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FOREST THEATRE:
A STUDY OF THE SIX NATIONS' PAGEANT PLAYS ON THE GRAND RIVER RESERVE

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Since 1949, the Six Nations' [Iroquois] Pageant Plays have been presented annually at Forest Theatre on the Grand River Reserve in Ontario. A cycle of six plays has emerged over the years. Because no study of Forest Theatre has been done so far, this dissertation tries to fill that gap by describing the theatre and its productions. The introductory chapter describes the history of the theatre, its site, the times of presentation, the costumes, props, sound, lighting, and its relationship to other pageant plays. The second and third chapters analyze in some detail the 1975 Cornplanter play, and the fourth chapter shows how that play is representative of the other plays in the cycle.

An examination of Forest Theatre reveals several prominent characteristics. Unlike most pageant plays, the plays of this theatre do not rely on spectacle; in fact, they go out of their way to avoid it. Spectacular scenes such as battles are never presented. Music, props, sets, and dance are used sparingly. There is little attempt at creating suspense in the plays; plot is usually dependent on a chronological ordering of events. Each play includes an Indian Village scene that describes traditional Iroquoian customs and domestic activities. This scene seems to have no connection to the development of plot or character in the play. The tone of the plays is always serious and didactic.

All of the plays are historical and biographical, relying on the life of an historical person. This too is unusual for a pageant play. An examination of a representative play, Cornplanter, reveals that the script-writers have been very selective in their choice of biographical events to dramatize. Anything that suggests that the main characters are warfaring, fierce, or barbaric has been eliminated. Thus, the central characters are not always consistent with their presentation in history-texts. Joseph Brant and Cornplanter, particularly, are primarily known as warriors, yet in the plays their military careers are glossed over in favour of their peaceful concerns. This subordination of character to theme can be seen in all of the plays in the cycle.

An examination of Forest Theatre, then, and a comparison of it with other Indian theatres, especially that of Ticonderoga, reveals that the guiding principle throughout the plays is the theme of the peaceful Iroquois. This applies not only to characterization, but to the choice of subject matter, the avoidance of spectacle, the selection of events for dramatization, the inclusion of the Indian Village scene, the lack of suspenseful plots, and the didactic tone.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Professors James Reaney and Gerald Parker for their encouragement and advice during the preparation of this dissertation. I also wish to thank Mr. William Smith for his kindness to me during our many discussions at his home on the Grand River Reserve. I owe a debt of gratitude as well to Mr. Walter Rutherford, who shared with me his extensive knowledge and recollections of the Forest Theatre productions; to Mrs. Elizabeth McCaughin of the Ticonderoga Historical Society Museum, who spent many hours searching for materials on my behalf; and to Dr. Irmgard Jamnik of the Brant Museum in Brantford, Ontario for finding materials on the plays and for permitting me to photocopy them. I also wish to thank The Brantford Expositor for permission to use three of their photographs in this study. My thanks also to Laura Barbe for her skill and dedication in typing this thesis. Finally, to my wife, Holly Glendenning, who has shared with me both the agony and the satisfaction of writing this dissertation, I express my gratitude for her critical reading of the text and for her many helpful suggestions.

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PREFACE

Although the Six Nations Indian Pageants have been presented annually since 1949 at Forest Theatre on the Grand River Reserve, to date no full-length study of them has been done. This dissertation sets out to fill that gap by describing the theatre, its history, and the plays that are unique to it.

The study of an ethnic theatre presents several problems to the outsider, not the least of which is a lack of knowledge of the cultural heritage out of which the plays emerge. This can, in part, be overcome by a direct contact with the culture and by a thorough immersion in all the available literature on that culture.

Besides this general problem, there is the more immediate difficulty of trying to find information on the theatre, on its history, on the availability of scripts, and on the methods of dramatic presentation. This problem was particularly acute as I had not seen any of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants when I began looking into the feasibility of this study. One of my first objectives, then, was to find out if any scripts or tape-recordings of the plays existed. To find scripts or tapes it was essential to contact the people who had been involved with the pageants. Interviews with these people were necessary, then, to get tapes or scripts, and also to find out the numerous details that should be included in a description of the theatre.

The first Indians whom I contacted from the reservation were not directly helpful in providing scripts or information about the plays; they all deferred to a Mr. William Smith. Without his approval most of them were reluctant to offer information. My initial attempts at reaching Mr. Smith by letter proved unsuccessful. Fortunately, through Information Canada, I contacted him and arranged a meeting, a meeting that turned out to be the first of many.

The deference to Mr. Smith became understandable when I met him. He has been involved with the pageants as an actor, director, narrator, master of ceremonies, and script-writer. He has been their controlling force since 1960 when he became President of the Pageant Committee, the group of Indians on the reserve that administers the pageants. From an informal meeting of this Committee that I was privileged to attend, it would seem that Mr. Smith influences most aspects of the pageants, although he seeks the advice and approval of the Pageant Committee. The members of the Committee yielded to his opinion in most matters concerning the pageants. His knowledge of and experience with the pageants is equalled only by Miss Emily General, their founder.

Through Mr. Smith, I not only gained a great deal of information about the pageants, but at my request he took me to visit the pageant-site and arranged for me to meet with Miss General. He also introduced me to Mrs. Wilma Green, the director of the 1975, 1976, and the 1977 plays, and arranged for me to attend the Pageant Committee meeting mentioned above.

From Mr. Smith, I learned that there was a series or cycle of plays; one play is presented each summer. When the cycle is finished, it is repeated beginning with the first play. I also found out that scripts and tapes for the plays existed. Mr. Smith was not willing to part with the scripts, even briefly. A few of the tapes were at his house, and the rest were elsewhere on the reservation. Mr. Smith said that they were unlabelled and not kept in any order. When I asked if I could listen to the tapes at his house if I helped him to organize the tape collection, he willingly consented. He gave me permission to re-tape any of them at his house. He gathered together all of the tapes that he could find. When we started playing them, to our great dismay we discovered that many of them had been erased and others had "pop" music superimposed over the original plays. Other tapes were "practice" tapes. These are tapes of speeches that are recorded several times. For the final pageant production, an editor chooses the best version of each speech and splices them together. Some of the tapes that we listened to were obviously the recordings of speeches that had been rejected by the editor for the final tape. These "practice" tapes consisted of individual speeches, or parts of speeches, which were not in their proper sequence and which did not have appropriate background sounds that are added by the editor when he splices the final tape together. A few of the tapes that we listened to were background sounds: for example, there was a whole tape of bird sounds that someone had made for the pageant plays. From the tape collection, we found only three complete plays in a final version: _Joseph Brant_, _E. Pauline Johnson_, and _War and_

Peace. There was also a Red Jacket play which had part of the final scene missing. There were fragments of other plays that I taped as well. Although I was disappointed, I felt that this was a sufficient number to enable me to proceed with the study.

Using my own recording of the tapes, I then transcribed the complete plays and the fragments. In addition, I have been able to attend four pageants since I began this study: War and Peace in 1974, Cornplanter in 1975, The League of Peace in 1976, and Joseph Brant in 1977. I was permitted to record each of these performances on my cassette recorder. I have also transcribed them.

Besides the tapes and the interviews, I have gained information from The Brantford Expositor which has given fairly extensive coverage to the pageants each year. The newspaper was not indexed, so the only way to make sure I found the reviews was to go through the newspaper on microfilm, reel by reel, for the summer months from 1947 to the present. Its reviews and photographs have been useful in providing knowledge about the pageants and as a way of verifying comments made by the people I have interviewed.

This brings me to another problem that results from a descriptive thesis of this kind: the reliability of the information I have received from various sources. In the main, I was satisfied that the information I was able to derive from interviews was as accurate as can be expected from memory. I was fortunate to have two major sources, Mr. Smith and Miss General, and even more fortunate that their accounts corroborated one another's. Mr. Smith did not refrain from mentioning the difficulties and problems that the pageants have

encountered over the years, even disagreements among the participants. The candour shown by both Miss General and Mr. Smith eliminated, in my mind, the possibility of a hidden bias on their part. There was only one instance where the information I received from the people I interviewed varied from the information given in The Brantford Expositor (see pages 47ff.). Also, the comments of Mrs. Jay Peterson and Mr. Walter Rutherford, who have been enthusiastic supporters of the pageants for many years, corroborated the evidence provided by the people on the reserve.

This study is organized in the following manner. The first chapter will present a general introduction to Forest Theatre, answering the questions one would initially ask of such an institution: the who, when, where, how, why, and what of the theatre and its plays. The second and third chapters will analyze in some depth one specific play, namely the 1975 Cornplanter. The second chapter will present the history of Cornplanter; the third chapter will discuss the play. The play, as I have transcribed it, is included in Appendix C. Chapters two and three hopefully substantiate in some detail the generalizations of the first chapter and lead into the final chapter that will show how the 1975 Cornplanter is representative of the rest of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants.

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I

AN INTRODUCTION TO FOREST THEATRE

The Six Nations' Indian Pageants are presented annually at Forest Theatre (Wahdakeh). This theatre is an outdoor amphitheatre on the Grand River Reserve near Brantford, Ontario. There, every summer since 1949, the Six Nations' Indians of the reserve have presented a play that depicts some aspect of their cultural heritage. Over the years a cycle of plays has emerged. The plays are usually historical and always include an Indian Village scene which describes Six Nations' clothing, cooking, and other domestic concerns of centuries ago.

The pageants usually open with a ceremonial lighting of the camp-fire, an opening prayer, and a speech of welcome. The play then follows. After the play, there is a demonstration of Indian dances. The play is the longest, most elaborate part of the pageant and is considered to be the high point of the evening's entertainment. The plays, therefore, are the primary concern of this study.

The plays are presented in English. Although the narrated portions of the plays have always been in English, Mr. Smith said that the speeches in the dramatic portions of the play were originally presented in one of the Six Nations' languages and then translated by the narrator. This was probably done only in the first play; a

reviewer of the second pageant play wrote in The Brantford Expositor: "The script was in English but the ritual, prayers and songs were in the various Six Nations' tongues--Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, Tuscarora, and Cayuga."[1] Because so many of the Indians themselves did not understand their native languages, the Indian tongues were eliminated except for the opening prayer, occasional expressions, and the songs that accompany the dances. So, for many years now, the plays have been almost entirely in English.

The cycle includes six plays, one of which is presented each year. The first play in the cycle is The League of Peace which describes the founding of the Confederacy or League of the Six Nations (the Iroquois). Other plays in the cycle are Joseph Brant, Grand River, Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and E. Pauline Johnson. On three occasions, special plays have been presented: Handsome Lake, The Coming of the Tuscaroras, and War and Peace. Each of these has been presented once. To date, the cycle has been repeated four times; the 1976 The League of Peace began the cycle for the fifth time.[2]

For those unacquainted with the Six Nations' history, perhaps a brief description would be useful at this point. According to Six Nations' tradition, the Confederacy of Six Nations was formed by Dekanawida and his assistant, Hiawatha, some time before white colonists began arriving on this continent. Originally called the Five Nations, the Confederacy consisted of a union of the Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, and Cayugas. The formation of this union is the subject of the play The League of Peace. At the time the Europeans began to arrive, these tribes lived in what is now New

York State and northern Pennsylvania. Sometime in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Confederacy was expanded to include the Tuscaroras who had migrated from their home in North Carolina to the land of the Five Nations. From that time, the union became the Confederacy of the Six Nations. The play, The Coming of the Tuscaroras, describes this aspect of Six Nations' history. Members of other tribes such as the Neutrals, Hurons, and Delawares were sometimes accepted into the union. None but the Tuscaroras, however, were given the status of a tribe within the established structure.

The Six Nations call themselves the Hodenosaunee, the People of the Longhouse, named for the kind of dwelling they inhabited when they first came in contact with the European colonists.[3] But they are probably better known as "the Iroquois", a name which means "real adders" and which was given to them by their longtime enemies, the Algonquins and the French.[4]

From the arrival of the Europeans on the continent to the late eighteenth century, the Iroquois were a formidable force in northeastern America. Each of the European nations was placed in the difficult position of having to contend with them, either as an enemy or an ally.

At the beginning of the American Revolution, both the British and the American colonists realized the necessity of having the Six Nations on their side and both vied for their support. Most of the Six Nations supported the British King, a longtime ally, but some of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras were persuaded to support the colonists. The result was the partial disintegration of the Confederacy. The

turmoil of the Revolution created many heroes for the Indians. Among these are Joseph Brant, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter. All three are subjects of plays. After the war, Joseph Brant negotiated with the British and received a grant of land along the Grand (or Ouse) River in what is now southern Ontario. He and many of the Six Nations migrated to this new land, while others stayed behind on reservations in New York State and northern Pennsylvania, and still others moved in small numbers to many other reserves in various parts of North America. The migration of Brant and his followers is the subject of the play Grand River.

Although the Six Nations were divided by the Revolution, they still consider themselves a Confederacy, and there is considerable communication among the various reserves on which they now live. The pageant plays of the Grand River Indians rely both on the history which all the Six Nations' reserves have in common and the history which is peculiar to the Grand River Reserve. The League of Peace, Cornplanter, Joseph Brant, and Red Jacket belong to the former category, while Grand River belongs to the latter. The play, E. Pauline Johnson, which describes the life of the poet-entertainer also belongs to the Grand River group, while War and Peace, which describes some of the contributions that the Indians have made in time of war and peace, seems to fit into a wider category.

I. The Participants

The pageants are administered by a Pageant Committee with a President at its head. The members of the Committee are drawn from

Indians on the reservation who have shown a special interest in the pageants. In the summer of 1975, the Committee consisted of five members: Mr. William Smith, Miss Emily General, Mrs. Wilma Green, Mr. George Jamieson, and Mr. Norton Lickers.

The founder of the pageants is Miss Emily General, a Cayuga and a former school teacher on the reserve.[5] According to Miss General, the idea for the pageants started back in the 1940's when she and a sister were picking berries on their farm near Smoothtown on the reserve. When they sat down to rest on a hill overlooking a stream, they noticed how the area opposite them formed a natural stage area. They speculated about the dramatic possibilities, and the idea of the pageants was thus born.

The necessary approval of the chiefs to hold a pageant, however, was not easily obtained. At that time, according to Miss General, the Indians on the reserve knew little about their own history. Not even the name of the founder of their Confederacy was known to many of them. History was the sole possession of the chiefs who passed it on orally from one to another and who preserved it from secular ears. Thus it was not difficult to see why the chiefs would be reluctant to have their sacred history profaned by dramatization.

To further the cause of the pageants, Miss General offered to chauffeur a group of chiefs from the reservation to a pageant play at Ticonderoga, New York. There they saw a play, written by a Thomas Cook, about Red Jacket, a Seneca chief at the time of the American Revolution. The chiefs were favourably impressed with the play, and Miss General persuaded them that something similar could be done on the Grand River Reserve.[6] One of her main reasons for promoting the

pageants was to preserve the history and the culture of the Six Nations on the reserve. She felt that these were slowly fading into oblivion. The only history that the Indians were subjected to was "white" history, which, according to Miss General, differed considerably from the same history told from an Indian point of view.

According to Miss General, Thomas Cook sent her a script for the Red Jacket play, but she and the other people interested in presenting a pageant on the Grand River Reserve rejected it and decided to write one of their own. Miss General, along with other interested people, including several chiefs, got together and discussed the history of the founding of the Confederacy. They supplemented the oral history of the chiefs with books and research. Out of these discussions emerged a play on the history of the founding of their Confederacy. It was written by William Smith. The play, The League of Peace, was presented on August 11, 12, and 13, 1949 in the natural stage area on the Generals' farm near Smoothtown.

The play was so successful that it was repeated the following summer with a different cast. By that time, the idea of an annual pageant was assured. Miss General persuaded the others that the play should deal more specifically with the history of the Grand River Reserve. The material for the play, however, was so extensive that it was decided to divide it in half and present one part, Joseph Brant, in 1951 and the other, Grand River, in 1952.

Throughout the years, Miss General has continued her work and interest in the pageant productions. She directed or co-directed the plays at least five times between 1949 and 1969. She was production manager at least four times and has often directed or co-directed the

Indian Village segment of the pageant. She was President of the Pageant Committee until 1960 and its historical advisor from 1967 to 1975. In the autumn of 1975, she resigned from the Pageant Committee.

In an interview, Miss General expressed the view that the plays were to present history from "an Indian point of view". She does not approve of fanciful accounts of history, that is, history that has been dressed up like a Hollywood production so that it will be more interesting. Rather, she prefers that the plays adhere to the facts because she believes that they are interesting enough in themselves. Besides being the founder of the pageant plays, Miss General has exerted a strong influence on the way they have been run; the emphasis to a large extent has been on the history, the dry facts, rather than on spectacle or ceremony.

When inquiring about the pageants on the reservation, one is usually advised to see Miss General and/or Mr. William "Bill" Smith. Mr. Smith has been the President of the Pageant Committee since 1960 when he took over from Miss General. He was born on the reservation in 1904, the grandson of a Mohawk chief. His mother was a Cayuga. He graduated from Brantford Collegiate and has been a farmer on the reservation most of his life. Since his wife's death, he has curtailed his farming activities and now restricts himself to raising and training horses. According to G. Elmore Reaman in The Trail of the Iroquois, Mr. Smith has always been very active in the affairs of the reservation community. Reaman calls him "the Watchdog of the Confederacy" and says that he is active in Longhouse activities.[7]

Although Mr. Smith has been President of the Pageant Committee

since 1960, he has been involved with the pageants from their beginning. In the first play in 1949, he was a narrator, a part he has taken quite often. It was mentioned in the Preface that he has also been an actor, a director of publicity, and a master of ceremonies. But perhaps his greatest contribution to the pageant plays, besides being President of the Pageant Committee, has been as a script-writer. He has written or re-written at least ten pageant plays Miss General referred to him as "the pageants' official script-writer". Even when others have written or re-written the scripts, Bill Smith has usually had a hand in the project.

Besides Miss General and Mr. Smith, there have been a number of other people who have often contributed to the pageants. Frequently, one family name appears to predominate in a given production; for example, the Isaacs family in the 1975 Cornplanter play took the roles of Cornplanter, Red Jacket, Joseph Brant, and Handsome Lake. Among family names that appear frequently in the pageant plays are Smith, General, Lickers, Jamieson, Hill, Isaacs, Hunter, Green, Martin, Sky, Jonathan, and John. Other family names that also occur are Anderson, Johnson, Schuler, Thomas, Porter, Van Every, Claus, McNaughton, Williams, Moses, Burnham, Powless, Horn, Doxtator, Buck, Smoke, Henderson, and Miller.

Although the participants in the pageants are too numerous to mention individually, there are two participants who should be mentioned separately: Chief Alex "Jack" General and Chief Howard Sky. Chief General, Deskaheh, of the Cayuga tribe, a brother of Emily General, was born at Sour Springs on October 22, 1889. He farmed

all his life on fifty acres of land on the reserve. A deputy chief in 1917, a full chief in 1925, and Principal Chief in November 1925, he was one of the few Indians on the reservation who knew the Indian languages and ceremonies and was very knowledgeable about Indian history. He was frequently consulted by such scholars as William N. Fenton. Chief General died in November, 1965.[8]

It was Chief General that took part in the initial discussions in preparation for the first pageant play. In 1950, he was the director of the play; in 1952 and 1953, he was the production manager. In 1953, he opened the pageant with the story of wampum. In 1956, he played the part of Dekanawida and in 1957 the part of a Cayuga chief. From 1956 until his death, he was the historical advisor to the Pageant Committee. Because of his position as Principal Chief and because of his extensive knowledge, he was most important in deciding whether the pageants should exist at all and, later, in determining what kind of plays should be presented. His bias for factual history undoubtedly influenced the pageant plays in that direction.

Another notable chief in the shaping years of the pageants was Chief Howard Sky. Chief Sky started and for many years led a troupe skilled in the native dances. They provided dances within the plays and also served as "extras" in the scenes which needed many people. In the 1949 play, Chief Sky played Atotarho, the Onondaga chief who was reluctant to join Dekanawida and Hiawatha in forming the new Confederacy. In other years, he played Red Jacket and Cornplanter. In 1950, 1951, 1953, and 1954 he was the assistant director. Until 1961, he was the director of the dancers.

After Chief Sky's death, the dancers were taken over by his son, James, but the troupe is now smaller in size and usually performs after the play portion of the pageant is over but not within it. If the troupe is not able to participate in the pageants, visitor dancers are invited to perform. In the 1975 pageant, for example, the Smoke family from Rochester, New York, took over the dancing activities because the Six Nations' dancers were performing at the Canadian National Exhibition.

When asked about the religious, political, or social affiliations of those involved in the pageants, Mr. Smith said the participants have not come from any one group. This agrees with Mr. Rutherford's observation that the traditional factions of Longhouse Indians and Christian Indians "bury the hatchet" for the cause of the pageants. Help for the pageants comes from many different segments of the reservation's population and, although there are some "regulars", the participants seem to vary considerably from year to year.

2. The Time

The Six Nations' Indian Pageants are presented in late July and August. For the past few years, it has become custom to hold them on Friday and Saturday evenings of the first three week-ends in August. They begin at 8:30 p.m. It has been suggested that the pageants are held in conjunction with the Green Corn Ceremony, one of the traditional annual festivals of the Iroquois.[9] This would have been an interesting possibility since so many folk drama festivals are held in conjunction with primitive rituals or festivities.[10] But

when asked if the Six Nations' Pageants were held as part of the Green Corn Ceremony, Mr. Smith denied any association. He said that the reason August was chosen for the pageants was that it was a dry month in which the weather is more likely to be pleasant and the mosquitos are likely to be fewer. It is interesting to note, however, that the first pageant play, in its second scene, dramatized the thanksgiving ceremony of the Feast of the Green Corn.[11] Perhaps this idea has been borrowed from the Cook production at Ticonderoga. Cook's play had also depicted the Feast of the Green Corn. Perhaps initially the plays were meant as part of the Green Corn festivities but as the plays became better known and the audience became primarily white, this association was discontinued.

3. The Theatre Site

There have been two sites for Forest Theatre. The first was located on the Generals' farm near Smoothtown on the reserve. It was called Ohnedagowah or Great Pine (Forest) Theatre. In 1960, the site moved and the name was changed to Wahdakeh, sometimes translated as "at the Maples". The theatre has simply become known as "Forest Theatre".

The original site for the pageants was on the Generals' farm. Mr. Smith said the old site was very similar to the present one: an amphitheatre on a hillside with a stream separating the audience and the stage area. This is verified by the reviews in The Brantford Expositor. A review of the first pageant reported that the site was deep in pine trees with a large stream on two sides of the stage area

and a palisade of stakes around the whole theatre.[12] A reviewer in 1952 mentioned some of these features and added that the amphitheatre is actually on the bank of a small stream. Benches were placed on the sloping bank.[13] Another reviewer described the stage as "an earth island, surrounded by a quiet creek".[14] In 1953, Clifford Hulme gave perhaps the most complete description: "Spectators sitting under the stars on tiers of benches look over the horseshoe bend of a creek to a grove of trees. Here around a campfire the story unfolds."[15] According to Mr. Rutherford, the theatre at Smoothtown was on a steeper hill than the present site. He also felt that it was more palisaded so that the audience felt more enclosed than they do now. The palisade, according to Mr. Rutherford, was about ten feet high and was made of saplings that were two or three inches in diameter.

At this original site, the electricity for the lights and microphones was provided by an old army generator that the Pageant Committee had acquired. One of the disadvantages of the site was that it was far off the road. According to Miss General, a great deal of work was done to prepare for the first pageant. One of her brothers put in a dirt road to the side and used a large hickory tree that recently been split by lightning to make a bridge.

Several reasons have been suggested for the move from the Generals' property to the present site. The generator used to produce electricity was inadequate and, according to Mr. Smith, it would have cost $3,000.00 to bring a hydro line in from the road. He also felt that the location was too remote. Mr. Smith also hinted at a possible disagreement between the Generals and other

members of the Pageant Committee. He said the Generals refused to give permission for any trees to be chopped down. This might have been necessary if a hydro line was to be brought in from the road. Mr. Smith also said there was difficulty over payment for the maintenance of the property. The last pageant at the old site was in 1959. The present site was bought by the Pageant Committee.

The present site is located close to Sour Springs Road, one of the main roads that runs into the reservation. The theatre itself is only a short distance from the road down a dirt lane. At the entrance to the pageant grounds is a small log building which serves as a ticket booth. From there, the lane proceeds into a fairly large, pasture-like area that is used for a parking lot. From the parking lot, one can return to the lane or cross a makeshift boardwalk which spans a boggy area. Both lead to a row of booths that has been set up to display and sell Indian crafts, books about Indians, and food. These booths are in front of a palisade which is made of rough boards. A gap in the palisade enables one to enter the theatre itself.

The theatre is an amphitheatre on a wooded hillside that looks down across an irregularly-shaped pond to two flat grassy areas which serve as the "stages". On the hillside among the trees, rough benches have been made from tree stumps and planks. Mr. Smith said that many of the stumps were the remains of victims of Dutch elm disease. In the winter of 1975-76, and again in the winter of 1976-77, a Local Initiatives Program (L.I.P.) grant enabled the Pageant Committee to repair and to increase the benches and to make other improvements on the pageant grounds. These were the first

occasions on which the Pageant Committee had accepted any external financial assistance.

The theatre is partly enclosed by the palisade of rough-hewn boards which have been constructed at the back of the theatre where the entrance is located and also along the right-hand side which shuts off the view of the parking lot. The palisade is about seven feet high. Behind the stage area a combination of palisade, trees, and shrubbery also contribute to the enclosed feeling. The left-hand side of the theatre is not palisaded but is screened in by the trees and underbrush.

The two stage areas are separated by a short inlet of water in the pond. At the end of the inlet and close to the back of the stage area is a small log cabin which serves as a storage space for props and also as a dressing-room. The main stage area to the audience's left is larger than the other and has a camp-fire at its centre. The camp-fire is ceremoniously lit at the beginning of each pageant. For the Iroquois, a camp-fire has traditionally symbolized the convocation of a formal meeting. Behind the camp-fire and in front of the palisade is a bench that is used in many of the plays. Most of the scenes take place between the water and the bench, many of them around the camp-fire. The distance from the bench to the water's edge is about thirty-five feet. The second stage area is to the spectators' right. At this location, the Indian Village segment of the play is presented each year. At its centre is a camp-fire as well, but this one is lit only for the Indian Village scene.

At the back of the theatre, on top of the hill and close to

PLATE 1: The main "stage" area in day-time

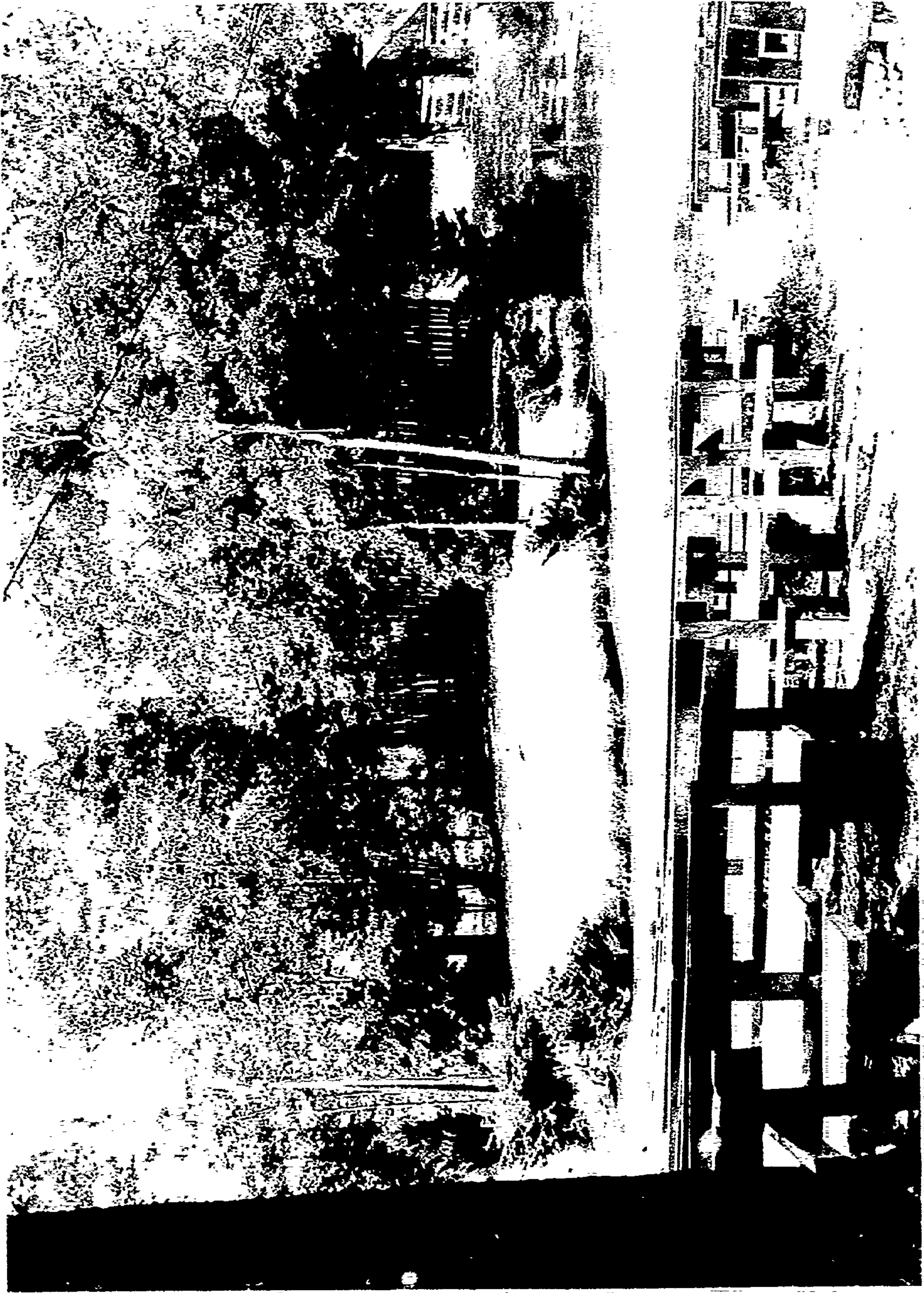


PLATE 2: Preparations for the Indian Village scene at dusk

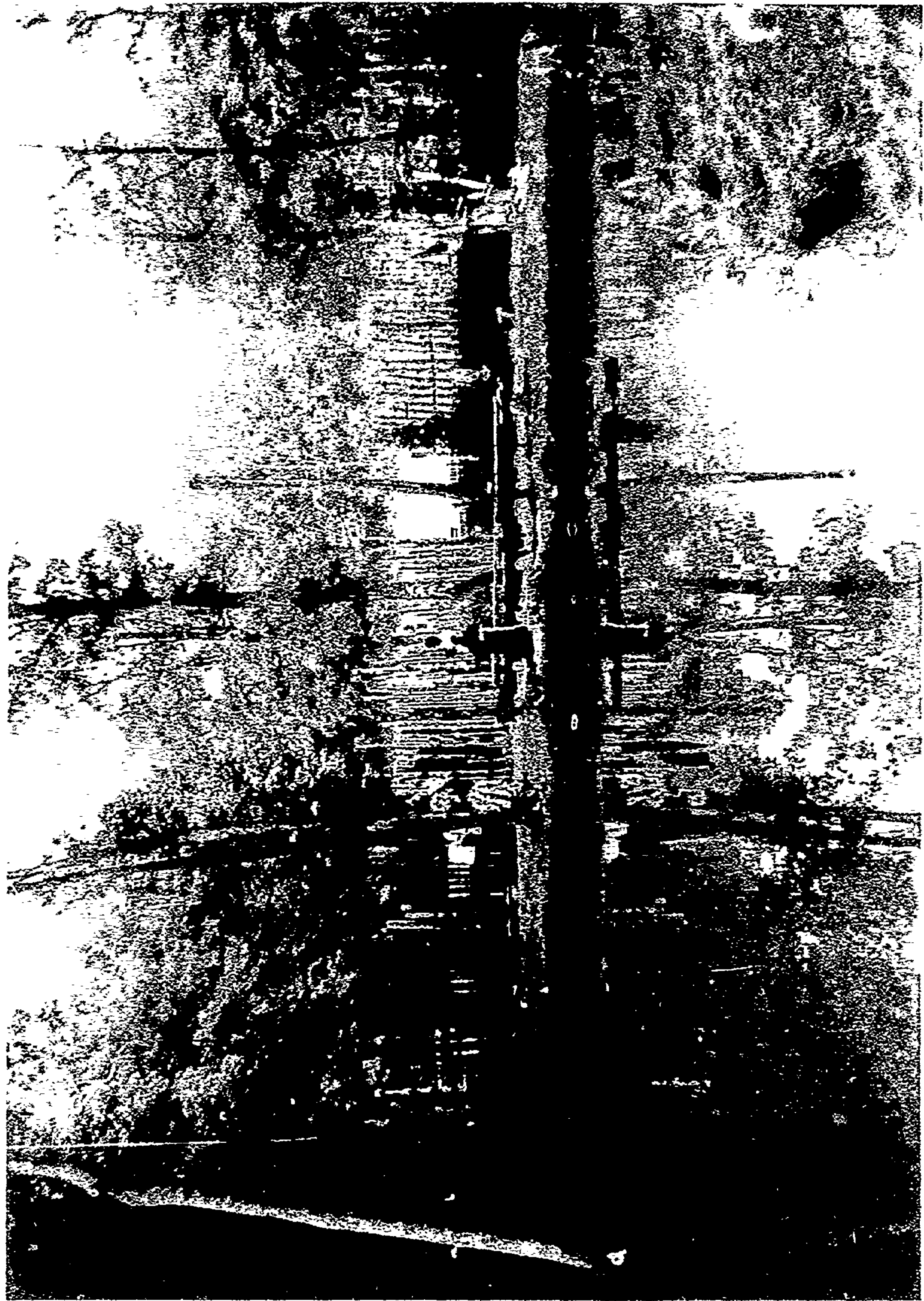
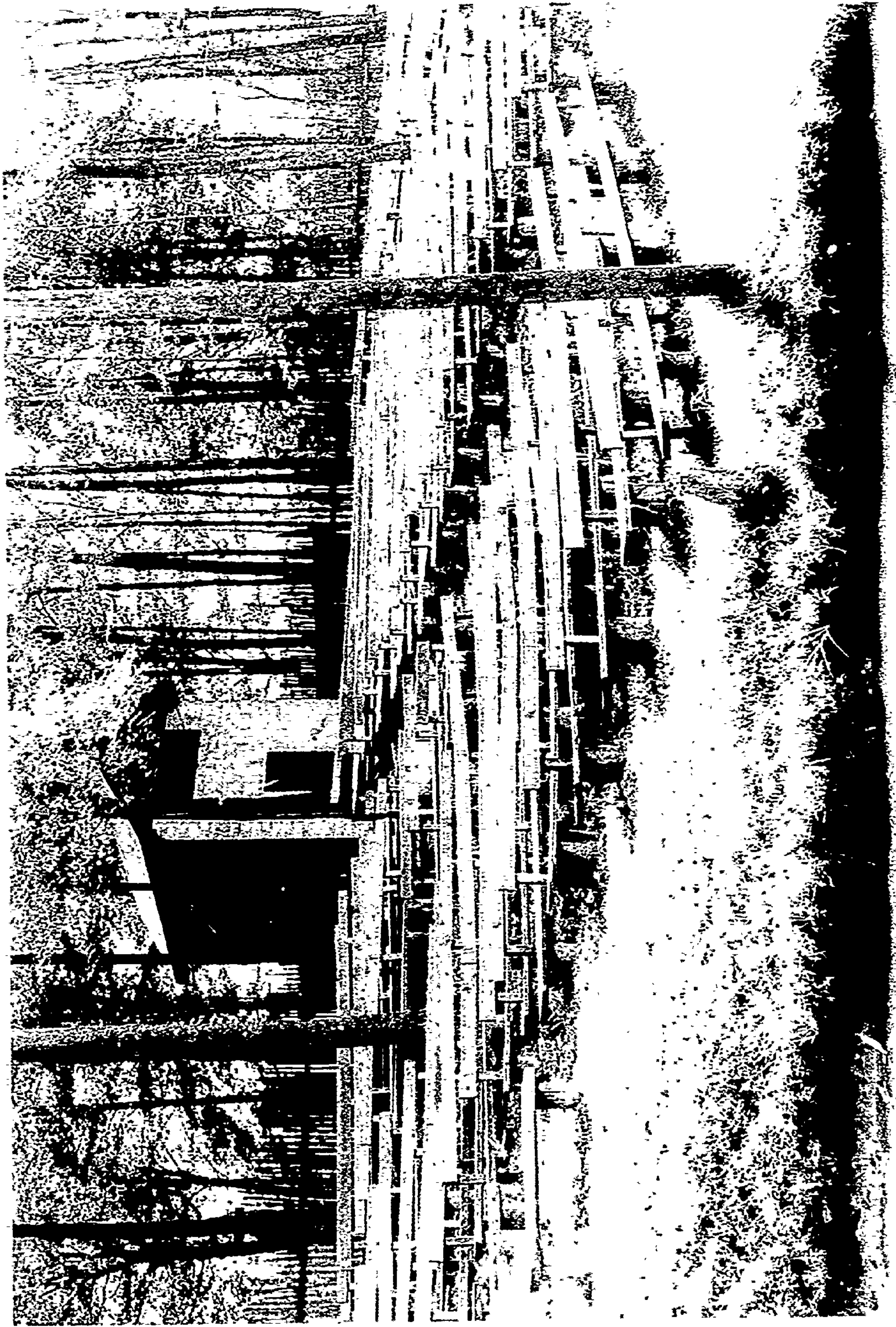


PLATE 3: A section of the benches with the cement tower and palisade behind



the entrance, there is a tower made of cement blocks. It consists of a lower level that is used for a storage area and an upper level from which the main spotlight is operated and the sound disseminated. The present tower replaced a similar wooden structure.

