THE HUDSON RIVER VALLEY REVIEW

A Journal of Regional Studies

MARIST

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The Hudson River Valley Review (ISSN 1546-3486) is published twice a year by the Hudson River Valley Institute at Marist College.

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Post: The Hudson River Valley Review
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Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

Subscription: The annual subscription rate is $20 a year (2 issues), $35 for two years (4 issues). A one-year institutional subscription is $30. Subscribers are urged to inform us promptly of a change of address.

POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Hudson River Valley Institute, Marist College, 3399 North Road, Poughkeepsie, NY 12601-1387

From the Publisher

Arguably the most important year in Hudson River Valley history since 1909, we are already in the midst of celebrations surrounding the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial. This issue commemorates the accomplishments and legacies of all three honorees—Henry Hudson, Robert Fulton, and Samuel de Champlain—as well as the lasting contributions of the commission that planned events surrounding the 1909 Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary.

We open with a review of the 1909 festivities and follow with a brief survey of Dutch archival history from the preeminent historian and translator of New Netherland manuscripts. For the complete story on Robert Fulton, readers should reference our Autumn 2007 issue, which contained a lengthy biography of the inventor. Here its author offers a brief summary of Fulton's steamboat voyage and how it revolutionized transportation, in America and around the world. Delving into the Champlain Valley for the first time, we begin at the beginning, with an article tracing the Native American presence there from prehistory to the American Revolution. We return to Hudson with an overview written by William T. Reynolds, the captain of the replica ship *Half Moon*, and an excerpt of Robert Juet's journal of the voyage. Joyce Goodfriend illustrates both the power of the Dutch cultural legacy and the tensions caused by the British control after 1664. Lastly, André Senecal explains Champlain and the circumstances that led to his actions in 1609. We conclude with two more articles exploring the signal contributions Hudson and Champlain made to local and world history.

Our Regional History Forums focus on the Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial Commission, which has organized the yearlong celebration, and Walkway Over the Hudson State Park, perhaps the greatest legacy of the 400th celebration. Finally, we close with one author's musings over the lasting mysteries surrounding Hudson's 1609 journey. As Executive Director Tara Sullivan and Roosevelt-Vanderbilt National Historic Sites Superintendent Sarah Olson note in their foreword, there are a plethora of once-in-a-lifetime events taking place throughout the state this year. We encourage you to take advantage of them.

Thomas S. Wermuth

This issue of The Hudson River Valley Review
has been generously underwritten by the following:

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Call for Essays

The Hudson River Valley Review is anxious to consider essays on all aspects of the Hudson Valley—its intellectual, political, economic, social, and cultural history, its prehistory, architecture, literature, art, and music—as well as essays on the ideas and ideologies of regionalism itself. All articles in *The Hudson River Valley Review* undergo peer analysis.

Submission of Essays and Other Materials

HRVR prefers that essays and other written materials be submitted as two double-spaced typescripts, generally no more than thirty pages long with endnotes, along with a computer disk with a clear indication of the operating system, the name and version of the word-processing program, and the names of documents on the disk. Illustrations or photographs that are germane to the writing should accompany the hard copy. Otherwise, the submission of visual materials should be cleared with the editors beforehand. Illustrations and photographs are the responsibility of the authors. No materials will be returned unless a stamped, self-addressed envelope is provided. No responsibility is assumed for their loss. An e-mail address should be included whenever possible.

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Cynthia Owen Philip, an independent historian, has written extensively on the Hudson River Valley. She is the author of *Robert Fulton: A Biography* and the prize winning *Wilderstein and the Suckleys: A Hudson River Legacy*. Her articles and essays have appeared in national and local magazines, and her history *Rhinecliff, N.Y., 1686-2007* was published this year by Block Dome Press.

