spurred the development of a similar large-scale industry by East Coast entrepreneurs.<sup>190</sup> Starting in the 1820s, advertisements in newspapers across the East Coast proclaim the availability of “Indian moccasins” at fair prices, some of which were produced locally as evidenced by the “Moccasin Manufactory” located at the corner of Chatham and Pearl Streets according to December 1831 advertisements in the *New York Evening Post*.<sup>191</sup>

A final reason for the adoption of moccasins by Euro-Americans was due to changing fashions for men and women. During the period of about 1795 to 1820, daily dress for men and women became more simplified and abandoned the stiff, formal styles of the eighteenth century in favor of ones that enhanced the natural figure. Figures 51 and

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<sup>189</sup> Catherine Cangany, “Fashioning Moccasins: Detroit, the Manufacturing Frontier, and the Empire of Consumption, 1701–1835,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (2012): 266.

<sup>190</sup> Cangany, 267.

<sup>191</sup> Advertisements were found in *The Pittsville Sun*, *Hartford Courant*, *New York Daily Herald*, *Burlington Weekly Free Press*, *The Vermont Journal*, *The Buffalo Daily Republic*, *The Long-Island Star*, among many other publications.

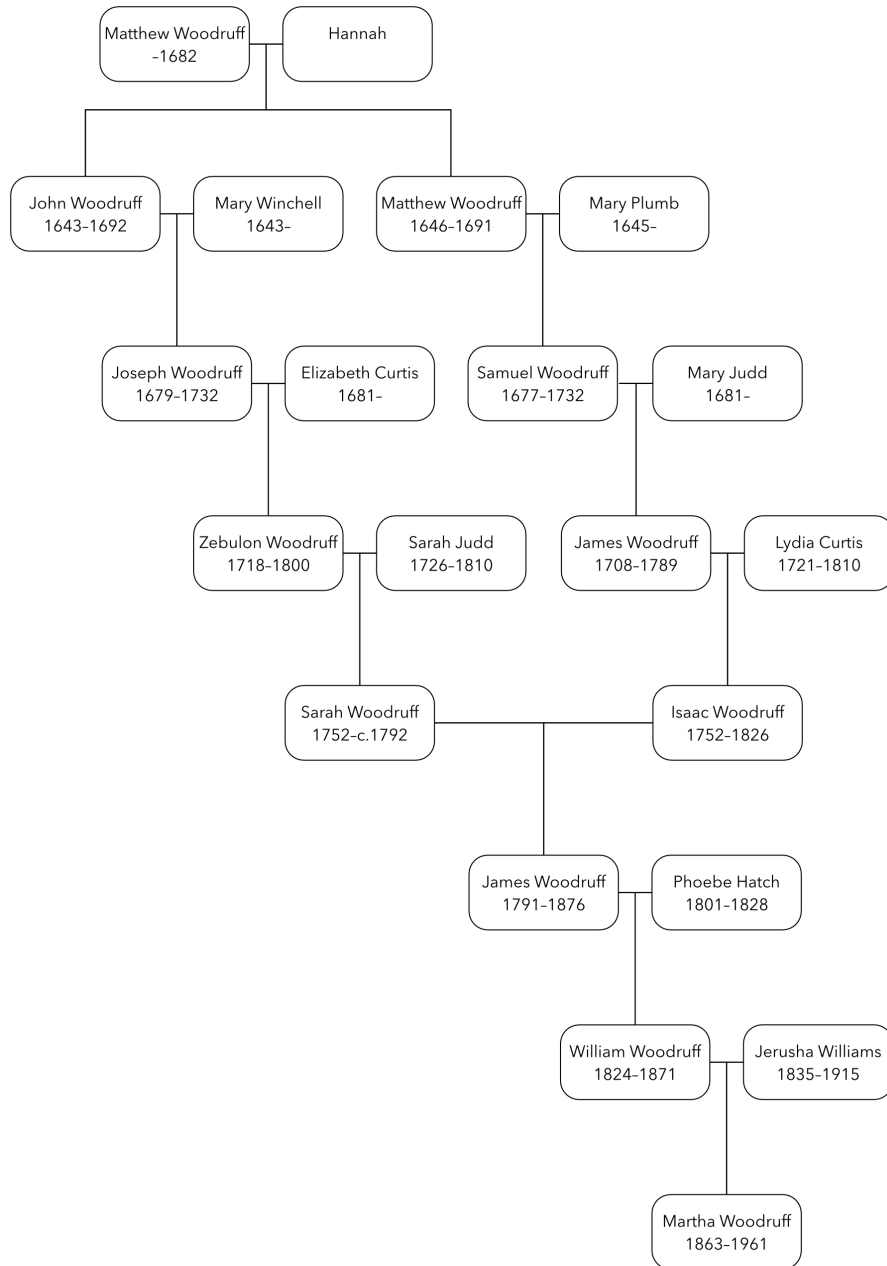
52 show a fashionable man and woman from 1810, both wearing low, slipper-style shoes, but unlike delicate slippers, moccasins were better suited to the popular pastime of outdoor walking. By the 1830s, moccasins also found a place inside the home as a casual slipper, with heavy beading and fabrics like velvet and satin (figure 53). Although the Woodruff moccasins lack the heavy fabrics and decoration of moccasins made for indoor use by non-Native consumers, this is still the fundamental way in which they were used.