The present theatre was constructed by volunteers. A creek had to be re-routed to form the pond. Mr. Smith said the theatre area used to be more wooded than it is now. Most of the trees and plants in the theatre are indigenous to the area, but a few ornamental evergreen shrubs have been planted at the water's edge in front of the main stage area. On the hillside, the paths have been worn bare but grass and woodland plants still grow around the benches and trees.

4. Sound and Lighting

For some time now, the plays have been taped before the actual production. The actors then merely mouth the words during the performances, while the taped speeches are broadcast over a loud-speaker. Mrs. Nora Jamieson, a frequent participator in the Six Nations' Indian Pageants, described this technique for The Brantford Expositor: "The words come from a tape recorder, not from the mouths of the cast. They must memorize their speeches and time themselves along with the recorder...."[16] Although Mr. Smith said that they have been pre-taping speeches for about ten years, it is probably longer than that. In Mr. Smith's tape collection, there are fragments of taped speeches for the 1960 play. In 1962, The Brantford Expositor described the pageant as a "pantomime play with dialogue coming from the speakers off-stage".[17] Thus, this pre-recording technique was

probably used by 1960 and definitely established by 1962. According to Mr. Smith, the actors originally had to speak their lines into microphones. Besides the obvious problem of having an actor near a microphone when it came time for him to speak, there were several other difficulties with this system. The microphones looked anachronistic in scenes that purported to take place centuries ago. Mr. Smith said that on humid days the microphones would not work properly. Sometimes an actor forgot his lines. Occasionally, an actor would not make a performance and it was difficult to find someone new to learn the lines on short notice. The use of the tapes solved some of these problems.

The plays are taped well in advance of the actual production. Each speech is taped separately, usually more than once. When all of the speeches have been recorded, they are then edited and spliced together along with background sounds such as dogs barking, water running, birds singing, and music. In recent years, echo techniques have been used for special effects; for example, in the 1976 The League of Peace the voice in the dream of Dekanawida's grandmother had an echo which was meant to convey its supernatural origins. Mr. Smith possesses tapes of background noises which are used in the recordings. For years the taping and editing was done by a chemist in Ohsweken. He was paid for his services by the Pageant Committee. More recently, a Mr. Lickers has been in charge of editing the tapes.

In the early productions, before the tapes were used, a narrator did most of the talking while scenes were acted out in pantomime with occasional brief speeches by the actors. Then, the

onus for most of the talking was on the narrator. It was no problem for him to stand immobile at a microphone.

In 1956, an innovation was introduced by having three microphones into which the actors were to speak. The part of the narrator was greatly reduced, while the speaking parts of the actors were increased. Clifford Hulme of The Brantford Expositor did not like the effect:

> This year there has been a major change, and not for the better. Strung between trees in full view is a small shiny microphone. In the middle of the scene stands another, five feet or so of gleaming chrome, and from time to time a bonnetted warrior grips a third microphone mounted on a tripod base and totes it to where it is wanted.
>
> These three gadgets, or at least the two portable ones, even when they work, are an intrusion as startlingly out of place in a natural scene supposedly of nearly two centuries ago, as would be a gaudy juke box or a 1956 model auto. And they are not necessary. It would be much better for actors and audience if the producers stuck to the old method of letting the narrator do most of the talking.[18]

The following year, the same reviewer was able to say that there was "improved lighting and much improved loudspeaker dissemination of both narration and speeches".[19] From all indications, the old system was restored until the taping technique was introduced about 1960. In recent productions, the narrator is not even visible.

Over the years, the reviewers in The Brantford Expositor have pointed out both the advantages and the disadvantages of the taping system. One reviewer said: "The action is synchronized to dialogue which was taped earlier to allow freedom of movement across the large stage."[20] This agrees with a later review that said pre-recording enabled the actors to move freely on the stage and devote their

attention to action rather than words.[21] Another reviewer pointed out that the technique was necessary in order for the audience to hear the play, but that it robs the play of spontaneity.[22] A further criticism was levelled in 1975: "But the droning of supposedly impassioned speeches into a tape recorder days before takes something away from heavily-animated movements on stage."[23] The reviewers are generally quite generous with their praise for the productions, but, as indicated in these few remarks, one recurring criticism they make has to do with the sound facilities and the taping technique.

Loudspeaker equipment for the pageant is rented from Hagersville or Brantford. Both the sound and the light controls are operated from the cement block tower at the back of the theatre. Besides the spotlight, there are several other lights on trees that are used to light up the stage areas. Until a few years ago, an electrician with the Brantford Public Utilities Commission, Jack Miller, took charge of lighting and sound at the pageant site. J. William Hill, who works at the Indian Office in the Brantford Post Office, has frequently been the spotlight operator. He used a cue sheet to know when to change the lights. In the 1976 play, Mark Jamieson was in charge of sound and Ken McNaughton in charge of lights.

According to The Brantford Expositor, a new lighting system was installed in 1963, with a hydro line replacing the low-power generator formerly used.[24] The move from the old site to the present location took place in 1960, but it was obviously three years before the new method of obtaining electrical power was in operation. From 1963, more powerful lights were used.

There is one spotlight which generally focuses on the main stage area and which narrows occasionally to encircle the main actors. This narrowing is usually done during soliloquies. Although primarily white light is used, sometimes colours are implemented symbolically. In the 1972 Red Jacket, for example, red and green lights were used probably to suggest Red Jacket's drunken state in several scenes.[25] Occasionally, special lighting effects are used; for example, in the 1976 The League of Peace, Dekanawida's grandmother has a dream in which a voice speaks to her. The source of the voice in the production was indicated by a bright white light in a shrubbery.

5. The Costumes

Over the years, the reviewers in The Brantford Expositor have repeatedly described the costumes worn in the pageants as "colourful" and "authentic". There is rarely, if ever, an elaboration on either epithet. The costumes are indeed colourful. The headdresses, feathers, beadwork, and brightly-coloured sashes, breechcloths, and shirts stand out brilliantly in the natural setting. If by "authentic" the reviewers merely mean "Indian", they are probably correct, but not all of the costumes are authentic Iroquois, nor authentic in the sense that they are always appropriate for the historical time that is depicted in any given play.

A publication of the Six Nations' Indian Museum at Onchiota, New York, describes a central costuming problem for Iroquoian Indians:

> Because of the false impression given to the public by moving pictures, television and fiction writers, it is convinced that all Indian people looked, talked and dressed alike. If our Six Nations people do not wear Plains Indian costumes and war-bonnets, they are not "Indian" enough for the general public. Thus it is that many Indian tribes are now wearing outlandish combinations...even mixing traditional and modern style costume articles.[26]

This paragraph sums up the dilemma for the directors of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants: whether to satisfy the public expectations for Plains Indian dress or to be authentic and use costumes that the audience will possibly not even recognize as "Indian".

When the pageants were begun, the Pageant Committee had no costumes of its own. In fact, Mr. Smith said there were no suitable Indian costumes anywhere on the reserve. The Committee had to rent costumes from commercial houses in Hamilton and Toronto. They had to take whatever they could get; these were usually the costumes that are popularly recognized as "Indian", that is, Plains Indian dress which is particularly distinguished by its war-bonnet. This feathered headdress is associated in the popular imagination with the apparel of all Indian chiefs, although it was not worn by the Iroquois nor other Woodlands Indians until the twentieth century. Later, the Committee borrowed some costumes from the Indian Defense League of America.

According to Mr. Smith, the Pageant Committee eventually acquired some deer hides, bought some books on Indian crafts and distributed both to various people on the reservation. Although Mr. Smith could not remember the name of the books nor the author, from his description it would seem that they were probably those of Walter

Ben Hunt who published several craft books resulting from his extensive contact with the Plains Indians, although his books also contained some Iroquoian Indian crafts.[27]

Miss General said that she made the first costume for the plays with tools that pre-Columbian Iroquois would have used. This costume was used as a model by others. Most of the other people who agreed to make costumes were probably not as diligent as she was in attempting to authenticate the actual methods used by the early Iroquois in making their clothes.

Mr. Smith said that they now have an extensive wardrobe collection for the pageants. The costumes are owned by the persons who made them, but they are willingly offered at pageant time. Frequently, a few new costumes are made for individual productions. For example, the costume for Cornplanter in the 1975 play was made for that particular production. Some costumes are retained for specific roles; there is a white deerskin suit for Dekanawida and a scarlet coat for Red Jacket.

In order to discuss the authenticity of the costumes in the plays, it is perhaps advisable to briefly review the nature of Iroquoian dress. The clothes of the pre-Columbian Iroquois were made primarily of deerskin with decorative leather fringes and ornamental designs in porcupine quills. The Iroquois woman's wordrobe consisted of skirt, leggings, moccasins, tunic, and poncho. The men wore a kilt, breechcloth, belt, leggings, moccasins, and parka.[28]

As headgear, the <u>gustoweh</u> (sometimes <u>gostoweh</u>), a feathered skullcap of hide, was traditional with the Iroquois male. The cap

was made of splints, covered in leather, with a plume of small feathers at the crown of the head and one or more large central feathers emerging from the smaller ones.[29] The large feather was inserted in a tube so that it was free to rotate. Some of the tribes of the Six Nations wore more than one large central feather; the Mohawks sometimes wore three and the Onondagas two.[30]

The warriors of the Six Nations shaved their heads, except for a scalp lock. Sometimes they wore a deerhair roach which is a narrow strip of deer hair worn on the head from the brow to the back of the neck. It stood several inches high. A wolf, bear, or panther head was also sometimes worn on the head. It was generally thought that "the special gifts of these animals enter the body of the warrior".[31] The chiefs placed deer antlers on their gustowehs as a sign of their authority.[32]

By the late eighteenth century, cloth had replaced deerskin as the basic material of the Iroquoian costume, although deerskin moccasins and leggings were still often worn. Glass beads, ribbons, and silver ornaments replaced leather fringes and porcupine quills as decoration.[33] By the end of the nineteenth century, the Iroquois had adopted the dress of their white neighbours.[34]

Only one of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants, The League of Peace, is concerned with the pre-Columbian period and, therefore, should appropriately use dress as it would have been then. Four other plays, Joseph Brant, Cornplanter, Red Jacket, and Grand River are set in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Thus the characters in these plays should, for the sake of authenticity, wear

the kinds of Iroquois costumes that have been described for that time.

In the plays, however, the attempts at making the clothes of the character authentic are rather sporadic. In The League of Peace of 1950, for example, Chief Howard Sky wore a roach headdress;[35] in the 1951 Joseph Brant, Chief Alex General wore a gustoweh,[36] as did Hubert Sky in the 1954 play.[37] Both the roach headdress and the gustoweh, of course, are appropriate for those plays. In the 1954 Cornplanter play[38] and in the 1957 Joseph Brant,[39] Gordon Martin suitably wore a gustoweh, a cotton shirt, and a fringed vest. In The League of Peace of 1962[40] and in the same play presented in 1968,[41] the actor who played Dekanawida wore a gustoweh and a long-sleeved fringed white leather jacket. In the 1965 play, Barry Hill as Red Jacket appropriately wore a roach headdress and a red military jacket,[42] and in the following year the same actor, as Cornplanter, wore a gustoweh.[43] The actor who played Cornplanter in 1975 wore a gustoweh, a blue fringed vest and matching leggings. For the last scene of the play he donned a blue cape. In some of the early plays, such as the 1954 Cornplanter and the 1952 Grand River, some of the women wore long print cotton dresses which were appropriate to the time and the setting of the play.[44]

Although the characters in the plays have frequently worn a gustoweh, leggings, cloth shirts, moccasins, and fringed vests, there has never been any evidence of the kilt, the wennasoton,[45] woollen jackets, silver ornaments, or designs that are typically Iroquoian.[46] Many of the women in the plays wear leather fringed dresses to depict characters in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when,

in fact, those women would have worn cloth dresses. Often the characters in the plays wear modern shoes. Frequently, they wear the Sioux war-bonnet; for example, in the 1963 Joseph Brant, Arnold General donned this kind of headdress.[47] Thus, in The League of Peace, Joseph Brant, Cornplanter, Red Jacket, and Grand River there has been a confusion of Iroquoian dress with Plains Indian dress, and there are some touches of modern dress as well. There is little attempt at differentiating what is appropriate for The League of Peace from what is suitable for Cornplanter, although several hundred years of dress changes had actually occurred.

Besides the Indian characters, there are white characters in the plays: for example, George Washington, Guy Carleton, the missionaries, the Quakers, and the British and American commissioners. These white male characters are usually dressed in formal black suits, white shirts, and black ties. Sometimes a white wig is thought to be appropriate; for example, George Washington wore one in the 1975 Cornplanter play.

One play that has not been touched on is E. Pauline Johnson which has its own peculiar costuming problems. As previously mentioned, by the time of Pauline most Indians had adopted white dress, except for traditional Indian ceremonies where some items of traditional garb (or what was thought to be traditional garb) would still be worn. Some of the costumes popular in Pauline's time have been preserved at Chiefswood, the home of Pauline, which is now a museum. Photographs of Pauline also survive.[48] These photographs give the directors of the pageants a good idea of what Pauline actually wore.

According to her biographers, Pauline, who normally wore the conventional dress of the whites of her day, came to realize the appeal her Indian costume had for audiences. The Indian dress consisted of "fringed and beaded buckskins, bear-claw necklace, and beaded moccasins".[49] Another writer adds to her items of apparel, a belt of wampum, a dagger, brooches of silver, and a scarlet cloak thrown over her shoulders.[50] This apparel was undoubtedly Pauline's own idea of what an Iroquois maiden wore at some time in the past.

It would seem that the same appeal that audiences felt for Pauline's Indian dress in her own time, still holds for today. One reviewer commented on the effect of the costuming in the 1973 play: "Most of the cast remained in long gowns and best bib and tucker--no feathers, to the disappointment of some of the younger members of the audience."[51]

In the 1961 E. Pauline Johnson play, Diane Smith as Pauline wore a fringed knee-length deerskin dress, leather moccasins, and a headband with a feather at the back.[52] Except for the feather and the length of the dress, the description of the costume fits the description of the costume Pauline actually wore. In one E. Pauline Johnson play, probably 1967 or 1973, Pauline wore long dresses as well as Indian costume, the latter being worn for the recital portions of the play.[53] For her debut as an entertainer, Pauline wore a long white dress. In the play, she wears a long white dress for that event. Some of the gowns in the play were actual dresses that dated back to Pauline's time, rather than costumes made for the play.[54] The male characters in the play wear the same formal dress that is used for

white male characters in the other plays.

Despite a lack of authenticity in many of the costumes, it should be noted that this in no way lessens their visual effect, which is one of the most impressive things about the plays. Frequently, the central character is singled out by the colour of his or her costume. This is easily done in the case of Red Jacket. His appearance in the 1972 play left a strong impression on one reviewer: "A milk-white canoe bearing an Iroquois chief dressed in flaming red cruised through silver mists and beached on a green shore."[55] Prior to this, in 1968, another reviewer felt a similar visual impact in The League of Peace when Dekanawida, dressed all in white, entered gliding "like a wraith" across the water in a white canoe.[56] Cornplanter in the 1975 play was also singled out by the bright blue of his costume. Similarly, Pauline Johnson in a long white dress was the visual focus for several scenes in her play.

Red Jacket in scarlet, Dekanawida and Pauline in white, or Cornplanter in bright blue stand out among the other deerskin-clad characters who have only bits of colour on their apparel: a red breechcloth, a coloured sash, or beadwork in various colours. By associating the central character with one colour, the director has ensured that he or she will be the focus of attention. The colours chosen for the central characters' clothes contrast vividly with the predominant colour of the setting--green. With the bright light from the spotlight, the colours become brilliant in contrast to the dark, night-time background. The Plains war-bonnets, which are predominantly white, also stand out brilliantly in the spotlight. There is no

doubt that these headdresses are visually more impressive, from a distance, than the gustoweh.

To return to the dilemma presented at the beginning of this discussion, it would seem that the directors of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants fulfill the expectations of their audience rather than use costumes that are totally authentic. That this is a conscious choice is doubtful. In part, the directors' expectations are perhaps closer to those of the audience than to those who would desire authenticity above all else. The Indians on the reserve are probably as influenced by the presentation of the Indian on the popular media as are those outside the reserve. Mr. Smith and Miss General have stated that, at the time the pageants were started, the Indians on the Grand River Reserve knew little about their cultural heritage. The fact that there were no costumes available on the reserve when the first pageant was in the planning stage substantiates this. Although there are some attempts at depicting authentic Iroquois costumes in the plays, these attempts are sporadic enough to suggest that they may be matters of chance. Both the use of the Plains war-bonnet and the emphasis on the colour of the central characters' clothes indicate that the directors are trying to leave a visual impact on the observers. And they do. It may be as much a lack of knowledge about what constitutes traditional Iroquoian dress as the desire to leave a strong visual impression on the audience that has resulted in the kinds of costumes that are used in the plays.

Another possible reason for the lack of authenticity is that the plays are attempting to teach the audience about Indian ways and the

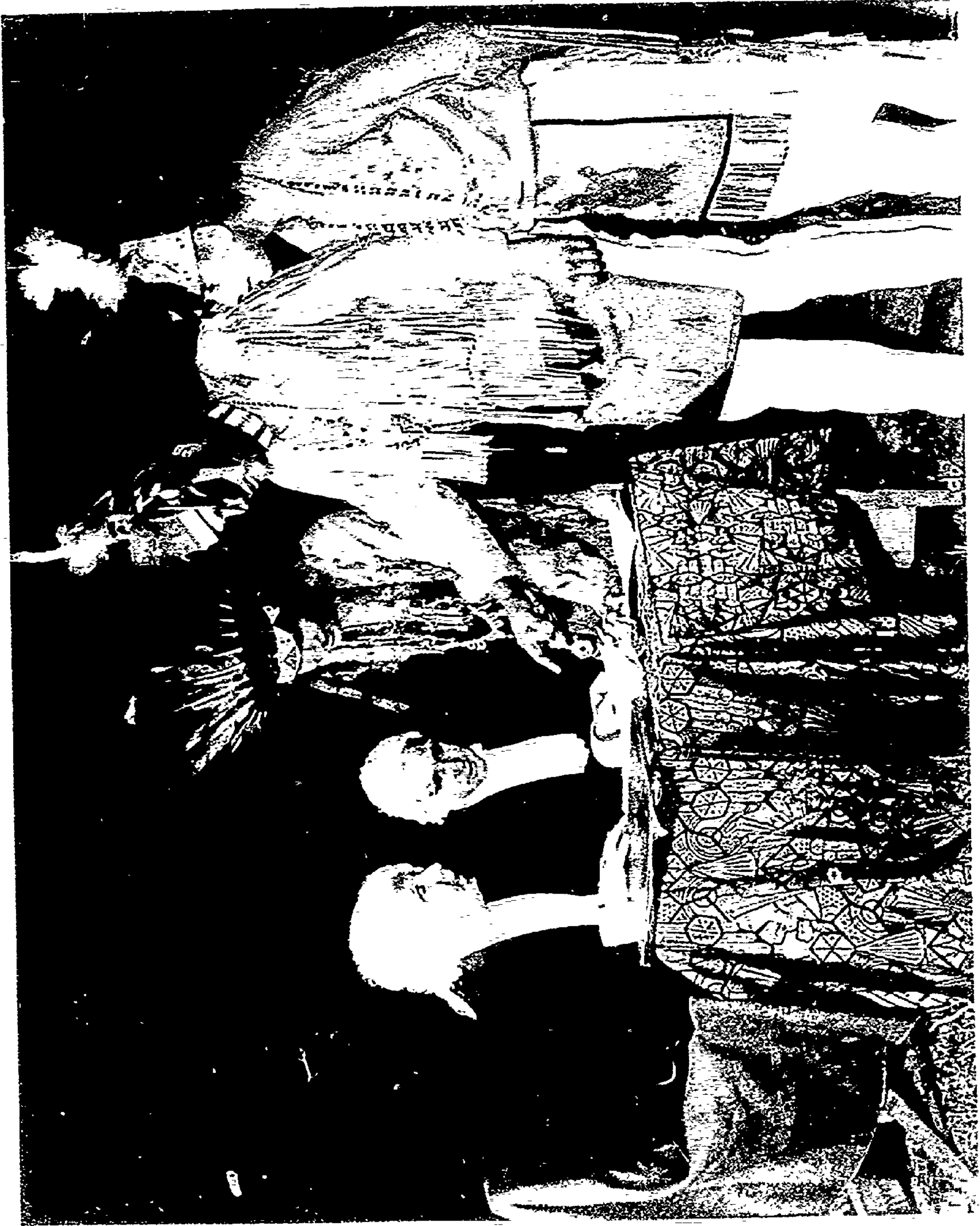
PLATE 4: A scene from the 1973 _E. Pauline Johnson_

(Courtesy of _The Brantford Expositor_)

PLATE 5: The cast of the 1976 <u>The League of Peace</u>

(Courtesy of <u>The Brantford Expositor</u>)

PLATE 6: A scene from the 1966 _Cornplanter_
with Cornplanter and George Washington
(Courtesy of _The Brantford Expositor_)



positive aspects of Indian culture. In many ways, the plays attempt to make a clear distinction between white and Indian cultures, with the Indian being the more desirable. Therefore, it is easily seen why the directors would prefer to present Indian heroes such as Joseph Brant, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter dressed in distinctively Indian garb rather than in more authentic dress that was partly derived from white society.

Whatever the reason or combination of reasons that has determined the pageants' costumes, there is little doubt that the costumes are, in part, responsible for the popularity of the plays. They immediately make the plays distinct from other kinds of plays by confronting the audience with an aspect of a culture that has almost faded away.

6. Props

Props for the plays are kept to a minimum. Generally, they are meant to be evocative rather than realistic. Sometimes benches are placed around three sides of the central fire for council scenes. Sometimes a table and a chair are used; for example, in the 1975 play they were used to convey the idea of George Washington's office. A large wooden box placed at the back of the stage area in the 1976 play served as Atotarho's house. A canoe is occasionally used for the entrances and exits of the characters. The permanent log cabin sometimes represents a settler's house (for example, in Joseph Brant) or a house of one of the characters: for example, Jigonhsasee's house in the 1976 play. Other small items such as baskets, blankets, weapons,

and pots are also used. In the Indian Village scene, animal skins and drying corn are hung between poles to suggest the atmosphere of an Indian village. Also, a skin that is being scraped is stretched between two poles. Other items, such as pots for cooking and a wooden mortar and pestle for grinding corn into flour, visually reinforce the narrator's verbal description. Generally, however, the plays rely far more on the natural setting of grass, trees, water, fire, and night than on artificial props and sets.

In its use of props and sets, the Six Nations' Pageants reflect a general tendency in modern theatre. The use of a few evocative rather than many elaborate props has been a trend in twentieth century drama. This, in turn, hearkens back to primitive dramatic practice. It is unlike the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' stage conventions that emphasized elaborate, realistic sets and props. It is also unlike the conventional idea of pageant where again there is an emphasis on realistic props and sets. This was evident in the Ticonderoga plays where a stockade was constructed as realistically as possible: "Built full size, it is exactly as it would have appeared in a typical village of the Iroquois."[57] This attention to realistic detail is not emphasized in the Six Nations' plays. The E. Pauline Johnson play, for example, takes place primarily indoors. Yet, in the play, there is little attempt at creating the atmosphere of an indoor setting. A small table and chair placed on the grass is deemed sufficient to evoke Pauline's room. In this sparing use of props and sets, the Six Nations' plays are similar to the way props are used at the Shakespearean festival at Stratford,

Ontario, or in such modern plays as those of Samuel Beckett.

The sparing use of props and sets also fits into a modern tendency to small, intimate theatre. This desire seems to run against the usual tendency of pageants to largeness and elaboration.

7. Pageantry

The term "pageant" has a history of varied meanings. Initially, it was applied to the wagon or platform on which entertainments were performed but later was applied to the entertainments themselves.[58] These pageant entertainments had their origin in folk rites and customs. They include medieval mystery and miracle plays, tournaments, and the Lord Mayor's Show in London.[59] Essential to this traditional meaning of pageant are procession and spectacle. Although some forms of the pageant were dramatic, drama was not essential. Because of their origins in folk parades and because they have retained this popular, amateur status, the pageants are usually considered a democratic, communal form of entertainment. In this aspect, as well as by the fact that the entertainments are presented out-of-doors, they are distinguished from the interlude and the masque which also rely on spectacle and procession but which are presented indoors and are intended for a select group.[60]

Although the twentieth century notion of pageant has its roots in the traditional idea of pageant, it received a new emphasis and direction under the hand of Louis N. Parker who produced a series of pageant plays, sometimes called "civic pageants", beginning at Sherborne, England in 1905 and followed by others at Warwick, Dover,

York, and Oxford.[61] His grandson, Anthony Parker, describes the new kind of pageant:

> It is a tale of historical happenings, re-enacted if possible in their original setting. It is told in prose and verse, with dialogue, drama, comedy, tragedy, farce, dancing, singing, and music, and most important of all, with spectacle.
>
> It is NOT a procession of decorated lorries, or floats, or even boats!
>
> Our pageant is a Spectacle-play, or series of plays, based on the pride of history, and tradition of the town or country that stages it. It tells a story--a true story--and it is, essentially, entertaining. It may be on a small scale, with perhaps a hundred performers, or it may have some three thousand like my Pageant at Warwick Castle in 1953.[62]

There is no central character here, except perhaps the town itself. The emphasis is on local history and on spectacle. The modern pageant is not only to entertain but also to educate both the participants and the audience about the history of the locale. It is still a communal, out-of-doors entertainment. It also retains the quality of procession but not in the sense of a moving parade. Now there is a procession of characters across a stationary stage. Each character or group of characters presents their part of the town's history. Usually, the modern pageant plays are episodic, covering long periods of time relating to the history of the place.

Although this new kind of pageant became very popular, the old forms of pageant did not die out but continued to exist simultaneously with the new form and sometimes combined with it. The Calgary Stampede, for example, not only has the processional aspect of pageant but has re-enactments of battle scenes between cowboys and Indians.[63]

The modern concept of pageantry spread to many parts of the world, including North America. Its widespread popularity can be

attributed in part to the fact that this kind of play did not limit itself to a particular kind of audience. Also, it was the kind of drama that could be presented successfully by amateurs without excessive cost or experience. It received a new impetus in the United States in 1937.[64] In that year, Paul Green's The Lost Colony was presented on Roanoke Island to commemorate the 350th anniversary of a colony that was established on Roanoke Island in 1587 but which mysteriously disappeared by 1590. This history play utilized music, dance, procession, dramatic action, and dialogue.[65] In other words, it was very similar to the Parkerian concept of pageant, but the American play emphasized dramatic action to a greater extent and it became an annual production.

From 1937, the new kind of pageant spread to many parts of North America. Two of the most notable of these pageants are The Common Glory at Williamsburg, Virginia and Kermit Hunter's Unto These Hills at Cherokee, North Carolina. The latter was presented on an Indian reservation. It described the misfortunes of the Cherokee Indians:

> Early in the play, a Cherokee chieftain heroically saves General Jackson's [Andrew Jackson's] life at the battle of Horseshoe Bend, but before long, in a scene set in the White House, President Jackson defeathers his old allies, insists on deporting them to Oklahoma despite the eloquent pleas of Daniel Webster and Sam Houston.[66]

Although half of the cast of Unto These Hills was Cherokee, the play was not entirely an Indian affair.[67] As with many of the American pageant plays, it became an annual event. One critic reported that the attendance in 1957 was 137,000.[68]

Kermit Hunter, the author of Unto These Hills, describes the pageant phenomenon in the American south:

> The present productions, operating each summer for about ten weeks, lie somewhere between the purely professional stage and the amateur local pageant: that is to say, they present a highly professional show and they draw upwards of 350,000 people a summer, while fundamentally they are community enterprises, designed to perpetuate local history and traditions, and in general to pump life blood into remote localities that need a new industry.[69]

As indicated here, the American pageants are more than just local entertainments; they are "big business". They differ from the Parkerian idea, in that they have become annual affairs and tourist attractions.

Almost all of the critics on outdoor pageant theatre comments on the "wholesomeness" of the experience:

> In the first place there are what might be called the hygenic and economic effects of any great movement to the out-of-doors. Nature is the great revivifier, and the mere calling of masses of people away from the roofed-in places has its salutary effect. Men always have taken their sports into the open; and the outdoor dramatic production, like a game, sends men and women back to their cities refreshed in mind and body.[70]

Gassner says that the outdoor amphitheatres "provide a sharp contrast to the unwholesome and cramped chicken coops which pass for playhouses on Broadway".[71] He lists other characteristics of outdoor pageants: ample stage and spacious seating, the spectators' sense of community during the play, and the scope of the subject matter which takes the form of a large chronicle rather than a "tight little realistic play".[72] Episodic form, presentation rather than representation, oratory, ritual, scenery that is not static, and spectacle are also qualities

of the modern pageant for Gassner. As an example of spectacle, he cites the full-scale naval battle that is performed annually in The Common Glory.[73] In commenting on language, he says that speech, even when colloquial, leans toward "recitation".[74]

In a review of theatre, the same writer compares the effect of the pageant dramas on the spectator with the effect of a Broadway play on its audience. He says the former leaves the spectator with a "sense of community":

> The theatre has come to matter to him because it affords him the sense of solidarity. At least during the performance, he belongs not only to himself but to his world, of which the past is a configuration of the present; and he is concerned not so much with his private sensibility as with a heritage of shared experience and conscience.

This contrasts with the person leaving a Broadway play:

> ....he finds both his interest and his personality narrowed down. This is the consequence of professionalism separated from the main stream of a nation's life, divorced from tradition, and art adrift in the stream of contemporary reality, as a tightly sealed ark filled with concerns en famille, so to speak.

He goes on to say that for the regular patrons of theatre, "playgoing is just an acceptable way of using one's leisure, an activity that has little relation to one's commitment to life--or to art".[75]

The popularity of pageants was not restricted to the American south. The Ticonderoga plays, an obvious manifestation of the popular pageant movement, are the only direct influence that we know of on the Six Nations' Pageants. Although not produced by Indians, these plays are basically concerned with Indian history and culture. The organizers of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants had seen a Ticonderoga

play of Thomas Cook and possibly had Cook's assistance in their own first production. The Ticonderoga plays' dramatic and historical interest, and the fact that they are presented annually, places them in the popular pageant movement in the United States. Although The Brantford Expositor reported that Thomas Cook had written the script for the first Six Nations' pageant, both Mr. Smith and Miss General denied this. Both said that Cook had offered a play on Red Jacket to them, but they rejected it and wrote their own. According to the newspaper, both Thomas Cook and a co-worker of his from Ticonderoga, H. Jermain Slocum, attended the first Six Nations' pageant.[76]

A pamphlet on the Ticonderoga theatre, which was also called Forest Theatre, states that Cook had developed an interest in Indian lore from his mother who, although white, had been given an Indian name, Hutoka, by her father who was also very interested in Indian history and culture. In the summer of 1931, Thomas Cook with a few friends "put on a single adaptation of the thanksgiving portion of the traditional Iroquois Feast of the Green Corn". This celebration continued annually for about four years, but because the number of people attending kept increasing each year, the "feasting" was discontinued and was replaced by a short program that depicted ways in which Indians had been misrepresented. Eventually, a theatre was built on Cook's farm and five plays were written to be performed in it: The Birth of the Long House, Sir William Johnson and the Mohawks, The Conspiracy of Pontiac, Scenes from the Life of Red Jacket, and The Last of the Senacas.[77] The plays were presented annually from 1931 to 1961 with an interruption of several years during the Second World War

(see Appendix B for further information on the history of the Ticonderoga theatre).

It has been mentioned previously that the Ticonderoga plays are the only direct influence that we know of on the Six Nations' plays. One issue to be examined here is the extent of that influence. Are the Six Nations' plays slavish imitations of Cook's plays, or are they different? Is Thomas Cook, as the The Brantford Expositor suggests, the writer of the first play? From a comparison of the scripts of the Ticonderoga plays with those of the Six Nations', there seem to be definite similarities but some significant differences as well.

The fact that only two of the Six Nations' plays correspond to the Ticonderoga plays suggests a limited influence; The Birth of the Long House is based on the same subject matter as The League of Peace and Scenes from the Life of Red Jacket obviously deals with the same subject as Red Jacket. These are the only plays of the two theatres that have a common subject matter.

In a comparison of these plays, the most notable differences are in the tone of the plays, in the attitude toward history, and in the thematic concerns. The Ticonderoga plays give the definite impression of having been written by a non-Indian. The viewpoint is that of an outsider looking at something remote in time. Coupled with the feeling of distance from the subject matter is a sentimental tone, typical of nineteenth century romantic attitudes toward the Indians. Most of the Indian characters are "noble savages". There are frequent references to "the noble race" that has passed into oblivion. This is

evident, for example, in the narrator's speech at the end of Scenes from the Life of Red Jacket:

> Have you ever heard that strange soft rustle of full leaved corn? It is a sound akin to wind in pines. The Senecas hear it and think of Red Jacket and his moaning for the fate of his people. When we hear it at this, the season of the ancient feast of the green corn, let us think of that truly fine culture that our ancestors so completely extinguished...that has so nearly passed with its people into oblivion.

Obviously, the Indians of the Grand River Reserve, writing out of an Iroquoian culture and heritage, would not feel that their race has passed into oblivion. The viewpoint of the Ticonderoga plays is that of an outsider to the culture, whereas the viewpoint of the Six Nations' Pageants suggests a personal involvement in the subject matter.

A second major difference is in the attitude toward history. Many scenes in the Ticonderoga plays have no basis in historical fact; there are fictionalized events, although sometimes with historical characters. Frequently, they are meant to teach some aspect of Iroquoian life. For example, one of the scenes in Scenes from the Life of Red Jacket presents the Senecas returning to camp with an Algonquin prisoner. The warriors want to slowly torture him, but Red Jacket decides he should run the gauntlet. The prisoner, by his cunning, survives and is then adopted into the wolf clan. Here, the writer is showing the treatment of prisoners by the Iroquois and the ceremony of adoption. The Six Nations' plays rarely use any such fictionalized event. They are insistent that the events to be dramatized have a basis in historical fact.

A third difference between the two theatres rests on the emphasis they give to different themes. This is particularly evident

in The Birth of the Long House where the playwright is most insistent that the League of the Six Nations served as the model for the formation of the American republic. The play concludes with a poem, the last stanza of which is as follows:

> The tree which Hiawatha told
> Would live until the world grew old
> Is dead. But while the trunk came down
> Its roots, sunk deep into the ground
> Have grown again and now we see
> The United States for you and me.