Nicholas Westbrook, Executive Director Emeritus of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, was awarded the Katherine M. Coffey Award in 2006 by the Mid-Atlantic Association of Museums for more than forty years of "distinguished accomplishment in the museum field." He has written on a range of topics in 18th- and 19th-century history, and has contributed articles to *American Indian Places: A Historical Guidebook*, *The Encyclopedia of New York State* and edited *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum (1991-2009).*

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Joseph-André Senécal teaches Québec culture and literature and served as director of University of Vermont's Canadian Studies Program from 1998-2006. He is presently writing *Everyday Life at Point-à-la-Chevelure in New France*, a history of the first European community in the southern Champlain Valley.

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Vol. 25, No. 2, Spring 2009

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***On the Cover:* Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary Postcard. Courtesy of Hudson River Valley Heritage, HRVH.org, from the collection of Vivian Yess Wadlin**

Introduction to the Quadricentennial Commemorative Edition

This is a momentous year in New York State and especially the Hudson River Valley. We are commemorating the 400th anniversary of the simultaneous explorations of Henry Hudson and Samuel de Champlain on the waterways that now bear their names, as well as the 200th anniversary of Robert Fulton's successful maiden steamboat voyage on the Hudson River. At the same time, we are celebrating the cultures that colonized this land—Native American, Dutch, and French—as well as the legacy of New York's Hudson-Fulton Tercentenary in 1909.

One important focus of the celebration 100 years ago was the protection of open space, including parkland in New York City, Bear Mountain, and, perhaps most important, the Palisades. In addition to its environmental legacy, the Tercentenary was marked by bridge and roadway improvements, parkways that facilitated transportation and recreation, and a strong cultural-preservation movement. We continue to benefit from all of these.

The completion of three Quadricentennial Legacy Projects will build upon the tremendous work accomplished by organizers a century ago. The Crown Point Lighthouse on Lake Champlain, dedicated in 1912 to commemorate Champlain's exploration, has been completely restored and relighted. In October, Walkway Over the Hudson will open, completing the stunning transformation of the historic Poughkeepsie-Highland Railroad Bridge into our newest state park—and the world's longest pedestrian walkway. In New York City, a new public promenade surrounding Governor's Island will provide thrilling views of Manhattan and New York Harbor.

Planning and implementing the Quadricentennial celebration has been a collaborative venture. Nowhere is this better illustrated than Walkway Over the Hudson, which began with a grassroots movement and has involved legislators on the federal, state, and local levels; state agencies (including the Bridge Authority; the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation; and the Department of Environmental Conservation); the Hudson River Valley National Heritage Area; the Governor's Office; and nonprofit organizations such the Dyson Foundation and Scenic Hudson. Working together, each individual, agency, and organization has built upon their own mission to achieve something far greater than they could have accomplished alone. This and other efforts throughout the region have served to strengthen communication and cooperation—another important legacy of this celebration that we hope will benefit the region for generations.

Myriad communities, national and state parks, historic sites, and museums from Manhattan to the Adirondacks have planned exciting and educational events throughout the year. Festivities officially kicked off at the Knickerbocker Ice Festival at Rockland Lake in February and will continue throughout the year with parades, expos, demonstrations, concerts, lectures, exhibitions, and conferences. A complete listing of over 1,000 Quadricentennial events is available at *www.exploreny400.com*; *www.hudson400.com*; and *www.Dutchess400.com*.

We invite you to learn what the hoopla is all about by reading this commemorative issue of *The Hudson River Valley Review*.

Tara Sullivan
Sarah Olson

ALL ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE VOYAGES AND EXPLORATIONS OF SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN (1604-1616) NARRATED BY HIMSELF.