## Conclusion

While artifacts were known to be brought back to Europe as curiosities, the cultural context of the early colonial period meant the average Puritan would have little reason to collect, let alone wear, objects such as moccasins. Changing perceptions of Native peoples during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, along with European-based collecting practices, served as the foundations for the increased number of Indigenous objects acquired by Euro-Americans. It is within this atmosphere that James—the most likely owner of the Woodruff moccasins—purchased, modified, and wore the moccasins that were eventually donated by his granddaughter to the Historic Northampton Museum. Our ability to determine the most likely owner and provide more realistic provenance is a positive thing on its own, but more importantly, it is a way to reconnect the moccasins with a historical context from which they were divorced. Instead of belonging to “some Indian,” the moccasins can now become part of the Haudenosaunee story and stand as a physical example of the ways colonists and Indigenous peoples adapted to each other in the early nineteenth century. However, this is not a definitive history of the Woodruff moccasins, let alone moccasins in general. Though I discuss the transcultural nature of moccasins in this text, I have clearly focused more on the Euro-American side of the equation. This is reflective of historical research in the Western academic tradition, which relies almost entirely on written sources, disadvantaging cultures with predominantly oral histories. Approaching the production of moccasins from an Indigenous perspective would provide a great deal of balance to the subject and could be an avenue of further research.

Although we have a better idea of how the Woodruff moccasins might have been collected, what they *meant* to their owner is less clear. Were they a souvenir of a cold winter occupying a fort? An enjoyable trip to a natural wonder? Or were they simply something pretty picked up in a market or from a door-to-door peddler? Whatever their origin, they were valued enough to be worn regularly and, furthermore, were modified to preserve or even extend their use. They were also significant enough to be passed down several generations, and even though Martha Woodruff wasn't entirely sure where her grandfather obtained the moccasins, she still felt they were worth donating with the rest of her family's heirlooms. Like a palimpsest, the origins of the moccasins have been erased, written over as they have transferred from owner to owner. They share this condition along with thousands of Indigenous objects in museums, and though the conclusions drawn in this thesis are by nature specific to the Woodruff moccasins, the microhistory presented here as a means of artifact research can hopefully serve as a path for the correction or verification of other museum records.

## Figures



**Figure 1** Family tree of Martha Woodruff, donor of the Woodruff moccasins at the Historic Northampton Museum. Illustration by author.

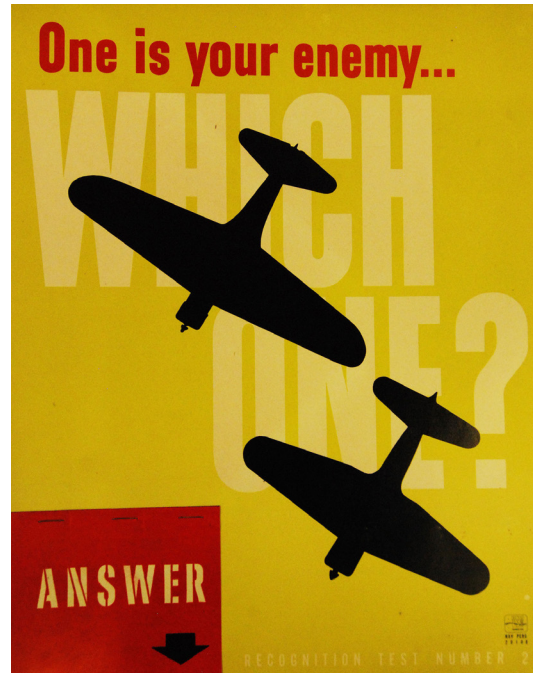


**Figure 2** Moccasins, ca. 1682. Deerskin, porcupine quills, ribbon, beads. Gift of Martha Woodruff and Mary Breaker. Historic Northampton Museum, Northampton, Massachusetts. Catalog number 51.454 a-b. Photo by author.

