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Rediscovered Link in the Covenant Chain: Previously Unpublished Transcripts of New York Indian Treaty Minutes. Edited by Daniel Richter.

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#### Author

Kawashima, Yasuhide

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Powered by the <u>California Digital Library</u> University of California ment, but one would be ill-advised to rely on it as their main guide to unpublished Indian materials in the Southeast. Scholars will have to continue to depend on their best judgment to identify by educated guessing where the goodies might be hidden. Just because the Florida Historical Society, the Mississippi Historical Society, the South Carolina Historical Society, and the Museum of the Cherokee Indian did not reply to Chepesiuk and Shankman's questionnaire does not mean that they and many of the 1876 other silent libraries, archives, and museums in the Southeast own nothing of interest to students of Native America.

Michael D. Green Dartmouth College

**Rediscovered Link in the Covenant Chain: Previously Unpublished Transcripts of New York Indian Treaty Minutes**. Edited by Daniel Richter. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1982 (Reprinted from the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, Volume 92, Part 1, April, 1982). 43 pp. \$4.50 Paper.

This brief booklet presents an important document, which was given in about 1763 to Thomas Jefferson, who in turn donated it to the American Antiguarian Society in 1814, when he became a newly elected member of the Society. Jefferson, who considered Indian affairs to be "the department of our history in which materials are most defective," wanted to place the paper in a repository where "it may at some time be called into use," and hoped that the paper "may perhaps offer something not elsewhere preserved." This untitled folio volume (nine-bythirteen inches) of thirty-one pages by an unknown author, described by Jefferson as "a compilation of historical facts relating, some of them to other states, but the most to Massachusetts, and especially to the Indian affairs of that quarter," has been duly catalogued but nearly unnoticed by scholars. Daniel Richter is now for the first time bringing out to scholars a resource that lefferson wished them to utilize.

Jefferson's notebook, apparently prepared for Governor William Burnet in 1727, when he was about to move from the governorship of New York to that of Massachusetts, contains a chronicle of events between 1620 and 1691, arranged in three parallel columns entitled "English Discoveries & Settlements &ca in North America," "French Discoveries & Settlement . . . ," and "State of the Indian Tribes in North America," "French Discoveries & Settlement . . . ," and "State of the Indian Tribes in North America." Richter finds the first ten pages to yield "almost nothing of scholarly interest," but he recognizes the rest of the manuscript as consisting of many important extracts and paraphrases from the transactions of the Commissioners at Albany (the New York Commissioners for Indian Affairs), who oversaw relations between the colony and its northern and western Indian neighbors from the 1670s to the 1750s.

The notebook, however, is by no means the only surviving work based upon the lost Albany records. The other main sources are Peter Wraxall, An Abridgment of the Indian Affairs Contained in Four Folio Volumes, Transacted in the Colony of New York, from the Year 1678 to the Year 1751, ed. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1915); Cadwallader Colden, The History of the Five Indian Nations Depending on the Province of New-York in America (New York, 1727); and Lawrence Leder, ed., The Livingston Indian Records, 1666-1723 (Gettysburg, Pa., 1956). Although the notebook repeats much of the materials found in other sources, the editor maintains that the compiler's paraphrases occasionally have the peculiar virtue of supplying the names of Indians and other minutiae omitted in more extensive versions recorded elsewhere. The editor also points out that the notebook in many cases presents minutes of conferences apparently not perserved anywhere else.

This booklet publishes the parts of the Albany minutes for which the precis in the notebook are apparently the only surviving copies or for which the manuscript account varies considerably from versions published elsewhere. The essay clearly depicts the nature and content of the materials. Editorial notes are extensive both in the essay section and in the appendices.

Several passages cited, for example, underscore the roles of Massachusetts, Maryland, and Virginia in the Covenant Chain. At Albany, Mohawk spokesmen in 1679 stressed the importance of the New England link, and in 1684 they reiterated it and emphasized Albany to be the only proper place for meetings between English colonies and the Five Nations. The booklet also

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covers the section of the notebook that clarifies the extent to which the war with New France influenced the Iroquois in their dealings with the English during the 1680s. A series of Iroquois speeches from July 31, 1684, which the notebook records in more detail than do other sources, show that Iroquois headmen were eager to place their peoples under some form of English protection, and that the move was not solely Thomas Dongan's idea. Although the Five Nations were never organized into the "Iroquois Empire" and thus not only were unable but were unwilling to dominate other Indians, Rediscovered Links in the Covenant Chain demonstrates the intricate influence the Five Nations extended over the other Indians. It cites passages that clarify the subordinate role in the Covenant Chain played by the Indians of Schaghticoke, a village composed of Mohicans and refugee New England Indians whom Edmund Andros settled after King Philip's War. The Schaghticoke had been addressed as "children'' of their "father" corlaer (the traditional Iroquois name for the headman of the people of Albany) in the terminology of the Covenant Chain, which obligated them to war on the French. But the Indians turned to their "fathers" the Iroquois for advice and preferred to remain neutral unless attacked; when pressed by the English to take up arms, they claimed that their subordinate status in the Covenant Chain forbade them to make decisions about war or peace independently of the Iroquois. The notebook also verifies Cadwallader Colden's account of a scathing address in the summer of 1684 by the Mohawk orator Odianne to three of the other Iroquois nations regarding their raids in Virginia, for which Colden has been accused of misrecording.

The booklet under review is an essay on Jefferson's notebook, highlighting the essence and significance of the materials included, not a full reproduction of the notebook. For this reason, the usefulness of the booklet is limited, although it sheds some new light on various aspects of the English-Iroquois relationship during the late 1670s and 1680s. Richter insists that the cumbersome three-column format, the vast amount of mundane and derivative material from published eighteenth-century sources, and the availability elsewhere of verbatim copies of many of the Albany records make complete publication unnecessary. One may wish, however, that the editor had resorted to the traditional method of presenting documents and let the materials speak for themselves. The Indian treaty minutes, as the editor clearly recognized, could be utilized in a variety of research areas: Indian speeches, Indian politics, Indian land, inter-tribal relations as well as Indian-white relations in politics and war. The materials, despite the availability of some of them elsewhere, would have been more useful to historians for their many different purposes if they had been published in toto, or at least in a substantial part with a more rigid editorial framework, chronological or topical, instead of being integrated in the essay. Specific points of comparison and contrast with other sources could be easily and clearly indicated, and extensive repetition could be avoided by abridgment. In order to bring out the inherent nature and value of the materials, it would be necessary to reproduce the materials in the original pattern, instead of making a compartmentalized presentation. This notebook was apparently prepared for the newly appointed governor of Massachusetts for him to grasp in a nutshell the background of the wilderness diplomacy among the English, French, and Indians. Was the document useful to him, for whom it was prepared? A brief examination of Governor Burnet's Indian policy might have provided an interesting clue to the intrinsic value of the notebook.

On the whole, however, the booklet introduces an important document, elucidating its value and usefulness. The materials discussed vividly illustrate the workings of the Iroquois councils and their policies toward the English, French, and western Indians in the late seventeenth century. Richter's essay serves well in stimulating, as Jefferson hoped, scholarly attention to the paper.

*Yasuhide Kawashima* University of Texas at El Paso

**Bibliography of the Languages of Native California Including Closely Related Languages of Adjacent Areas**. By William Bright. Metuchen, N.J., & London: The Scarecrow Press, 1982. 221 pp. \$16.50 Cloth.

Misconceptions about the nature, number, and relationships of languages native to the Americas abound. But for the nonspecialist who would seek reliable information, the task of iden-