Samuel de Champlain

1609 and All That: Champlain and the Iroquois[1]

Joseph-André Senécal

Historians invariably portray Samuel de Champlain as the aggressor who shattered the pristine universe of the pre-contact Northeast Woodlands. Among Parkmanians he is recognized as a lead actor in the ideological war between France and the Anglo-Saxon world, a thousand years of struggle-to-win-men's-souls that Kevin Phillips could have aptly termed the Cousin's War.[2] In more recent times, Champlain has been held captive by the New Historians who lend him all the sins of the White European intruder, the carrier of cataclysmic diseases and the arquebus, harbinger of the modern gun and other engines of mass destruction. Champlain himself unwittingly contributed to these facile knee-jerking Jenkin's Ears[3]—these red herrings designed to obfuscate, by supplying posterity with that icon, that endlessly reproduced image of a European male, clad in a quixotic knight's armor and firing a volley at unsuspecting *enfants naturels*. The engraving "Deffaite des Yroquois au Lac de Champlain," first published in the 1613 installment of Champlain's *Voyages*[4], is found in endless textbooks and scholarly publications. Often it is the only image that illustrates the French presence in North America. Every element in the engraving seems to conspire to lend it the power and danger of caricatures. Bruce G. Trigger, in *The Children of Aataentsic: A History of the Huron People to 1660*,[5] studied every minutiae of the composition and underlined its crippling shortcoming as documentation. The sketch of Champlain, translated by an anonymous engraver of the time, offers a case study of how seventeenth-century reality was reduced to models from Classical antiquity and powerful images of the Americas instilled by initial illustrations of Brazil and other tropical or semi-tropical settings.[6] But it is not the weeping, torrid vegetation (easily mistaken for willows) nor the well-aligned canoes (looking suspiciously like Amazonian pirogues) that fascinate the Anglo-Saxon historian; it is that firmly planted man in a Cortes- or Pizarro-like accoutrement who aims so cockily his engine while two accomplices, too craven to face the *ingénus*, fire from the safety of the vegetation. Three volleys went off on that July dawn of 1609. For deconstructionists, the violation reverberates past

Wounded Knee. For traditionalists clinging to the romantic genesis narrative of Francis Parkman, the murderous shots open the epic struggle for the continent. *In principio erat* Le French Aggresseur, Champlain, the dark angel who brought the cousins' war to a paradisiacal world awaiting the Pilgrims' progress. The most enthusiastic Pharisees have pronounced the man a war criminal, a hyperbole that Parkman himself would have resisted. Our understanding of Champlain is a collage of clichés that will not resist a sound reappraisal. What can we make of the event of July 30, 1609?

On that day, Champlain participated in a ritualized confrontation, a battle, albeit an unconventional one, which broke the rules of engagement.[7] Champlain was as ignorant of those rules as the other participants were of the European code of dueling or the knightly ethics of the *tournoi,* the tournament, which had allowed a noble like Gabriel de Lorges, comte de Montgomery, to kill his king, Henry II of France, with impunity. The firing of three arquebuses upset the aboriginal rules of combat; but such conventions were already being transformed by more than fifty years of contacts with the *Asseroni,* the Ax Makers, a term the Mohawks reserved for the new purveyors of metal implements. Were the Iroquois

Native Costumes

facing Champlain and his party transfixed by their first look at an *Asseroni* or were they startled by his sudden manifestation? We will never know. What is certain is that the coming of the European was well-announced. Whether or not the Iroquois at Ticonderoga had already contemplated visitors from across the sea, they had heard of them and felt the impact of their initial contacts with native populations frequenting the thousands of miles of the Atlantic shores and the St. Lawrence River. The Iroquois of New York State, the Five Nations of the Long House, were twice removed from the many groups who, for at least four generations, had spied on explorers such as Giovanni da Verrazano (1524), Walter Raleigh or John White (1585), and Bartholomew Gosnold (1602) to name but a few; or approached those thousands of Basque, French, and English seamen who enticed them to trade furs and women for precious metal implements and unheard-of *objets de luxe* such as glass beads or brass bells. Although they were not the first to interact with Europeans, the New York Iroquois were connected to the radiating trade network of the Northeast Woodlands. They were at the center of far-reaching watery connections that could bring copper from Lake Superior to Chesapeake Bay and wampum shells from the Carolinas to the hunting grounds of the boreal forests. Articles of trade shuttled through the territory of the Five Nations; so did news from the St. Lawrence, the Bay of Fundy, the tidewaters of Virginia, or the shores of Georgian Bay. All the North American natives, including the Iroquois, were very well informed through an extensive and sophisticated network of communication.