**Figure 3** Woodruff moccasin, side view. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author.



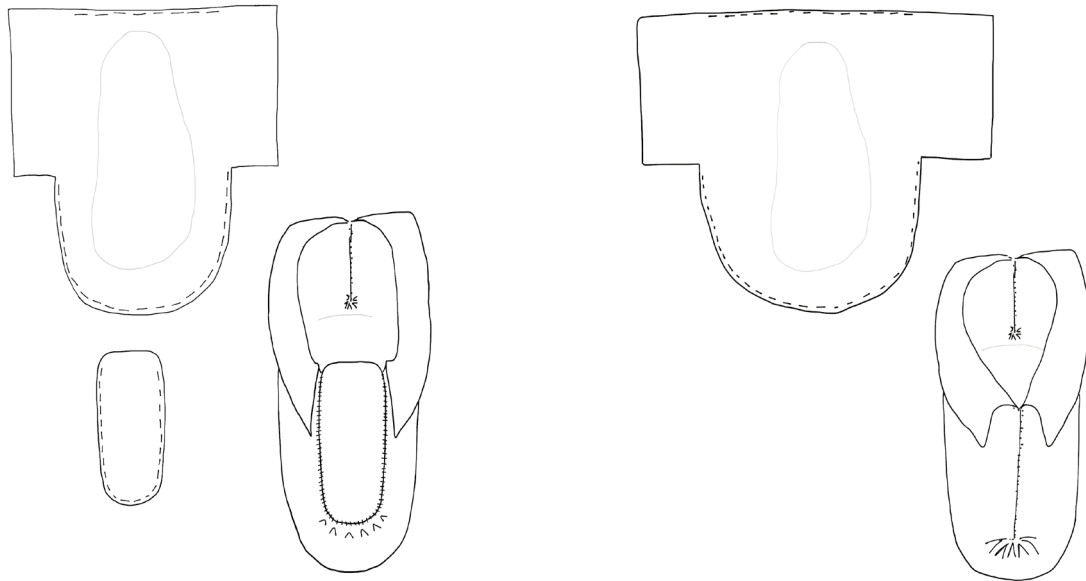
**Figure 4** Lot 8081-2: Aircraft Recognition Tests, 1943. "One Is Your Enemy... Which One?" Bureau of Naval Personnel. Courtesy of the National Museum of the U.S. Navy.



**Figure 5** Moccasins, eighteenth century. Skin, porcupine quills, iron, 24 x 23.5 x 12 cm. Musée du Quai Branly, Paris. Inventory number 71.1878.32.138.1-2.



**Figure 6** Moccasins with appliqué quillwork, eighteenth century. Deer skin and porcupine quills, 20 x 39 x 1.5 cm. Musée du Quai Branly, Paris. Inventory number 71.1878.32.265.1-2.



**Figure 7** *Above left*, Gathered toe moccasin pattern; *above right*, Center-seam moccasin pattern. Illustrations by author.



**Figure 8** Moccasins, Seneca [Allegany]. Joseph Kepler Collection, National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. Catalog number 02/9623.



**Figure 9** Heel of Woodruff moccasin, showing stitches. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author



**Figure 11** Woodruff moccasin cuff with silk ribbons, appliqué, seed beads, and quillwork. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author.

**Figure 10** Sole of Woodruff moccasin (*b*), showing wear at the heel and toe. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author.





**Figure 12** Paul Revere, “Philip, King of Mount Hope,” from the Church’s *The Entertaining History of King Philip’s War*, 1772. Line engraving, colored by hand, 17.3 x 10.7 cm. Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, Yale University Art Gallery. Courtesy of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

**Figure 13** Heel of Woodruff moccasins, showing cloth lining and sewn eyelet. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author.





**Figure 14** *Above left*, Moccasins, Iroquois, probably Seneca, ca. 1825. Deerskin, porcupine quills, ribbon, beads, dye, 7 x 26 x 9.5 cm. Gift of the Essex Institute, 1947. Courtesy of the Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts. Catalog number E26326.

**Figure 15** *Above right*, Moccasins, Seneca, ca. 1808, Native-tanned skin, porcupine quill, 10 1/2 x 4 in (26.7 x 10.2 cm). Ralph T. Coe Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Catalog number 2011.154.188a, b.



**Figure 16** Moccasins, 1860–1890. Hide, cotton cloth, velveteen, glass bead/beads. Formerly owned by Moses Fielding (Mohegan, 1833–1897). National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. Catalog number 1/1148.



**Figure 17** Haudenosaunee moccasins, ca. 1880. Hide, glass beads, and cotton lining. The Elizabeth Cole Butler Collection, accession number 2013.38.40a,b. Courtesy of the Portland Art Museum.