To support this parallel between the League of the Six Nations and the American republic, there is an emphasis on the statecraft of Dekanawida and Hiawatha. No such sentiments or emphasis are to be found in The League of Peace where the stress is on the peace-seeking attributes of the main characters. Even the title of the Six Nations' play suggests this different emphasis. The Ticonderoga plays frequently refer to the cruel and barbaric nature of the Iroquois; no such idea is ever to be found in the Six Nations' plays.[78]

Although there are differences between the two theatres, there are also some similarities. Both theatres use a palisaded, outdoor amphitheatre. Both present their plays in August. The technique of alternating narration and dramatization is used in both theatres. The Indian Village concept is also evident in both. The dramatization of the Green Corn Ceremony was a significant aspect of the Ticonderoga plays; it was also dramatized in the first Six Nations' play. In the two plays that share a common subject matter, some of the dramatized events are the same. For example, both of the Red Jacket plays devote scenes to Red Jacket's confrontation with the missionary and to his meeting with the officials of the Ogden Land Company. One scene in

each play is also devoted to Red Jacket's domestic problems, but the two scenes are quite differently presented.

It is probably safe to say, then, that the Six Nations' Pageants were influenced by the Ticonderoga plays. The founders of the pageants had visited the Ticonderoga theatre and had watched at least one of its productions. They also had access to at least one of Cook's scripts. Cook was at the first Six Nations' play; undoubtedly he offered advice and suggestions. But from the differences noted in the plays, it would seem that the Grand River Indians did not feel easy with some of the sentiments and the emphases of the Cook plays. The differences in tone, themes, and the treatment of history suggest that there was no ready adaptation of Cook's plays to a Grand River setting. This idea is further strengthened by the fact that only two of the plays have a common subject matter and those two plays are different in many respects. Although the objective of both theatres was to teach, they differ in many ways on what they chose to teach and in the way they present their choices.

Although the founders of the Six Nations' Indian Pageants owe a debt to Thomas Cook and the Ticonderoga plays, they were already familiar with the popular concepts of pageant that were prevalent at the time. This is evident from a report in The Brantford Expositor in 1947 which described how the Sour Springs Women's Institute on the Grand River Reserve had played hostess to eighteen Women's Institutes. As part of their programme to celebrate the golden jubilee of the founding of Women's Institutes, they presented an historical pageant portraying prominent characters from the history of Brant County.

The pageant took place at the Community Hall at Ohsweken on the Indian reserve. It consisted of a parade of characters that included Joseph Brant, Pauline Johnson, Sara Jeanette Duncan, and other historical characters who were more directly related to Women's Institutes. Most of the characters either danced, sang, or recited while they were on the stage. Music was provided by the Tuscarora Band. The second half of the pageant portrayed a Women's Institute meeting of fifty years prior.[79]

There were other indications that pageants were known to the people on the reserve prior to the beginning of their annual pageants. There was a notice in The Brantford Expositor in the summer of 1948 publicizing the Six Nations' Band Tattoo. In addition to a list of the participating bands, it said: "Also on the program is a stage play depicting Indians in ceremonial dress."[80] A picture in the same paper a few days later showed a group of Indians in Indian dress; under it was a caption that said that Indian ritual and ceremonies were re-enacted for the people gathered.[81]

These early forms of pageant on the reserve are quite different from the pageants of Forest Theatre. The latter are concerned with presenting their history in the form of a play rather than just a procession. Thus they are more modern in their concern with the combination of history and drama. The history presented is that of a particular group, namely the Six Nations' Indians of the Grand River Reserve. Unlike Thomas Cook's plays and Unto These Hills, the people involved in the Six Nations' Indian Pageants are the Indians themselves. The founder and the administrators of the pageants are and always have

been Indians.

Like many of the proponents of pageant plays who express feelings that out-of-doors drama helps the audience to feel at peace, to commune with nature, and to feel at harmony with their fellow-men, the Six Nations' Indian Pageants frequently express similar attitudes. They occur often in the welcoming speeches of the narrators and sometimes in the dialogue as well.

Unlike many modern pageants, however, the Forest Theatre productions do not present a survey of their history in any one play. They choose, rather, to focus on one central character and to present the historical events from the point of view of that character. The plays, then, are usually biographical with the focus on such characters as Joseph Brant, Dekanawida, Cornplanter, Red Jacket, or Pauline Johnson. This enables these particular pageants to overcome one of the criticisms levelled at Paul Green's _The Lost Colony_, namely, the lack of "a pivotal character".[82]

Unity in the Six Nations' Indian Pageants is provided by the life of the main character. The length of time is thus reduced from the typical pageant. Instead of dealing with the several hundred years of history of the locality, the Six Nations' plays are limited to one life time. Together, however, the pageants do provide a survey of the history of the Six Nations: _The League of Peace_, _Cornplanter_, _Red Jacket_, _Joseph Brant_, _Grand River_, and _E. Pauline Johnson_ are the plays that could be described as a cycle that presents Iroquoian history. Other special plays such as _Handsome Lake_, _The Coming of the Tuscaroras_, and _War and Peace_ also contribute to this survey of history.

The Six Nations' Indian Pageants also vary from the typical modern idea of pageant in that spectacle is definitely played down. Singing, dancing, and music are used minimally, never to the extent that the plays could be called spectacle. Although there is a certain aspect of spectacle in the costumes and in the subject matter of the plays, these are usually presented in such a way as to avoid spectacle. Many opportunities for spectacular scenes are ignored; for example, battle scenes are not presented.

Throughout the pageant plays, the emphasis is on the history itself. Both Miss General and Mr. Smith have similar ideas about the way in which the history should be presented. Both think that history itself should be expressed without attempts at colouring the events or dressing the action to make it more interesting. The only spectacle in the pageants results from the effect of the lights on the bright costumes which stand out sharply against the darkness of the night, from the reflections in the water, and from the ritual and formality that comes from the language and the events. In this respect, they even depart from the Ticonderoga plays that relied more on spectacle but not to the extent that most pageants do. The Ticonderoga plays re-enacted Indian dances, including the war dance, and elaborate Indian ceremonies. These are not found within the Six Nations' plays.

Mr. Smith expressed his views about the history plays in a letter to the editor of The Brantford Expositor. The letter was a response to a critical analysis of the pageant plays.

> The play drags, as the critic states. That is the natural tempo of the play, as the formation of the League of Peace was the accomplishment of a lifetime, not of a short space of time, and the easy going

> nature so characteristic of the Indian contributes to this factor, as the Indian has never learned to hurry. He lived so close to nature that be became a veritable child of nature. The laws of nature work slowly, but exceedingly well, and our present day life of hustle and bustle leaves little or no time for enjoyment of the finer things of life.
>
> The cast of the pageant is composed of local people who express the natural traits of the Indian rather than the style of vigorous Hollywood drama.[83]

The pageant officials thus seem quite aware that their plays are unlike conventional plays, and, moreover, they do not want them to be like "Hollywood" drama. That would take away their "Indian" character. They are concerned with presenting their history as they truly believed it happened, rather than presenting history that is entertaining. Unlike Kermit Hunter, the author of Unto These Hills, they do not attempt to portray "the sense of history rather than the dry fact".[84] Their concern is with the dry fact.

The didactic element, a part of both the traditional idea of pageant and the modern conception, is also very important to the Forest Theatre plays. The plays were meant to teach the audience some of the history and customs of the Six Nations. Again and again, throughout the plays, the emphasis is on the peaceful characteristics of the Iroquois people and on the contribution they have made to mankind. The ancient values are offered once more as possible solutions to some of today's problems.

The Six Nations' Indian Pageants are pageants, then, only in a qualified sense; they probably derive from the modern pageant movement and the Ticonderoga plays in particular; they rely on local history; they have didactic import; they are held annually out-of-doors. The nature of their materials and the way they present them, however, are

quite different from the usual survey of history with an emphasis on procession and spectacle. In this respect, they have probably been influenced by the Ticonderoga plays which were certainly not as lavish as the pageant plays of the American south. Yet, the Six Nations' plays place even more emphasis on "the dry facts" and even less on spectacle. They also reflect attitudes that probably stem from the fact that the Six Nations' plays are entirely the products of Indians, not white men.

II

THE HISTORY OF CORNPLANTER

The play Cornplanter is concerned with an aspect of Six Nations' history that is not peculiar to the Grand River Indians. It deals, in part, with the history that is shared by all the Iroquois. Its main concern, however, is the history of those Six Nations' Indians who chose to stay behind in New York State and Pennsylvania after Brant had accepted the British offer of lands in Canada. Thus a good portion of the play concerns the Six Nations' Indians who did not migrate to British North America at the end of the eighteenth century as the Grand River Indians had done.

The play focuses on the life of the Seneca chief, Cornplanter. He lived at a time when the Six Nations' Confederacy or League reached its pinnacle of power and then dramatically plummeted during the few years of the American Revolution. Cornplanter along with Joseph Brant and Red Jacket, who are also subjects of plays, saw the former rulers of the northeastern woodlands fall victim to war, disease, alcohol, and despair. As leaders, there were in part responsible for that dramatic fall, although there was probably little any one of them could have done to prevent it. At the beginning of Cornplanter's life, the Iroquois were in virtual control of the northeastern part of the continent; by the time of his death, their

land had diminished to a few acres on scattered reservations. As a chief and warrior, Cornplanter not only saw but helped to shape, for better or worse, the destiny of his people.

Although there is a considerable amount of written material that touches on Cornplanter, his long life is by no means as well documented as the lives of Brant and Red Jacket, his contemporaries. Unlike them, Cornplanter does not seem to have attained as widespread a popularity or infamy among the white populace, although he is remembered by his own people, particularly in Pennsylvania where a grant of land still carries his name and where some of his descendants still live.[1]

The published historical materials that the script-writers might have used for the 1975 Cornplanter play are not numerous. No full-length biography of Cornplanter has yet been written. Drake, Stone, and Wallace provide the three most significant accounts of his life. Drake included a sketch of Cornplanter's life in his Biography and History of the Indians of North America from its Discovery.[2] Stone wrote a thirty-three page biography of Cornplanter at the conclusion of his study of Red Jacket[3] and also included many references to Cornplanter in his two-volume biography of Joseph Brant.[4] Many details of Cornplanter's life have been filled in by A.F.C. Wallace in his The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.[5] Wallace and other recent historians have made use of such information as the memoirs of Blacksnake, who was a chief of the Senecas during the time of Cornplanter.[6]

Besides these three sources, there are other historical

materials that deal with Cornplanter. In 1927, Arthur C. Parker wrote an informative essay called "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter".[7] Minnie Myrtle, who seems to rely heavily on Drake and Stone, included a chapter on Cornplanter in her study of the Iroquois.[8] A biographical sketch by James Ross Snowden, written for the dedication of a monument to Cornplanter in 1867, relied extensively on Stone.[9] Sieberneck and Godcharles have also written brief biographies of Cornplanter.[10] Cornplanter is mentioned in the published journals of some of his contemporaries: for example, the journals of Colonel Proctor,[11] Philip Tome,[12] William Savery,[13] Halliday Jackson,[14] and Mary Jemison.[15] He is also referred to in letters and government documents of the time. Translations of some of his speeches survive.

It is now probably useful to turn to the historical events of Cornplanter's life. This summary is necessary in order to indicate the extent of the historical emphasis in the play and in order to analyze the process of selection that the script-writer went through in choosing certain events to dramatize. The omissions as well as the choices may reveal something about the plays. It is also essential to know the history in order to ascertain if the play does provide the peculiarly Indian point of view of history that is claimed by, among others, the master of ceremonies of the 1960 Cornplanter play.

Cornplanter was born about 1742 at Connewaugus, New York, on the Genesee River.[16] His Indian name was Gyantwaka (Gaiantwaka) which means "the one who plants" (i.e., The Planter)[17] or "by what one plants".[18] In a story recorded by Arthur C. Parker, Cornplanter received his name because he encouraged his people to return to

agriculture as a means of livelihood. The whites who knew him translated his name as "Cornplanter".[19] He was the son of a Seneca woman called Aliquipiso[20] and a white trader sometimes called John O'Bail but more correctly known as John Abeel, the son of a prominent Albany family.[21] Although Cornplanter was half white, he was raised as an Indian and always considered himself one. Most of the information we have regarding his early life comes from a letter he wrote as an old man to the governor of Pennsylvania:

> I feel it my duty to send a speech to the governor of Pennsylvania at this time, and inform him the place where I was from--which was at Conewaugus, on the Genesee River.
>
> When I was a child, I played with the butterfly, the grasshopper and the frogs; and as I grew up, I began to pay some attention and play with the Indian boys in the neighborhood, and they took notice of my skin being a different color from theirs, and spoke of it. I inquired of my mother the cause, and she told me that my father was a <u>residenter</u> of Albany. I still eat my victuals out of a bark dish. I grew up to be a young man, and married me a wife, and I had no kettle or gun. I then knew where my father lived and went to see him, and found he was a white man, and spoke the English language. He gave me victuals whilst I was at his house, but when I started to return home, he gave me neither kettle nor gun, neither did he tell me that the United States were about to rebel against the government of England....

The letter is dated Allegheny River, February 2, 1822.[22]

According to Drake, Cornplanter was a warrior at the defeat of the English General, Edward Braddock, by a combined force of Indians and French in 1755.[23] Cyrus Thomas says that there is no historical evidence to support this "though he may have been present as a boy of 12 or 15 years".[24] This latter view accords with the opinion of Parker in "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter".[25] Another view which is not far removed from these is given by Philip

Tome who, in 1817, asked Cornplanter what his first battle had been. Cornplanter said it was Braddock's defeat when he was seventeen years old.[26] Considering the advanced age of Cornplanter at the time he made the statement, it would not be farfetched to presume he might have been a couple of years out.

More is known about Cornplanter's adult life. At the time of the American Revolution, he was a warrior chief, not an hereditary chief or sachem. As the Six Nations became more aware of the impending struggle between the colonists and the British, they adopted a policy of neutrality.[27] In May 1776, the American colonists asked the Six Nations for their support in the fight. Some of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, who were strongly influenced by the white missionaries, agreed to help them.[28] The remaining Six Nations were divided as in their views on whether they should stay neutral or support the British.

A breakdown in neutrality was assisted by an epidemic at Onondaga, the site of the council meetings of the Six Nations. Three sachems were numbered among the victims of the epidemic. As a result of the deaths of these sachems, the central council fire of the Confederacy was extinguished until the proper condolence ceremony could be performed.[29] Because of the difficulty of travelling in winter and because of the divided loyalties of the Six Nations, the condolence ceremony was delayed for a considerable time. According to the customs of the Confederacy, the affairs of war and peace came to rest with the warriors when the sachems were unable to meet.[30] The warriors, of course, by temperament were more inclined to join in

the fray than the conservative sachems would have been. It was the warriors who threw aside the policy of neutrality and agreed to support one or other of the warring parties.

Because of colonist attacks on some of the Six Nations' Indians who had been neutral and because of attacks on John Johnson, a long-time friend of the Mohawks, many of the Six Nations decided to assist the British. In September 1776, a council was held at Niagara where many of the Senecas, Cayugas, Mohawks, and Onondagas declared their allegiance to the British King. A strong appeal was sent to the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras to join them, but they declined.[31]

Wallace indicates that Cornplanter initially had been in favour of Six Nations' neutrality during the revolutionary war because he thought that it was a family quarrel among the white people and the Indians probably did not understand it well enough to take sides. Neutrality was rejected by a Council of the Six Nations where Joseph Brant's view in favour of support of the British was accepted. Cornplanter accepted the decision of this council, the Council of Oswego, held in the early summer of 1777.[32]

At Oswego, the British Commissioner had presented his views on why he thought the Six Nations should support the King. He then left the Indians to make up their own minds. According to Wallace, Cornplanter and Red Jacket opposed getting involved in a dispute about which they knew so little, but Brant called Cornplanter and the pacifists "cowards". By such verbal tactics, as well as British generosity with rum and dry goods, and a display of a wampum belt which was purported to be the ancient covenant between the Iroquois

and the British King, Brant and others in favour of participation in the war won.[33] Cornplanter took the defeat gracefully, urged the warriors to unity, and placed before them some of the problems that would beset them as a result of dropping their neutral position and siding with the British. The next day Brant informed the British Commissioner of the Six Nations' decision.[34]

The procedure of arguing out issues in council and then agreeing unanimously to the majority decision was the way of the Iroquois Confederacy, especially when the issue at hand was one that involved all of the members of the Confederacy.[35] This is perhaps where the Oneidas and Tuscaroras erred; they agreed to assist the Americans without the consent of the whole council. The result was the eventual disintegration of the Confederacy and a weakening of each of its members. At Oswego, however, Cornplanter adhered to tradition and supported the majority decision, although it did not correspond to the opinion he initially had held.

Despite his preference for neutrality, Cornplanter took an active part in the war and was probably present at several major battles including the battles of Wyoming and Cherry Valley in New York State, both famous for their massacres of the white populations.[36] During the capture of Albany by the British forces, Cornplanter's father, John Abeel (O'Bail) met his Indian son. One of the first accounts of this famous meeting was given by Mary Jemison, a white woman who had been captured by the Indians when she was young and who lived with them most of her life.[37] There are at least two different accounts of this confrontation. In the version recorded by Stone

(taken from Jemison's account) Cornplanter captured Abeel himself;[38] according to Wallace and his sources, Abeel was captured before his identity was known. When it was discovered who he was, he was brought to Cornplanter.[39] The following speech, attributed to Cornplanter as he confronted his father, belongs to Stone's version of the story:

> My name is John O'Bail, commonly called Cornplanter. I am your son! You are my father! You are now my prisoner. and subject to the customs of Indian warfare. But you shall not be harmed: you need not fear. I am a warrior! Many are the scalps which I have taken! Many prisoners I have tortured to death! I am your son! I was anxious to see you, and greet you in friendship. I went to your cabin and took you by force. But your life shall be spared. Indians love their friends and their kindred, and treat them with kindness. If now you choose to follow the fortune of your yellow son, and to live with our people, I will cherish your old age with plenty of venison, and you shall live easy. But if it is your choice to return to your fields and live with your white children, I will send a party of my trusty young men to conduct you both in safety. I respect you, my father: you have been friendly to Indians, and they are your friends.[40]

Blacksnake's memoirs, according to Wallace, record that Cornplanter apologized to his father for burning his house and explained that the Senecas had not been aware of its owner's identity. The old man rejected the offer to go and live with Cornplanter, and a council was held which decided to let O'Bail and the other prisoners go free for Cornplanter's sake.[41]

It is generally thought that Cornplanter was a competent leader and a brave warrior throughout the war. Most of the historical sources indicate that Cornplanter's interests were primarily those of the warrior. In 1780, he took part in two major Indian attacks. He was part of a Seneca band that plundered and killed white settlers

north of the Susquehanna, and he was also part of the Schoharie Valley expedition, led by Sir John Johnson, that wiped out all white settlement in the Mohawk Valley west of Schenectady.[42] According to Stone, Cornplanter was the leader of the Senecas in these forays. The same author says that Cornplanter was probably present at "the cruelties of Wyoming and Cherry Valley" and that in his treatment of prisoners even "his tenderest mercies were cruel". Stone records Mary Jemison as saying that Cornplanter confessed to the murder of a little girl who was shot outside Fort Stanwix while picking blackberries.[43] In 1817, Tome asked Cornplanter about his career:

> I asked him if he was ever on the Susquehannah. He laughed and asked if any of my friends had ever been killed there. I answered in the negative. He then asked if the people on the west branch of the Susquehannah did not entertain feelings of enmity against him. I replied that nothing was cherished against him, that whatever acts of hostility he had committed were undoubtedly instigated by the British, and upon them, therefore, rested the blame. He said this was true; that the British supplied them with ammunition and paid them for scalps. I asked him how many men had fallen by his own hand. He said that he had killed seven.

Wallace recorded that Cornplanter said: "...I killed seven persons and took three and saved their lives."[44]

During the American General John Sullivan's expedition against the Six Nations in 1779, which resulted in the destruction of most of the Iroquois towns, crops, and orchards, Cornplanter, according to one account, tried to make a stand against the American army:

> However, on the approach of Sullivan's troops the famous Seneca chief, Red Jacket, began to retreat, as did many other Indians. Cornplanter endeavored to rally the fugitives, but in vain. In blazing anger, Cornplanter turned to Red Jacket's young wife, and said: "Leave that man; he is a coward".[45]

Whether this story is true or not, it does indicate that Cornplanter was generally thought to be more warlike than Red Jacket. There is no indication that Cornplanter resented participating in a war which he had not favoured.

After the war, the British quickly made peace with the Americans at the Treaty of Paris, 1783, and handed over the Iroquois lands to the Americans without consulting the Indians themselves. No provision was made by the British for their Indian allies. It was left to the Iroquois to negotiate for their own land. Later, Cornplanter was to tell President George Washington:

> All the lands we have been speaking of belonged to the Six Nations; no part of it ever belonged to the King of England, and he could not give it to you.
> The land we live on, our forefathers received from God, and they transmitted it to us for our children, and we cannot part with it.[46]

This speech expresses the general attitude of the Iroquois after the war. They felt that their defeat did not justify the confiscation of their land.

Cornplanter attended several post-war councils on behalf of his people. His feelings at this time were that the Indians should make every effort at living in harmony with the Americans. It is significant that he did not take up his case with the British who had a moral responsibility to their allies. This latter course was taken by Joseph Brant who gained extensive tracts of land for the Six Nations in British North America. According to Stone, Cornplanter felt that the British had abandoned his people after the war. The Americans had demonstrated their military force, so all that he could do for his people was pacify the Americans to prevent them from wiping out his

people entirely. He did this knowing "he was jeopardizing his popularity with his own people".[47]

Cornplanter's pro-American attitude is evident in this excerpt from his address to the state legislators at Philadelphia, October 29, 1790:

> In former days when you were young and weak, I used to call you brother, but now I call you father. Father, I hope you will take pity on your children, for now I inform you that I'll die on your side. Now, father, I hope you will make my bed strong.[48]

It should be noted that Cornplanter's attitude toward his father, as indicated in the comments he made when Abeel was captured by him, could also have influenced him in becoming pro-American. His father and other relatives on his father's side whom Cornplanter visited were, after all, American colonists.[49]

For the rest of his life, Cornplanter was loyal to this commitment to the Americans and even offered to fight for them against the British in the War of 1812, but he was not permitted to do so because of his advanced age.[50] He seems to have realized that, having lost the war, the Six Nations had little with which to bargain, and there was no way they could ignore or refuse the American demands. The most that could be hoped for was that a compromise could be reached and that some of the Indian land could be retained. This is certainly the way that Tome interpreted Cornplanter's actions:

> His sagacious intellect comprehended at a glance the growing power of the States, and the abandonment with which Great Britain had requited the fidelity of the Senecas. He therefore threw all his influence at the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar in favour of peace; and notwithstanding the vast concessions which he

> saw his people were necessitated to make, still, by his energy and prudence in the negotiation, he retained for them an ample and beautiful reservation.[51]

It was a matter of losing all or keeping a little. Cornplanter chose the latter. He accepted whatever he got with the idea that anything was better than nothing.

Two of the post-war councils that Cornplanter attended as a representative of the Senecas were held at Fort Stanwix in 1784 and Fort Harmar in 1789. The Treaty of Fort Stanwix confirmed that the Six Nations had lost a great deal of land. Article III of the treaty established new boundaries which resulted in the American confiscation of the western half of the Six Nations' lands. The treaty was signed by, among others, "Seneca Abeal", a variation of Cornplanter's surname.[52]

Cornplanter signed the treaty at Fort Stanwix with the understanding that he was not agreeing to its tenets but that he was merely agreeing to present the treaty to the council of sachems for their consideration. The Americans interpreted the signature as agreement to the treaty. When the sachems refused to ratify the treaty, the Americans proceeded as though they had.[53] The land losses resulted in a great deal of Senecan hostility toward Cornplanter. However, William Savery, a Quaker missionary, noted in his journal that even Red Jacket, one of Cornplanter's rival chiefs, admitted that Cornplanter had acted in the only way possible under the circumstances.[54]

By the Treaty of Fort Harmar, sometimes called Marietta, the boundaries established by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix were reinforced. Besides the land agreement with the United States, which was essentially

a restatement of the conditions of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Treaty of Fort Harmar also consisted of a special agreement between the Six Nations and the State of Pennsylvania. By this agreement, the Six Nations ceded 202,187 acres to that state.[55]

According to Ernest Miller, after the Treaty of Fort Harmar, one of the representatives of the State of Pennsylvania suggested that a gift of land be presented to Cornplanter for his past services and "to fix his attachment to the State". On January 29, 1791, the legislature of Pennsylvania gave Cornplanter three tracts of land: one tract called "Richland" was quickly sold by Cornplanter to a friend; a second tract at the site of the present-day Oil City was sold in 1818 to people who never paid for it; and the third tract called "Planter's Field" which consisted of six hundred acres on the west side of the Allegheny River, just south of the New York State line, is still owned by Cornplanter's descendants. It was here that Cornplanter spent the latter part of his life. Although this land is sometimes called the Cornplanter Reservation, strictly speaking it is a tax-free gift of land to Cornplanter and his heirs. The national government has no special jurisdiction over it as it does over reservations.[56]

Part of Cornplanter's efforts after the war was directed at justifying the ways of the Six Nations to the government of the new republic. In part, these efforts were attempts at regaining some of the lost land. One of his methods was to depict the Iroquois as naively trusting children. This is evident in one of his typically eloquent speeches to President Washington in Philadelphia in 1790:

> ...when our chiefs returned from the treaty at Fort Stanwix, and laid before our council what had been done there, our nation was surprised to hear how great a country you had compelled them to give up to you, without your paying to us anything for it. Every one said that your hearts were yet swelled with resentment against us for what had happened during the war, but that one day you would reconsider it with more kindness. We asked each other, "What have we done to deserve such severe chastisement?"
>
> Father: When you kindled your thirteen fires separately, the wise men that assembled at them told us, that you were all brothers, the children of one great father, who regarded also the red people as his children. They called us brothers, and invited us to his protection; they told us he resided beyond the great water, where the sun first rises; that he was a king whose power no people could resist, and that his goodness was as bright as that sun. What they said went to our hearts; we accepted the invitation, and promised to obey him. What the Seneca nation promise, they faithfully perform; and when you refused obedience to that king, he commanded us to assist his beloved men in making you sober. In obeying him we did no more than yourselves had led us to promise. The men that claimed this promise told us you were children, and had no guns; that when they had shaken you you would submit. We hearkened to them, and were deceived, until your own army approached our towns. We were deceived; but your people in teaching us to confide in that king, had helped to deceive, and now we appeal to your heart,--is the blame all ours?[57]

Here, as in many of his speeches, Cornplanter attempts to persuade his audience by mixed appeals to reason and emotion. His attitude toward his former ally should be noted here as well. The British had promised the Iroquois that the Americans could be easily beaten. Having lost the war, however, the Indians consider the British liars for not living up to their boasts and consider themselves deceived.

From 1787 to 1789, Cornplanter refused to take part in any protests to the American government. In 1787, he agreed to Livingstone's lease which came about when John Livingstone and others convinced the Six Nations to lease some of their remaining lands for 999 years.

This action of the Livingstone group was eventually quashed by the New York legislature. Again, in 1788, Cornplanter agreed to the purchase of one third of Senecan territory by a land company that had been formed by Nathaniel Gorham and Oliver Phelps.[58] Both these land deals resulted in extensive land losses for the Senecas. Cornplanter seemed to believe that selling a part of Senecan land was acceptable because the sales would provide an investment of tribal funds which would guarantee an annuity in cash and thus enable the Senecas to pay for property improvements, emergencies, and legal expenses.[59] Later, in 1790 and 1791, after seeing that the terms of the treatise and land sales were not being fulfilled and noting the hostility of his own people toward him, Cornplanter journeyed to Philadelphia and personally appealed to President Washington. Among the many grievances he placed before the President in December 1790, he explained that although the men in question had obtained the land the agreements of the Livingstone and the Phelps-Gorham purchase had not been properly fulfilled.

Later, in the same month, Washington replied to Cornplanter's list of grievances. He stated that henceforth no land deals involving the Indians could take place unless they were authorized by the American government and had the consent of the Six Nations. He asserted that the boundaries of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784 were still recognized by his government. All land sales were null and void except where lands had been fairly sold by the Indians to persons who had the proper authority to buy them.[60] As far as Cornplanter was concerned, the issue seems to have been closed with Washington's statement of policy.

It must be noted here that Cornplanter, as most of the Six Nations' Indians, had a special esteem for George Washington. When the President was about to retire from public life, Cornplanter made a special visit to Philadelphia to bid him well in his retirement.[61] The general feeling of the Iroquois for Washington has been summed up by Morgan in his study of the Six Nations:

> After his death, he was mourned by the Iroquois as a benefactor of their race, and his memory was cherished with reverence and affection. A belief was spread abroad among them, that the Great Spirit had received him into a celestial residence upon the plains of heaven, the only white man whose noble deeds had entitled him to this heavenly favor.[62]

In 1926, Arthur G. Parker, wrote: "They [the Iroquois] remember Washington with equal gratitude today and he is mentioned with reverence in their native feasts."[63]

As part of his attempt at securing harmony between his people and the Americans, Cornplanter was strongly in favour of his people learning white ways; he felt that they should learn to plough, to build houses and mills, to spin and weave, and to read and write. This desire is clearly expressed in a request that Cornplanter sent to President Washington sometime in the winter of 1790-91:

> The Game which the Great Spirit sent into our Country for us to eat is going from among us. We thought that he intended that we should till the ground with the Plow, as the White People do, and we talked to one another about it.... We ask you to teach us to plow and to grind corn; to assist us in building Saw Mills, and supply us with Broad Axes, Saw, Augers, and other Tools so as that we may make our Houses more comfortable and more durable; that you will above all teach our Children to read and write, and our Women to spin and weave.... We hope that our Nation will determine to spill all the Rum which shall hereafter to brought to our Town.[64]

In this desire to acculturate, he was supported by Joseph Brant but opposed by Red Jacket who did not want the Indians to give up their ancient ways for white customs.[65] Red Jacket became the leader of the so-called "pagan party", who wished to retain the old Iroquois religion and customs. Brant, having negotiated with the British, led a large segment of the Iroquois to land in Canada, while Cornplanter became the leader of the "Christian party" that remained behind in New York State and Pennsylvania, although he may never have become a Christian. The designations of "pagan" and "Christian" were used primarily to separate those opposed to acculturation from those in favour.

In 1791, Cornplanter, as a favour to the Americans, attempted to pacify some of the Indian nations west of them such as the Miamis, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots who were rebelling against the United States. With a few comrades he undertook the peace mission which, according to Seneca tradition, resulted in the capture of Cornplanter and a threat to his life. Although he was eventually released, several of his companions died on the way home.[66] According to a version of the story recorded by A.C. Parker in May 1905, the western Indians poisoned the food of the Cornplanter delegation. Cornplanter became violently ill and several of his companions died.[67] The episode serves as a comment on the extent to which Cornplanter attempted to cement relations between the Six Nations and the Americans after the war.

The western tribes visited by Cornplanter defeated two American expeditions sent against them under the respective leaderships

of General Josiah Harmar in 1790 and General Arthur St. Clair in 1791. Although some of the Senecas would have supported the western nations, Cornplanter persuaded them to assist General "Mad Anthony" Wayne in the third expedition against them. Wayne, in 1794, defeated most of the rebelling Indians. Sipe, lauding the Senecas' actions, comments on the result of their assistance:

> Had they thrown their weight against Wayne, it is very doubtful whether he could have succeeded when he did. The writers of that day say that Cornplanter's success in keeping the Senecas from joining the Western tribes is the greatest service he ever rendered the Americans....[68]

As this episode suggests, Cornplanter's commitment to supporting the Americans was not a casual commitment. Having been defeated by them once, he seemed quite unwilling to risk the possibility of a recurrence and felt he had to demonstrate his loyalty to the Americans.

Cornplanter's friendliness toward the Americans earned him rewards or bribes from them in the form of land grants and cash. The land gifts of the State of Pennsylvania have already been mentioned. President Washington gave him "as a mark of esteem" two hundred and fifty dollars.[70] Because of his participation in the land treaties and because of these personal awards, Cornplanter was often in disfavour with his people. William Savery during a meeting at Canandaigua between the Americans and the Senecas recorded in his journal on October 28, 1794:

> Yesterday many of the chiefs and warriors were very uneasy at Cornplanter's frequent private interviews with the commissioner, and Little Billy spoke roughly to him, told him he should consider who he was, that he was only a war chief, and it did not become him to be so forward as he appeared to be; it was the business of the sachems, more than his, to conduct the treaty.

> He told them he had exerted himself for several years, and taken a great deal of pains for the good of the nation, but if they had no further occasion for him, he would return home; and he really intended it; but Colonel Pickering and General Chapin interested themselves to detain him. The dissatisfaction of the Senecas rose so high, that it was doubtful whether a council would be obtained today, but about three o'clock they met, Cornplanter not attending.[71]

This indicates that the Americans considered Cornplanter's presence at the treaty as an asset to their cause, whereas the Senecas themselves obviously did not think his presence would benefit them. Two days later, Savery mentioned that many of the Senecas were jealous of Cornplanter because of the money and land he had received from the American government.[72] Cornplanter, who recognized the dissatisfaction of his people, said in one of his speeches to the American Congress: "Father: we will not conceal from you that the great God, and not men, has preserved the Corn-Plant[73] from the hands of his own nation. For they ask continually, 'Where is the land on which our children, and their children after them are to lie down upon?"[74] He thus viewed his endeavours on behalf of peace as causing him considerable personal cost. This is evident in an appeal to Congress in 1790 in which he speaks of himself in the third person:

> He loves peace, and all he had in store he has given to those who have been robbed by your people, lest they should plunder the innocent to repay themselves. The whole season, which others have employed in providing for their families, he has spent in endeavours to preserve peace; and this moment his wife and children are dying on the ground, and in want of food.[75]

This speech is an obvious indication that Cornplanter wanted the Americans to think of him primarily as a peacemaker, even at the price of being considered a poor father and husband. Whether he

actually had his people's interests foremost in his mind is a matter for conjecture; several times throughout his career he was accused of taking advantage of his position as negotiator.

After the war, the Iroquois fell into despair, and alcohol became a major problem for them. Two major factors in a reformation of the Senecas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were the Quakers and the new religion of Handsome Lake. The Quakers, whom Cornplanter had met on one of his trips to Philadelphia, came to his village at his invitation. On May 17, 1789, five of them arrived there: Joshua Sharples, John Pierce, Halliday Jackson, Henry Simmons, Jr., and Joel Swayne. Wallace describes the events that followed their arrival:

> The Quakers first explained to the Seneca the purpose of their visit. At a public council convened the day after their arrival, Cornplanter introduced them to his people and apologized for their poverty and the primitiveness of their houses. The Quakers...got down to business, advising the Indians that they had left loving families and comfortable houses solely for the sake of improving the lot of the natives. They were sent among them to teach "the works of the handy workman" and not to secure any profit to themselves.... They told the Indians that plow-irons, hoes, axes, shovels, spades, and various carpenter's tools were on their way in a boat from Pittsburgh, and that the Quakers while they stayed would lend them out, and when they left would leave them with the Indians. And they concluded by stating their faith that the mission was pleasing in the sight of Him "whose regard is toward all the workmanship of his hands".[76]

Wallace has taken some of the details surrounding the arrival of the Quakers from the eyewitness account of Halliday J. :kson, one of the Quakers, who recorded his observations in his private journal. On May 28, the Quakers told the Indian community that they would give them half of the money to ɒuild a gristmill. They also offered cash

rewards to apt pupils; for example, they promised to give every Indian man who could raise by his own hand twenty-five bushels of wheat or rye in one year, the sum of two dollars. Other awards were given for corn, potatoes, hay, linen, and woollen cloth. Any person who had at any time been seen intoxicated for six months prior to the award was disqualified.[77]

Cornplanter, at some later date, became disenchanted with the Quakers. Philip Tome asked him in 1816 why the Quakers had left his town:

> He said the Quakers did not keep the Sabbath, and he thought that was very wrong; and they taught the children that he was no wiser or better than any other man, and ought not to be considered the wisest and best of his tribe, and he told the Quakers that they might go, as the tribe did not wish to have them on their ground, or to have their children taught in that manner.... He asked me what I thought of the Quakers. I said that I liked them very much as they were a very sober people, and did not drink or swear. He did not coincide with me in my favorable opinion of them.[78]

Possibly Cornplanter's disenchantment stemmed from his son, Henry O'Bail, who had been sent to the Quakers in Philadelphia to be educated. Henry, after his education, returned to his people, became a drunkard, and was generally a thorn in his father's side.[79] Also, in 1814, Cornplanter, according to Wallace, had become resentful of Quaker criticism of his own drinking.[80] How serious this drinking was is not clear.