Already, in 1524, Giovanni da Verrazano had encountered aborigines in the Gulf of Maine who wanted to barter for hooks, awls, and needles, and other iron objects but who, because of previous encounters, were so defiant of Europeans they conducted trade from the distance of long ropes. In 1542, when Spanish authorities interviewed Basque fishermen to test the veracity of Jacques Cartier's reports, a captain from Bayonne revealed that Aborigines in the Gulf of St. Lawrence understood all languages: French, English, and Gascon.[8] Archeological sites document that well before Champlain's time, French trade objects made their way to Iroquoia via the Hudson, the Susquehanna, and the Potomac. Seneca and Onondaga sites suggest that French articles first entered New York State in the sixteenth century via the Middle Atlantic Coast.[9] Aborigines had been visiting Europe since 1538! A few, among them one Iroquois from the village of Stadacony (Québec City), had made the trip back to America. By the turn of the century, influential trading agents such as the Micmac sagamo from La Hève (Nova Scotia) were visiting European ports like Bayonne to conduct business.[10] The description of the European world by these travelers must have been orally transmitted far

and wide.

Finally, the Iroquois facing a Frenchman in July 1609 could not have been unaware of the progress of Champlain himself, his reconnoitering of the St. Lawrence and the Lower Richelieu in 1603, and his explorations on the Atlantic Coast (as far south as Cape Cod) between 1604 and 1606. Champlain's military excursion to Lake Champlain was part of his third voyage to the Northeast Woodlands, a two-year stay that had begun with the very noticeable construction of a permanent fortified trading post at Québec. Champlain did not come unannounced.

To explain the events and decisions leading to the Beaver Wars (a great disturbance that emptied the Great Lakes of their population) and the alliance between the Dutch and the Five Nations (to the detriment of the French), one needs to invoke geography and the evolving *rapport de force* among the nations of the Northeast Woodlands rather than the battle of July 30, 1609. The Iroquois acknowledged Champlain as the representative of a new presence, one they could have invited under the Great Tree of Peace. They would work such an accommodation for the Dutch, far less compatible foreigners whom they considered ill-mannered, avaricious, and predatory. But the Five Nations traded with Albany and Manhattan, not Québec or Trois-Rivières, the second trading post that the French constructed in 1634. The logic and interest of trade determined the identity of friends and foes in the Northeast Woodlands. Under the temptation of power and gain, and the imperative of survival, the French compatibility with Iroquoian world views carried no more consequence than Champlain's firing of an arquebus. In the end, the Iroquois decided to dominate trade with the Europeans. To achieve this aim, they were willing to conquer other nations and decimate their populations. Soon, when a new enemy appeared—the apocalyptic ride of influenza, smallpox, and measles—the Iroquois intensified their campaign of conversions. The acculturation of Hurons and Algonquians into Mohawks or Cayugas became a vampirian frenzy. The Five Nations survived as a people only by adopting the other, sometimes to a limit where the others came to outnumber their captors.[11]

The *Agniés* (as Champlain called the Mohawks) must have wondered if the establishment of the French at Québec would have as many repercussions on the balance of power in the Northeast Woodlands as the passage of Jacques Cartier in 1535-1536 and the failed settlement of Cartier and La Roque de Roberval at Cap Rouge in 1541-1543. When Champlain explored the St. Lawrence for the first time in 1603, he was retracing the itinerary of Cartier some seventy years earlier. Champlain was furnished with an irreplaceable French-Iroquois diction-

Burial Place

ary, precious pages bearing the trace of the elusive St. Lawrence Iroquois. The dictionary contained place name like "Stadacony," "Hochelaga," and "Canada" as well as basic phrases for diplomacy and survival. But when Champlain tried to use these words, his interlocutors could not understand. Between the passage of Cartier and the arrival of Champlain, the Iroquois of the St. Lawrence Valley had vanished. We know little about the St. Lawrence Iroquois, the nation or nations who were established in villages at Stadacony and Hochelaga (Montréal) and who traveled as far as the Gaspé Peninsula and the Gulf of St. Lawrence to trade with Europeans mariners. Eyewitness accounts of the Cartier and de Roberval expeditions as well as modern archeology document their existence; but little else. Were they a satellite colony that had separated from one of the Five Nations of New York State? Were they related to the Wendats (the Hurons, as the French called their allies of Georgian Bay) or other Iroquois based on the north shore of the Great Lakes?