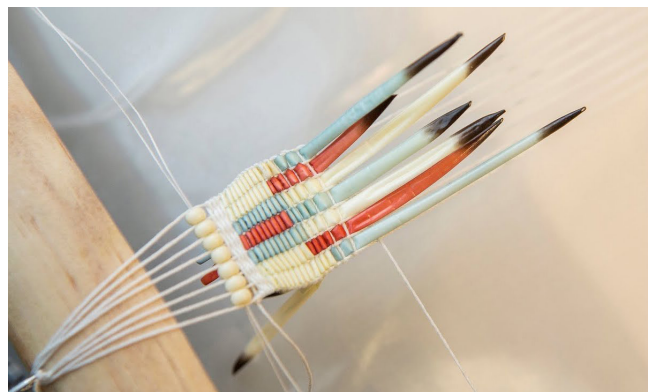


**Figure 18** Woven quillwork band and single-line quillwork designs on Woodruff moccasin vamp. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author.



**Figure 19** Closer view of cordage and pony beads used on the woven band. Note how the finished band was sewn onto the moccasin vamp. Historic Northampton Museum. Photo by author.

**Figure 20** Quill loom weaving in progress. Still from Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center Alaska channel, “Creating Quillwork 6 (of 8): Weaving”, YouTube video, 10:43, Oct 17, 2018, <https://youtu.be/D4XVSOQ5fII>





**Figure 21** Group of 11 Iroquois Beadwork Objects, Lot 221. Fine and Decorative Arts of the Globe, January 19, 2019, Revere Auctions, St. Paul, Minnesota.

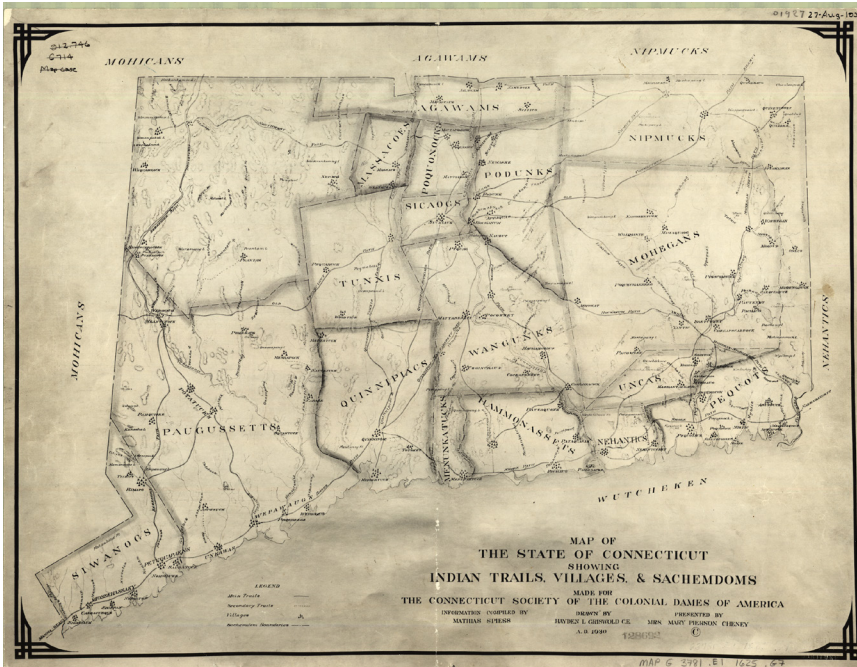
**Figure 22** Leith Mahkewa, *At the Water's Edge*, 2019. Velvet, ribbon, glass beads; yoke 0.5 x 17 x 20 in., purse 9.5 x 8 x 0.5 in. with 60 in. ribbon strap, cuffs 6 x 8 x 0.5 in. Copyright Leith Mahkewa, reproduced with permission.