Although the Quakers may have been evicted from Cornplanter's town, they continued to influence the Senecas in other towns and villages for many years. The result of their mission was a lessening of drinking among the Senecas and a gradual rise of the Indians'

standard of living. Having lost the old way of life, the Senecas were helped by the Quakers to adjust to a new agricultural life. This was particularly an adjustment for the men who had previously done the hunting and warring and left farming activities primarily to the women.

Cornplanter was the half-brother of Handsome Lake, "the Prophet", whose visions and teachings also assisted in the reformation of the Six Nations. Handsome Lake, Skaniadario or Ganiodaiio, was born about 1735 and died about 1815 at Onondaga near the present-day Syracuse, New York. According to Hewitt, Handsome Lake had spent the greater part of his life in dissipation and drunkenness. About 1796, prostrated by epilepsy and partial paralysis which had lasted for four years, he seemed close to death. He then experienced a series of visions in which four spirits, messengers of the Artificer of Life, appeared, healed him, and revealed the will of the Artificer. The teachings that resulted from Handsome Lake's visions and cure were based in part on ancient Iroquois beliefs but were changed somewhat to suit the new conditions of the Indians. They emphasized respect between children and parents, sobriety, industry, thrift, and chastity. Handsome Lake preached his doctrines in the Iroquois villages, and many followed his teachings. Because of this new religion, many of the Six Nations resisted the advances of Christianity with which it had much in common.[81]

Cornplanter related the initial visions of Handsome Lake after the latter had experienced the conversion that resulted in physical and spiritual changes in his person. Simmons, one of the Quakers, recorded the vision in his diary as Cornplanter told it to

him.[82] It appears that Cornplanter fully supported the teachings of his brother. He even visited President Jefferson in 1802 to ask for help in implementing Handsome Lake's teachings, particularly that of sobriety.[83]

According to Wallace, Cornplanter was deeply involved in the witchcraft controversy that confronted the Senecas at the turn of the century. In 1799, a daughter of Cornplanter died after a lingering illness. It was decided that the girl had died at the hands of a woman suspected of practising witchcraft. Three of Cornplanter's sons carried out his orders to kill her.[84] In the autumn, another daughter, Jiiwi, became ill. Handsome Lake could do little to help her and blamed the disease on the witchcraft of the Delawares. The event almost erupted in war between the Senecas and the Delawares, but Cornplanter sought the aid of the Governor of Pennsylvania who managed to alleviate the situation.[85]

A general council of the Six Nations was convened at Buffalo Creek in June, 1801, to discuss the whole issue of witchcraft. Handsome Lake held that most bodily disorders arose from witchcraft. He accused many Delawares and some of the Senecas of being witches. Among the people he accused was his nephew, Red Jacket, one of his rivals and most competent critics. Red Jacket was put on trial, but he so ably defended himself that the council exonerated him. But the council also endorsed Handsome Lake's opposition to witchcraft and made him "High Priest, and principal Sachem in all things Civil and Religious".[86] The powers given to Handsome Lake resulted in a kind of dictatorship which quickly alienated the other chiefs, including Cornplanter.

Sometime after the witchcraft controversy, Cornplanter angered Handsome Lake, Blacksnake, and many others of his tribe over a dispute about a sawmill. He was reduced to the status of a common warrior until 1807 when he was restored to his former position as a chief.[87]

In 1818, the aged Cornplanter, disturbed by rumours of further land cessions, began to oppose all Christians and align himself with the pagan party. According to Wallace's account, he became withdrawn and melancholy. In December 1820, he experienced his own series of visions which informed him that he should have nothing to do with the whites and that he should drop all the white customs which he had adopted. The visions told him to burn all his trophies of war: his captain's commission, flag, medals, belt, sword, etc. Many of his teachings, especially the restrictions against liquor, were echoes of the teachings of Handsome Lake.[88] Some of Cornplanter's new beliefs were recorded by a missionary to his village, Timothy Alden.[89] These and others are evident in a speech Cornplanter gave to two commissioners sent by the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1822:

> The Great Spirit first made the world, and next the flying animals, and found all things good and prosperous. He is immortal and everlasting. After finishing the flying animals, he came down on earth and there stood. Then he made different kinds of trees, and weeds of all sorts, and people of every kind. He made the spring and other seasons, and the weather suitable for planting. These he did make. The Great Spirit bids me tell the white people not to give Indians this kind of liquor. When the Great Spirit had made the earth and its animals, he went into the great lakes, where he breathed as easily as any where else, and then made all the different kinds of fish. The Great Spirit looked back on all that he had made. The different kinds he made to be separate, and not to mix and disturb each other. But the white people

> had broken his command by mixing their color with the Indians. The Indians have done better by not doing so. The Great Spirit wishes that all wars and fighting should cease.
>
> He next told us that there were three things for people to attend to. First, we ought to take care of our wives and children. Secondly, the white people ought to attend to their farms and cattle. Thirdly, the Great Spirit has given the bears and deer to the Indian. He is the cause of all things that exist, and it is very wicked to go against his will. The Great Spirit wishes me to inform the people that they should quit drinking intoxicating drink, as being the cause of diseases and death. He told us not to sell any more of our lands, for he never sold land to anyone. Some of us now keep the seventh day; but I wish to quit it, for the Great Spirit made it for others, but not for the Indians, who ought to attend to their business. He has ordered me to quit drinking any intoxicating drink, and not to lust after women but my own, and informs me that by doing so I should live the longer. He made known to me that it is very wicked to tell lies. Let no one suppose this I have said is not true.[90]

As a prophet, Cornplanter never attained the fame of Handsome Lake, probably because his teachings had little to distinguish them from those of his brother.

In his old age, Cornplanter had to appeal to the government of Pennsylvania to return tax money that had been forced from him by his white neighbours. He appealed on the grounds that he was too poor to pay. His appeal was granted.[91]

Cornplanter died on his grant of land on February 18, 1836.[92] Wallace describes him as an old man attending the last public event of his life:

> At the time of his death in 1835, he was still an awesome figure--like Young King,[93] a battered wreck of a man. Nearly six feet tall, gray-haired, bearded, with one eye missing and the empty socket covered by the drooping brow, a limp hand rendered useless by a severed tendon, one earlobe torn and hanging down on his shoulder like a rag, he stood like a scarred oak among saplings. He lived in

> poverty on the grant in a decaying two-storey log house without household furniture except wooden benches covered with deerskins and blankets and a few wooden spoons and bowls. Around him, however, lived fifty of his kinsmen in eight or ten houses. In the year of his death he took his farewell of the Seneca nation at annuity time at Buffalo Creek. Just before the fire was covered, he stood up and solemnly made his last speech.
> He recounted the principal events of his life, as connected with the interests of his nation. He said he had endeavoured conscientiously to discharge his whole duty to his people. Whatever errors he might have committed were errors of judgement and not of the heart. If he had done any wrong or in any way given offence to anyone present, without just cause, he desired the aggrieved party to come forward and be reconciled. It was his wish to be at peace with all men....and he added "When I leave this place, most of you will have seen me for the last time". He then gave them advice and counsel for the future; went from one to another and took them by the hand, saying a few parting words to each; passed out of the door, mounted his horse, called his travelling companions, and left, never to return.[94]

The picture presented here is similar to one provided by a writer whom Tome quotes. The unnamed writer[95] describes Cornplanter as old and shrunken but still a strong, impressive figure. His feet were deformed by injuries; his fingers on one hand were useless; his one eye was missing and where it had been the brow drooped down and rested on the cheekbone; his one ear was torn and hung down on his shoulder. His hair was thick and white. The effect of the interview on the writer was that he felt Cornplanter "had long been a man of peace, and I believe his great characteristics were humanity and truth".[96] This conclusion seems rather odd when the preceding description would probably better support the view that Cornplanter had long been a man of war.

According to Sipe, it was Cornplanter's wish that his grave should remain unmarked.[97] In 1866, however, the State of Pennsylvania

erected a monument to him, the first monument erected by any state in the Union to an Indian chief. It bears the inscription: "Gyantwahia,[98] the Cornplanter, John O'Bail (alias Cornplanter) died in Cornplanter Town February 18, 1836, aged about 100 years Chief of the Seneca tribe, and a principal chief of the Six Nations from the period of the Revolutionary War to the time of his death. Distinguished for talents, courage, eloquence, sobriety, and love of his tribe and race, to whose welfare he devoted his time, his energy, and his means during a long and eventful life".[99] The inscription indicates the esteem in which Cornplanter was held by the Americans. Unlike Brant who remained pro-British, and Red Jacket who was always anti-white, Cornplanter's pro-American attitude won for him a favourable place in the history of the United States. He is presented sympathetically by most American historians, past and present alike. This is particularly evident in the addresses given at the dedication of Cornplanter's monument. Cornplanter is described as overcoming the "craftiness" of Brant and Red Jacket, as well as their "evil influences". Snowden also insists that Cornplanter in the estimation of his contemporaries was a superior warrior to Brant.[100]

Besides the major events in his life and his speeches, there are anecdotes and references in personal journals and letters of his contemporaries that shed some light on Cornplanter's character. Orlando Allan, for example, remembered a boyhood incident that took place at Buffalo Creek when Cornplanter insisted that his fellow Senecas pay a debt they had incurred to a white man.[101] Colonel Proctor commented on Cornplanter's composure under the most trying

of circumstances,[102] a trait which Tome also discovered in the chief:

> On more than one occasion, when some reckless and bloodthirsty whites on the frontier had massacred unoffending Indians in cold blood, did Cornplanter interfere to restrain the vengeance of his people.[103]

Proctor also found Cornplanter more modest and less self-seeking than his fellow-chiefs, particularly Red Jacket.[104]

Like Brant's and Red Jacket's, Cornplanter's actions seem at times ambiguous, although a certain consistency of character can be discerned in the historical accounts. Before and during the American Revolution, he was primarily known as a warrior. After the revolution, he presented himself as a peace-maker to the Americans. Some of his actions support that claim, although he was frequently the centre of dissension among his own people. The sale of Indian lands and his acceptance of personal gifts of land and money from the Americans alienated many of his people. He was frequently at odds with his fellow-chiefs. He encouraged his people to support General Wayne against the other Indian tribes. He was willing to fight for the Americans in the War of 1812. Generally, his role as peace-maker seems to extend only to the relationship between the Senecas and the white Americans. After the revolution, he consistently attempted to maintain amicable relations between the two peoples. Perhaps his half-white parentage made him inclined that way. In other facets of his life though, his description of himself as a peace-maker does not seem to be entirely applicable.

III

THE CORNPLANTER PLAY

The Cornplanter play was presented in 1954, 1960, 1966, and 1975. The 1954 version, according to The Brantford Expositor, was written by Julia L. Jamieson.[1] The 1975 version was written by Wilma Green who used an earlier script given to her by William Smith. A complete text of the 1975 play was obtained for this study by taping the performance on a cassette recorder. The transcription of that tape is appended to this thesis (see Appendix C). Although William Smith owned a script for the Cornplanter play, he was not willing to part with it. From his tape collection, however, I managed to find and record fragments of another performance. This is probably the 1960 version since in it the master of ceremonies welcomes the audience to the new theatre. The change of site from the General's property to the present location took place in that year.

The fragments consist of a series of speeches from a "practice" tape. Several of the speeches belong to a female master of ceremonies and to a narrator. There are also parts of speeches, in an Indian language and in English, of Cornplanter, George Washington, Guy Carleton, and a British Commissioner. Most of the comments in these chapters stem from an analysis of the 1975 version which I have seen and recorded, although throughout the chapter I will attempt to compare this version with the fragments of the earlier versions and with the

descriptions of the performances in The Brantford Expositor.

From the various historical aspects of Cornplanter's life, the script-writer of the 1975 Cornplanter play has selected seven events to dramatize, although many other facts and incidents are mentioned by a narrator. The first scene of the play centres on the boy Cornplanter who questions his mother regarding the colour of his skin and his lack of a father. This is followed by an Indian Village scene that describes ancient Iroquois procedures for tanning, basket-making, and other practical skills. The next scene focuses on the Council of Oswego in 1777 where many of the Six Nations agreed to support the British in the American Revolution. The fourth scene presents Cornplanter, a warrior and leader of his people, as he confronts his white father who has been captured by the Iroquois. A visit to George Washington and Cornplanter's appeals on behalf of his people are depicted in the fifth scene. The sixth scene presents the arrival of the Quakers at Cornplanter's town and the beginning of the short-lived reformation of the Senecas. The final scene dramatizes Cornplanter's last public appearance.

In addition to these dramatized scenes, the narrated segments either prepare the audience for a dramatized scene that is about to occur or else comment on one that has already been presented. In recent years, the lights are dimmed during the narrated parts. This has the effect of contrasting these portions of the play with the dramatized parts. It also has the effect of accentuating the dramatized parts. The narrator, who is not visible, fills in factual information that the script-writer has chosen not to dramatize.

The Cornplanter pageant begins with introductory comments by a master of ceremonies as well as the ceremonial lighting of the campfire and an opening prayer. The master of ceremonies says that the Pageant Committee is endeavouring to present the life of Cornplanter. He describes Cornplanter as "a lover of peace" during the troubled times of the American Revolution. One would normally expect that the life of a warrior chief would depict the bravery and the battle exploits of the person, not his peaceful exploits. But in the master of ceremonies' comments, Cornplanter is not even referred to as a warrior. He goes on to say: "His [Cornplanter's] statesmanship and leadership were put to the test when he defended his people and their land." This statement, coupled with the earlier description of Cornplanter as an "eloquent orator", indicate that in the play Cornplanter's defence of his people is not to take place on the battlefield.

As already mentioned, each of the seven parts of the 1975 Cornplanter play consists of alternating narration and dramatization. In the first scene, a narrator introduces the time, place, and the main character. He gives an idyllic view of life in the Seneca village:

> Each day the women worked steadily at their daily tasks in rhythm with the waves of the nearby Genesee River. Their life was simple but very beautiful for peace poured over this village and seemed to wrap the soul and the heart in happiness. The mothers in the village smiled with contentment as they watched their children grow in the knowledge of their own people, customs, and traditions.

This peaceful scene is perhaps not one that a white audience would normally associate with the Iroquois.

The dramatized scene that follows presents the events of his youth described by Cornplanter in his letter to the Governor of

Pennsylvania (see page 60). There is a statement by the narrator at the close of the scene which, although it varies from Cornplanter's letter slightly, certainly suggests that that letter was its direct source: "...for as Cornplanter later said, 'He gave me vittles while I was at his house, but when I started for home he gave nothing to eat on the way--neither kettle nor gun'." The letter reads: "He gave me victuals whilst I was at his house, but when I started to return home, he gave neither kettle nor gun...." This letter is in both the accounts of Drake and Stone, but not in Wallace.

In the scene, the meagre facts provided by the letter are expanded so that the scene portrays how the young Cornplanter might have felt and acted. The dramatized portion of this scene begins with the boy Cornplanter hunting. He is wearing a deerskin suit with a bright red loin cloth. His hunting is interrupted by an Indian girl who tells him that the other boys of the village think that he will not be a hunter because he has no father. He protests, and she sympathizes with him. The girl leaves to welcome the hunters home to the village. The boy's mother comes to him, and he asks her about his father. She tells him that his father is a white man who abandoned them when Cornplanter was a baby. After their discussion, they also leave to greet the hunters.

The scene resolves some of the questions that confront the boy Cornplanter: why his skin is different in colour from that of his playmates and why he has no father. It also begins to establish Cornplanter as the peace-loving conciliator; he avoids a disagreement with the girl by admitting that his "hunting" was a pretence and later tries

to justify the insults of his friends when he says to his mother, "I know my friends mean no harm in the things they say...."

This opening scene also introduces a theme that occurs throughout the play: the importance of the role of the father. In this scene, father and son are alienated; in fact, the boy is totally unaware of his father until the mother's revelation. The role of the father in Indian terms would be that of the provider and teacher. The fathers mentioned in this scene provide food from the hunt and teach their sons the techniques of hunting. Wallace has mentioned that the basic ideal of manhood for the Iroquois was that of the good hunter.[2] Morgan also stated that the Iroquois father passes on the knowledge of the role of the father to his son:

> The Indian father seldom caressed his children or by any outward acts manifested the least solicitude for their welfare; but when his sons grew up to maturity, he became more attached to them, making them his companions in the hunt, and upon the war-path.[3]

Without a father, Cornplanter, in the eyes of the other boys, will not know how to be a provider and will "have to stay in the village with the women while they hunt for food". Cornplanter is thus given the role, so common in folklore, of the unpromising hero, an unlikely warrior chief.

The dramatic portion of the scene ends with the prophecy of the mother that offsets the taunts of the village boys. She tells Cornplanter to come to the village to welcome the hunters just as Cornplanter's own children will one day welcome him back from the hunt. Despite his lack of a father, Cornplanter will be able to take his natural role in the village society. After the dramatized scene, the

narrator confirms the prophecy by asserting that Cornplanter became a father, not only of his own children, but of his people by becoming "a great hunter, warrior, and provider". This is one of the few references in the play to Cornplanter's career as a warrior. Later, the narrator says that Cornplanter readily assumed the role of teacher as well. At this point, the narrator relates Cornplanter's unsuccessful, youthful efforts at establishing a relationship with his white father.

Besides the didactic tone of the narrator who implicitly prefers the old life to the present, there are other didactic aspects in this first scene: for example, Cornplanter says, "I wouldn't have shot at the coon anyway because the meat would not have been needed. We never kill more than we have to." In his introductory co ments, the master of ceremonies had expressed a similar view: "He [the Indian] was free to hunt and fish on this land, but never did an Indian hunt for sport. He secured the food he needed by asking the Creator for forgiveness in taking a life which he had created." This view of the Indian, as one who respects life, seems inconsistent with the text book view of the Iroquois as fierce and cruel, with both Tome's and Wallace's report on Cornplanter's admission about the number of people he had killed in the revolutionary war, and with Mary Jemison's story of Cornplanter killing a little girl.

It is interesting to note that some other versions of the Cornplanter play did not begin directly with the life of Cornplanter but rather with the meeting of John O'Bail and Cornplanter's mother. The 1954 play, written by Julia L. Jamieson, had as its first dramatic segment the arrival by canoe of the Irish pedlar, John O'Bail. While

he is spreading out his wares, he sees and becomes infatuated with the Indian maiden, Princess Wildflower. He takes from his wares a necklace and places it around the maiden's neck. He then decides to stay in the village for a while. When he eventually leaves, Princess Wildflower has given birth to a son, Cornplanter.

The deletion of this scene in later versions results in a greater unity in the play by focusing solely on Cornplanter. The meeting that is dramatized in the 1954 version is only recounted by Cornplanter's mother in the 1975 play:

> Your father lives away from the village at a place called Albany. He is not an Indian and for that reason you take after him and your skin is lighter than your friends. He came to this village many years ago and decided to stay here with me. They were happy years for me, but then the time came when he decided to leave the village. I also prepared to leave but he insisted on going alone.

By beginning with Cornplanter as a boy and only verbally relating the meeting between O'Bail and Cornplanter's mother, the 1975 play is more unified: the first scene presents him as a boy; scene four, the centre of the play, describes him as a mature adult, and the seventh and last scene presents him as an old man shortly before his death. The 1954 version of the play, by introducing the courtship of Cornplanter's parents, makes the action of the whole play more diffuse.

Another possible reason for the deletion of the scene between O'Bail and Princess Wildflower in later versions is that the script-writers of the later plays may have been more concerned with the authenticity of their history and therefore omitted the meeting for which there is no historical description. At least for facts on Cornplanter's youth, the script-writer could rely on Cornplanter's

letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania. It is also possible that the later script-writers wished to eliminate the obvious sentimentality of the meeting, but this seems unlikely in light of the fact that other scenes are retained that are equally sentimental.

Unlike the 1954 and the 1975 versions, the 1960 play began with the Indian Village scene and gradually worked into the life of Cornplanter:

> Directly after the prayer, the narrator began to speak of the days of the Confederacy before the white man came to this continent.
> "We call ourselves the Six Nations," the narrator began. She continued, speaking of the qualities of her people, of their government, woman's suffrage, conservation practices and honesty.
> As the narrator continued, the life of the Iroquois village below the audience began to unfold. The children, men and women performed their daily duties until the epic of Cornplanter slowly developed.[4]

This was obviously using the Indian Village scene to set the background and mood for the life of Cornplanter. The 1966 play seems to have begun like the 1954 version with the arrival of John O'Bail at the Seneca village.[5]

There are thematic reasons why the script-writer of the 1975 version probably chose to put the Indian Village scene second. The first scene presents the boyhood of Cornplanter, the hero in a state of innocence. The second presents his people also in a state of innocence before their peace and harmony are disrupted by white influence. The third scene, depicting the Council of Oswego, shows how the innocence was lost. By having O'Bail, the representative of white society, introduced in the first scene, as the 1954 and the 1966 plays had done, there is no way of maintaining a chronological order and still presenting the Six Nations' Indians in an idyllic, natural state.

The second scene of the 1975 Cornplanter play is one of those sections where the didactic element overrides all other considerations. The Indian Village scene has formed a part of every pageant since the plays began. Often it is presented as an autonomous unit within the play, but sometimes, as here, the script-writer has attempted to incorporate the piece into the play. It takes place on a permanent Indian Village site which is to the right of the main stage area.

The narrative section of this scene begins very much like the first scene by describing Indian life in idyllic terms: "No race of people could have been happier than the Indians in time of peace. Their wants were few and easily satisfied." In addition to the usual narration that begins each scene, this scene's dramatized section is also accompanied by narration. For the dramatic part, a woman narrator takes over from the male narrator and describes how pre-Columbian Indians used corn and other kinds of plants, how they tanned hides, made baskets, and used herbs, roots, and bark for medicinal purposes. Here, unlike the other scenes, the drama does not include dialogue, but the characters, mostly women and children dressed in Indian costumes, perform the various activities that are being described by the narrator. This Indian Village scene is a direct attempt at teaching the Indian ways that have been forgotten by both Indian and white alike. In many ways it is nostalgic, an expression of longing for a simpler way of life.

There are attempts at making the scene relevant to the rest of the play. To begin with, the scene is related chronologically to the other scenes. The narrator places the Indian Village scene in 1777.

The first scene took place in 1744; the one to follow takes place later in 1777. Also, by stressing the peaceful, domestic concerns of the Six Nations' Indians, the scene amplifies a theme that runs through the whole play, the idea that the Iroquois are primarily a peace-loving people.

The next part, Scene III, returns to the life of Cornplanter. The scene occurs just prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution. For the first time in the play, there is a disruption of the idyllic life that has been described in the first two scenes: "They lived what would seem the perfect life, but deep down their happiness was not complete. There was a feeling of uneasiness and worry as the men discussed the preparations for the coming year." The narrator briefly mentions that the Six Nations were approached by the Americans and that the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras pledged their support to them. He goes on to describe how the British commissioner also requested that the Six Nations attend a council. This is the Council of Oswego in 1777, the council that forms the dramatic portion of the scene. In the play, it is this event that turns the Iroquois from their life of peace to one of conflict.

It is interesting to note that this council is ignored by Drake, and Stone discusses it only briefly. Both of these authors prefer to discuss the later councils at Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar. The Council of Oswego is dealt with by Stone in the first volume of his life of Joseph Brant.[6] He calls it the "Great Council of Oswego" and, according to him, Brant was there. But he makes no mention of Cornplanter's presence. Beauchamp, in his <u>A History of the New York</u>

Iroquois, also mentions that Brant was there but he too does not mention Cornplanter.[7] Stone says that the only detailed account of this council is given in the life of Mary Jemison who was present at the council.[8] Mary Jemison's biographer records her comments on the council. According to her, the British commissioners were unsuccessful in persuading the Six Nations to support the British

> ...till they addressed their [the Six Nations'] avarice, by telling our people that the people of the states were few in number and easily subdued; and that, on the account of their disobedience to the king, they justly merited all the punishment that it was possible for white men and Indians to inflict upon them; and added that the king was rich and powerful, both in money and subjects; that his rum was as plenty as the water in Lake Ontario; that his men were as numerous as the sands upon the lake shore; and that the Indians, if they would assist in the war, and persevere in their friedship to the king till it was closed, should never want for money or goods.[9]

According to the same author, after the treaty was finished, each Indian received a suit of clothes, a brass kettle, a gun, a tomahawk, a scalping-knife, a quantity of powder and lead, a piece of gold, and were promised a bounty on every scalp that they could bring in.[10] Unlike Drake and Stone, Wallace gives the Council of Oswego considerable attention. Much of his information comes from the memoirs of Blacksnake who clearly presents Cornplanter's role in the council.

In light of the fact that the 1975 script-writer has chosen to dramatize this council rather than the later ones, there is perhaps an indication that he was influenced more by Wallace than by Stone or Drake, if we are to accept the influence of written accounts at all. This particular influence could extend only to the 1975 version of the play, as Wallace's work was published in 1969. Yet, the Council of

Oswego is an important scene in the early versions of the Cornplanter play before there could have been the influence of Wallace. In view of the fact that the only written accounts, until recently, were rather meagre, we may have an example here of the oral tradition that Miss General and Mr. Smith insisted on.

This third scene takes place in a formal council setting with various speakers seated around three sides of a council fire. Normally, such a council would be composed of the hereditary sachems, the governing body of the Six Nations.[11] However, as mentioned in the historical summary and as indicated by the narrator at the beginning of the scene, the council of sachems could not meet until a condolence ceremony had been performed for the Onondaga chiefs who died in an epidemic. The council here is composed of warrior chiefs, such as Cornplanter and Joseph Brant, who are in control of matters of war and peace until the sachems can meet once again.

Among the speakers, Cornplanter stands out in a bright blue vest with dark blue fringes. Unlike many of the other chiefs, he is wearing a traditional Iroquoian headdress rather than one of the Plains Indian warbonnets. The dialogue consists of a series of formal speeches. Each speech presents an argument for or against the initial proposal by the British commissioner that the Six Nations support the King in the fight against the rebel colonies. The commissioner, after giving his speech, leaves the council fire so that the Indians can decide among themselves whether or not to support his proposal. The tension in the scene resides in what decision the Indians will come to. The commissioner's speech follows the accounts of Wallace fairly closely.[12]

The first Indian to speak is Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) who is the Mohawk representative at the council. He is in favour of supporting the King: "I, Thayendanegea, urge you, brothers, to take up arms for we cannot remain neutral where there is grave danger to our people." An Onondaga spokesman, a Cayuga spokesman, and Cornplanter speaking for the Senecas are in favour of neutrality. The Onondaga chief says, "You may go to war, but it will be at the cost of our unity." He leaves the council fire with his final words: "The Onondagas will remain neutral." In his second speech, Thayendanegea refuses to compromise and bluntly states that the Mohawks will support the King. He reminds the others of their agreement with the British and suggests that those who do not support the King are "cowards or liars". He further argues that in the past they have pledged their loyalty to the King; a treaty belt of wampum is produced as evidence of this pledge. As the master of ceremonies had indicated in the speech of welcome: "The one main virtue that the Indian did demand of their people was honesty, for their word was their bond. The greatest disgrace an Indian could face was to break a treaty." This emphasis on truth by the Iroquois is supported by the scholar, Lewis Henry Morgan:

> On all occasions, and at whatever peril, the Iroquois spoke the truth without fear and without hesitation. Dissimulation was not an Indian habit. In fact, the language of the Iroquois does not admit of double speaking, or of the perversion of the words of the speaker. It is simple and direct, not admitting of those shades of meaning and those nice discriminations which pertain to polished languages.[13]

Thus the script-writer of the play indicates that Cornplanter and the others opposed to war had to give in if they were to live up to their promises to the British. Thayendanegea turns the tide in his own favour.

In his concluding speech, Cornplanter emphasizes that the reason he will support the British is to keep the Confederacy from disintegrating any further: "Before our own eyes we can see the tear in the Confederacy greatly widened. We cannot forfeit our unity...." The motive of unity here seems difficult to justify within the context of the play. The narrator has already reported that the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras are fighting on the side of the Americans. The Onondagas have insisted on remaining neutral. The Mohawks are determined to fight on the side of the British. Unity hardly seems possible no matter what the council decides. Siding with the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras or with the Onondagas would have given as much unity to the Confederacy as siding with the Mohawks. Not only does the motive of unity seem weak, but the arguments that Cornplanter presents against abandoning neutrality seem stronger than those for. The playwright perhaps wanted to emphasize here that Cornplanter's initial reaction against the war was the best of the choices offered to the Six Nations, but nevertheless the ambiguity at this crucial point in the scene is confusing for the spectator. The strongest motives for siding with the British are probably to be found in the traditional loyalty that the Six Nations had toward the British, or in the British promises of an easy victory over the rebel colonies, but in the play these are not stressed as much as the unity motive. The insistence on this motive, flying in the face of logic, suggests that the script-writer is trying to shape the materials to a particular end: to show Cornplanter as a unifier and peace-maker.

In the play, the final decision seems to rest with Cornplanter

when, in fact, it belonged to the warriors, who in turn were strongly influenced by the clan matrons. In the play, it is with a tone of resignation tinged with sadness that Cornplanter sends a messenger to the British commissioner at the end of the council: "...our word and our loyalty remain strong." In actuality, it was Brant who informed the British commissioner (see page 63). With a few such exceptions, the presentation of the council in the play is true to the events as they have been recorded by historians, particularly by Wallace in The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.

In this scene, the father imagery is presented once again; this time it is used by the British commissioner who treats the chiefs as mere children of the King:

> He [the King] turns to you for assistance. He wishes for you, his children, to take up the hatchet against the rebels. You have in the past shown your obedience as a child for a father in the pact, a treaty of allegiance between us. The Americans were also considered to be children of our King, but they were not good children for they questioned their father's authority. Do you not agree that their disobedience should be quickly and properly punished?

Later, he says, "The father sends his kindest regards...." The presentation of the Indian attitudes toward paternity and filial obligations helps to explain, in the context of the play, why many of the Iroquois agreed to support the King. The fact that the British commissioner depicts the King urging his children to take up the hatchet is a good sign that the King is a false father, not a true father with the best interests of his children at heart.

It should be noted here that among the fragments of the 1960 version of the Cornplanter play, Guy Carleton, the Governor of Quebec,

is also a character in this scene. The narrator says in one fragment: "The British commissioners at Oswego promised the Indians that they would amply be rewarded for their services. Here, too, Guy Carleton pledged compensations and security to the Six Nations should the war be lost." In another fragment, which is probably Carleton's speech, the character says:

> Very true, as you say, your lands will be the battlefield for your lands lie between the King's armies and those of the rebels. But hearken to me, brethren, the good King guarantees that if you lose any of your lands in helping him, he shall, at the end of hostilities, fully reimburse your losses with comparable lands of your own choice under the same tenure as you now hold and which you and your posterity shall enjoy forever.

The elimination of Carleton from the 1975 version indicates a tendency toward simplifying scenes by focusing more on Cornplanter and possibly indicates a desire to adhere to historical accounts, none of which indicates that Carleton was at the Council of Oswego. Although Brant had extracted such a promise from Carleton, it was not at this council.

In the next scene, Scene IV, the "uneasiness" that the Iroquois felt in Scene III gives way to the war itself. The narrator briefly summarizes some of the events of the war. The summary seems to follow Wallace fairly closely.[14] For example, the narrator in the play mentions the American tales of torture:

> The fort was looted, the supplies taken, and prisoners captured but later released unharmed. It was these same prisoners who spread the lurid tales of the Iroquois treatment of prisoners. The gossip spread and earned the Indians the unearned reputation of wild savagery.

This description corresponds to Wallace's description of the attack on Wyoming Valley:

> Next day the fort, under Colonel Denniston, surrendered. The settlement in the valley of Wyoming were thereafter burned and looted, and most of the inhabitants fled into the mountains. Although there was neither massacre nor torture of prisoners, the fleeing survivors spread lurid tales of atrocities; indeed, Wyoming became a symbol of Indian rapacity.[15]

Thus, the script-writer and Wallace are in agreement here that the view of the Iroquois as savages in the war is not justifiable. Drake does not discuss Cornplanter's involvement in the American Revolution at all, but Stone presents him as an active warrior and leader in military expeditions and battles. Of the historical accounts that may have been available to the script-writer, it seems that Wallace's account was most used. The narrator in the play also presents the British strategy: "The British began their raids of the American settlements in a huge arc from the Mohawk Valley to the Ohio River." This is similar to Wallace's statement: "The 1780 raids devastated settlements in a great arc from the Mohawk Valley south to the Catskills and the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers and west to the Ohio."[16] Again, the narrator seems to be in agreement with Wallace.

The dramatic part of the scene begins with a soliloquy of Cornplanter as he walks by the water's edge. Although he has proven himself to be a warrior, his thoughts here are those of the peace-maker. Even in the midst of war he is the father-teacher worried that the children are "learning the tactics of war" before the traditions of their ancestors. He laments that the "children cry for the men who must be warriors first and fathers second". He prays to the Great Spirit "to keep their eyes open to see peace return again to our village". Having expressed these concerns of a father, Cornplanter is

placed in the position of meeting his own father, John O'Bail, now a captive of the Iroquois.

Cornplanter's first speech to his father is somewhat altered and considerably lengthened from the one attributed to him on this occasion (see page 64). It is also considerably longer than the speech in the 1960 version, although in that play the narrator describes the episode in considerable detail. The changes from the original speech suggest that the script-writer wanted to further emphasize the father-son motif. The lengthening of the speech suggests that he wanted to expand and build up to the recognition scene, which is based on one of the most popular stories about Cornplanter. Toward the end of his first speech in the scene, Cornplanter reveals his identity to the dumbfounded O'Bail:

> I tell you of the past for your face is filled with surprise and your eyes question every word. That child has grown into a mighty warrior and he stands before you now. Do you not know me, O'Bail? I, Cornplanter am your son, the son you abandoned.

The recognition and its anticipation on the part of the audience evoke the kind of delight that is common in folk literature.

The scene is probably the most passionate in the play as Cornplanter is torn between disgust for the pitiable figure before him and the desire to adhere to the Indian custom of respect and responsibility for a father: "My eyes look upon you with hate and disgust. My heart cries out to you as my father--my own flesh and blood!" The scene begins with Cornplanter's rage and ends with his pacification by O'Bail. After reprimanding O'Bail for being a delinquent father, Cornplanter tells him he will treat him with respect and concern.

O'Bail then explains why he abandoned his Indian son: "I could not bear to take you away from the perfection of this village. There is no comparison of my life with what you have here." Again the old Indian way of life, as it was presented in the first two scenes, is depicted here as superior to white ways. By recognizing that superiority, O'Bail turns a vice into a virtue. However lame his reason seems to the audience, it seems to satisfy Cornplanter.

The mother's prophecy of the first scene has come true and the taunts of Cornplanter's playmates have proven to be unfounded. According to O'Bail, Cornplanter has grown into "a fine man, a strong and brave warrior". He says, "...I see a tall, deep-chested warrior with the dignity of a king." He, as the representative of white ways in the play, admits that Cornplanter is all the things "I never was nor can be".

The world in which O'Bail chose to leave his son is a disappearing one. With it will vanish the old attitudes, particularly the belief that the father is the provider, protector, and teacher. In this scene, Cornplanter, representing the old values, becomes the father to his father by protecting him and offering to provide for him. By his attitudes, he teaches what it means to be a father.

The costumes and the physical appearance of the actors who played Cornplanter and O'Bail support the symbolism of their roles; in the 1975 version, Cornplanter was young, tall, athletic and dressed in bright blue, while O'Bail was short, high-voiced (in fact, a woman) and wore a black formal suit that looked rather clownish. This is obviously an attempt at strengthening the view, proffered throughout

the play, that the Indians and Indian life are superior to non-Indians. Here, it seems to extend even to the physical appearance of the two characters. This is not unique to the 1975 version of the play. In the 1960 Cornplanter, the narrator, commenting on the scene, says: "There was a natural dignity in the younger man that had never belonged to his sire. Cornplanter looked rather like a young king upbraiding an incompetent elderly slave."

The scene epitomizes the relationship of the Indians and the whites. When the first whites came, as Cornplanter mentions in one of his speeches, the Six Nations were strong and helped the whites. Here, at this central point in the play, that moment is realized for a last time. Cornplanter, representing the Indian way of life, has power for one moment over the whites. He is superior; he is the father. But this is the last time. In the subsequent scenes, he will have to depend more and more on the whites until he begins to look more like a child than a father.

It is interesting to note that this is the only scene of the play that takes place during the war, yet there are no battles and no blood is shed. At his peak as a warrior and leader, Cornplanter is here portrayed by the script-writer as a concerned father and peace-maker. His heroic exploits in battle are passed by in favour of these domestic and peaceful concerns.