The mysterious disappearance of the sedentary Laurentian Iroquois could be explained by trade rivalries exacerbated by the race to monopolize trade contacts with the Europeans. It also could have resulted from the import of diseases from the Old Continent. The explanation probably lies in a combination of these two factors and others, such as a climate change that would have made sedentary life very difficult. Nomadic nations, speakers of Algonquian languages, filled the void and quickly took control of vital arteries linking the fur preserves and the river mouths where the fur traders laid anchor: Tadoussac; Trois-Rivières; the confluence of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence at Montréal. We know the name of the nations who were the gatekeepers. They were identified by Champlain himself: the Montagnais for the Saguenay; the Onontchataronon and the Petite Nation Algonquin for the Ottawa River. Most of these nations belonged to a language group known as Algonquian. They were semi-nomadic and ranged over large tracts of lands to hunt, fish, and gather fruits. Other

Medicine Dance

nations, notably the Wendats (known to the French as the Hurons), belonged to the Iroquoian-language family. Although they were sedentary in their habits like their cousins to the south of Lake Ontario, these Iroquois were adversaries, competing with the Five Nations for access to European goods.

This fundamental *rapport de force* that accounts for the human geography north of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes at the time of Champlain's arrival in 1608 seems to have developed as a result of the competition connected with the onset of European trade. We find evidence of the rivalry between the Five Nations and their neighbors to the north as early as 1603, when Champlain and Francois du Pont Gravé met warriors from several nations who had just won a victory over Agniés marauding near the mouth of the Richelieu River. The Five Nations lived at odds with other Iroquoian nations and all of the Algonquian-speaking people who hemmed the Mohawk Valley in all directions but the north, domain of the excluded Iroquois: the Hurons, the Erie, the Petuns, and the Neutrals. The hostile competition for access to the trade outlets had begun probably earlier than 1603. When Champlain founded the settlement at Québec in 1608, the military balance seemed to have been at equilibrium, with neither side having a decisive advantage. Warfare was conducted at a low scale, with each side initiating ritual raids, known as mourning expeditions, when small amounts of warriors were killed or captured for adoption.

The French were influenced by geography and military strategy when they elected to establish themselves far up the St. Lawrence. They opened their trade counter at Québec ("The Place Where the Passage Narrows"), a defensible position on the main fluvial artery to the interior. They selected a site deep inside the St. Lawrence rather than an oceanfront harbor because well before their competitors, they had concluded that the largest and highest-quality supply of beaver pelts came from the Great Lakes and north of the St. Lawrence. Their exploratory expeditions prior to 1608 had confirmed this understanding of the geography of the fur trade. The same forays into the interior allowed them to identify the Algonquian-speaking nations and the Iroquois of the north shores of the Great Lakes, the competitors of the Five Nations, as the military forces who controlled the trade routes. The strategy of Samuel de Champlain, François Gravé du Pont, and Pierre Dugua de Mons, the three major actors in the Québec venture of 1608, was based on a sound analysis of the dynamics at work.

The decision-making process also took into consideration the precariousness of the French implantation. Until the late 1620s, Champlain could count on a transient French population of less than sixty men (in many years, closer to fifty) to operate the post at Québec and cultivate ties with a vastly larger native

Deer Hunt

population that could turn hostile if diplomacy failed. Under these circumstances, Champlain and his associates made the ineluctable decision to cement an alliance with the enemies of the Five Nations and participate in their military campaigns. Champlain not only promoted the raid of 1609, but played a leading role in a second operation at the mouth of the Richelieu River the following year. Later, in 1615, he accompanied the Hurons on an incursion to the Finger Lakes region, where he was severely wounded.