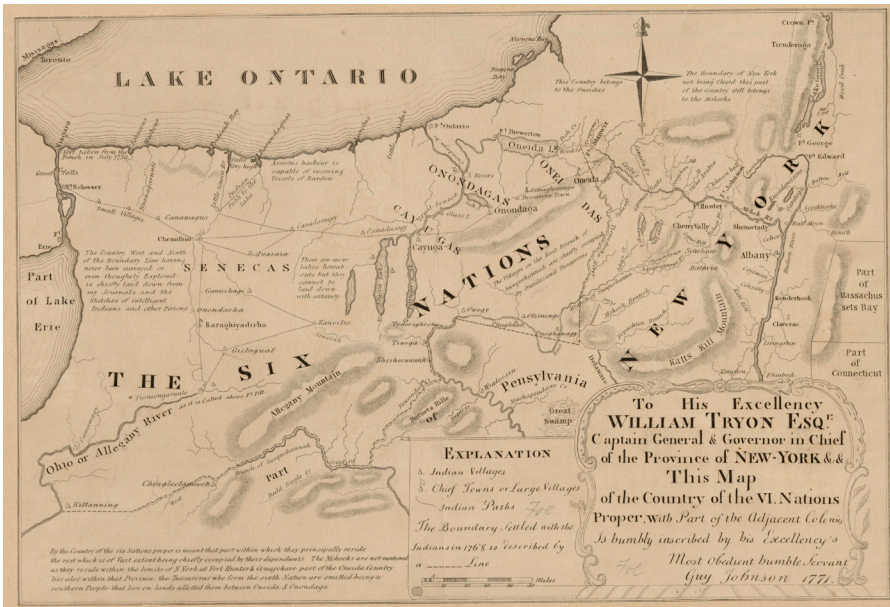
**Figure 23** William Wood, *The South part of New-England as it Planted this year, 1634* in Wood, *New Englands prospect*, (London: Thomas Coates, 1634). Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library.



**Figure 24** John Seller, hydrographer, and Joshua Hill, *A Mapp of New England*, 1675. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library.



**Figure 25** Mathias Speiss, and Hayden Griswold, cartographer, *Map of the State of Connecticut Showing Indian Trails, Villages, & Sachemdoms*, 1930. Courtesy of the University of Connecticut Library Map and Geographic Information Center.

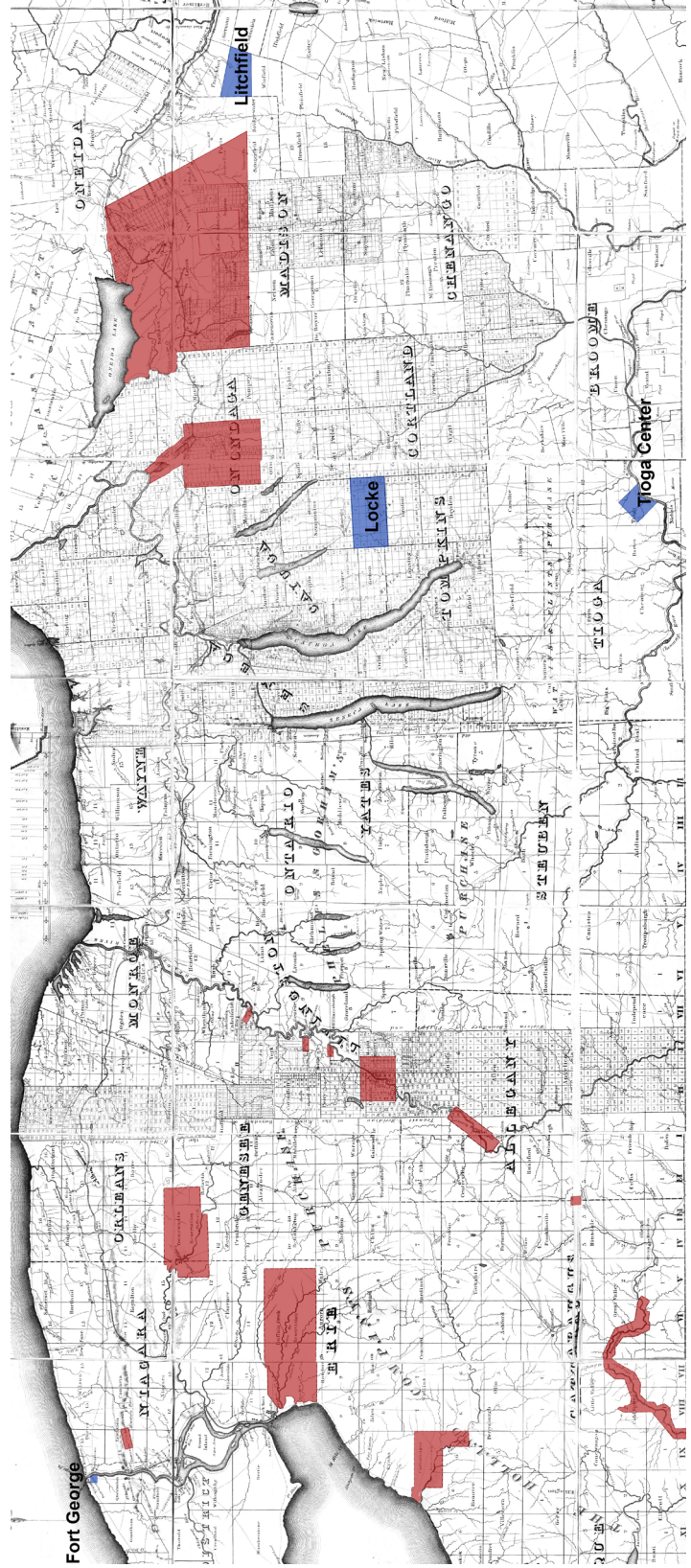


**Figure 26** Guy Johnson, cartographer, *Map of the Country of the VI Nations Proper with Part of the Adjacent Colonies*, 1771. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, New York Public Library.