The scene, thus, brings together the two main thematic strands of the play so far: the theme of the peace-maker and the theme of father-son relationships. Here, in his soliloquy, Cornplanter is first presented as the concerned father and peace-maker; then, he reconciles

himself to his father and sets him free without harm. He is the protector, the father to his father. The fact that the script-writer has considerably amplified the meeting from the historical accounts indicates that he thought of it as a very significant scene. It depicts not only the climactic point of Cornplanter's life, but the thematic apex of the play as well.

The next two scenes deal with the post-war problems of the Six Nations. The narrator at the beginning of scene five relates the land difficulties that confronted the Indians after the war. By the Treaty of Paris, the Iroquois lost a good deal of their land; by sales and treaties, especially the treaties at Fort Stanwix and Fort Harmar, more of their lands vanished. The narrator relates how the chiefs at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix were forced to sign the treaty: "Cornplanter and Chief Big Tree, representing the Senecas, were forced to sign the treaty against their will and much to the dissatisfaction of their people." It is interesting to note how subdued the narrator's account of this treaty is, compared to the description provided by Wallace:

> The Americans refused to recognize the Iroquoian confederacy; negotiations were held at gunpoint; hostages were unexpectedly demanded and taken by the United States for the deliberate purpose of coercion of the Indian delegates; the tone of the Continental [i.e., American] commissioners was insulting, arbitrary, and demanding; and two Indians given up by the Seneca to be punished according to white law were lynched by a mob shortly after the treaty. Some of the Indian delegates, including Brant, left in disgust before the peace treaty was signed. There was real question as to whether it could be considered legally valid from the Indian standpoint, even as a peace treaty, let alone as a cession of land.[17]

In comparing the two accounts, it becomes obvious that the script-writer seems to deliberately avoid sensationalism. Although the script-writer

and Wallace seem in agreement in many of the events that they both present, here they part ways. If the script-writer presented the treaty as Wallace has done, Cornplanter would appear rather weak, a sell-out to the Americans, especially if one contrasts his actions with those of Brant. Even in choosing the episode for narrative treatment rather than dramatic presentation, the script-writer has moved to defuse some potentially explosive materials. Here, there seems to be a deliberate attempt to lessen the Indian feeling of outrage and also to avoid censure of Cornplanter's decision to have peace at any cost.

The narrator goes on to relate how the Senecas were shocked to see their land suddenly disappear. In their confusion, they turned their hatred on their chiefs. Cornplanter, in particular, was the object of their threats. He with several other chiefs journeyed to Philadelphia to visit President George Washington and to see what could be done about their plight. This meeting forms the dramatic segment of the fifth scene.

In the scene, George Washington, dressed in a formal black suit and wearing a white wig, sits at a table that is placed on the audience's left, facing the right. A guard stands behind him. Cornplanter and two companions sit on a bench that is at the back of the main stage area, parallel to the table but not directly opposite it. Cornplanter comes and stands in front of the table for his speech and then returns to the bench while Washington stands at the table and delivers his speech. After Washington's speech, Cornplanter approaches the table, signs the agreement, shakes hands with the President, and

the Quakers, an event recorded by Tome and referred to by Wallace. The dispute would, of course, run contrary to the image of Cornplanter as a peace-maker.

The last section of the play, Scene VII, begins with the narrator's comments on the last activities of Cornplanter's life. They contrast vividly with the idyllic depictions of the first two scenes. In this scene, the simple world of the Indian has become confused and complicated. The narrator describes the visions of Handsome Lake, the attempt at reunion of the Six Nations, the dispute between Cornplanter and Handsome Lake, the dispute between Cornplanter and his people over a sawmill, Cornplanter's reduction to a common warrior, his reinstatement as a chief, Cornplanter's own visions, and the distrust of white people that he felt as he grew old.

In many ways, the confusion and disappointment that mark Cornplanter's old age are symptomatic of the plight of all Indians. The narrator does not refrain from mentioning unflattering things about Cornplanter. He mentions that the chief ordered people off his land when he did not get his own way with the sawmill. He also mentions that Cornplanter began to drink heavily as he got older and was obviously jealous of Red Jacket and Handsome Lake. It is interesting to note that these events are merely narrated, not dramatized.

The events presented by the narrator in this scene are all in Wallace's book. Quite often the wording of the narrator approaches that of Wallace: for example, the narrator says, "Cornplanter became very withdrawn and morose. In 1820 he experienced his own series of visions which were repetitious of the teachings of Handsome Lake,"

speeches with some parts totally invented. The original speech is much longer and very specific about the problems and requests of the Six Nations (see the speech on pages 69 and 70). In the play, the diplomatic tact of Cornplanter is not so evident as in the actual speech.

It is evident from the speech that Cornplanter is the child begging for protection from the Great White Father. He is now a new kind of hunter: "For in this season of hunting I do not look for food; I search for peace." George Washington gives a consolatory speech to them, promising that whatever lands the Indians have left can only be sold by them and only before an agent of the federal government. The speech is not a verbatim reproduction of Washington's actual speech, but the gist is the same.

The scene ends with Cornplanter's speech of gratitude to Washington and thus closes on a note of peace: "We have gained new strength this day and we see that our children and your children will be at peace and our hearts are very glad." This closing speech is a summary of an actual letter sent to Washington by Cornplanter as the Seneca delegation was about to leave Philadelphia.

The play gives the impression that there was a single meeting between Cornplanter and Washington when in fact there was a series of communications, both in person and by letter, that took place during the winter of 1790-91. Here, as in most of the scenes, there is little that departs from the events as recorded by historians. The event, with the speeches of Cornplanter and Washington, are recorded by both Drake and Stone, but Wallace merely alludes to the meeting. In the

play, there are attempts at rewriting or reducing the length of actual speeches and at simplifying events, but the import of the speeches and events is true to the originals.

At the conclusion of the dramatized portion of the scene, the narrator briefly summarizes the land problems that he had introduced at the beginning of the scene. He gives the impression that although Cornplanter had tried to do something for the Senecas his efforts were in vain. The note of optimism evident in Cornplanter's closing speech in the dramatized part of the scene collapses with the narrator's pithy statement of the facts: "By 1797 all of the lands in New York State had been lost with the exception of a few reservations."

A comparison of this 1975 scene with its counterpart in the fragments of the 1960 version reveals thematic and tonal similarities, but, there are some differences. Several of the speeches in the 1975 version are longer than those in the 1960 fragments. This is particu-larly true of Washington's speech to Cornplanter. The 1960 speech is closer to a verbatim reproduction of the historical speech than the speech in the 1975 version. Generally, the speeches in the 1975 version are more self-explanatory than those in the 1960 play and, therefore, less demanding of the audience. Part of this seems to be the result of having reworked the speeches so that they are more cohesive and their diction is more accessible to a modern audience. The speeches in the 1975 scene are therefore less dependent on the historical speeches and are usually paraphrased in the language of the script-writer.

The sixth scene dramatizes the arrival of the Quakers. As a way

of bringing his people and the Americans closer together, Cornplanter wanted the Quakers to help his people learn white methods of agriculture. The narrator accurately describes Cornplanter's attitudes toward acculturation and somewhat ambiguously juxtaposes it with the American views:

> The American officials saw the decline of the Iroquois as a race of people, and plans were made "to civilize the savages". Cornplanter became a firm advocate of learning the white man's means of survival, and by May 1798 the Quakers from the Society of Friends arrived at the Seneca village.

The dramatized portion that follows the narration presents the arrival of the Quakers and their reception by the Senecas. Throughout the scene, the Quakers are presented favourably, as the only true white friends the Indians had. A favourable attitude toward the Quakers is implicit in the scene, for the tension that exists in the scene derives from whether or not the Senecas will accept their help. The script-writer presumes that they should.

The scene is structured very similarly to scene three which presented the Council of Oswego. There is an initial speech which outlines a proposal and then a series of formal speeches for or against the proposal, with one final speech by Cornplanter. There are about thirty people seated or standing about. Cornplanter is seated on the bench to the right of the audience where two white men dressed in black are also seated. Both Red Jacket and Handsome Lake, the official opposition to the proposal of accepting the Quakers, are seated on the left. Each speaker rises from his bench to deliver his speech except the Quaker missionary, who moves to the front of the fire between the audience and the Indians and paces back and forth as

he speaks.

In his opening speech, Cornplanter tries to persuade the Senecas to accept the Quakers for he feels that the missionaries can be a benefit to his people: "With their help we will again function as a strong and supporting nation." True to life, Red Jacket presents opposition to the adoption of white ways. His main argument is that they have listened to the "blackcoats" before, only to lose their lands. Handsome Lake, the Prophet and half-brother of Cornplanter, sides with Red Jacket but his argument is based on a fear that the Senecas will accept the Christian faith. He caustically sums up his feeling with: "Let them go and give their book to the white man who deceived the Indians, for their need is greater than ours." Historically, this statement was attributed to Red Jacket, not Handsome Lake. Handsome Lake and Red Jacket connect the missionaries with land thieves: "Often we have been faced with an outstretched arm holding that book. While we listened to their words, another hand came behind us and clutched our land."

The Quaker speaker attempts to defuse the arguments of the opposition. He tries to lessen the fear that they are in search of Indian land: "We have no desire to intrude on the life you have here, so we will set up our farms off your land." He also stresses that they do not intend to seek converts to Christianity: "We did not come here with the intention of changing your belief." He outlines their proposed plan for helping the Senecas to raise their standard of living: they intend to teach them how to farm efficiently, how to weave, how to read and write. They also intend to cffer them prizes

for their produce and the things they make and to assist them in avoiding liquor. He also stresses that the Quakers do not expect any material benefits from their assistance.

In the final speech of the scene, Cornplanter attempts to undermine the arguments of Red Jacket and Handsome Lake by claiming that the Quakers have come "to help us, not to cheat and deceive us as others have done in the past". He reiterates that the Quakers are necessary for them: "They have come to give us the means to stand firm and support ourselves." Later in the speech, he warns them about the consequences of rejecting the Quakers' help: "If we refuse them we will be begging the government for our food." The narrator concludes with the result of the council and thus resolves the tension presented at the beginning of the scene as to whether or not the Senecas would accept the Quakers: "Cornplanter had persuaded his people to welcome the Quakers. The great reform had begun."

As in the previous scene, the events of several days are presented here as one brief event. The general facts correspond to the attitudes and proposals as Wallace presents them. It can be presumed from what we know about their attitudes and philosophies that Red Jacket and Handsome Lake would have opposed the Quakers, but there does not seem to be any record of their actual hostility. In fact, the thing that most bothered the Quakers about their initial contact with the Senecas was that their arrival was treated with levity.[19] As with the Council of Oswego, Wallace seems to be the only historian who goes into any detail about this particular event. It is interesting to note that the script-writer makes no mention of Cornplanter's dispute with

the Quakers, an event recorded by Tome and referred to by Wallace. The dispute would, of course, run contrary to the image of Cornplanter as a peace-maker.

The last section of the play, Scene VII, begins with the narrator's comments on the last activities of Cornplanter's life. They contrast vividly with the idyllic depictions of the first two scenes. In this scene, the simple world of the Indian has become confused and complicated. The narrator describes the visions of Handsome Lake, the attempt at reunion of the Six Nations, the dispute between Cornplanter and Handsome Lake, the dispute between Cornplanter and his people over a sawmill, Cornplanter's reduction to a common warrior, his reinstatement as a chief, Cornplanter's own visions, and the distrust of white people that he felt as he grew old.

In many ways, the confusion and disappointment that mark Cornplanter's old age are symptomatic of the plight of all Indians. The narrator does not refrain from mentioning unflattering things about Cornplanter. He mentions that the chief ordered people off his land when he did not get his own way with the sawmill. He also mentions that Cornplanter began to drink heavily as he got older and was obviously jealous of Red Jacket and Handsome Lake. It is interesting to note that these events are merely narrated, not dramatized.

The events presented by the narrator in this scene are all in Wallace's book. Quite often the wording of the narrator approaches that of Wallace: for example, the narrator says, "Cornplanter became very withdrawn and morose. In 1820 he experienced his own series of visions which were repetitious of the teachings of Handsome Lake,"

while Wallace says, "Gradually Cornplanter became morose and withdrawn. In December, 1820, he experienced the first of a series of visions." Later in the same paragraph he adds, "Many of his revelations were repetitions or echoes of the teachings of Handsome Lake...."[20]

The dramatic portion of this scene consists of Cornplanter's last address to his people at annuity time at Buffalo Creek. This was the time of year when the Senecas gathered together to receive their annual allotment of money that had been promised to them in exchange for their lands. For this scene, Cornplanter has donned a bright blue cape which visually focuses attention on him. He carries a staff that suggests his advanced age. His tone is solemn and somewhat saddened as he summarizes his life (and the play) and attempts to reconcile himself to those who have disagreed with him:

> We went to war with the British. Perhaps our first mistake was speaking out against neutrality, but in favour of war we went into battle. The Americans were victorious in their war, but the Six Nations were left homeless and dependent. We had title to the promises of the white armies and awaited the lands which we were promised in return for our strength. Each day that we waited our land was being given away. Peace treaties were signed and my own mark appeared on the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Livingstone lease, the Phelps and Gorham purchase, and the Treaty of Fort Harmar. I was accused of being a traitor, and threats were made on my life. I did not sign those deeds with a clear mind for we were threatened by another war unless we agreed to their demands. I was given a tract of land, and you all resented that action, but when you asked for a place to stay I gave you that place. If you had suffered losses, I gave you my own belongings. I travelled to Philadelphia to meet with the President, and we were given our remaining lands to do with as we pleased. We were also given funds to assist us. We now have a school, many and better homes. The Quakers arrived and now we are farming our land with equipment that we would never have

> known about without their help. They are responsible for pulling our people out of the hole of drunkenness to the heights of prosperity. Our land was given away from below our feet, and you all accused me of giving that land away and selling our country for nothing. Can you not see that great portion of our land is gone? But the Americans are paying for their deceit. We may be surrounded by the white man on every side, but they can no longer take our land again.

Besides attempting to justify his own actions with his rather ambiguous conclusion, Cornplanter attempts to reconcile those Indians who have accepted Christianity to those who have not. He also attempts to reconcile Indians and whites:

> I believe we should make friends with our neighbors [i.e., white neighbours].... But we must work hard to stay in keen competition with them. I remind you all that the dividing line must always remain clear, for we are different in many ways.

He leaves a final message which is appropriate not only for the Indians in the scene but for the audience as well: "Uphold the traditions set down by our fathers and continue in these ways. Teach your children the ways of peace, guidance, and happiness." For these last few words, he turns from speaking to the Indians who are seated on the benches around the camp-fire and directly faces the audience until the lights dim and all is left in darkness. The effect of this is one of presenting a figure out of the past who has come briefly, counselled, and then slipped away. The direction of his last look indicates that the audience is to take his comments to heart.

Cornplanter's last speech, as it is reported by Wallace, is very brief compared to the speech in the play, but the general tenor is the same. There are some notable similarities. For example, in the Wallace account, Cornplanter is reported as having said about

himself: "Whatever errors he might have committed were errors of judgement and not of the heart."[21] In the play, Cornplanter says, "I wish you to know that any errors I have made in my life were errors of judgement, but never errors of the heart."

It is interesting to note that in Cornplanter's final speech as reported by Wallace, there is no reference to the Senecas making friends with their white neighbours. This has been added by the script-writer. Despite the disputes and distrust that actually marked the end of Cornplanter's life, the script-writer, by choosing to dramatize this last speech, has indicated how he wants Cornplanter to be remembered--not as a centre of dissension, but as a conciliator. The interpolated comment about the white neighbours helps to create that impression.

Within the play as a whole, there is little attempt at providing conversational dialogue; rather, the dialogue consists, for the most part, of long, elaborate speeches. Each character's speech is a set piece that is not necessarily connected to the speech that comes before or after it. Thus, there is no rapid exchange of ideas in the play, but a slow presentation of different views on a given proposal. This is particularly true of scenes three, five, and six.

Eloquence has always been of considerable value to the Six Nations, ranked with bravery in battle as one of the necessary attributes of an Iroquois man. It is not a mere accident that the narrator at the beginning of the 1975 play places eloquence foremost in a list of Cornplanter's qualifications: "...an eloquent orator, a chief, and a renowned leader." Oratory is generally considered a

Washington, Cornplanter says the Indians at Fort Stanwix were told by the Americans that "our people were entirely in your hands and that by closing them you could crush us to nothing". Throughout the play, hands are used to describe the bondage that a person or group of persons can hold over others.

In the play, then, the script-writers have tried to create the ancient love of eloquence that the Iroquois had once and which they still admire. Partly, they have done this by using actual Indian speeches, or parts of speeches, that have been recorded by such historians as Stone, Drake, Wallace and others. They have chosen to present Indians speaking in a formal, dignified way. The "How!"s, "Ugh"s, and the sign language that the Indians on the popular media use are not to be found here. The long, serious speeches are closer to the formal language of literature that has a basis in oral tradition (for example, The Odyssey or Beowulf) than it is to the language of movie Indians or the language of modern plays and novels that attempt to portray realistic dialogue.

Although the play can be divided into scenes, there is an over-all structure and links between the parts. Besides a chronological ordering of events, there is a symmetrical organization: Scenes I and VII, dealing with Cornplanter's boyhood and his final farewell to his people, are essentially concerned with the personal life or character of Cornplanter. Scenes II, III, V, and VI, presenting the Indian Village scene, the Council of Oswego, the meeting with George Washington, and the arrival of the Quakers are primarily concerned with Cornplanter's public life or influence on tribal matters. Scene IV is

not only the centre of the play, with three scenes that precede it and three that follow it, but it also presents the "centre" of Cornplanter's life. Here, he is at the summit of his political power; he has just led his people to victory over the Americans, and he has control over the white prisoners. This central scene manages to combine the personal and the public themes of Cornplanter's life. His personal confrontation with his father is given a wider significance by the dialogue. The confrontation is not just between a father and a son but a confrontation between white and Indian cultures. In it, O'Bail has to admit that the Indian way is "perfection". He, the representative of white ways, has been a careless father and husband. But Cornplanter lives up to the code of his people; he respects and offers to care for his father, even though the father has abandoned him. His humanity and magnanimity are reflected in his kind treatment of his father and the other prisoners. He epitomizes Indian values and the Indian way of life. The whole father-son confrontation has been carefully prepared for by Cornplanter's soliloquy on peace. T. overwhelming conclusion to be drawn from the whole scene is that Cornplanter as a representative of the Indian way of life is kind, humane, a lover of peace.

In the symmetrical arrangement of scenes, the first scene, which presents Cornplanter's boyhood, is parallel to the last scene, which presents his final address to his people before his death. Scene II, which stresses the values of the ancient Indian way of life, is parallel to Scene VI, which describes the arrival of the Quakers who begin to teach the Senecas the white ways of living. Scene III, which

presents the Six Nations' relationship to the British and particularly to the King, is parallel to Scene V, which describes the Six Nations' relationship to the Americans and particularly to George Washington. So, although the structure is chronological, there is also a symmetrical design in the choice of scenes. This design serves to help the audience compare or contrast the various segments that are being dramatized. It also serves to draw attention to Scene IV which is the centre of the play.

In each scene of the play, Cornplanter is presented as a peace-maker: in the first scene he attempts to bridge the gap between his play-mates and himself and between his father and himself. In the third scene, he seeks to keep the Confederacy together, ironically enough by agreeing to war. In the fourth part, he overcomes his hostility toward his father and is reconciled to him. In the next scene, Cornplanter takes the grievances of his people to George Washington in an effort to overcome his people's hostility toward himself. In Scene VI, he attempts to get his people to accept the Quakers as a step toward reconciliation with American society. In the last scene, he gives an apologia in an attempt to reconcile his people and himself. The second scene, of course, does not directly deal with Cornplanter but implicitly attempts to unite white and Indian by explaining the positive aspects of Iroquois life and their contributions to mankind.

The concept of the father offers another unifying device in the play. Besides the relationship of Cornplanter and his father, there are a couple of other father-son relationships that are depicted in the

play. In each case the father turns out to be less than the provider, protector, and teacher than he is supposed to be. In the Council of Oswego scene, the British King is depicted as the father across the sea who asks that his Indian children go to war for him. He promises an easy victory and rewards for them. But he loses the war and gives the Indian lands to the Americans with no thought for his Indian children. Thus, in the context of the play, he is a false father. George Washington is the second father-figure. Although his intentions seem more genuine, in the final analysis, he too cannot live up to his responsibilities as a father. He promises to protect the Indians and their lands, but despite his promises the lands disappear and the Indians are uncared for. Abandoned by his false fathers and his natural father, Cornplanter himself becomes the only true father in the play. He never abandons his people. Unlike O'Bail, the British King, or George Washington, he lives up to his role as a father of his people. Throughout the play, he continually seeks their best interests.

For the script-writer there are many thorny problems in coming to grips with Cornplanter's character. Cornplanter was a warrior chief, a peace negotiator and a petitioner on behalf of his people. He was the representative of his people at land deals that resulted in great losses of land to his people. He was in favour of acculturation for his people, almost to the end of his life, but then, he changed his mind. He fought against the Americans in the revolutionary war and offered to fight for them in the War of 1812. He admitted killing seven men in the war. Mary Jemison reported that he killed a

little American girl as well. He persuaded his people to support General Wayne against the "western" tribes. He invited the Quakers to help his people and then later expelled them from his village. He fought with Handsome Lake and other Seneca chiefs, as well as with his tribe as a whole. Yet, despite these facts as recorded by historians, his speeches indicate that he liked to see himself as peace-maker.

The inconsistencies of his character are never dealt with satisfactorily in the historical accounts. Two of the three major sources for information about him are biased in favour of the Americans. Drake presented Cornplanter primarily as an orator and peace negotiator. He spends considerable time on Braddock's defeat at which, according to him, Cornplanter fought on the side of the French against the British. The possible reason for the emphasis on this event is that it portrays Cornplanter in an anti-British posture, a sentiment that would sit well with Drake's American readers (i.e., in 1841). On the other hand, Drake skips over Cornplanter's involvement in the American Revolution because obviously it is inconsistent with an Indian who is pro-American. Stone's work, published in the same year as Drake's, describes Cornplanter as a fierce warrior during the revolution, but after the war he appears to have had a drastic change of character. The once fierce barbarian became an orator, a conciliator, a peace-maker. Stone seems to have felt that any alliance with the British would make an Indian barbaric, whereas an association with the Americans could only have a civilizing effect. Wallace's account is not devoted to Cornplanter; comments about him are scattered throughout The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. Wallace, however, appears to

be objective in his depiction. He does not favour a simplistic view of the man; nor does he avoid inconsistencies. He merely presents the facts as he found them.

In any event, the problems are there for the script-writer. By taking Cornplanter's view of himself as peace-maker at face value, the writer has tried to shape the rather unwieldy postures of Cornplanter, as presented in the historical accounts, into a coherent picture, a picture of a man in search of peace. In order to do this, the script-writer has had to select events that could be interpreted in such a way to support this theme. Cornplanter's involvement in the American Revolution, for example, is slanted in the play in such a way as to emphasize Cornplanter's favouring neutrality during the war and also by showing that he was misled by a false father, the British King. Thus the subsidiary theme of paternal relationships is used to support the main theme of Cornplanter as peace-maker and to explain possible inconsistencies in Cornplanter's actions. Cornplanter's disputes, his warrior activities, his physical condition in his old age which is obviously that of a warrior not a peace-maker, his disputes with his people, all of these are ignored in the dramatized scenes in favour of events that support Cornplanter's view of himself as a peace-maker.

From the significant historical facts about Cornplanter that were summarized earlier in this study, there are few that are neither dramatized nor narrated in the play. Several omissions that might be considered significant are Cornplanter's disagreement with the Quakers, his attitude toward the other Indian tribes, his involvement in the witchcraft councils, and his relationship to his children--especially

Henry O'Bail.

Several of these might have been ignored because they present Cornplanter in an unfavourable light, but this motive would hardly be consistent with the fact that many of Cornplanter's shortcomings are brought out in the play. The disagreement with the Quakers is not mentioned by most historians. Wallace, with whom the script-writer seems to be in agreement on most events, only vaguely mentions it.[24] Tome is the only one to elaborate on it and his book is not generally accessible. This scarcity of historical accounts may explain why this particular episode is omitted by the script-writer.

Cornplanter's attitude toward the other Indian tribes is another issue that is not even narrated in the play. His journey to the western Indian nations to encourage them to make peace with the Americans is not mentioned, nor is his support of Wayne in subduing those nations. In light of the fact that so many details of Cornplanter's life are at least mentioned by the narrator, it seems strange that these facts are not referred to at all, especially since Wallace whom the script-writer seems to agree with in so many events describes the mission and its effect in some detail.[25] Thematically, the journey to the western Indian nations fits in with Cornplanter's peace-making role. It certainly is an indication of how much he was willing to do for the Americans. One can only speculate that in trying to present the Iroquois as peaceful, domestic people, the script-writer did not want to present Indians in physical conflict with each other. It seems likely that the writer did not want to show Cornplanter united with whites against other Indians. One of the

thorny problems for the script-writer to deal with is that for Cornplanter making peace with the British inevitably means warring with the Americans, making peace with the Americans means warring with the western tribes, and making peace with the Quakers means warring on one's own culture. These aspects of the quest for peace are hinted at in the play, perhaps because they cannot be ignored, but they are never really dealt with directly.

Why Cornplanter's relationship with his son, Henry, is not even mentioned is not clear. Thematically, it could have served to enhance the father-son motif that is emphasized throughout the play by showing the continuing breakdown of traditional Iroquois social structures as the Indians moved further away from their ancient beliefs. Henry had been sent to the Quakers for his education. According to Stone, he was a promising youth, but after his education he felt he did not belong to either white or Indian societies. He died "a miserable drunkard".[26] He was one of the first "victims" of Cornplanter's policy of acculturation.

There is also no reference to Cornplanter's attitudes toward witchcraft, an event that is given some attention by Wallace. Perhaps the script-writer decided that the witchcraft issue was too sensitive for his audience. If one can take Alma Green's comments[27] or William Smith's for that matter,[28] as an indication of beliefs on the Grand River Reserve, there are still many people who believe in witches and superstitions of various kinds. Or, on the other hand, as one of the main concerns of the script-writer is to present Cornplanter as an enlightened leader and peace-maker and the Senecas as domestic,

peace-loving people, these hints of dissension and barbarism would run contrary to this intent.

Some of the events of Cornplanter's life that might be considered important but which the script-writer has chosen to narrate rather than dramatize include the battles of the American Revolution, the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784, the Treaty of Fort Harmar in 1789, the signing of the Livingstone lease in 1787 and of the Phelps-Gorham purchase in 1788, the visions of Handsome Lake and Cornplanter's part in them, and Cornplanter's own visions. Of these, the relationship with Handsome Lake was perhaps considered more appropriate to the short _Handsome Lake_ play that was presented in August, 1955, one year after the first presentation of _Cornplanter_. Also, although their relationship was friendly at times (for example, Cornplanter assisted Handsome Lake in spreading the messages that the latter received in his visions), yet very often the two brothers were at odds with each other. According to Wallace, their disagreements were often rooted in jealousy. This brotherly dissension obviously does not fit into the script-writer's view of Cornplanter as a peace-maker. Cornplanter's visions, which are anti-white, are obviously an attempt to place himself on the same level as "The Prophet", Handsome Lake. It is interesting to note that the script-writer does not try to provide any reason for Cornplanter's anti-white stance toward the end of his life.

The treaties and signing of leases or purchases are more significant taken as a group than they are individually. Cornplanter's role in them was controversial in his own day and remains so to the

present. Often he has been accused of selling his people out or seeking his own personal gain at his people's expense. This again does not fit into the script-writer's pattern for the play. He does not want to present Cornplanter as the centre of discord and suspicion.

Battle scenes are not presented because the script-writer wants Cornplanter to be seen as a peace-maker, not a warrior. In his effort to emphasize that the Iroquois are not cruel barbarians, he ignores their warlike propensities entirely and concentrates solely on their peaceful and domestic concerns.

This brings us to the events that are dramatized. The script-writer seems to have chosen scenes to alternate between the public Cornplanter in his role as a chief of his people and the personal Cornplanter who is a son and father. As a boy, his first act in the play is an attempt to establish an amicable relationship with his estranged, white father. The tests to which he is submitted as an adult are in council, not on the battle-field. He was in favour of neutrality for the Six Nations in the American Revolution and only assented to war, according to the script-writer, in order to keep the League together. Although historically he was probably present at the battles of Wyoming and Cherry Valley and Tome and Wallace record him as saying that he killed seven men, there are no battles in the play and no blood is shed. The only scene that is set in the American Revolution presents Cornplanter longing for peace and then confronting his father, a prisoner of war, whom he treats humanely and respectfully. In other scenes, he tries to reconcile his people with the

Americans after the war by meeting with George Washington and by persuading his people to accept the Quakers. In the final scene, he justifies his actions as a peace-maker to his tribesmen. His final advice to them includes: "Teach your children the ways of peace...."

Thus, a pattern emerges in the script-writer's choice of what events to dramatize and what events to narrate. The dramatized scenes present only those events in which Cornplanter can be depicted as a peace-maker. The other aspects of his character, such as his jealousy of Handsome Lake and his disputes with his people, are presented in narration only. The script-writer thus pays homage to historical truth by means of the narrated parts, but in his emphasis on Cornplanter as a peace-maker in the dramatized scenes of the play, we can see him struggling to give a coherent view of Cornplanter and to provide the play with a coherent theme and message.

It should now be possible to assess the phrase, "an Indian point of view" that was introduced earlier in this study. Does the play, in fact, present a different focus or point of view from the written historical accounts? The play, as demonstrated above, follows written historical fact fairly closely. The only major alterations seem to be in the way of emphasis or simplifications; making a series of events appear as one or reducing long speeches to a few paraphrased lines. Occasionally, a speech is expanded for the sake of clarity. A few fictional characters have been introduced, but they are always minor: for example, the girl in the first scene. The other characters are all presented in a way that is consistent with the historical accounts.

characteristic of civilized nations. But it is not popularly or frequently thought of as one of the major values of the Iroquois.

Diamond Jenness says that the Indians spoke slowly and deliberately and they were never at a loss for words to express their thoughts:

> They could develop an argument logically, and employed repetition, rhetorical questions, and sarcasm with telling effect. Wit and humour were conspicuously absent from their speeches, for, unlike the Eskimo, they seldom relished jokes, either practical or verbal, and anything savouring of humour would have appeared highly undignified in a public oration.[22]

Everything Jenness brings out here is true of the speeches in the dramatized portions of the play. It is true, of course, that some of the speeches in the plays come from actual speeches and letters of Cornplanter, but there still must be something of the old attitude toward oratory in the outlook of the script-writers of the plays. Oratory, too, seems an unlikely activity of a fierce, war-like people. By emphasizing it in the play, the script-writer is trying to show that there was more to Iroquois life than warfare.

The length and the serious tone of the speeches create, in part, the formality, but other factors also contribute to it. Whenever the narrator or characters speak of the Iroquois, they do so with an objective tone. They always say "the Indian" or "the Iroquois" or use the third person singular or plural rather than the more familiar "I", "we", or "our ancestors". Personal pronouns are avoided. Inverted sentence structures (for example, "...never did an Indian hunt for sport") and the use of traditional addresses (for example, referring to the British King or the American President as

Although the events described in the play are essentially the same as those of written historical accounts, there is a feeling in the play that it is necessary to show that the Indians are basically a humane people who display the normal human affections and exhibit peaceful, domestic concerns. Cornplanter says, "Our people have been mistakenly made into a nation of what the whites call 'bloodthirsty savages'." Earlier, the narrator had said that white prisoners in the revolutionary war had spread false tales about Indian treatment of prisoners and thus "earned the Indians the unearned reputation of wild savagery". The play tries to dispel this idea by emphasizing the Indians as basically peaceful. This need to convince is not evident in the historical accounts.

There is another aspect that may be considered as an Indian point of view. Throughout the play, there seem to be two forces operating. The first is the desire to present authentic history. All of the events that are narrated or dramatized have a basis in historical fact. The play does not drastically veer from the facts as recorded by historians and seems, in many respects, to follow the account of Wallace quite closely. There is little attempt at pageantry or spectacle: no music, dancing, or elaborate costumes and sets. There is no attempt at being sensational. The emphasis is on historical fact. But besides this obvious desire to present the facts, there is a feeling toward characters and events that is either conveyed in the play or else presumed by it. This is an emotional attitude toward characters and events. The Indian attitudes toward Cornplanter, George Washington, John O'Bail, Red Jacket, Joseph Brant, the British,

"Father") also contribute to the formality. This latter formal mode of address has been skilfully used to underline the subsidiary theme of the Indian's childlike posture before the white world.

The traditional Iroquoian love of metaphor or imagery[23] can also be noted in the speeches. For example, the master of ceremonies, in his opening remarks extends "the long arm of friendship". He invites the audience to relax in the natural surroundings which he compares to a house: "Above you the sky will be your ceiling, the trees your walls, and the blanket of fallen leaves a carpet for your feet." Later, in describing the peacefulness of the Seneca village, the narrator says, "The air rang with the laughter of the young and was lulled by the teachings of the old." Cornplanter, at the Council of Oswego, does not want to see "...the tear in the Confederacy greatly widened."

Another kind of imagery used throughout the play derives from the human body; the heart is used as an image of true feeling, the hand as an image of power (usually threatening power), and the eye as a receptacle of deception. In scene four, for example, Cornplanter says to O'Bail: "My eyes look upon you with hate and disgust. My heart cries out to you as my father--my own flesh and blood." In the rest of the scene, Cornplanter discovers that his eyes have deceived him, but his heart has not. It is necessary to perceive with the heart. Those who see merely with their eyes are deceived. In his final speech of the play, Cornplanter says his errors were errors of judgement, "never of the heart". The images of the heart and eyes are used this way many times throughout the play. In speaking to George

the Americans, and the Quakers are not always attitudes that are evident in historical texts but, rather, they probably come from stories that have been passed from one generation to another. Thus, not only history but definite feelings about historical characters and events are presented in the play. In fact, the script-writer presumes these feelings on the part of the audience. The Iroquois still look respectfully toward George Washington (see pages 71 and 72), and they still admire Red Jacket for putting a white missionary in his place. They also love the story of O'Bail's shock when he realizes that the Indian chief who controls his fate is his own son. These feelings need not always be favourable. The Americans, who also admire Washington, still look with some disdain on Joseph Brant (for example, in Drums Along the Mohawk), who is an Iroquoian hero. In the play, whenever historical facts run contrary to these emotional attitudes, they are easily sloughed off or ignored. Thus, perhaps when the script-writer omits references to Cornplanter's dispute with the Quakers there is more at work than just the writer's desire to present Cornplanter as a peace-maker. The Quakers traditionally have been held in high esteem by the Iroquois.

The dramatized portion of each scene, then, presents events that evoke certain expected reactions in the audience. These feelings have their roots in historical fact but are more than fact because they lack the objectivity that historical fact purports to have.

Another possible way of presenting "an Indian point of view" is by emphasizing the historical accounts that are based on an oral Indian tradition: for example, the story of Mary Jemison, the memoirs

of Blacksnake, and the speeches of Cornplanter. The written account that has most in common with the 1975 play is Wallace who used primary sources that came directly from the Indians. Perhaps this is why Wallace has appealed to the script-writer of the 1975 play. In the fragments of an earlier Cornplanter play, which was presented before Wallace's book was published, there is more reliance on Cornplanter's actual speeches and on Stone who recorded many of Cornplanter's speeches and other firsthand accounts he had heard. Thus, "an Indian point of view" might also mean a reliance on written works that have used historical accounts which came from an oral Indian tradition.

This brings us to the question of sources. The similarity of the history of the plays to the historians' accounts does not entirely exclude the possibility of oral discourse. Mr. Smith and Miss General have both acknowledged the use of written materials for the plays. Mr. Smith highly recommended the reading of Wallace's The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. Both have said, however, that they have also used an oral tradition. The one example in the play where written sources could not be found for the materials used is the Council of Oswego, particularly in the Cornplanter plays prior to 1975. It is possible that the oral and written sources could be in essential agreement with each other. It could be that many of the written accounts have been based, to some extent, on oral sources. For example, some of the details in Wallace's book come from the memoirs of Blacksnake, an oral source that was written down. Thus, as is common in the case of many folk stories, written traditions frequently have their origins in oral sources, or conversely, oral

traditions have their bases in written accounts. It is not simply a matter of one preceding the other; both can exist simultaneously. Whatever the written sources the script-writer used, they were highly selective. Although all the written accounts present Cornplanter and the Six Nations in various battles, this aspect of their lives is glossed over in the script in favour of their domestic concerns.