The presence and intervention of Champlain had little effect on the relations between the Five Nations and their neighbors. The Mohawks and other nations of the Long House continued to conduct plundering raids along the St. Lawrence. They could travel safely from the Hudson River to Lake George and Lake Champlain, and down the Richelieu to prey upon Iroquois or Algonquian groups from the Ottawa Valley and beyond, who came to the St. Lawrence to trade. Small boats, detached from oceangoing vessels anchored at Tadoussac, would venture as far as the Lachine Rapids at the island of Montréal to intercept lone canoes and flotillas.

The Dutch, rather than Champlain and the French, transformed the world of the Five Nations. The opening of a trading post, Fort Nassau on Castle Island near Albany, in 1614 came soon after the establishment of the French at Québec in 1608. Like the French, the Dutch were slow to send settlers. Colonization started only in 1624, with the arrival of thirty families, of which eighteen had French as their mother tongue. However, most of these settlers quickly retreated to the mouth of the Hudson and Fort Nassau, renamed Fort Orange, survived as a trading post until the first group of tenants of Rensselaerswyck arrived in 1630. The progress of Québec as an agricultural settlement was equally slow during those years. New France languished until 1632, when substantial agricultural settlement began. The first family arrived in 1617; the first plow in 1627. While the permanent community grew in the 1620s, it counted less than fifty souls when Québec was occupied by English privateers in 1629. Because of the small population, the impact of both colonies on their aboriginal neighbors was minimal in many ways.

The difficult beginnings of both Québec and Albany detract from an important variable that, in time, would prove of great consequence. The French seriously considered a mixing of the European and native populations. Champlain anticipated such a *métissage* and, until 1624, encouraged it. The conversion of Montagnais, Hurons, or Algonquins was to accompany the marriage of native women to Frenchmen. This overture to the aboriginal trading partners was in sharp contrast with the world views of the Dutch, who isolated themselves as much as possible from the Five Nations. It was not until 1634 that Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert visited the Mohawks and the Oneida. As late as 1644, no one at Albany could speak Mohawk[12]. The French had begun to send *truchements* (language and cultural interpreters) to live among the indigenous nations as early as 1610. While Protestant ministers from Albany made feeble attempts to evangelize the Five Nations, these contacts were very limited and of no consequence for the conversion of Mohawks or other Iroquois. This absence of zeal contrasted dramatically with the French Recollects (a branch of the Franciscan family) and the Jesuits who arrived early to follow the *truchements* and live among the Hurons and the Five Nations.

The Attack on the Iroquois Fort

Despite their overture to the other, the French did not succeed in enticing the Iroquois to Québec and the city of Ludovica that Champlain dreamed of building there along the shores of the St. Charles River. In the end, proximity and compatibility drew the Dutch and the Five Nations in a symbiotic relationship based strictly on trade and profit. The Mohawks and the other four nations followed the dictates of geography and traded with the nearest Europeans: the Dutch. Despite their contempt for partners whom they judged uncivilized and predatory, the Five Nations were content to trade with a small colony that practiced a form of apartheid and included guns in the arsenal of trade goods. The appetite of the Five Nations for such articles grew quickly and inordinately. To pay the Dutch with premium fur pelts from the north, the predatory expeditions of the Five Nations grew proportionally: "Beginning in the late 1620s, Iroquois raids on the St. Lawrence focused primarily on traffic moving downriver with furs rather than on canoes paddling upriver with French wares. Many if not most of the pelts that Iroquois sold at Fort Orange were probably hijacked in these expeditions."[13]

Between 1609 and 1625, the year of their first attack on Dutchmen on the Hudson, a major shift had occurred in the foreign policy of the Five Nations. The Long House had decided to remove intermediaries and to trade directly with the Dutch at Fort Nassau. The first victims of this expansionist drive were the Mahicans, who had interposed themselves between the Iroquois and the Dutch. By 1628, the Mahicans had abandoned their lands on the west side of the Hudson River. The Mohawks, who had secured a truce with Champlain and the allies during the Mahican War, returned to pillaging by 1628.