**Figure 27** Right, Approximate locations of significant Farmington-area sites in the 17th century. Base map from Snazzy Maps, text by author.

**Figure 28** Below, John Ogden Dey, and David H. Vance, *Map of the Western Part of the State Of New York*, 1825. Courtesy of the David Rumsey Map Collection. Cropping, desaturation, colorizing, and text by author.





**Figure 29** John Verelst, *Tejonihokarawa (baptized Hendrick)*. Named *Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row*, *Emperor of the Six Nations*, 1710. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 64.5 cm. Library and Archives of Canada, Acquired with a special grant from the Canadian Government.

**Figure 30** John Verelst, *Sagayenkwaraton (baptized Brant)*. Named *Sa Ga Yeath Qua Pieth Tow*, *King of the Maquas (Mohawk)*, 1710. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 64.3 cm. Library and Archives of Canada, Acquired with a special grant from the Canadian Government.





**Figure 31** Above left, John Verelst, *Etowaucum (baptized Nicholas)*. Named *Etow Oh Koam*, King of the River Nation, 1710. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 64.5 cm. Library and Archives of Canada, Acquired with a special grant from the Canadian Government.



**Figure 32** Above right, John Verelst, *Onigoheriago (baptized John)*. Named *Ho Nee Yeath Taw No Row*, King of the Generethgarich, 1710. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 64.5 cm. Library and Archives of Canada, Acquired with a special grant from the Canadian Government.



**Figure 33** Pair of moccasins made of skin, porcupine quills, hair, metal, and glass beads, 1710 (?). 16.5 x 7 x 23 cm. Courtesy of the British Museum. Museum number Am1921,1014.84.a-b.



**Figure 34** Benjamin West, *Colonel Guy Johnson and Karonghyontye (Captain David Hill)*, 1776. Oil on canvas, 79 1/2 x 54 5/16 in. Andrew W. Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

**Figure 35** Pair of moccasins from the painter Benjamin West's studio, 1750–1770. Skin, porcupine quill, metal, hair, 24 x 10 x 9 cm. Courtesy of the British Museum. Museum number Am1991,09.2.a-b.





**Figure 36** Juan Cuiris, *Weeping Virgin*, ca. 1590. Feather mosaic and paper on copper. Schatzkammer, Vienna.

**Figure 37** Philippe Thomassin and Jean Turpin, *Weeping Virgin*, ca. 1590. Engraving after a drawing by Giulio Clovio. Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden.



**Figure 38** Engraving in Ferrante Imperato, *Dell' historia naturale [...]*, (Napoli: Costantino Vitale, 1599). Typ 525.99.461, Houghton Library, Harvard University.



**Figure 39** G. Wingendorp, engraver, *Musei Wormiani Historia*, in Ole Worm, *Museum Wormianum [...]*, (Amsterdam: apud Lvdovicvm & Danielem Elzevirios, 1655). Lund University Library.



**Figure 40** *Powhatan's Mantle*, Southern Chesapeake Bay region, Virginia, United States, ca. 1600–38. Leather, shell and sinew, 235 x 160 cm. Presented by Elias Ashmole, 1677, from the Tradescant Collection, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Accession number AN1685 B.205



**Figure 41** *Lieutenant John Caldwell*, ca. 1780. Oil on canvas, 125.5 x 100 cm. King's Regiment Collection, National Museums Liverpool.

**Figure 42** *Right*, Anishinaabe outfit collected by Andrew Foster, ca. 1790, Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan. Birchbark, cotton, linen, wool, feathers, silk, silver brooches, porcupine quills, horsehair, hide, sinew. Exchange with George Terasaki. The Andrew Foster Collection, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. Catalog numbers 24/2000, 24/2001, 24/2002, 24/2003, 24/2004, 24/2006, 24/2012, 24/2016, 24/2022, 24/2034.



**Figure 43** *Below*, Anishinaabe moccasins collected by Andrew Foster, ca. 1790, Fort Michilimackinac, Michigan. Deer hide, sinew. Exchange with George Terasaki. The Andrew Foster Collection, National Museum of the American Indian, Washington, D.C. Catalog number 24/2014.