In conclusion, it may seem that in the diverse threads of biography, history, and folklore which have been woven together from possible oral and written sources and which have been shaped over the years by different script-writers, that it would be difficult to discern a recognizable pattern to the play. Yet, remarkably, there is one recurring and consistent theme which seems to guide the diverse strands. In the characterization of Cornplanter which stresses his endeavours for peace and ignores his warlike propensities, in the choice of council scenes rather than battle scenes, in the interpolation of the Indian Village scene that emphasizes the domestic and cultural achievements of the Iroquois, in the avoidance of the spectacular or the sensational, in the selection of events for dramatization that show Cornplanter as a peace-maker and in the avoidance of events that might suggest he was a centre of dissension, in the emphasis on oratory rather than warcraft, in the organization of events which accentuate scenes of Cornplanter as a peace-maker, in all of these various strands of the play, one can only acknowledge the overwhelming fact that the emphasis throughout the play is on the Six Nations as a peace-loving people.

From the reports in The Brantford Expositor and from the fragments of earlier Cornplanter plays, it is clear that this is true not only of the 1975 version but of the earlier versions as well. Each version avoids or quickly passes over anything that would suggest the Six Nations were warlike or barbaric. Each scene dramatizes the main character and the Six Nations as a peace-loving and humane people. Battles, personal disputes, and factional dissensions are quickly passed over by the narrator in favour of dramatized scenes that show the Iroquois as lovers of peace. Throughout all versions of the Cornplanter play, then, this theme has been the guiding principle for the script-writers.

IV

<u>CORNPLANTER</u> AND THE OTHER PLAYS OF THE CYCLE

In many ways, the 1975 Cornplanter is typical of the rest of the plays in the cycle. It is similar to the other plays in its choice of subject matter, its structure, in the depiction of its central character, and in its themes.[1]

In the choice of subject matter, all of the plays share the same historical and biographical interest. Four of the six are set in the same time period; Cornplanter, Joseph Brant, Grand River, and Red Jacket deal with the Six Nations' efforts immediately before, during, and after the American Revolution. The American Revolution itself, as it has been noted earlier, marked a turning point in the history of the Six Nations. It caused the disintegration of the League, a condition from which the Six Nations never fully recovered. The plays present the various options that were open to the Iroquois before and after the war and how their leaders responded to those options. Each of the leaders responded in a different way.

As we have seen, Cornplanter, who was initially in favour of Iroquois neutrality during the war, finally agreed to fight for the British, but after the war became very pro-American. He refused to negotiate with the British; all his transactions were with the Americans. He also refused to join Brant and leave the land of his fathers for new lands in British North America. He sought concessions

for his people from the Americans and was successful in retaining small parcels of land for them.

Red Jacket, on the other hand, seems to have been less willing to compromise, or to change. Publicly, he was consistently anti-white, advocating a return to the old Indian ways and a rejection of all aspects of white culture. He was opposed to any dealings with whites after the war. He was not much of a warrior, but he shone in councils where his speeches denounced, in scathing terms, the hypocrisy and the greed of the white settlers. Because of his strong attachment to the old ways, he too refused to leave the land of his fathers with Brant. In his later life, bitterness and frustration drove him to find solace in alcohol.

The third leader, Joseph Brant, the central character in both Joseph Brant and Grand River, was also consistent in his sympathies. He was pro-British. Almost singlehandedly, he persuaded a good portion of his people to support the British in the American Revolution. After the war, he negotiated with the British and held them to a promise to compensate for any Iroquois land lost in the war. Brant gained for his people several tracts of land, the largest of which was along the Grand River in southern Ontario. To this tract, he led a large segment of the Six Nations' Indians. He considered himself an ally of the British, not a subject.

Besides the four plays that deal with the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, there are two others in the cycle. The subject matter remains historical and biographical. The League of Peace takes place several centuries prior to the time depicted in the

plays discussed above. It presents the attempts of Dekanawida and his assistant, Hiawatha, to unite the five warring tribes into a "league of peace". It is the one play that deals with an aspect of Indian history that is primarily the domain of the Indian because it occurred before the whites were there to record and interpret. Although some may view the story of Dekanawida and Hiawatha as myth or legend, for the Six Nations it is as historically and biographically true as the stories of Brant and Cornplanter.

The last play in the cycle, E. Pauline Johnson, describes the life of the poet-entertainer. It takes place approximately a century after the plays that are set at the time of the American Revolution. It deals with the main character's attempts to overcome total acculturation into white society and her efforts at maintaining her Indian heritage with pride and dignity.[2] In her poetry, she attempts to bridge the gap between the white and Indian worlds.

What has evolved at Forest Theatre is a central cycle of plays that gives an overview or panorama of Six Nations' history. Four of the plays describe, from different points of view, the crucial period at the time of the American Revolution; one play presents the genesis of the Six Nations, and another presents some of the problems faced by modern Indians. This kind of historical panorama is usually covered in one play in a conventional pageant.

Besides being historical and biographical there are other similarities in the plays. As in Cornplanter, there are four different kinds of scenes, according to the nature of their subject matter: scenes based on interpersonal relationships, scenes that are

monologues or soliloquies, the Indian Village scene, and the council scene.

Of these, the scenes based on interpersonal relationships and soliloquies are like those in conventional drama. They are there primarily for the purpose of revealing character and motivations. Every play has at least one scene based on a discussion between two characters; most plays have several. For example, the opening scene of the 1975 Cornplanter has the boy talking with a play-mate and then with his mother. It establishes him as a conciliator and it provides information about his concerns. The 1976 League of Peace has a scene between Dekanawida's mother and grandmother before he is born. It establishes the supernatural origin of Dekanawida's mission. The 1972 Red Jacket has scenes between Red Jacket and his wife and between Red Jacket and Handsome Lake. They bring out the central conflicts of Red Jacket's life and show how his conciliatory nature help to alleviate those conflicts. The 1977 Joseph Brant has a scene with Joseph and his friend, William of Canajoharie. It helps to establish Joseph's concern for his people; it also teaches him that he should trust Indians and not look to whites for friendship. The E. Pauline Johnson play has a scene between Pauline and her brother, Allan. It establishes the main character's plucky personality and introduces the Indian-white friction that will be presented throughout the play. All of these scenes, to some extent, reveal the intentions and desires of the central characters. Often they are based on a conflict that is resolved in the scene.

The soliloquy or monologue is used much less frequently than

the scenes between two characters. Ostensibly, it is used as a way for the main characters to reveal their thoughts and feelings privately. There is a soliloquy at the beginning of the fourth scene in the 1975 Cornplanter when the hero expresses his desire for peace. The whole last scene of that play is a monologue. In it, Cornplanter tries to reconcile himself to his people for the last time.

The soliloquy is used several times in the 1972 Red Jacket, usually to reveal the conflicting emotions of despair and responsibility that war within the main character's mind. In the E. Pauline Johnson play, the recitation of poems serves much the same function as a soliloquy: they reveal Pauline's feelings. "My Little Jean", "Close-by", "Penseroso", and "Revoyage" are poems that are based on the emotions of loneliness and lost love rather than on descriptions of nature or narratives. The soliloquies in the plays are often nostalgic or sentimental.

Of the four kinds of scenes, the Indian Village scene and the council scene represent the most distinctive developments of the Indian pageants. Every play has one Indian Village scene. It is usually given in the form of straight narration, such as in the 1975 Cornplanter. Occasionally, the script-writer attempts to incorporate the scene into the play; for example, in the 1977 Joseph Brant it is Joseph himself who gives the narration while showing a white friend through the village. In Cornplanter, the Indian Village scene is linked to the rest of the play chronologically. Most often, however, the scene is merely inserted somewhere, without any attempt to link it structurally to the rest of the play.

In many ways, the Indian Village scene in the 1975 <u>Cornplanter</u> is typical of this scene in other plays. Sometimes the scene is longer or shorter, but the same elements are present: descriptions of tanning and leather work, basket-making, the use of the Three Sisters (corn, squash, and beans), and the medicinal value of herbs, roots, and barks. The traditional values of the Indians, such as conservation and communal sharing, are frequently asserted and explained by the narrator. The Indian Village scene is the most didactic of the four kinds of scenes. It attempts to teach the non-warlike aspects of Iroquoian life that are frequently passed over in history texts.

The Indian Village scene probably had its origins in the Ticonderoga plays of Thomas Cook. A pamphlet on Cook's Forest Theatre describes the Indian Village that was used at Ticonderoga:

> Possibly the most effective part of the plays was brought about early in Forest Theatre's growth. It consists of groups of local people, men, women and children, costumed as Iroquois, spaced along the entire length of the stockade backdrop. These players are busy throughout the entire performance in the chores and handicrafts of the Indians. They constitute a village scene against which all the actions take place. During change of scene the narrator will point out some of the things which the groups are doing, making the audience familiar with the many achievements the ingenuity and inventive genius of the Red Man had left to the white man. The spectator is told and shown how the Indian tanned the skins of the various animals, how they practiced medicine, how they handled their corn, the art of basket and pottery making, how moccasins were fashioned, how the village was protected, how the men made their canoes, weapons and tools and many other sides of this ancient culture. On occasion, as may be demanded by the action of the play the whole village blends into the scene or some group emerges to take a more prominent part. All this has been found to be very effective in creating the proper mood of the Festival and sharpening the illusion that the listening beholder is back in time among those happy and natural people whose customs and lore the pageants strive to teach and preserve.[3]

In the Six Nations' Pageants, the Indian Village is not a setting for the dramatic action. It is usually a scene by itself. It has its own stage area which is apart from the stage where the rest of the dramatic action takes place. This divorce of the Indian Village scene from the rest of the play disrupts the unity of the dramatic action and deprives the rest of the play of an interesting and authentic backdrop against which the drama could unfold. It is interesting to note that the pamphlet on the Ticonderoga plays, among its list of domestic activities of the Iroquois, describes how Iroquois weapons were made. This is omitted in the Six Nations' plays.

The other kind of scene that is uniquely part of the pageant plays is the council scene. It is a fitting choice for the pageants as the council has been of great significance to the League from its beginnings. It was central to the constitution of the League of Five [Six] Nations. According to Morgan, there were three kinds of Iroquoian councils: civil, religious, and mourning.[4] All of the councils depicted in the plays belong to the first category. Among the different kinds of civil councils, the Great Council of all fifty sachems of the League was the most important. The council fire was the central symbol of this governing body of the League. Onondaga, the meeting-place of the Great Council, was the place of "the Fire that Never Dies". Besides the Great Council, other civil councils were held at the local, clan, and family levels of the Six Nations. There were councils for men and for women as well.[5] In the constitution of the Five Nations, as recorded by Parker, the nature of the councils, their rules, procedures, and rituals are clearly outlined.[6]

The script-writers seem to have accepted the historical importance of the councils to the Six Nations. Almost half of the scenes in the Six Nations' plays, excluding E. Pauline Johnson, are council scenes. In the plays, each hero's effectiveness in council determines his greatness. In councils, Dekanawida persuades Atotarho, the Onondaga wizard, to turn from his evil ways and join the League. In councils, Red Jacket protects his people's land. It is at a council that Joseph Brant persuades most of the Six Nations to support the British in the American Revolutionary war. Later, at another council, he convinces the Mohawks and many others of the Six Nations to follow him to the Grand River. Councils could and did change the course of history. For this reason, it is easy to see why they are not only frequent in the plays but that they are central to each play.

In a "league of peace", the councils were the means of maintaining both internal and external harmony. It was a civilized, democratic way of arguing out disagreements and establishing policies. This idea is reflected in the plays. The council scenes emphasize the peaceful inclinations of the Iroquois, the same Iroquois who, from the time of the seventeenth-century French Jesuits, have been presented as fierce barbarians. These scenes thus try to alter the popular conception that most people have of the Iroquois. They emphasize that the Six Nations are not made up of just warriors, but also legislators, orators, and peace-makers.

In the plays, the council scene is a scene wherein a group of people debate a given issue; sometimes the debate is between Indians and whites, sometimes between opposing factions of Indians. In the

1975 Cornplanter, there were two council scenes that were dramatized: the Council of Oswego which was held between the Six Nations and the British to decide whether the Indians would support the King or not, and the local Seneca council that was convened to decide whether the Quakers should be allowed to stay in Cornplanter's village.[7]

In a scene of the 1972 Red Jacket, a council is dramatized between the Indians and the white missionaries. In it, Red Jacket persuades his people to refuse the missionaries permission to preach in the village. Later, in the same play, a council between the Senecas and white representatives of a land company is enacted. This time Red Jacket refuses to let his people be coerced into giving up their land.

In the 1969 Joseph Brant, there is a council meeting between the British represented by Guy Johnson, Guy Carleton, and Barry St. Leger and the Six Nations. In it, Brant persuades his people to give the British the support that they request against the American colonists. In the same play, there is a meeting between the Americans and the Six Nations wherein the Six Nations refuse to help the Americans and decided to be neutral. A central scene of the 1958 Grand River takes place at Buffalo Creek where Joseph Brant tries to persuade the Six Nations to move to the Grand River area.[8] In each of the scenes that are based on a council, the central character serves as the spokesman for the council. He usually announces the reason for the council and at the end states its final decision.

Some of the council scenes are treaty scenes. Recent scholars

have noted the dramatic potential of Indian treaties:

> The Indian Treaties were "theatre-in-life" dramas of the highest order. They were solemn in intent. Their conflicts and problems were in the nature of life and death struggles; yet they are often gay, light-hearted, sly, and even playful. They are filled with theatrical and dramatic details: the exchanging of wampum belts and strings, the processionals to the treaty, the formal, stage-like form of address, the participation of the spectators as a kind of chorus, and the highly ingenious and stimulating figures of speech are certainly as colourful as any in the literature of the period.[9]

Some of the characteristics described here are present in the plays. The exchange of wampum, for example, was used in the Cornplanter play. It is also used in the council scenes of some of the other plays. The use of wampum in councils has been discussed by Paul Wallace:

> A colourful and dramatic touch was added by the use of wampum, the white and purple (or "black"), the latter made from the purple spots in the clam shell. When a chief rose to address the Council, he held in his hand strings of wampum to show that his words were true. They served also as notes for both speaker and audience, helping the one to proceed with and the other to follow the steps in the argument. As each topic was disposed of, the speaker laid down a string of wampum, the strings being afterwards hung on a horizontal pole (such as Hiawatha had used) in the center of the council house for all to see. The speaker who replied took these same strings from the pole and held them in his hand to refresh his memory as he reviewed, point by point, the preceding discourse.[10]

In Cornplanter and Joseph Brant, the wampum belts are held by each speaker as he addresses the council. The speaker hands it to the next speaker when he is finished. Among other things, it is an orderly way of acknowledging who has the floor. Wampum belts in the plays are also referred to as "covenants", symbols of former agreements between two parties. In the Cornplanter play and in the Joseph Brant play, the wampum belt is used as evidence of an ancient agreement

between the Six Nations and the British. This helps to swing the Council of Oswego toward those in favour of supporting the British against the Americans.

Unfortunately, many of the dramatic and colourful possibilities for the treaty scenes are not used in the plays. There are no processionals in the plays, nor opening ceremonies with prayers and chants. The councils in the plays begin with a narrator's description of the historical background to the council and then immediately launch into the speeches of the council members. There are spectators in the council scenes, but for the most part they are a silent "chorus".

The council scenes deal with serious, significant issues. In them, the conflict resides in the varying points of view that are presented. The tension, if indeed it can be called tension, exists in whether or not the central character's point of view will win out. But even in these scenes, the conflict is reduced to a minimum, partly by the formality, partly by those conventions of the council which the script-writer adopts and which serve to minimize the possibilities for dissension. In the plays, there is no heated discussion, only a very orderly presentation of differing views.

The plays evoke the serious nature of the councils. The speeches are long and formal. There is rarely a suggestion of a "gay, light-hearted, sly, and even playful" nature in them. Red Jacket's speech to the white missionary is one of the few that has any suggestion of "slyness" in it. He suggests the missionary should try his "book" out on the white settlers first, and if the Indians perceive it has

some moral effect on them, maybe they will try it too. There is also little suggestion of give-and-take dispute in the plays. As in Cornplanter, each speech is a set piece that does not always relate directly to the speech before it. More often, they refer to the general issue that is being debated than to other speeches by the council members. Some of the speeches are borrowed from actual speeches of the characters. When actual speeches have been used, they are usually edited. Sometimes parts of two or more speeches are combined with other parts that have been invented by the script-writer.

All four kinds of scenes in the plays, rely primarily on dialogue or monologue rather than on plot, action, panorama, or music. Each of the different kinds of scenes emphasizes the domestic and peaceful characteristics of the Six Nations. The scenes based on interpersonal relationships usually resolve personal conflicts in a harmonious manner. The soliloquies or monologues often express the familial concerns and peaceful aspirations of the individuals involved. The Indian Village scene describes the domestic and cultural activities of the Six Nations' people. Nowhere are the peaceful characteristics of the Six Nations more evident than in the council scenes where public issues are debated in an orderly, democratic way, and where the peaceful intentions of the heroes are publicly expressed. Warriors such as Cornplanter and Joseph Brant are always presented as peace-loving in the council scenes of their respective plays. Even when they are in favour of war their motives are usually connected with seeking a faster way to peace. To them, this sometimes means war. All of the scenes, without exception, depict the Six Nations' Indians

as orators, legislators, and peace-makers, but not as warriors.

The history and biography of the Cornplanter play seemed to depend on written and possibly oral sources. Most of the other plays do as well. The League of Peace, for example, appears to have been influenced in its selection of details by The White Roots of Peace.[11] The Red Jacket play has some speeches that were recorded in Stone's biography and in the biographers who relied heavily on Stone.[12] For example, one of the speeches given by Red Jacket in the play is the same as a portion of one recorded by Stone.[13] Joseph Brant, particularly in its first two scenes, seems to depend on Harvey Chalmers' West to the Setting Sun which was written in collaboration with Ethel Brant Monture, a descendant of Joseph Brant.[14] In all of the plays, it is difficult to tell for certain what might be from oral sources and what might have come from written ones.

The plays have been influenced at least in part by written scources. Although Stone, Wallace, Drake and other writers of Six Nations' history do not hesitate in presenting Brant, Cornplanter, or Red Jacket as warriors, the script-writers select their materials to avoid making their heroes appear at all war-like.

In many respects, the historical and biographical nature of the subject matter determines the structure of the plays. Again, Cornplanter is typical of most of the plays. They are usually presented in direct chronological order. Very often they begin with a childhood scene and end with the approaching death of the protagonist. In between a few major biographical highlights are dramatized.

There are exceptions to this chronological organization in the

E. Pauline Johnson play and the Red Jacket play. Both of these use a flashback technique. The former begins with the dying Pauline and then moves back to important events in her life as she recalls them. The structure becomes fairly complicated when she recalls her parents telling the story of their courtship, a reminiscence within a reminiscence. Except for this, the events in the lengthy flashback are in chronological order.

In the Red Jacket play, too, the scenes are basically in chronological order except for one scene in which Red Jacket hears echoing voices from the past. These voices serve as a kind of flashback. One is the voice of his daughter urgently and repeatedly calling "Father!"; another is that of George Washington presenting him with a medal. One voice tempts him to take some more rum and another quotes the Christian missionaries on humility. One voice asks for his help; another mocks his drunkenness. The audience thus enters the mind of the main character through the voices from the past. They aurally present to the audience the conflicting forces in Red Jacket's past which cause him inner turmoil.

Within the general chronological ordering of events, there are other structural devices used. In the 1975 Cornplanter, we have seen the symmetrical arrangement of scenes for thematic purposes, with a climactic central scene which combines the public and private concerns of Cornplanter. In the 1977 Joseph Brant, a scene of a council-meeting between the British and the Six Nations is balanced with a meeting between the Americans and the Six Nations. The first and second scenes of the same play are also contrasted to point out a theme; in the first,

Joseph is talking and playing with his Indian friend, William of Canajoharie, whom he rejects, and in the second he is rejected by his white friend, John Provost. Joseph learns that it is better to trust an Indian than a white man. This kind of arrangement wherein two contrasting scenes are set side by side or are otherwise symmetrically arranged forces the audience to make the thematic connections. It is a technique that is used in most of the plays.

The plays are unconventional in that they do not depend on causal sequence wherein one event or situation causes a subsequent event or situation. Nor do the events naturally lead to one climactic episode. Rather, the structure of each play is often based on a series of conflicts that have no direct relationship to each other, although they may be symmetrically arranged or juxtaposed for purposes of contrast. The emphasis throughout the plays is not on sustained conflict nor on plot development. There is little emotional build-up or suspense. Rather, the history and themes are what concern the script-writer. Unity is provided in each play by linking the scenes chronologically, symmetrically, and thematically. It is also supplied by the fact that each play is a biography with a central character providing the focus throughout.

There are other structural similarities operating in the plays. They rely on a pattern of alternating narration and dramatization. This pattern has already been commented on with regard to the Cornplanter play. The alternating narration and dramatization enable the plays to find a balance between the particular and the general; the narration gives general information and the scene particularizes an event.

The narrated elements in each play are similar to each other in form and purpose. It was mentioned earlier in this study that the narrator prepares the audience for the dramatized scene that is to come by giving background information in the form of dates, events, and description. Sometimes he comments briefly on a scene that has been completed. He is there to make transitions from one event to another. As in Cornplanter, he not only provides background information, but he also quickly mentions details of the main character's life which are not very flattering and which do not support the mai theme.

As in Cornplanter, the narrated comments often attempt to steer the audience away from the war-like attributes of the Iroquois. Frequently, the narrator interprets the facts in such a way that they support the idea that the Six Nations are basically a peace-loving and domestic people. In his respect, the narrative parts of Cornplanter are very typical. The narrator at the beginning of the second scene in the 1975 play, for example, gives the time (strawberry time in 1777), the place (a Seneca village), and interpretation ("No race of people could have been happier than the Indians in time of peace. Their wants were few and easily satisfied. Together, they carried out the tasks in the village.") The opening scene of the 1972 Red Jacket play begins in a similar vein by giving the time (1792), the place (Buffalo Creek, New York State), and interpretation ("The Seneca women were preparing the rich fertile soil of the early spring corn, while others talked and laughed by a clear, quiet stream, content to clean and tan the hides of the hunt....") In brief, then, the facts selected for narration in these examples and elsewhere in the plays

usually fit into one of three categories: either they are necessary to understand the scene that is about to be dramatized, or they are included for the sake of history, or they are there to support the central theme of the peaceful Iroquois.

Thus the structure of the plays is determined by the subject matter. The history and the biography suggest the chronological arrangement of events. The alternating narration and dramatization are also appropriate to the subject matter. The narration enables the script-writer to give the details necessary to understand the biography and history, to make transitions between events that are scattered over a lifetime, and to guide the audience to the ideas or themes that the script-writer feels are important. The dramatized scenes emphasize events that seem particularly significant to the script-writer and that clearly support his themes.

Besides similarities in subject matter and structure between Cornplanter and the other cycle plays, there are similarities in the depiction of the central characters as well. The heroes of the plays have several things in common. They are always representatives of their people. Cornplanter sought his people's interest by appealing to George Washington and the Americans. Joseph Brant represented his people's interest to the British. Red Jacket stood up for his people against the missionaries, land agents, and the encroaching settlers. Pauline Johnson, through her poems, spoke of the dignity and heroism of the Indian; she represented the feelings of Indians to a white world. Handsome Lake, in the 1955 play, represented his people at a conference with President Jefferson where he tried to get the President

to control white traders and sellers of liquor. In this respect, the depiction of the heroes in the plays does not vary from many literary works whose centre is "the heroic figure of some chief valiantly fighting for his people".[15]

The isolation of all the central characters is another striking feature of the plays. Although the hero represents his people, he is always apart from them. Cornplanter tells George Washington:

> I will not conceal the fact from you that it has been the Great Spirit alone who has saved Cornplanter from the hands of his own people for they have become desperate. My wife and children call to me and cry from lack of food. For in this season of hunting, I do not look for food; I search for peace.

Early in the Cornplanter play, the central character is set apart from his play-mates by his lack of a father and by the colour of his skin. Later in life, Cornplanter is rejected by his people and his chieftainship is temporarily taken away from him.

Red Jacket, in the play, is left by his wife and family because of his alcoholism and neglect. They espouse Christianity which Red Jacket intensely opposes. His townspeople mock him. A fellow-chief, Handsome Lake, seeks to have him removed from the council. But, Red Jacket too uses all his talents to stand up for his people's rights before missionaries and land agents. By means of his oratory, he at least temporarily assists his people. He overcomes his personal weakness in order to better his people's condition. In the play, he vows to Handsome Lake that he will never drink again: "I will remain in council, Handsome Lake, for this is our last chance to put together the great council fire of the confederacy."

Joseph Brant is also isolated. Early in the play his blood

brother, John Provost, rejects him. His wife, Christine, dies. He asks, "Who will I have? Can my people alone take the place of a blood brother and a loving wife?" The remainder of the play seems to answer positively. Later in the play, the British, whom Brant has supported during the war, ignore him and his people at the treaty ending the war. Only his own persistence and persuasive talents gained for his people tracts of land on the Grand River and elsewhere in British North America.

Pauline Johnson is deserted by her white fiancé, censured by her sister, and insulted by white people. The play describes her last hours, alone, as she recalls the major events of her life. She, too, has sought to represent her people to the white world. In her poems, she gave a picture of Indians who are heroic, strong, loyal and who exhibit all the emotions that universally move men. Her mission to make the white men aware of what it is like to be an Indian is summed up in her words to her travelling companion, Walter McRaye: "I love to perform for the people. I love to affront and shock them, to entertain them and make them think of something and someone other than themselves." Her isolation is underlined by the recitation of such poems as "Re-voyage" and "Penserosa". The first may refer to her unhappy love affair with Charles Drayton:

> Ah, me! my paddle failed me in the steering
> Across love's shoreless seas;
> All reckless, I had ne'er a thought of fearing
> Such dreary days as these,
> When through the self-same rapids we dash by,
> My lone canoe and I.

"Penserosa" is recited as she dies. It begins

Soulless is all humanity to me
To-night. My keenest longing is to be
Alone, alone with God's grey earth that seems
Pulse of my pulse and consort of my dreams....

Handsome Lake in the 1955 play also overcomes personal problems (alcoholism and illness) to become a spokesman and a prophet to his people. Left alone to die, he has a vision, a speedy recovery, and wakes up to rouse his people to a stronger belief in themselves and in their traditional values. His heavenly visions and his concomitant stature as "The Prophet" isolate him from his people.

Dekanawida, too, is alone in his mission to unite the five warring tribes. He is a Huron among the Iroquois. His virgin birth and his departure from his own people, as well as the nature of his mission, isolate him from all the other characters in the play.

In most of the plays, the hero dies alone or appoaches death alone. In Cornplanter, the hero says farewell to his people and goes away alone, never to return. Joseph Brant in Grand River too disappears into the darkness after his people are settled on their new lands. In The League of Peace, Dekanawida sails away alone in his stone canoe once his mission is accomplished. Pauline Johnson dies alone, without friend or relative at her side. The script-writers seem to be saying that the heroes have been isolated throughout their lives, so it is fitting that they die alone; it makes them all the more heroic.

Besides their altruism and their isolation, there is another characteristic that defines the central character. It is probably already clear to the reader that oratory is the skill that is emphasized throughout the plays. Physical bravery and skill in battle are not valued in any of them. Even though in real life several of the heroes

were men of action, this is not indicated in the plays. Both Cornplanter and Joseph Brant were war chiefs, but the plays present them as devoted to peace, their families, and their people. The heroes are first and foremost orators. In his introductory comments, the master of ceremonies of almost every play mentions oratorical ability as one of the important characteristics of each hero. The hero must speak convincingly and well, either in conference with whites or in their own councils. Red Jacket, of course, is the acknowledged leader in this field, but Handsome Lake, Cornplanter, and Joseph Brant are also presented primarily as orators, not warriors or even hunters. For this reason, the council scene is one of the most frequent kinds of scenes in the plays and one of the most important. It gives the hero a chance to display his talents. Also, Pauline Johnson's major talent is her ability not only to write poems but to deliver them, dramatically, before audiences. In her play, recitation replaces the council scene in importance and frequency. The ability to handle the spoken word is a value that is emphasized throughout the plays.

But undoubtedly the most important characteristic of the heroes is that in the plays they are all peace-makers of one kind or another. Dekanawida is the peace-maker model for all the other leaders. His life was devoted to peace-seeking. He succeeded by means of his foresight, diplomatic tact, and powers of persuasion in uniting five disparate tribes. Cornplanter was in favour of neutrality for the Indians during the American Revolution. After the war, he attempted to unite his people and the Americans. As we have seen, the scriptwriter deliberately ignores his career as a warrior and stresses other

aspects of his life. Even Red Jacket, who was anti-white, is looked on as a peace-maker. In the 1972 play, he says, "It is just the beginning of many councils that I must attend. The white man's farms and churches are now on our hunting grounds. If I don't speak to stop this, there will surely be another war." So, his role too is the keeper of the peace; by means of his speeches, he wards off the advancing white civilization and thus prevents a conflict that seems inevitable.

It is interesting to note that the narrator of the "Centennial Tribute to Pauline Johnson" in the 1967 play also looked at Pauline as a peace-maker: "She forged links between the two races in Canada that will never be broken." Obviously Pauline has never been considered a warrior, but neither is the role of peace-maker one that would normally be applied to her. Even Joseph Brant, who was in favour of the Six Nations taking sides in the American Revolution, is presented as basically a lover of peace. In the play, his reason for entering the war on the side of the British is that this move will result in a speedy end to an inevitable conflict. Thus his people, whom he feels cannot stay out of the war, will suffer the least by siding with the British.

In spite of the fact that the script-writers tend to idealize their heroes in regard to their peaceable traits, in many other respects they do not make their heroes larger-than-life. Weaknesses abound. Handsome Lake, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter have alcohol problems. Dekanawida and Cornplanter are unpromising heroes; neither have fathers as patterns of behaviour, so they are looked d[illegible]n on by

their peers. Jealousy among the various characters, including the heroes, is not hidden; in fact, it takes up a whole scene in the 1972 Red Jacket. Motives of the heroes are sometimes confusing. Cornplanter's ready acceptance of the decision to fight for the British and his change of attitude toward his father seem sudden and inexplicable. Brant's loyalty to the British seems somewhat perverse in light of the way the British treat him and his people after the war, and in light of the fact that at the beginning of the play he says that no white man can be trusted. The script-writer in no way tries to avoid these inconsistencies.

The way the Indian is presented here is quite different from the way he has been depicted by many white writers. D.H. Lawrence summed up the problems of white writers' attitudes toward the Indians:

> It is almost impossible for the white people to approach the Indian without either sentimentality or dislike.... Both reactions are due to the same feeling in the white man. The Indian is not in line with us. He's not coming our way. His whole being is going a different way from ours. And the minute you set eyes on him you know it.
> And then, there's only two things you can do. You can detest the insidious devil for having an utterly different way from our own great way. Or you can perform the mental trick, and fool yourself and others into believing that the befeathered and bedaubed darling is nearer to the true ideal gods than we are.[16]

The plays do not fall into the trap of villainizing or idealizing their heroes in the way that white writers often do. Even Thomas Cook, who was sensitive to the Indians' history and culture, could not avoid sentimentalizing them in the sense that he presented them in a nostalgic way. This is evident, for example, in the poem he wrote to end his play, The Last of the Senecas:

Thus we leave them in compassion
As their fatal hour has come.
Long ago their council fires
Were extinguished one by one.

The music of their voices
Has for many years been stilled.
The leaves of countless autumns
Now their forest trails have filled.

They left no gilded temples
Or monuments of stone.
They left no written records
And they recognized no throne.

They left no one to mourn them,
No one with whom to share
The grief that overwhelmed them
To the depths of deep despair.

But they left us much enduring,
As a tribute to their race,
An epitaph no lapse of time
Or memory can erase.

They left their names upon the lakes
And rivers everywhere;
And countless towns and cities
Some expressive name do bear.

Our mountains are their monuments,
The pines whose drooping boughs
Stand a stately silent witness
To the white man's broken vows.

Thus we leave then as their shadows
Fade away into the night.
And we see the tragic passing
Of a nation from our sight.[17]

Indians such as those on the Grand River Reserve see themselves as part of a continuing tradition; they do not admit to having tragically passed away.

Although the Six Nations' Pageants do not idealize their central characters, neither do they make them well-rounded characters. One does not normally expect in-depth character analysis in a pageant play.

But these pageant plays are not conventional. They do not have hordes of characters streaming across the stage. They focus on one individual. Character, then, become more important here than in other pageant plays.

In the plays, however, we seldom get inside the heroes to experience their inner conflicts, doubts, regrets, anxieties, etc. Rather, the heroes are almost always public people. Even in the soliloquies, which ostensibly are more personal expressions, we really see only public aspects of the main character; for example, Cornplanter's expressed concern for his wife and family is not particularized in any way. The sentiments he expresses could be expressed by any father. The concern does not cause him to question the rightness of the Six Nations' espousal of the British cause. Inner conflicts and frustrations that must have been part and parcel of those complex and treacherous times are not clearly dramatized, probably because the central concern of the writers and directors is with historical fact and with teaching. To enter the hearts and minds of the heroes is to move beyond the limitations of historical fact. The writers of the plays do not seem particularly interested in doing that. This is perhaps one reason why the soliloquy is used so infrequently in the dramatized scenes.

This lack of well-rounded characterization suggests that to the script-writers individuals are not as important as the ideas or themes. This lack of emphasis on the individual is traditional with the Six Nations. In the formation of the League, Dekanawida arranged so that when any one of the fifty original sachems died, his successor

took his name and, in turn, that sachems' name would be taken by his successor, and so on. Thus, historically, there are a whole host of Indian sachems with the same name. This does not encourage the distinguishing of one sachem from another nor the remembering of the names or deeds of individual sachems.

The plays also give the impression that there are virtually no heroes from Dekanawida to the American Revolution. In a way, this is true. The structure of the League prevented emphasis on individuals and placed it on communal activities (such as councils) rather than on personal acts, and on collective decisions rather than personal ones. Only when that central social structure could not function, such as at the time of the American Revolution, did the acts of individuals become prominent enough to be recorded and remembered. Then, we have the formation of war chiefs and the recording of the acts of individual chiefs such as Joseph Brant, Red Jacket, and Cornplanter.

Because there are at least three different positions advocated by the heroes in the Indians' policy toward the whites, it might be presumed that the plays would favour one of these positions. But this is not so. Each hero's viewpoint is presented as equally valid as the others. The script-writer seems to be saying that there was no easy solution to the Indians' problems. Each hero had a different idea of what the best way of proceeding was, but it did not really matter because no answer could resolve the problem. This is another indication that individual preferences are not all that important to the Indians. Therefore, in the 1975 Cornplanter, Cornplanter's views are the views of the central character. He is opposed by Handsome Lake,

Joseph Brant, and Red Jacket. But there is no attempt to prove that Cornplanter's views were any better than those of the other chiefs. Their objections are never really answered in the Cornplanter play. For the sake of the play, it is presumed that it is best to let Cornplanter have his way. In Red Jacket's play, it is presumed that Red Jacket's view is best, and so on.

So, the main characters of the plays, then, represent their people's interests. They are isolated; they are orators, and they are peace-makers. Their characterization is usually subordinate to the script-writer's idea of the Iroquois as a humane, civilized, and peace-loving race. Each hero embodies that ideal. To this extent, the heroes are not clearly individualized nor are they well-rounded.

Finally, this brings us to the thematic concerns of the plays. We have already seen in Cornplanter that the characterization of the hero, the structure of the plays, the selection of events for dramatization, etc., all contribute to the theme of the Six Nations as lovers of peace. It can probably be discerned from the foregoing part of this chapter that this is true for the rest of the plays as well. The theme emerges through characterization, dialogue, narrated comments, and actions. Clearly, in all of the plays, the central idea that emerges from these aspects is that the Iroquois are a peace-loving people.

The peace theme is evident from the first play in the cycle. In The League of Peace, Dekanawida's grandmother hears a voice in the night that tells her that her yet unborn grandson "will bring the great message of peace and life to the people in this land". The plot

of this play is based on the efforts of Dekanawida to unite the five warring nations, a task he finally achieves.

In an early scene of The League of Peace, Dekanawida as a boy tells a play-mate why he builds traps rather than kills game with a bow and arrow:

> I have learned the ways of our hunters but I do not enjoy killing. A trap will secure an animal, yet no harm will come to it. Most of the time, I let the animals go free.