Champlain did not live to see the next phase of the trade wars, which became a life-and-death struggle for the French and their allies. In 1629 he was forced to surrender Québec and its satellite operations to English pirates, the Kirke Brothers. By the time diplomats negotiated the restitution of Québec to France, Champlain had little time to live. He did return to Québec in 1633, but by the following October he had to surrender day-to-day operations of the colony to subalterns and hovering Jesuits.

The first massive outbreak of disease among the Mohawks came in 1633, as Champlain was returning to Québec to die. No one in that year, or the following one, could have projected the cataclysmic effect of the pathogenic agents traded by the Dutch children of Rensselaerswyck or the Dutchmen and Frenchmen whom the Iroquois were capturing (and eating). Without armor or arquebus, the invasion within had begun; it would decimate the enemies of the Five Nations before devouring its own children.

Notes

1. Only the French called the *Ganienkeh* (the People of the Flint) "Iroquois." The word is Algonquian and the French heard it from one of the many nomadic nations with whom they first traded. The Iroquois were surrounded by nations who spoke various dialects of another language, Algonquian. They were known to most speakers of that different idiom as *Naudoways* ("Those Who Speak Another Tongue").
2. Kevin Phillips, *The Cousin's Wars: Religion, Politics and the Triumph of Anglo-America*. New York: Basic Books, 1999. (The subtitle varies in the second edition.) Phillips gives a different meaning to his title of course. But he offers insightful observations about the endless repercussions of 1066, all the way to "Patriot Fries." For a more detailed discussion of the matter at hand, see Robert and Isabelle Tombs. *That Sweet Enemy: The British and the French, from the Sun King to the Present*. London: William Heinemann Press, 2006. The American edition was published by Knopf and recently appeared (2008) as a Vintage Book.
3. The amputation of Jenkin's ear and its repercussions are part of the patriotic frenzy that fueled the unending hostilities between Great Britain and Spain in the eighteenth century. The actual incident occurred in 1731, when a Spanish officer cut off the ear of a British captain suspected of piracy. Soon after, Robert Jenkins (the "victim") was invited to attend Parliament where, it is alleged, the ear was displayed. The Hogarthian rabble baptized the next chapter of the conflict with Spain "Jenkins Ear's War."
4. See *Les Voyages du sieur de Champlain saintongeois, capitaine ordinaire pour le roi en la marine*. Paris: Chez Jean Berjon, 1613. Reprinted in the second volume, translated and edited by John Squair, of Henry Percival Biggar, general editor. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*. Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1926: facing page 101.
5. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976
6. For a generous sample of these images, see Stefan Lorant, ed. *The New World: The First Pictures of America Made by John White and Jacques LeMoyne and Engraved by Theodore de Bry*. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946
7. For a cultural explanation of these rules, see chapter two of the first part of Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeeth-Century America*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press, 1993.
8. See Biggar, Henry Percival, comp. *A Collection of Documents Relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* Ottawa: Public Archives of Canada, 1930: 453-454.
9. See Charles Wray et al. *The Adams and Culbertson Sites*. Rochester (New York): Rochester Museum and Science Center, Research Division, 1987; and James Bradley. *The Evolution of the Onondaga Iroquois: Accommodating Change, 15011-1655*. Syracuse (New York): Syracuse University Press, 1987.
10. See Laurier Turgeon. "The French in New England before Champlain," *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, eds. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press; Sillery (Québec): Le Septentrion, 2004: 110.
11. For an explanation of kinship and adoption in Iroquois warfare, see the second part of Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeeth-Century America*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press, 1993.
12. See Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeeth-Century America*. Ithaca (New York): Cornell University Press, 1993: 166
13. See Daniel Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992: 57.

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