**Figure 44** Alvan Fisher, *A General View of the Falls of Niagara*, 1820. Oil on canvas, 34 3/8 x 48 1/8 in. Museum purchase. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.C.

**Figure 45** Frederic Edwin Church, *Niagara*, 1857. Oil on canvas, 40 × 90 1/2 in. Corcoran Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



**Figure 46** Ferdinand Richardt, *Underneath Niagara Falls*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 40 x 31 1/2 in. Purchase, Judith H. Deutsch Bequest and Daniel Hammerman Gift, 1980. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

**Figure 47** Man's moccasins, probably Tuscarora, 1904. Hide, cloth, velvet, beads. Gift Of Kenneth M. Maxred, Collections of the Public Museum of Grand Rapids, Michigan. 1986.101.1. From: Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998). Plate 26.



**Figure 48** George Stacy, “No. 98--- The Indian Curiosity Store and Rapids,” Niagara Falls, New York, ca. 1865. Albumen stereograph print. Library of Congress. Photograph shows the Tugby & Walker Variety Store.

**Figure 49** Three Native American women sit beneath a tree selling souvenirs on Luna Island, Niagara Falls, Canada, ca. 1880. Albumen photograph, 16.8 x 23.5 cm. Wellcome Collection.





**Figure 50** Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Mémin, *Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) in frontiersman's regalia, 1806–1807*. Watercolor, black ink, and graphite with touches of red gouache on heavy paper, mounted on card, 6 1/8 x 3 3/4 in. Gift of the Heirs of Hall Park McCullough, New-York Historical Society.



**Figure 51** Pierre Charles Baquoy, after Carle Vernet, *Costume Parisien, (1079)*: 'Gilet croisé. Pantalon de Nankin Rayé.' Published in *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, August 10, 1810. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



**Figure 52** Pierre Charles Baquoy, after Martial Deny, *Costume Parisien, (1083)*: 'Chapeau de Paille orné d'un Cordon de Plumes. Garnitures de Robe Plissées.' Published in *Journal des Dames et des Modes*, August 25, 1810. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



**Figure 53** Moccasin, Iroquois, 1900–1915. Tanned and smoked hide, cotton cloth, velvet, glass beads, cotton tape, wool tape, paper, cardboard, metal sequins, cotton thread, 8.5 x 8.2 x 23 cm. Gift of Mr. David Ross McCord, M1078.9-10, © McCord Museum.

## Appendix: Genealogical Materials

Published accounts of family histories can be a valuable source for tracing a person's genealogy, but these histories often do not adequately document their sources, sometimes making it hard to differentiate histories based on lore from those which are the result of years, if not decades, of diligent research on the part of their compilers. Susan Woodruff Abbott's book on the descendants of Matthew Woodruff was invaluable for sketching out Martha Woodruff's pedigree, which I then verified through primary sources. Databases like Ancestry.com and FamilySearch.org have made genealogical research far easier than it was in the past, though they are not without their own problems, such as inaccurate transcriptions. To avoid transcription issues, I used microfilm copies (or digitized microfilms) of the original documents when reconstructing Martha Woodruff's family tree and the movements of its members.

### CENSUS

- 1940 U.S. Census, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Northampton, enumeration district 48, sheet 13A, dwelling 291, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication T627, roll 1600.
- 1930 U.S. Census, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Northampton, enumeration district 32, sheet 1B, dwelling 12, family 17, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication T626, roll 912.
- 1920 U.S. Census, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Northampton, enumeration district 165, sheet 10B, dwelling 229, family 233, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication T625, roll 705.
- 1910 U.S. Census, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Northampton, enumeration district 698, sheet 2B, dwelling 40, family 40, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication T624, roll 593.