This is similar to a statement made by the boy Cornplanter at the beginning of the 1975 play. The peaceful concerns of Dekanawida and Cornplanter override even the important Indian skill of hunting.

In the same play on the League, Jigonhsasee, who has a role similar to the biblical Simeon (Luke, 2:30), recognizes and believes that Dekanawida will bring peace to her people:

> Your message is good and this day I will accept the news that you bring. I am an old woman now but I know that my eyes will not close until your message is final. I will live to see this country and our own people at peace with each other.

Because of her faith, the women in the new confederation are given the responsibility of choosing the chiefs of the League.

Dekanawida's effort at peace-making reaches a climax with the uprooting of a pine tree, the throwing of all the weapons of the warring parties into the hole, and the replanting of the tree. The pine tree with a watchful eagle in its branches has become the symbol of the Six Nations.[18]

Just as the narrator in Cornplanter had referred to the whites' stereotype of the Indian as a barbarian, the Master of Ceremonies of the 1969 Joseph Brant refers to similar sentiment:

> It is not our aim to show the Indian as a ferocious savage. For in the minds of the average citizen, he is often thought of as being cruel and heartless.

It cannot be accidental that in this same play the only scene that could be construed as a war scene presents Brant saving a white woman settler from white soldiers. Throughout the play, as Cornplanter is in his play, Brant is depicted as the concerned father who longs for a place and a time when his people can live in peace. The culmination of his effort on behalf of his people comes in Grand River (1971) when, after the war, he gets the British to hand over the Grand River lands to the Iroquois and to join hands "in a great covenant chain of peace". It is interesting to note that although Cornplanter has not been presented as barbarous in most history books, the same thing cannot be said of Brant. In histories, poems, and novels, particularly American, Brant is frequently villainized. But here in the Six Nations' plays, he is depicted as a peace-loving and humane leader.

Red Jacket, in the 1972 play, sees himself as an orator who uses his talents to prevent war. Unlike most of the plays, the basic conflict in this play resides within the main character: whether or not he will be able to overcome his personal weaknesses in order to adequately represent his people at the councils. It is suggested in the play, that if he does not, war is inevitable. In the play, he also is the conciliator who manages to overcome the hostility of his wife and Handsome Lake. Eventually, he puts aside his own weaknesses, overcomes the antagonism of the people around him, and competently defends his people's rights in council.

In E. Pauline Johnson, the theme of peace is more generalized in the sense that it refers to Pauline's attempts at helping the white world to put aside its prejudices toward the Indians. Her peace-making consists of dealing with the incidents of prejudice she encounters in her own life, and, through her poems, of helping the whites to a better understanding of the Indians.

Besides the central characters, who are depicted as peace-makers, the plays suggest that the Iroquois generally are a peaceful and domestic people. This is particularly evident in all of the Indian Village scenes. We have seen the narrator in the 1975 Cornplanter describe the women working "in rhythm with the waves" of the nearby river. They are depicted as content and happy as they go about their daily tasks. In the Indian Village scene of the 1969 Joseph Brant, the central character shows his white friend, John Provost, through his village: "We are all one happy family. We are all brothers, and my brothers do not know greed."

Most of the Indian Village scenes give the impression that what is being discussed in the Indian Village scenes occurs before the whites intrude into the Indians' lives. This is implied even when the date given for the scene is in the eighteenth century. The Indians, on their own, were peaceful, living an almost Edenic existence:

> The Indian lived in a perfect world. There was plenty of food which they grew themselves, as well as birds, fish, and game which they killed as their needs arose. The Indian was careful not to take more than was necessary for they had no reason to hoard or practise selfishness in their community of sharing. The air was pure and the water cold and fresh. The Indian was careful to protect the forest and its life, and the climate was healthy and good for both humans and wildlife. The European newcomers arrived and offered to improve our conditions. Now we only remember how the perfect life used to be before the so-called improvements of today.

This is one of the narrator's comments in the 1976 League of Peace.

It is interesting to note that the narrator of the "Centennial Tribute to Pauline Johnson", which was recited when the 1967 play was over, looked back at Pauline's time as a kind of golden age. She depicts the Indians as domestic, civilized, peaceful--certainly not as savages.

> There was tremendous community spirit amongst your people. They became their own contractors for they built roads and bridges from a network of twisted trails and uncleared land. They surveyed the land and inspected their enclosed quarters of reserve land. They were fishermen and hunters, yet they had a very strong desire for progression. So a fine council house was built for the betterment of education for our youth. Years have passed. Time has hemmed in around us. We have only the reserve lands that was left to us from all the beautiful lands of plenty. Only canned fish from our streams. Only a city worker's life in order to provide for our children. However, we can still hear the echoes of our forefathers' waterdrums played so many, many years ago when their hearts were filled with sunshine.

Thus not only were the Iroquois peaceful and domestic before they contacted the Europeans, but even the late nineteenth century seems, in the eyes of the script-writers, to be a time of domestic tranquillity for the Six Nations.

The narrator of the 1960 Cornplanter summarizes the idea of the peaceful Iroquois:

> No people can live more happily than the Indians did in a time of peace. Their fidelity was perfect. They were strictly honest. They despised deception and falsehood. They lived quietly and peacefully at home.

Nowhere, however, is the theme of peace more explicit than in the 1974 War and Peace. In comparing the failures of the League of Nations with the achievements of the Iroquois League, the narrator says:

> The great League of Peace of the Iroquois nations was in comparison a successful alliance within the original five nations. No one nation was allowed to rise above another nation. It remains so even to this day. In order to have real peace, the motives and aims of all partners must be honourable, with lofty ideals.... Thus peace must be won in the hearts and minds of every individual.

Later, the same narrator says:

> The establishment of peace for ourselves, our children, and those children yet unborn, is the duty of each and all of us--to protect, to guard and to have reverence for the universal goodness and beauty and all the great gifts the Creator has provided for us. It is time now to dig that great hole in the ground and to bury the weapons of hate and destruction forever, so that future generations will never know of that great calamity and suffering called war. Mankind must at last learn that peace and love is more blessed than hatred.

Thus, the symbolic action of Dekanawida is used as a means of expressing the peaceful aspirations of the present-day Iroquois.

Throughout the plays, there is an implied contrast between the Indians and whites. Frequently, the peaceful characteristics are implied by an emphasis on the opposite characteristics of the whites. In the plays, the Iroquois are peaceful and domestic as contrasted with the whites who are deceitful, greedy, wasteful and the cause of war and dissension. In Cornplanter's speech to Washington, he accuses the Americans of causing the Confederacy's collapse by seducing the Tuscaroras and the Oneidas to their side during the war. According to him, the naive, peaceful Indians were no match for the Americans' deceit and guile. In the 1969 Joseph Brant, the whites sell the Indians faulty muskets so that their hands are blown off. They try to steal Indian lands in Red Jacket. They lie to the Indians in the 1977 Joseph Brant. In several of the plays, the whites sell liquor to them in order to get their lands, and they use religion for the same

purpose. This attitude to whites is explicitly brought out in the flyer for the 1970 The Coming of the Tuscaroras:

> The Indians were friendly with the white men, and smoked the pipe of peace and friendship with them. They gave their white friends food, skins for clothing, and they taught them how to plant.
> Soon many more white strangers came. They were greedy and carried weapons of war with them. Their hearts were black and their tongues were forked. They cut down forests, sold Indians to the slave traders, and spread strange diseases among the Indian people.

In the E. Pauline Johnson play, Pauline's white fiancé jilts her because his parents do not approve of his marriage to an Indian. Later, in the same play, an English lady insults Pauline during the latter's visit to England. In the 1969 Joseph Brant, Joseph trusts his friend, John Provost, only to be snubbed by him:

> I realize now that I should have known better than to put my full trust in a white man.... I know now that a white man is no good and cannot be trusted. I must make my people see. I must make them cautious of the white man. I must and I will.

In the 1972 Red Jacket, the narrator, in his opening comments, compares the old life of the Senecas with the effect of the whites on their life:

> Great chiefs no longer counselled but engaged in gambling games and drunken revelries. The white men had traded liquor and playing cards for their fertile land. The Seneca men were bribed with the fierce fire-water, while women accepted the Bibles of Christian missionaries. Homes were broken, and the children mocked the great chiefs.

Later, the same narrator says, "The rapid migration of the white man into Seneca country brought about much violence, fear, and disunity. The Seneca Indian was no longer able to withdraw into the forests of his country, for these aggressive people had left them without

seclusion." According to the script-writers, it is the Americans who are the "aggressive people", not the Senecas. The Indians only want to be left at peace on their own lands.

So, in the plays, the Indians are peaceful, domestic, and civilized before the white man comes. With the arrival of the Europeans, the Edenic existence of the Iroquois comes to an end. The Six Nations are tricked or forced into war and land agreements, and their League, an institution of harmony and peace, collapses.

It is interesting to contrast these concerns of the Six Nations' plays with other Indian plays. In many other plays, the emphasis is on conflict, wars, and injustices perpetrated on the Indians by the white population. This is true of Kermit Hunter's Unto These Hills. It is also true of the Crazy Horse Pageant which was billed in 1976 as the "world's largest Indian pageant". It was performed at Hot Springs, South Dakota, with a number of Oglala Sioux Indians in the production. The battle of Little Big Horn where the forces of the Sioux under Chief Crazy Horse defeated General George Armstrong Custer is central to the play. This same battle is re-enacted in a play on the Cherokee reservation at Billings, Montana.

Even the Forest Theatre at Ticonderoga, although it had emphasized the peaceful aspects of Indian life, did not refrain from presenting the Indian heroes as warriors, nor from describing the making of Indian weapons, the warriors' blood-thirsty performances in battle, and their war dances. In the introductory chapter of this study, reference has been made to a scene in a Ticonderoga play where an Algonquin prisoner is forced to run the gauntlet. Although the

Ticonderoga plays express the intention of presenting the pleasant side of Iroquoian character, they do not refrain from mentioning the "darker" side: "We do not attempt to show the ferocious side of the Indians' nature. We all know he was cruel to a captive and inflicted unspeakable torture to an enemy taken in battle...."[19] Such comments are frequent in the Ticonderoga plays, but they are not to be found in the Six Nations' Pageants. The first scene of Ticonderoga's The Last of the Senecas presents a wise old Indian instructing the young: "My son, to be a warrior is the noblest work of man." Again, no such sentiment is to be found in any of the Six Nations' plays. The emphasis on the peaceful Indian seems to be unique to the Six Nations' Pageants.

So, in conclusion, the central points that we have made of the Cornplanter play are also generally true of all of the other plays in the cycle. In the choice of historical and biographical subject matter, in its structures, themes, and in the depiction of the central character, Cornplanter is typical of the other plays in the cycle. The depiction of the main character as peace-loving, the emphasis on oratory not bravery, the subordination of the individual to the central themes, the deliberate selection of certain historical events and details that avoid the suggestion that the Iroquois were warriors, the choice of a structure that avoids or severely limits suspense or conflict, the accent on councils rather than battles, the themes that suggest pre-white Indians lived an Edenic existence, the stress on the didactic rather than the spectacular, all of these aspects in one way or another indicate that the main preoccupation of the script-writers,

directors, and the Pageant Committees has been to present the Six Nations as humane, civilized, and peace-loving. This appears to be the controlling and motivating force throughout the plays of Forest Theatre.

EPILOGUE

The Six Nations' Pageants have been in existence for almost thirty years now. This longevity itself indicates a kind of success. The pageants indicate what a small group of people with imagination, hard work, and determination can do. The survival of the pageant plays is a heartening lesson for those who fear the levelling effects of mass media that submerge the local historical and cultural roots from which art can spring.

Although Mr. Smith, in his easy-going manner, seems fairly content with the pageants as they are, Miss General does not. On November 16, 1975 at her farm home near Ohsweken on the reservation, she expressed her feelings about the success and failure of the pageants. She is a serious, intense person; Edmund Wilson described her as "a woman of the serious and noble kind who can work all her life for a cause".[1] Unfortunately, she now seems to feel that the Six Nations' Pageants have not been entirely successful in furthering her cause, the well-being of the people of the reserve.

She expressed the view that the most successful part of the pageants was the Indian Village scene. She was afraid that the plays, with the possible exception of the Indian Village scenes, were not clear or direct enough, and the audience was not getting the message that was intended. For example, she felt that the message of _War and Peace_ was the futility of war, but that this message did not come across successfully in the production. Several times she

expressed the deep fear that the pageants, in attempting to make the Indians aware of their heritage, had in the long run only undermined true Indian values, such as conservation and selflessness, and encouraged the Indians to greater materialism and acquisitiveness. For Miss General, materialism is primarily a white value and can only lead to assimilation for the Indian.

Because of the pageants, the Indians discovered that native crafts could pay. Thus, according to Miss General, the plays that were meant to steer them away from mindless assimilation into white culture has only made them assimilate faster. She expressed the feeling that perhaps the community spirit that gave impetus to the pageants was no longer there, that perhaps people were now only interested in the pageants for what they could get out of them rather than for what they could contribute to the general well-being of the community.

Despite these apprehensions, however, Miss General expressed her belief that there is a Spirit directing all human events, including the pageants, and, therefore, there have been some benefits that have accrued from them. The Six Nations' heritage and history has been kept alive. The pageants have spawned a new interest in Iroquoian culture on the reserve. The pageants have also made the Indians aware of the values held by their ancestors and have shown them that they are not inferior to whites. Because of the craft industry, to which the pageants have given rise, many Indians have become gainfully employed.

In the early seventies, "the old guard" including Miss General decided to relinquish some of their control over the pageants to

younger people on the reserve.[2] They were not happy with the result. Miss General felt that the young people were attempting to dress up the materials of the plays so that they resembled "Hollywood productions". She also disapproved of such things as the recorded music which was played before the pageants began. The songs of Johnny Cash were particularly popular. She felt that these had nothing to do with the Iroquois heritage and that the very assimilation into white culture that the pageants were attempting to combat were being promoted in the pageants themselves. It seems that the old guard then found young people who were more amenable to the views of the older people. Wilma Green, the director of the pageants in 1975, 1976, and 1977 presumably falls into this category. She is the daughter of Chief Norton Lickers who has been involved with the pageants for many years. But the songs of Johnny Cash are still played before the pageants begin.

Miss General is to be commended for trying to eradicate "pop" songs from the pageant. They do not tell us anything significant about the Six Nations. Under the direction of Miss General and Mr. Smith, the pageants have possessed an integrity. They are consistent in their values. The emphasis on the council scene, oratory, and the peaceful traits of the Iroquois is justified as a way to balance the popular prevalent view of the Iroquois as a fierce, warfaring people. Most of all, the founders of the plays deserve credit for establishing a cultural foundation upon which future generations can build. They have created an atmosphere that will encourage further study and interest in the various subjects of the plays.

But the founders have restricted the dramatic possibilities too severely. For too long the Pageant Committees have underestimated the ability of an audience to abstract the message from plays that are entertaining. They have tried to eliminate the entertainment aspect of the plays and have been too overtly didactic. Pedagogically, it is a fact that it is best to be interesting first. Once the audience's attention and interest is engaged, the messages will be absorbed painlessly, without the preaching tone.

The time now seems ripe for a re-examination of the pageants by the people involved in them. The surface of the materials, both historical and cultural, has hardly been scratched. For example, future plays might focus on a particularly crucial episode in a character's life rather than on the whole life. Perhaps an historical council, with all its ritual and colour, would be sufficient material for one play. Other materials could also be examined; for example, the efforts of Levi General and Miss General to have the Grand River Reserve recognized as an independent country would make an interesting play. In recent years, the plays, although less diffuse, also seem less adventurous than formerly. They involve fewer people, particularly adults. The scripts seem to be old scripts that are re-worked. There is less attempt at using props imaginatively. There seems to be little new historical research done anymore, certainly not in a communal way.

Perhaps the Pageant Committee should be trying to reach a wider audience by extending the number of days on which the plays are presented and by publicizing them more widely. If the plays are meant to teach, they must constantly try to reach new people and must present

their subjects in new and interesting ways for the regular patrons. The script-writers and the other people involved in the plays must know their own culture and history thoroughly. They must be able to discern what distinctively belongs to the Six Nations from what belongs to popular culture or what belongs to the culture of the Sioux or other Indian tribes.

Too much factual information can also become burdensome to an audience. Facts are not of much use unless they are accompanied by the spirit of the times and the people. This spirit or emotional appeal is lacking in many of the plays. They sometimes appear flat and lifeless. This is in part because of the didactic tone that pervades them and in part because the plays do not make the most of visual and aural possibilities. How much more effective it would be if the information given in the Indian Village scene was used as background for dramatic scenes and if Indian dances and music were incorporated intc the action of the plays. Where are the symbols of the Confederation, or clan symbols? Where are the masks? Where are the religious rites and social customs? All of these could effectively be used as visual and aural background for dramatic scenes.[3] Dramatic scenes against a backdrop of working and playing Indians would generally be more interesting than the elaborate descriptions of these activities by a narrator. Watching Cornplanter in the context of his family life would be more effective than saying Cornplanter was concerned about his family. The texture of Indian life would be more interesting if more effort was devoted to background settings and an imaginative presentation of the materials and less on the explicit

descriptions of the narrator.

It is also important that the sound be clear. In plays that depend so much on the spoken word, it is essential that individual speeches are properly taped and then expertly spliced together. Too often portions of the speeches are lost in the plays because of poor enunciation or faulty taping or inadequate sound equipment.

There is no dearth of dramatic materials as subjects for the plays. The materials are there, waiting for a new generation of Indians with fresh enthusiasm and new ideas to take up the challenge of preserving their culture and identity through the plays. One hopes that they will maintain the integrity of the founders and will be able to discern the differences between popular culture and Six Nations' culture. There is a distinction between promoting assimilation into white culture and expanding the dramatic possibilities of the plays. The old guard has been too concerned with fighting acculturation and has ignored the dramatic potential. One would not want to see the plays become just like "white" plays. On the other hand, there is room for experimentation and imagination within a Six Nations' cultural framework. The Six Nations have a history, a culture, and heroes that are their own. The materials are there. The groundwork has been laid. What the pageants need now is a new boost of energy, like the one that first propelled them into being.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER I

[1]"Indian Pageant Gives History of Six Nations", Brantford Expositor, (August 12, 1950), p.2.

[2]For a schedule of plays see Appendix A.

[3]Hodenosaunee is the spelling provided by Lewis Henry Morgan, although the Ochiota Museum publications spell it Hotinonsionne. Lewis Henry Morgan, League of the Iroquois. Secaucas, (New Jersey: The Citadel Press, 1972). In the original 1851 edition of this book, the title was League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, Iroquois. The title page is reproduced in the 1972 edition.

[4]J.N.B. Hewitt, "Iroquois," Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, Inc., 1965), I, p.617.

[5]Miss General was very active in trying to get the Grand River Reserve recognized as an independent nation and in trying to re-instate the hereditary council of chiefs which had been replaced by the Canadian government in 1924 with an elected council. In 1922, an uncle, Levi General, had applied without success to the League of Nations at Geneva for recognition for the reserve as an independent country [see "I am a Cayuga," in Carl Carmer's Dark Trees to the Wind. (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1949), pp.105-117; or, Deskaheh: Iroquois Statesman and Patriot, a pamphlet published by Akwesasne Notes in the Six Nations Indian Museum series, n.d.]. In 1930, Miss General and a brother were members of a delegation sent to England to appeal to the King. They were refused permission to see the King, and a parliamentary sub-committee decided their grievances were a matter of the Canadian Parliament, not Westminster. In 1945, the Six Nations applied to the United Nations in San Francisco but again without any positive response to their request.

In 1947, the Canadian government passed the Civil Service Act which demanded an oath of allegiance to the Crown by all civil servants. Miss General, who had been a school teacher on the reserve for twenty years, refused and resigned [see "The Six Nations Reserve" in Edmund Wilson's Apologies to the Iroquois. (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), pp.252-269].

[6]I have not been able to discern for certain when Emily General and her delegation were at Ticonderoga. The Ticonderoga Sentinel of

September 30, 1946, reported the following: "Through the leaders of the Akwesasne Mohawk Counselor Organization, a delegation of Six Nation Chiefs journeyed over four hundred miles to witness this pageant. [The Last of the Senecas.] These representatives of the Six Nations who attended the pageant were as follows: Head Chief James Martin (Mohawk), Chief Alex Nanticoke (Cayuga), Chief Johnson Sandy (Seneca), Chief Clinton Rickard (Tuscarora), Chief Jack Henhawk (Onondaga) and Chief Peter John (Oneida). Most of these chiefs were from the Grand River Reservation and Tuscarora Reserve. Visiting warriors and women also in the party were Mrs. Laura General (Secretary to the Six Nation Council), Ivan Burnam (Mohawk) legal representative of the Six Nations, Russel Burnam (Cayuga), Mrs. Ivan Burnam (Cayuga), David Hill (Mohawk) Treasurer-Secretary of the Indian Defense League of America and John Keys (Oneida)." It is possible that Emily General was among this delegation, although she and Mr. Smith said they saw Red Jacket, not The Last of the Senecas. So, it is more likely that they went in the summer of 1947 or 1948.

[7] G. Elmore Reaman, The Trail of the Iroquois, (Frederick Muller, 1967), p.124.

[8] Reaman, p.113.

[9] "Proud Six Nations History Portrayed Beneath the Sky," Brantford Expositor, (August 8, 1959), p.13.

[10] Classic Greek theatre, for example, was part of a religious celebration in honour of Dionysus. The most famous of these was the Greek Festival of Dionysus at Athens which was held annually in the spring. Each year several plays competed for the honours of the day. The plays were presented in a large, outdoor, amphitheatre:

> What they [the spectators] witnessed had many of the qualities of ritual about it: poetic speech, patterned movement, music, chanting and singing, exotic costuming. And the stories presented in these terms were ones they knew and loved--chiefly the old tales of the House of Atreus from the (to them) legendary period of the Trojan Wars. [Vera Mowry Roberts, The Nature of Theatre, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p.81.]

Another example of the connection between drama and religious festivals is the Abydos, a passion play of Egypt of uncertain date that was performed in the festival worship of Osiris. ["Pageant," Encyclopedia Americana, (New York: Americana Corporation, 1966), XXI, p.98.] Medieval examples are the trope plays such as the Quem Qaeritis play that was added to the Christian liturgy at Easter. Later, the miracle and mystery cycles of plays were presented on such religious festivals as that of Corpus Christi. The Oberammergau Passion Play is an extant example of a connection between religious festival and drama.

[11]Bill Bragg, "Colourful Pageant Presented by Six Nations Indians," Brantford Expositor, (August 12, 1949), p.12.

[12]Bragg, p.12.

[13]"All Indian Cast Prepares to present 'Grand River'," Brantford Expositor, (August 11, 1952), p.18.

[14]"Proud Six Nations History Portrayed Beneath the Sky," Brantford Expositor, (August 8, 1959), p.13.

[15]Clifford Hulme, "Seneca Saga of 'Red Jacket' Told Under Stars," Brantford Expositor, (August 15, 1953), p.13.

[16]"McMaster Student Is Eloquent Chief in Indian Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 16, 1965), p.13.

[17]"Only 350 Attend Pageant Opener," Brantford Expositor, (August 11, 1962), p.11.

[18]Clifford Hulme, "Ways to Improve The Indian Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 14, 1956), p.4.

[19]Clifford Hulme, "The Story of 'A Very Remarkable Man'," Brantford Expositor, (August 10, 1957), p.11.

[20]"Six Nations' History Unfolds In Natural Setting Theatre," Brantford Expositor, (August 2, 1969), p.15.

[21]Maureen Peterson, "Pageant on Indian Poet Opens in Amphitheatre," Brantford Expositor, (August 4, 1973), p.13.

[22]Peter Van Brakel, "Tuscaroras' Plight Portrayed in Play at Pageant Grove," Brantford Expositor, (August 1, 1970), p.20.

[23]Paul LaDuke, "Cast Admirable for Spectacle of Cornplanter," Brantford Expositor, (August 2, 1975), p.9.

[24]"Pageant Opening Friday," Brantford Expositor, (August 8, 1963), p.13.

[25]John Wright, "Stage a Bright Star in Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 5, 1972), p.13.

[26]Costume of the Iroquois and How to Make It, (Onchiota, New York: Six Nations Indian Museum, n.d.), p.3.

[27]W. Ben Hunt. Indiancraft, (W. Ben Hunt, 1942) and Indian and Camp Handicraft, (W. Ben Hunt, 1945).

[28]For more information on the costumes of the Iroquois see Carrie A. Lyford, Iroquois Crafts, (Department of the Interior, United States Indian Service, 1945); Gertrude Prokosch Kurath, Dance and Song Rituals at Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin No. 220, Folklore Series, No. 4, 1968); and Costume of the Iroquois and How to Make It, (Onchiota, New York: Six Nations Indian Museum, n.d.).

[29]Morgan, p.264.

[30]Costume of the Iroquois and How to Make It, p.8.

[31]Costume of the Iroquois and How to Make It, pp.23-24.

[32]Kurath, p.171.

[33]Kurath, pp.163-164. The contemporary portraits of some of the main characters in the pageant plays help to verify the comments made by scholars regarding the costuming habits of the Iroquois, particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Joseph Brant was painted by George Romney, Gilbert Stuart, Exra Ames, Charles Willson Peale, and William Berczy. Red Jacket was painted by R.W. Weir, J.L.D. Mathies, Charles Bird King, and George Catlin. Cornplanter seems to have had his portrait done only once, by F. Bartoli. From these portraits a fairly clear picture of costuming attitudes of the Iroquois emerges. The original pre-Columbian Indian dress had, by the late eighteenth century, adapted to the new styles and materials that the Europeans had introduced; from the portraits it is clear that cloth shirts, woollen coats and blankets, glass beads, and silver decorations had replaced deer and other animal skins and porcupine quills. However, some of the old customs were retained. The scalp lock is evident in several of Brant's pictures, and the gustoweh is worn by Red Jacket, Cornplanter, and Brant in some of the paintings. Leather leggings and deerskin moccasins are worn by all of these Indian heroes in their pictures. One can only deduce that the Iroquois by the early nineteenth century wore whatever appealed to him from either traditional Iroquoian dress or from the new European modes of apparel. The portraits generally support the comments made by Lyford, Kurath, Morgan, and other scholars regarding the changes in Iroquoian costume.

[34] Lyford, p.22.

[35] "Braves and Beauties in Six Nations Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 11, 1950), p.7.

[36] Ed Ecker, "Indian Pageant Portrays Features of Brant's Life," Brantford Expositor, (August 10, 1951), p.5.

[37] "In Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 11, 1954), p.26.

[38] Clifford Hulme, "Saga of Cornplanter: Indian Pageant In Pine Forest Near Ohsweken," Brantford Expositor, (August 14, 1954), p.13.

[39] Clifford Hulme, "The Story of 'A Very Remarkable Man'," Brantford Expositor, (August 10, 1957), p.11.

[40] "Six Nations' 'League of Peace' Theme of 14th Annual Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 8, 1962), p.13.

[41] James Barnett, "Sheer Simplicity Contributes Charm to Indian Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 3, 1968), p.13.

[42] "McMaster Student Is Eloquent Chief in Indian Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 16, 1965), p.11.

[43] "Pageant Recreates History," Brantford Expositor, (August 13, 1966), p.11.

[44] "In Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 11, 1954), p.26 and "Ancient Methods," (August 15, 1952), p.6.

[45] According to the Costume of the Iroquois and How to Make It, the Cayugas and Senecas sometimes wore a headdress that is somewhat like that of a war-bonnet of the Plains Indians: "The main feature is a double row or tier of feathers. Black-and-white barred or other turkey feathers are usually used, but hawk or partridge feathers also make a beautiful headdress. A band or ruff of heavy fur, such as fox or wolf, encircles the crown" (p.38). It thus differs from the Plains war-bonnet in that it has a double row of feathers that stand upright rather than a single row of feathers that falls back as the Plains headdress does. This Senecan and Cayugan headdress is called wennasoton.

[46]The traditional decorative designs for the clothing of both Iroquois men and women included the celestial world tree, the world dome of parallel arcs on borders in combinations with scrolls twirling inwards or outwards, and parallel zigzag and straight lines (Kurath, p.164). Many early Iroquois designs were geometric due to the stiffness of the quills that were used; zigzag, circles, and triangles were common (Lyford, p.74). The mythological turtles on which the earth was built and clan emblems such as the crane, the hawk, the heron, the bear, the wolf, the deer, the snipe, and the beaver were also used as designs on clothing. In the eighteenth century, the use of glass beads made the earlier floral designs such as the celestial tree, the world dome, scrolls, etc., more popular than they had been when the quills were the predominant form of decoration (Lyford, pp.74-75). In the eighteenth century, white beads were primarily used, although some coloured beads were also in use. The Iroquois avoided strong colour contrasts in costume (Lyford, p.78). In the nineteenth century, these traditional designs were replaced with floral designs that were probably learned from the French, and later, in the twentieth century, with the geometric designs of the Plains Indians.

The significance of some of the traditional designs are now clouded by time, but the celestial tree was probably a tree that according to Iroquois legend stood at the centre of the world bearing the sun and the moon in its branches. Its roots were thought to penetrate down to the primal turtle upon whose back the earth was thought to rest (Lyford, p.78). The scrolls have been interpreted as violets by the Tuscaroras who thought of violets as signs of good luck, but others have interpreted them as the horns of chieftaincy, those curving outward as signs of living chiefs, those curving inward as signs of dead chiefs. Sometimes the former are interpreted simply as life or light and the latter as death or sleep (Lyford, p.78). The antlers of the deer were the emblem of chieftainship for the Six Nations. A deposed chief is spoken of as being "de-horned" (Lyford, p.78). The circle was a symbol of life suggesting a continuity between this life and the world beyond (Lyford, p.78). The arc or semi-circle is usually interpreted as the earth or sky-dome and the square or hexagon as the council fire (Lyford, p.77).

Colours also had symbolic value for the Iroquois: white expressed peace, health, harmony. It was a sacred colour. Dark purple or black expressed sorrow, death, mourning, hostility; red expressed war-like intentions (Lyford, p.78).

[47]"Pageant Opening Friday," Brantford Expositor, (August 8, 1963), p.13.

[48]Post-cards of these photographs are still sold each year at the pageant by Julia and Nora Jamieson. In the 1961 E. Pauline Johnson play, these two sisters wore dresses and hats "fashionable ninety years ago" ("The Life of E. Pauline Johnson," Brantford Espositor, August 8, 1961, p.11).

[49]Marcus Van Steen, Pauline Johnson: Her Life and Work, (Toronto: Musson, 1965), p.23.

[50]O.J. Stevenson, "Tekahionwake," A People's Best, (Toronto: Musson, 1927), pp.145-146.

[51]Maureen Peterson, "Pageant on Indian Poet Opens in Amphitheatre," Brantford Expositor, (August 4, 1973), p.13.

[52]"Ellen Fairclough Opens Six Nations Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 12, 1961), p.11.

[53]See photographs of this production reproduced in Black Moss, (spring 1976, series 2, no. 1), ed. Marty Gervais.

[54]"The Life of E. Pauline Johnson," Brantford Expositor, (August 8, 1961), p.11.

[55]John Wright, "Stage a Bright Star in Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 5, 1972), p.13.

[56]James Barnett, "Sheer Simplicity Contributes Charm to Indian Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 3, 1968), p.13.

[57]Annual Indian Pageant: Forest Theatre, (Cook's Grove, Ticonderoga, New York: n.d.), no page numbers.

[58]Phyllis Hartnoll, ed., The Oxford Companion to the Theatre, third edition, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.713.

[59]Robert Withington, English Pageantry: An Historical Outline, (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1926), II, pp.195-196.

[60]Withington, I, pp.xvii-xviii.

[61]Hartnoll, p.719.

[62]Anthony Parker, Pageants: Their Presentation and Production, (London: The Bodley Head, 1954), pp.13-14.

[63]John Edgar Prudhoe, "Pageant and Parade," The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Macropedia, (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1974), XIII, p.864.

[64] Walter J. Meserve, An Outline History of American Drama, (Totowa, New Jersey: Littlefield, Adam and Co., 1970), p.247.

[65] Meserve, p.247.

[66] "Spectacles: Ten Gallon Straw Hat," Time Magazine, (September 1, 1961), 53.

[67] Time, 53.

[68] John Gassner, "Outdoor Pageant-Drama: Symphony of Sight and Sound," Theatre Arts, (July 1954), 80.

[69] Kermit Hunter, "The Theatre Meets the People," Educational Theatre Journal, (May 1955), 128.

[70] Sheldon Cheney, Open-air Theatre, (New York: Kennerley, 1918), reprint 1971, pp.8-9.

[71] Gassner, p.81.

[72] Gassner, p.81.

[73] Gassner, p.82.

[74] Gassner, p.82.

[75] John Gassner, "Broadway in Review," Educational Theatre Journal, (December 1953), 349-50.

[76] Bill Bragg, "Colourful Pageant Presented by Six Nations Indians," Brantford Expositor, (August 12, 1949), p.12.

[77] The Ticonderoga Historical Society, Ticonderoga, New York, has scripts for all of these plays.

[78] This thematic concern will be dealt with at some length further on in this study (see pages 161 to 169).

[79] "Pages of Time Turned Back in W.I. Pageant," Brantford Expositor, (August 23, 1947), p.9.

[80]"Six Nations Band Tattoo," Brantford Expositor, (July 31, 1948), p.6.

[81]"Re-enact Peace Talks Indian-Style," Brantford Expositor, (August 3, 1948), p.1.

[82]John Gassner, "Broadway in Review," Educational Theatre Journal, (October 1953), 237.

[83]"Why Pageants Potter," Brantford Expositor, (August 16, 1956), p.4.

[84]William J. Free and Charles B. Lower, History into Drama: A Source Book on Symphonic Drama Including the Complete Text of Paul Green's "The Lost Colony", (New York: The Odyssey Press, 1963), p.135.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER II

[1]Merle H. Deardorff, "The Cornplanter Grant in Warren County," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XXIV (March, 1941), 1-22.

[2]Samuel G. Drake, Biography and History of the Indians of North America from its Discovery. (Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey and Company, 1848, 10th edition), V, pp.111-120.

[3]William L. Stone, "Cornplanter" in The Life and Times of Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha or Red Jacket. (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), pp.421-456.

[4]William L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant--Thayendanegea including the Indian Wars of the American Revolution, 2 vols. (New York: Alexander V. Blake, 1838).

[5]Anthony F.C. Wallace, The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca. (New York: Random House, 1969).

[6]Blacksnake was the nephew of Cornplanter and Handsome Lake and a cousin of Red Jacket. Before 1812, he was called Dahgayadoh (see Graymont, p.120). The memoirs of Blacksnake are contained in the Draper Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

[7]Arthur C. Parker, "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," Researches and Transactions of the New York State Archeological Association. (Rochester, New York: Lewis H. Morgan Chapter, 1927), V, 5-22.

[8]Minnie Myrtle, The Iroquois; or the Bright Side of Indian Character. (New York: D. Appleton, 1855), pp.218-236.

[9]James Ross Snowden, The Cornplanter Memorial. An Historical Sketch of Gy-ant-wa-chia--The Cornplanter, and of the Six Nations of Indians. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Singerly and Myers, State Printers, 1867).

[10]Henry King Siebeneck, "Cornplanter," Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, XI (July, 1928), 180-193; Frederick A. Godcharles, "Chief Cornplanter," The Pennsylvania Archeologist, III (1935), 67-69.

[11]Colonel Thomas Proctor, "Narrative of the Journey of Col. Thomas Proctor to the Indians of the North West, 1791," Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd series, IV (1876), 551-622.

[12]Philip Tome, Pioneer Life; or, Thirty Years a Hunter being Scenes and Adventures in the Life or Philip Tome Fifteen Years Interpreter for Cornplanter and Gov. Blacksnake, Chiefs on the Allegany River. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Aurand Press, 1928).

[13]William Savery, A Journal of the Life, Travels and Religious Labors of William Savery, A Minister of the Gospel of Christ of the Society of Friends, Late of Philadelphia, compiled by Jonathan Evans. (Philadelphia: 1861).

[14]Anthony F.C. Wallace, editor, "Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798-1800," Pennsylvania History, XIX (April, 1952), 117-147.

[15]James E. Seaver, Life of Mary Jemison: Deh-He-Wa-Mis. (Buffalo, New York: Matthews and Warren, 1877, 5th edition).

[16]Cyrus Thomas, "Cornplanter," Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1965), I, p.349.