- 1900 U.S. Census, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Northampton, enumeration district 631, sheet 16B, dwelling 126, family 133, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication T623, roll 654.
- 1880 U.S. Census, Hampshire County, Massachusetts, population schedule, Northampton, enumeration district 347, p. 80D, dwelling 706, family 825, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication T9, roll 538.
- 1870 U.S. Census, Tioga County, New York, population schedule, Tioga, p. 82, dwelling 663, family 686, James Woodruff, William C. Woodruff, Martha C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M593, roll 1103.
- 1865 New York State Census, database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QVNN-J6QN>), James Woodruff in household of Wm C Woodruff, District 03, Tioga, Tioga, New York, United States; citing source p. 9, dwelling 64, family 59, county clerk, board of supervisors and surrogate court offices from various counties. Utica and East Hampton Public Libraries, New York; FHL microfilm 816,366.
- 1860 U.S. Census, Tioga County, New York, population schedule, Tioga, p. 49, dwelling 371, family 369, James Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M653, roll 867.
- 1855 New York State Census, database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:K632-CPS>), Wm C Woodruff in household of Jas Woodruff, District 3, Tioga, Tioga, New York, United States; citing dwelling 79, family 83, county clerk offices, New York; FHL microfilm 816,364.
- 1850 U.S. Census, Tioga County, New York, population schedule, Tioga, p. 79B (stamped), dwelling 1133, family 1154, James Woodruff, William C. Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M432, roll 604.
- 1840 U.S. Census, Tioga County, New York, population schedule, Tioga, p. 121, James Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M704, roll 344.
- 1820 U.S. Census, Cayuga County, New York, population schedule, Locke, p. 137 (stamped), Isaac Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M33, roll 68.
- 1810 U.S. Census, Cayuga County, New York, population schedule, Locke, p. 1121, Isaac Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M252, roll 31.
- 1800 U.S. Census, Herkimer County, New York, population schedule, Litchfield, p. 515, Isaac Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M32, roll 21.

1800 U.S. Census, Hartford County, Connecticut, population schedule, Farmington, p. 392, Zebulon Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M32, roll 1.

1790 U.S. Census, Hartford County, Connecticut, population schedule, Farmington, p. 507, Zebulon Woodruff; image, *Ancestry.com*; citing NARA microfilm publication M637, roll 1.

#### PROBATE

Hartford district, Connecticut, Probate files collection, early to 1880, Family History Library (hereafter abbreviated FHL) microfilm 1022276, no. 6248, Farmington (1682), will and inventory of Matthew Woodruff, Sr.

———, no. 6249, Farmington (1691), will and inventory of Matthew Woodruff, Jr.

———, no. 6242, Farmington (1692), will and inventory of John Woodruff.

———, no. 6246, Farmington (1732), will and inventory of Joseph Woodruff.

———, no. 6253, Farmington (1732), will and inventory of Samuel Woodruff.

———, no. 3099, Farmington (1789), will and inventory of James Woodruff.

———, no. 3166, Farmington (1810), will and inventory of Zebulon Woodruff.

Tioga County, New York, Will books (record of probate, letters of administration, wills) 1798–1905, FHL microfilm 811565, Will book E-1, 1871–1873, pg. 49–54, will of William Woodruff.

#### CHURCH

First Congregational Church (Farmington, Connecticut). Church records, 1652–1938. Connecticut State Library, Hartford. FHL microfilm 4241. Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Congregational Church (Avon, Connecticut). Church records, 1798–1921. Connecticut State Library, Hartford. FHL microfilm 1007921. Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.

## TOWN/LAND

Land Records. Town Hall, Farmington, Connecticut.

"Massachusetts Marriages, 1841–1915," database with images, *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:N4M1-1Y6>), William C Woodruff and Jerusha Ann Williams, 1 Jun 1862; citing Ashfield, Franklin, Massachusetts; State Archives, Boston; FHL microfilm 1433019.

## MILITARY

New York, War of 1812 Payroll Abstracts for New York State Militia, 1812–1815, Private James Woodruff, Capt. Moses Wisner's company, Lt. Col. Henry Bloom's regiment, September 11, 1813, database with images, *Ancestry.com*; citing War of 1812 abstracts of payrolls for New York State militia ("payroll cards"), 1812–1814. Series B0810. Adjutant General's Office. New York State Archives, Albany, New York.

New York, War of 1812 Payroll Abstracts for New York State Militia, 1812–1815, Private James Woodruff, Capt. Moses Wisner's company, Lt. Col. Henry Bloom's First regiment, October 11, 1813, database with images, *Ancestry.com*; citing War of 1812 abstracts of payrolls for New York State militia ("payroll cards"), 1812–1814. Series B0810. Adjutant General's Office. New York State Archives, Albany, New York.

New York (State), Adjutant General's Office. Claim applications for service in the War of 1812. Series A3352, James Woodruff, claim 11057.

## FAMILY/GENEALOGICAL

Corbin manuscript collection, Sub-group XIV, Genealogies, "Ancestors of Martha C. Woodruff (1863- ) of Northampton, Mass., including allied families of Edwards, Lyon, Mather, Stoddard, Taylor, and Williams;" FHL microfilm 928685. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

———, Sub-group XIV, Genealogies - Bible records: A-W, "Family Bible of James Woodruff 1791–1876 Tioga, NY;" FHL microfilm 928688. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

Martha Woodruff genealogy documents, Historic Northampton Museum, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Martha Woodruff accession documents, Historic Northampton Museum, Northampton, Massachusetts.

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