[17]Parker, "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," p.3.

[18]Thomas, pp.349-350. There are many other spellings for Cornplanter's Indian name: for example, Gaiantwaka, Kiontwogky, Gyantwaia, etc.

[19]Parker, Appendix to "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," p.22.

[20]Parker, "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," p.7.

[21]Parker, "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," pp.4-11.

[22]Drake, V, pp.115-116.

[23]Drake, V, p.111.

[24]Thomas, p.349.

[25]Parker, "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," pp.10-11.

[26]Tome, p.37.

[27]Wallace, pp.125-131 (unless otherwise specified the notes to Wallace always refer to The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca).

[28]Wallace, pp.131-132.

[29]Barbara Graymont, The Iroquois in the American Revolution. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1972), p.113; the condolence ceremony was held at a council called to mourn the death of a sachem and to install his successor (see Hale, pp.48ff.).

[30]Wallace, p.132.

[31]Wallace, pp.130-132.

[32]Wallace, pp.132-133.

[33]Wallace, pp.132-133; Graymont, pp.120-123. It is interesting to note that Graymont says that Brant was not at the Council of Oswego, although Blacksnake says he was.

[34]Wallace, pp.133-134.

[35]Wallace, p.41; Lewis Henry Morgan, pp.110-111.

[36]Stone, "Cornplanter," p.425.

[37]See Seaver, note 15 above.

[38]Stone, "Cornplanter," p.425.

[39]Wallace, p.145.

[40]Stone, "Cornplanter," pp.425-426.

[41]Wallace, p.145.

[42]Wallace, pp.145-146.

[43]Stone, "Cornplanter," pp.425-426.

[44]Tome, p.37; Wallace, p.34.

[45]C. Hale Sipe, A Supplement to the First Edition of The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania. (Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971, a reprint of the 1929 edition), p.97.

[46]Stone, "Cornplanter," p.434.

[47]Stone, "Cornplanter," pp.426-427.

[48]W.C. Vanderwerth, "Cornplanter," Indian Oratory, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p.35.

[49]Parker, "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," pp.8-9.

[50]Snowden, pp.66-67.

[51]Tome, p.124.

[52]Wilcomb E. Washburn, The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History. (New York: Random House, 1973), IV, pp.2267-2268.

[53]Wallace, p.170.

[54]Savery, p.129.

[55]Wallace, p.174.

[56]Ernest Miller, "Pennsylvania's Last Indian School," Pennsylvania History, XXV (April, 1958), 102.

[57]Stone, "Cornplanter," p.430.

[58]Wallace, pp.153-154.

[59]Wallace, p.204.

[60]John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931), XXXI, pp.180-181, 198.

[61]Stone, "Cornplanter," p.445.

[62]Morgan, pp.178-179.

[63]Arthur C. Parker, The History of the Seneca Indians. (Port Washington, Long Island, New York: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1967).

[64]Wallace, pp.204-206.

[65]Wallace, p.167.

[66]Wallace, pp.164-165.

[67]Parker, Appendix to "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," pp.21-22.

[68]C. Hale Sipe, The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania Including Supplement, (Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971, reprint of the 1929 edition), p.716.

[69]Wallace, p.171.

[70]Fitzpatrick, p.183.

[71]Savery, p.121.

[72]Savery, p.127.

[73]White interpreters frequently translated Cornplanter's name as "The Cornplanter" or "The Corn-Plant".

[74]Drake, V, p.117.

[75]Drake, V, p.118.

[76]Wallace, pp.221-224.

[77]Wallace, pp.224-225.

[78]Tome, p.36.

[79]Stone, "Henry O'Bail," Red Jacket, p.458.

[80]Wallace, p.322.

[81]J.N.B. Hewitt, "Handsome Lake," Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1965), II, pp.586-587; Arthur C. Parker, "The Code of Handsome Lake," Parker on the Iroquois, ed. William N. Fenton, (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1968), p.9.

[82]Wallace, p.242.

[83]Stone, "Cornplanter," p.447.

[84]Wallace, p.236.

[85]Wallace, pp.255-258.

[86]Wallace, p.260.

[87]Wallace, pp.287-288, 291.

[88]Wallace, pp.327-328.

[89]Parker, Appendix to "Notes on the Ancestry of Cornplanter," pp.17-20.

[90]Stone, "Cornplanter," pp.454-455.

[91]Stone, "Cornplanter," pp.451-454.

[92]There is some disagreement on the death date of Cornplanter. Wallace gives it as March 7, 1835; Tome says Cornplanter died on March 7, 1836. The date given here is the one most often given and the one that is on the monument to Cornplanter erected by the State of Pennsylvania.

[93]Young King was a chief of the Senecas and was generally considered a brave warrior. He was wounded in the War of 1812. In 1815, he lost an arm in a drunken brawl. In 1820, he became a Christian and a temperance leader. He died in the cholera epidemic of 1835 at sixty-nine years of age. (See Wallace, pp.309, 325.)

[94]Wallace, p.329.

[95]Tome, p.129. Snowden says the writer quoted here is a Judge Thompson of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (See Snowden, p.72).

[96] Tome, p.129.

[97] Sipe, The Indian Wars of Pennsylvania, p.717.

[98] Snowden says that "Gyantwachia" is preferred over "Gyantwahia" which appears on the Cornplanter monument.

[99] Snowden, p.12.

[100] Snowden, pp.16, 57-58, 80.

[101] Henry R. Howland, "The Old Caneadea Council House and Its Last Council Fire," Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, ed. Frank H. Severance, (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1903), VI, p.120.

[102] Proctor, p.480.

[103] Tome, p.125.

[104] Proctor, p.509.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER III

[1] "Saga of Cornplanter: Indian Pageant in Pine Forest Near Ohsweken," Brantford Expositor, (August 14, 1954), p.13.

[2] Wallace, p.30.

[3] Morgan, p.325.

[4] "Pageant Tells Story of Cornplanter," Brantford Expositor, (August 13, 1960), p.13.

[5] "Pageant Recreates History," Brantford Expositor, (August 13, 1966), p.11.

[6] Stone, Life of Joseph Brant--Thayendanegea, pp.186-188.

[7] William M. Beauchamp, A History of the New York Iroquois, (Albany, New York: Univ. of the State of N.Y., 1905), p.354.

[8] Stone, Life of Joseph Brant--Thayendanegea, p.187.

[9] Seaver, pp.113-114.

[10] Seaver, p.114.

[11] Morgan, p.104; Horation Hale, The Iroquois Book of Rites. (Philadelphia: G.D. Brinton, 1883), p.169.

[12] Wallace, pp.132-133.

[13] Morgan, p.335.

[14] Wallace, pp.134-148.

[15] Wallace, p.137-138.

[16] Wallace, p.145.

[17]Wallace, pp.151-152.

[18]Siebeneck, p.186.

[19]Wallace, p.225.

[20]Wallace, p.328.

[21]Wallace, p.329.

[22]Diamond Jenness, The Indians of Canada. (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series No. 15, 1963, sixth edition), pp.200-201.

[23]Jenness, p.201.

[24]Wallace, p.322.

[25]Wallace, pp.164-166.

[26]Stone, Life and Times of Red Jacket, pp.456-458.

[27]Alma Greene, Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian. (London: Hamlyn, n.d.). The author outlines many beliefs and superstitions of the present-day Indians on the Grand River Reserve.

[28]Mr. Smith enjoyed relating incidents he had heard about regarding fortune-tellers and unusual phenomena.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

[1]I have chosen to discuss primarily the six plays of the cycle, although I occasionally refer to the three "special" plays.

[2]Although I am sure that Pauline Johnson thought that she was being authentic in her view of the Indian, she was obviously influenced by the literary romantic concepts of the Indian that were prevalent in her day.

[3]A pamphlet entitled Annual Indian Pageant: Forest Theatre, Cook's Grove, Ticonderoga, New York, n.d.

[4]Morgan, p.108.

[5]Paul A.W. Wallace, The White Roots of Peace. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1946), p.32.

[6]Arthur C. Parker, "The Constitution of the Five Nations," Parker on the Iroquois. (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1968).

[7]The scene between George Washington and Cornplanter is also a kind of council scene, although only two main characters are involved. The last scene, a monologue, is the conclusion of a local council.

[8]"This Year's Indian Pageant Surpasses Its Predecessors," Brantford Expositor, (August 9, 1958), p.13.

[9]A.M. Drummond and Richard Moody, "Indian Treaties: The First American Dramas," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIX (1953), 15-16.

[10]Wallace, The White Roots of Peace, p.36.

[11]Paul A.W. Wallace, The White Roots of Peace. (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press), 1946.

[12]William L. Stone, Life of Joseph Brant--Thayendanegea. 2 vols. (New York: Alexander V. Blake, 1838) and The Life and Times of Red Jacket or Sa-Go-Ye-Wat-Ha, Being the Sequel to the History of the Six Nations, (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841).

[13]Stone, Red Jacket, p.190.

[14]Harvey Chalmers, West to the Setting Sun. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1946).

[15]Albert Keiser, The Indian in American Literature. (New York: Octagon Books, 1970), p.295.

[16]D.H. Lawrence, "Indians and Entertainment," in Mornings in Mexico and Etruscan Places. (Lon'on: Heinemann, 1956), p.45.

[17]Annual Indian Pageant: Forest Theatre, no page numbers.

[18]This symbol is on the cov.r of all of the flyers for the pageants.

[19]This quotation is from one of the Ticonderoga plays, Pontiac. The script is in the Ticonderoga Historical Society Museum in Ticonderoga, New York.

NOTES FOR THE EPILOGUE

[1]Edmund Wilson, Apologies to the Iroquois. (London: W.H. Allen, 1960), p.256.

[2]The 1973 Red Jacket play probably belongs to this category. It is unlike the other plays in its limitation of the time period and in its innovative audio-visual effects.

[3]In the past, a few plays have attempted to do this; for example, in the 1954 Cornplanter a lacrosse game is interrupted at the beginning of the play when a messenger arrives with news that the colonies have rebelled against England. "Saga of Cornplanter: Indian Pageant in Pine Forest Near Ohsweken," Brantford Expositor, (August 14, 1954), p.13.

APPENDIX A

A Schedule of the Plays*

YEAR	MONTH	DAYS	LOCATION	NAME OF PLAY
1949	Aug.	11,12,13	Great Pine Forest Theatre	The League of Peace
1950	Aug.	[10],** 11,12	Great Pine Forest Theatre	The League of Peace
1951	Aug.	9,10,11	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Joseph Brant
1952	Aug.	14,15,[16],22,23	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Grand River
1953	Aug.	15,16	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Red Jacket
1954	Aug.	13,14,21	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Cornplanter
1955	Aug.	12,13,19,20	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Handsome Lake E. Pauline Johnson
1956	Aug.	10,11,17,18	Great Pine Forest Theatre	The League of Peace
1957	Aug.	9,10,16,17	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Joseph Brant
1958	July/ Aug.	25,26,8,9,15,16	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Grand River
1959	Aug.	7,8,14,15	Great Pine Forest Theatre	Red Jacket
1960	Aug.	12,13,19,20	Forest Theatre	Cornplanter
1961	Aug.	11,12,18,19	Forest Theatre	E. Pauline Johnson
1962	Aug.	10,11,17,18	Forest Theatre	The League of Peace

YEAR	MONTH	DAYS	LOCATION	NAME OF PLAY
1963	Aug.	9,10,16,17	Forest Theatre	Joseph Brant
1964	Aug.	14,15,[21],[22],28,29	Forest Theatre	Grand River
1965	Aug.	13,14,20,21	Forest Theatre	Red Jacket
1966	Aug.	12,13,19,20	Forest Theatre	Cornplanter
1967	Aug.	11,12,18,19	Forest Theatre	E. Pauline Johnson
1968	Aug.	2,3,9,10,16,17	Forest Theatre	The League of Peace
1969	Aug.	1,2,8,9,15,16	Forest Theatre	Joseph Brant
1970	July/ Aug.	31,1,7,8,14,15	Forest Theatre	The Coming of the Tuscaroras
1971	Aug.	6,7,13,14,20,21	Forest Theatre	Grand River
1972	Aug.	4,5,11,12,18,19	Forest Theatre	Red Jacket
1973	Aug.	3,4,10,11,17,18	Forest Theatre	E. Pauline Johnson
1974	Aug.	2,3,9,10,16,17	Forest Theatre	War and Peace
1975	Aug.	1,2,8,9,15,16	Forest Theatre	Cornplanter
1976	Aug.	6,7,13,14,20,21	Forest Theatre	The League of Peace
1977	Aug.	5,6,12,13,19,20	Forest Theatre	Joseph Brant

* This schedule was determined from the reviews in The Brantford Expositor and from the flyers sent out by the Pageant Committees.

** The dates in brackets indicate days on which the plays were rained out. There are probably more than this. These are the only ones I could be certain of.

APPENDIX B

A History of Ticonderoga's Forest Theater

The following handwritten article was found by Elizabeth McCaughin, the librarian-curator of the Ticonderoga Historical Society Museum at Ticonderoga, New York. Its author, Arthur C. Carr, passed away in 1967. Mrs. McCaughin copied out "a major portion" of the article for me. The following is a typescript of her manuscript. The parts in quotation marks are directly from Carr's history. The rest is Mrs. McCaughin's summary. At times she found it difficult to read the article. Some of it seemed "puzzling".

"Having been connected from the beginning with the effort that came to be known as the Ticonderoga Indian Pageant and as it is now a thing of the past it seems proper that as I prepare from the files of the Society and from other sources on historical deposit that something of the beginning and history of this unique endeavor should be, by me, recorded."

The author goes on to state the circumstance under which Mr. Stephen Pell, the restorer at Fort Ticonderoga, and Mr. Tom Cook met. How their mutual interest was the Indian and how through the books loaned by Mr. Pell, Tom's "appetite for knowledge of the Indian, especially the Iroquois, was aroused indeed".

Previous to this time, the author and Tom had become friends through an interest in the woods and mountain trails, many having been tramped together and with other friends. "During the summer of 1931 Tom had much to say about his discoveries in the Pell books on Indians. One day, probably in July he was discussing the ceremony of the Iroquois

held in midsummer at which he thanked the Great Spirit for corn concluding with a feast upon the roasted green ears. We fell to wondering if the simple ceremony could not be reproduced with spiritual profit by contemporary folk."

This conversation resulted in the bringing together of 6 or 8 friends "for a corn roast and trial of this ancient ceremony which Tom had found preserved by an early writer who had observed it among the Iroquois before their contamination by white culture."

"Thus on August evening in 1931 was started, unconsciously, an affair that came to have wide interest and influence. We few men found the ceremony performed in the quiet calm of the forest some mile from a highway on the Cook farm strongly moving. It was not difficult to get the group together the following year."

And the group met again the 3rd year.

"By this time Tom's reading had given him an exalted idea of the worth of the primitive Iroquoian culture and fired him with a desire to let the world know about this thing hidden under our scramble for dominance. More than this Tom had become greatly grieved at the wrongs done the Indian. Wrongs in land deals as well as wrongs almost inherent in the impact of our culture upon theirs."

In 1933 the group invited their women to put on a primitive feast with only foods the Iroquois might have served. At this time Mr. Cook related some of the life and culture of the Iroquois which led to a "very modest enactment of some possible scenes from primitive Iroquoian life" the following year.

Subsequently, through the help of Edward Alexander, historian & curator at the N.Y.S.H.A.'s Headquarters House, and Dr Dixon Ryan Fox of Union College and the organizations that they influenced "this thing which has grown each year gained much publicity and wide interest."

"The eating part of the feast soon had to be eliminated. The Indian scenes were enlarged, mostly they were sort of tableau. Not having time to train actors the meaning of the scenes was explained by word of mouth from the side. We found this most effective by alternating the narration between Tom and I placed behind trees on either side of the small staging space. The whole being lighted by small fires."

"By 1936 the attendance had become so great that the small space with a backdrop of slab built palisades was greatly inadequate. At this time Mr. H. Jermain Slocum was much interested in archeological work in this valley. Becoming acquainted with the project at Tom's woods he threw his efforts and much needed f... ~cial support behind it. Much more elaborate scripts were produced. Mr. Slocum built a stadium among the forest trees to seat some 2500 people and in 1937 a society was organized to care for the vastly expanded activities. This was incorporated as "The Society for the Preservation of Indian Lore". The zenith of the activity and influence of this 'folk festival' probably came about 1950."

No pageants were produced in the years 1943, 44 or 45.

"Soon after the erection of the large stadium and its becoming known as "The Forest Theater" it attracted the attention of Mr. Ray

Fadden of Hogansburg, N.Y. Ray was then a teacher in the Reservation school and himself of Mohawk blood on his mother's side. More than this he was and is a fanatical champion of Iroquoian culture and rights. Thru his influence the annual 'Pageant' became well known among the present day descendants of our ancient peoples many of whom have attended. Even until the close of the many years of effort Ray saw to it that some descendants of the Iroquoian nation participated in every pageant as dancers of the traditional dances and singers of authentic Iroquoian songs."

"On arriving at the Forest Theater one was directed not into an imposing building but into a slight opening in the greenery of the forest wall. Usually the mid August night was warm, insects strummed their night songs as you found your way along the woodsey path to which the opening gave access. No straight, level path was this but with several turns and dips and rises. At each turn and otherwise as needed was a small fire to give just enough light to aid your feet upon the trail. Usually near the fire was a youth or maiden dressed as would have been an Indian on similar duty of fire tending. So one went forward and soon found themselves entering the stadium. No blaze of glory here, the entrance was at the edge of the tiered seats and between high palisades some 15 feet apart and unlighted. Enough light was reflected in from the lights spotting the stage end of the enclosure. This stage contributed to the mood. Not raised but being the earth itself. Backed up it was by a representation of the inside of a palisade enclosed Indian Village this stage included the entire front of the theatre. Entrances were small

openings in the palisades shielded by more palisades set back sufficiently to allow exit and egress. Except in the centre this large stage space was filled with people of all ages and both sexes going slowly about or busy with the many tasks that must have engaged the daily efforts of those people. These doings continued thruout the evening regardless of the action center stage except as the workers stopped to watch dramatic incidents or at times take part in the episode."

"From the beginning the whole project revolved around Tom and Ethel Cook. Their efforts kept the affair going. Their finances kept our credit good at times. As age slowed their powers it became evident that the annual presentation would fade with them."

The last presentation was held in 1961.

APPENDIX C

The 1975 "Cornplanter" Play

This is a transcription of the play that I recorded on my cassette recorder. I have divided the play into scenes where logic and the tape-recording seemed to suggest there should be such divisions. The changing of the lights and the movements of the characters, based on my own observations of the 1975 play, have been placed in parentheses. I have used a question mark in parenthesis to indicate places where I could not make out a word or a group of words.

INTRODUCTION

The Master of Ceremonies: (no lights)

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. We are honoured that you are here with us this evening. Many of you are old friends that have been coming to our pageant for many years, and others of you are here for the first time. To you all, we extend the long arm of friendship.

For the brief while that you are among us, relax and enjoy this evening in the natural surroundings which the Great Creator has provided. Above you the sky will be your ceiling, the trees your walls, and the blanket of fallen leaves a carpet for your feet. As the breeze stirs aimlessly through the branches, let your minds wander back to the time when the red nations of America roamed freely on the land on which they had been set apart from any other nationality of the world.

The Creator has provided the vast country for the Indian to call his home and, in return, the Indian gave thanks for all he had

received. He was free to hunt and fish on this land, but never did an Indian hunt for sport. He secured the food he needed by asking the Creator for forgiveness in taking a life which he had created. The one main virtue that the Indian did demand of their people was honesty, for their word was their bond. The greatest disgrace an Indian could face was to break a treaty.

The traditional way of life for the Indian was one of sharing, whether it be the meat from the hunt or the harvest of the crops. Each member of the nation worked in common, and their supplies and harvests were equally divided. Even when the time came that the land was faced with the arrival of the palefaced newcomers, the Indians still shared their food, means of growing certain crops, and finally their land. In keeping with tradition this evening, we would like to share with you a part of our own history in this the 27th annual Six Nations' Indian Pageant.

As it is the custom of our people to open all meetings and gatherings with a prayer of thanksgiving, our pageant will commence with the offering of a prayer in our native language. (Mr. Norton Lickers steps forward in full Indian dress, flanked by several other Indians, raises a calumet in front of him and says a short prayer in one of the Six Nations' languages.)

To-night we will endeavour to present the life of an eloquent orator, a chief, and a renowned leader of the Six Nations' Confederacy. He was a Seneca and a lover of peace who was drawn into the war during the troubled times of the American Revolution. His statesmanship and leadership were put to the test when he defended his people and their land. He was a tall, dignified personality whose outstanding achievements and life story will be portrayed as we revere his memory and

cherish his leadership in this, your pageant--the life of
Cornplanter.

SCENE I

Narrator: (The narrator's voice comes over the loudspeaker. He is not visible.)

In the summer of 1744 there was joy in the Seneca village. The air rang with the laughter of the young and was lulled by the teachings of the old. Each day the women worked steadily at their daily tasks in rhythm with the waves of the nearby Genesee River. Their life was simple but very beautiful, for peace poured over this village and seemed to wrap the soul and the heart in happiness. The mothers in the village smiled with contentment as they watched their children grow in the knowledge of their own people's customs and traditions. As our play begins, we see the young Cornplanter practising his skills as a hunter.

(Lights come on. An Indian boy about 10 years of age creeps stealthily about with a bow and arrow. He is wearing a deerskin suit with a bright red breechcloth. An Indian girl of about the same age enters from the viewer's right, sees the boy, and speaks. The scene takes place before the camp-fire.)

Girl: Cornplanter, what are you looking for?

Cornplanter: Quiet! I have been tracking a coon and he has gone into these trees. This is the last day of the great hunt, and I must bring food for our village.

(The boy continues searching.)

Girl: The men of the village have been hunting for weeks and return today. They bring food for all of our people. It looks like

there is enough for our whole village.

(The boy stops "hunting" and speaks directly to the girl.)

Cornplanter: You are right. I am only dreaming of being a hunter for I have learned many things. When I am old enough to be a hunter, I will be well prepared. I wouldn't have shot at the coon anyway because the meat would not have been needed. We never kill any more than we have to.

Girl: Cornplanter, perhaps I should not tell you, but the other boys have said that you know nothing about hunting because you have no father to teach you the skills of the hunter. Joseph has said that you will have to stay in the village with the women while they hunt for your food.

Cornplanter: My grandfather has already taught me things that the other boys know nothing about. I will be a great hunter, and no one will ever have to hunt for my food.

Girl: I know you are different in many ways, but I believe you and I know you will be a great hunter. I must go now for our fathers will be home soon. Are you coming to the village to welcome them?

Cornplanter: No, I must wait for my mother, for she is gathering herbs and roots for medicine. You go and greet your father. I will be there later.

(The girl exits. After a few moments a woman carrying a basket enters from behind the boy. She looks about, sees the boy, and moves toward him.)

Mother: Why do you sit alone, my son? You should be in the village for the men return from the hunt today. Cornplanter! You seem

so far away. Is anything wrong?

(The mother puts the basket on the grass and places her arm around the boy's shoulder as they slowly walk to the water's edge. The light narrows to encircle them.)

Cornplanter: I have chosen to stay here for the others have gone to meet their fathers. There is no reason for me to be there for I have no one to say welcome to as they return. Joseph's sister was here and told me that the other boys had been speaking of the things their fathers had been teaching them. I chose to remain silent until she mentioned that I would have to stay here in the village while they hunted for food. They do not think I know anything because I have no father to teach me the ways of the hunter. I look to my grandfather and I love him for skilled he is in teaching me, but mother, it isn't the same as having a father. This is not the first time that I have felt this way. I know that my friends mean no harm in the things they say, but many times they have asked me why my skin is a different colour than theirs when we are all of the same nation. Mother, can you tell me why I should be different?

Mother: I have waited for the day when your questions would come, and now you are ready for answers. It is not the case that you have no father, for you do, but he has not been here or seen you for many years. Your father lives away from the village at a place called Albany. He is not an Indian, and for that reason you take after him and your skin is lighter than your friends. He came to this village many years ago and decided to stay here with me. They were happy years for me, but then the

time came when he decided to leave the village. I also prepared to leave, but he insisted on going alone. By this time, we had a small child, and you, my son, also cried at his departure, but our pleas were not heard. All alone I have tried to raise you as best I can, and my heart is pleased that you know well the ways of our people, for you are an Indian now and forever. Forget the past and the man who has the blood of a coward, for he gave you nothing, not even a name. You must always remember that it was his choice to leave and also his choice never to return to us. Come, let us go now to the village and welcome back the hunters, just as you will be welcomed someday by your own children.

(They walk back to the camp-fire. On the way, the mother picks up her basket. They exit behind the fire. The lights dim.)

Narrator: Cornplanter did indeed become the great hunter, warrior, and provider for his people. He eventually married and, just as his mother had predicted, his own sons were always in the village to welcome his return from the hunt. Cornplanter, however, still longed for the love of a father and, at one point, travelled to Albany to acquaint himself with the man to whom he owed his existence. The visit proved fruitless for, as Cornplanter later said, "He gave me vittles while I was at his house, but when I started for home he gave nothing to eat on the way--neither kettle nor gun." As the years passed, Cornplanter readily assumed the role of teacher, and he taught his sons well the skills of hunting and the ways of their people.

SCENE II

Narrator: In the year 1777, the Seneca village was the centre of much activity for the people were busy with the preparations for the annual strawberry festival. No race of people could have been happier than the Indians in times of peace. Their wants were few and easily satisfied. Together, they carried out the tasks required in the village.

(The lights are turned on the Indian Village stage area showing about twenty-five people, mostly women and children, who are performing various domestic activities.)

Woman-narrator: Corn became the main food of the Iroquois, and no meal was complete without the presence in some form. Here we see the young women skilfully pounding the prepared kernels of white corn into very fine flour. Round cakes are shaped and boiled in water and the result is a very palatable corn-bread. At other times, the corn is shelled and boiled in a solution of wood ashes and water. The corn is then washed until the water is clear and placed in a locsely-woven basket and drained. The lyeing process is now completed. When left in kernel form, the corn is cooked and to it are added meat and beans to make a delicious corn soup. These are just two ways that the corn is prepared, but left to the women of the village, they could use the corn in many different ways.

The Indian was a firm believer in conservation. He ate fruits and vegetables in season but also dried enough of the

crops for winter consumption. Corn, beans, and squash became the sustainers of life and were named "The Three Sisters". The corn provided food for the people, but from the corn husks were made such useful articles as mattresses, dolls, mats, and false faces. Some skilfull women made moccasins from husks (and hats) by sewing the braids of corn husks together.

These young girls are busy tanning the hide of a deer. The Indian method of tanning was to last a lifetime. The hide is scraped until clean and smooth. When this has been accomplished, the hide is soaked in a solution made from the brain of a deer. This process is repeated until the hide is very soft and workable. After each soaking, the hide is hung and stretched until dry. When the hide is the desired consistency, it is hung before a fire and smoked. The tanning process is thus completed and the hide is ready to be transformed into clothing and footwear.

The women of the village are busy weaving the baskets to hold their winter supplies. The material for the splints is obtained from the black ash tree. Following a very long process of splitting and dividing into splints two and three times, the weaving process is begun. Often the splints are dyed in a solution made from nature's products, and, when the baskets are completed, they were very durable, practical, and attractive.

Here we see this woman drawing the various herbs, plants, roots, and bark. The Iroquois not only understand the medicinal value of the plants, but they also know how to compound them to obtain the best effects. The Iroquois women are respected for

their knowledge in the field of medicine. Each village is equipped with their own doctor who cures the ills of the people. She knows and understands well her art of healing.

(Lights go out on the Indian Village scene.)

SCENE III

Narrator: They lived what would seem the perfect life, but deep down their happiness was not complete. There was a feeling of uneasiness and worry as the men discussed the preparations for the coming year. Chief Big Tree began to stir their fears with his predictions and speculations concerning the movements of the Americans. The Indian people had already been approached by the Americans to ally their strength in case of a conflict with the British. All but two nations refused, for the Oneida and Tuscarora nations had willingly pledged their support. The remaining nations demanded they return to the council of the Six Nations, but their demands served to sever the links in the Confederacy chain.

The January of the following year brought further agony to the Iroquois. It was at this time that the council fire at Onondaga was extinguished. An epidemic had taken the lives of many chiefs. This left the people with no regular government, and the affairs of war and peace rested in the hands of the warriors. In the midst of their many problems, a messenger arrived from the British Commissioner requesting representatives from the tribes to gather at Oswego for a general council. It was at this meeting that the Commissioner informed the Iroquois of the object of their discussion.

(Lights on, revealing three benches around the camp-fire. The side facing the audience is left open. Indian men and two white men occupy the benches. Behind them stand women and children. One of the white men, the British Commissioner, rises from the bench on the audience's right and addresses the people on the back bench. He is dressed in a black suit and holds a treaty belt while he speaks.)

British Commissioner: Chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy, I would consent to you in the name of the King. I bear you a message of great importance. The people of the Thirteen Colonies have risen up against our good King and are about to rob him of great possessions and wealth. He turns to you for assistance. He wishes for you, his children, to take up the hatchet against the rebels. You have in the past shown your obedience as a child for a father in this pact (holding up the belt), a treaty of allegiance made between us. The Americans were also considered to be children of our King, but they were not good children for they questioned their father's authority. Do you not agree that their disobedience should be quickly and properly punished? The King realizes well that you have had no cause to use your weapons in a time of peace, and, for this reason, he has sent you axes, guns, and knives. Tomorrow with these knives we will take the scalps of the Americans. And for every one you secure, there will be a plentiful reward. The King assures you of an easy victory, for the Americans are poor and have no regular government. Should you decide to help the King, you must go from here and take first Fort Stanwix and Wyoming. With these two forts taken, the Americans will be properly shown the strength of the King. Our King wishes you to be well aware that

your lands will become the battle-fields and should you agree to his request, he has promised that you will be rewarded with abundant and comparable lands in which to live peacefully forever. The father sends his kindest regards to you all and wishes that you will accept his gifts: all the sweet rum, food, clothing, and tools which are lying in the clearing. We understand that this matter will not be easily settled, so we will leave you now and return to our camp where we will eagerly await your decision. So, in the name of the King we bid you farewell until we hear from you again.

(The two white men exit on the audience's right.)

Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant): (He takes up the wampum belt which is held in turn by each of the speakers. He rises from the bench to the right of the fire.)

Brothers, we have listened to the messenger of the British King and the decision now rests in our hands. Do we fight in the name of the King, or do we remain neutral yet surrounded on all sides by the battle? I, Thayendanegea, urge you, brothers, to take up arms for we cannot remain neutral where there is grave danger to our people. (He sits down.)

Onondaga spokesman: (He rises from the left bench and addresses the back bench from the left of the fire. He is wearing the Plains headdress and a deerskin suit trimmed with beads.)

Brothers, we of the Onondaga nation can see no reason for this discussion no more. This question of fighting and taking sides has destroyed our whole Confederacy. We have grown to distrust the Americans for they led us to believe and support the King which they now rebel against. In turn, the British tried to

win our hearts by luring us to their side with gifts. Our chief (?) in a time of peace and we are all aware of their strength and the matter of remaining neutral. Has this land not been fed enough with the blood of our people in the past? We are at peace now and to decide against neutrality would be a grave mistake. Our forefathers are buried on the very land where the white armies now wish to make war. We are the only ones who will suffer if you allow the battle to take place on our lands. For you may as well declare yourself to the white man, for you will lose our great country and our nations will grow weak. You may go to war, but it will be at the cost of our unity. We will listen no further to any discussions for we have sealed our ears and turned our backs on war. The Onondagas will remain neutral. (He exits with a delegation of four or five warriors.)

Cornplanter: (He rises from the back bench.) Brothers, we were approached by the Americans to fight on their behalf, and we chose to remain neutral. This decision became our first defeat for our strength has been drained by the loss of our two brother nations. Now, the British King across the water wishes us to fight in his name against the rebels. Should we accept his hand to battle, we would have Indian fighting Indian and the earth will again drink of our blood. We know not the grievances which caused the war, and to fight without a cause makes us as blind men. We must see this matter as a family quarrel among the white armies of which we have no part. It would be a great

mistake for us to choose any side. I, Cornplanter, urge you all to remain neutral. (He sits down.)

Cayuga spokesman: (He rises from the back bench. He is wearing a single feather headdress and a deerskin suit with a red fringe down the leggings and a red breechcloth.)

Brothers, we have much to lose by lifting our weapons to battle. We have remained neutral for many years, and though the pressures are heavy on our minds, we must do as the Onondagas--turn our backs to war. Should we fight, it must be first to rekindle the council fire with our brothers for our unity must come first. As we have refused the Americans' plea for help, let us also say no to the British. We are not prepared for a war that we know nothing about. The Cayugas wish to remain neutral. (He sits down.)

Thayendanegea: (He rises from the bench on the right and stands to the right of the fire.)

The white King has asked for our help. You must believe that our warriors have strength enough to assist his armies. He has promised an easy victory where our people will lose nothing. Has he not sent enough arms for each of our men and are his gifts not freely given? To accept his offerings but refuse him our strength! Remain neutral if you wish, but each time we will look on the gifts presented us this day we will surely remember the hour that marked the Iroquois as cowards. Cornplanter has said you have no cause to fight, but this (waving the treaty belt) is our cause. This treaty belt is our obligation as strength to the British. Do we make these agreements only to ignore them when we are too cowardly to uphold our word? If you

decide to remain neutral, you will suffer a great defeat, for you will disgrace yourselves and our forefathers by breaking our word. The Mohawks are ready to go to war, and I urge you all to do the same, for if you remain neutral you have but two choices: will you have yourselves caught by the British or by the Americans? Brothers, let us all agree to take up arms in the name of the King, and united we will be sure of victory both as allies and warriors, not as cowards or liars. (The response of the others is definitely favourable to Thayendanegea's proposal.)

Cornplanter: (He rises from the bench.) Brothers, we have listened to the words of Thayendanegea and his strong desire to take up arms against the rebel armies. He has told us that a mere glance at the gifts presented to us this day will forever mark the Iroquois as cowards. My heart grieves for your eyes have become blind to the true meaning of these gifts. They were not sent as tokens of friendship but as a means of turning our heads and hearts towards war. I have taken both sides of this matter and, on my strong right hand, I firmly uphold neutrality for I believe that this war is not our business. On the other hand, we sit as cowards, so our brother has said, laden with many gifts--and on top of them the treaty belt. I am truly sorry that one word had turned your hearts to war. A warrior is never a coward if he is doing right, but that one word--coward--has clouded your vision of right and wrong and we are wrong to make war. We have lost the support of the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras, and the British request has made the Onondaga

people leave this council. Before our eyes, we can see the tear in the Confederacy greatly widened. We cannot forfeit our unity, and, for this reason, we must reach a firm decision. We, who will not fight, are now outnumbered, and I, Cornplanter, will be the first to accept our defeat and join hands to strengthen our brothers. We will now abandon neutrality (?) . Return now to your villages and make the preparations for the long journey into battle. (To one of the warriors.) Go, and alert the Commissioner of our decision. Tell him that the remaining Six Nations will fight in the name of the King. Return thanks for the gifts, and inform him that our word and our loyalty remain strong. (Lights dim.)

SCENE IV

Narrator: Cornplanter had accepted the decision of the people and urged the Iroquois to remain neutral. The time of peace had ended for the Confederacy people. True to their word, several hundred warriors enlisted under the command of Colonel Barry St. Leger. This army assembled at Oswego and made ready to attack the American holdings along the Mohawk Valley. Burgoyne's forces were to raid the settlements along the lower Hudson River. Albany was set as the meeting-place where both forces would meet and together sweep the rebel holdings along the lower Hudson River to New York. The plan of attack was precise and accurate, but the armies had been too hurriedly arranged. There was no time to properly instruct the men in the tactics and discipline of war, and no time to secure sufficient weapons to arm every man. A battle at old Fort Stanwix in August of 1777 was not the victory that the British had promised. Alerted to a (?) battle, the British attack on the fort found the Americans fully prepared for the battle. Although both armies stood their ground, the British later retreated to protect their own camps. The battle of Wyoming proved a success, for the British, as the Iroquois, outflanked the Americans and the fort was surrendered. The fort was looted, the supplies taken, and prisoners captured but later released unharmed. It was these same prisoners who spread the lurid

tales of the Iroquois treatment of prisoners. The gossip spread and earned the Indians the unearned reputation of wild savagery. Rumours were taken as truth by the American officials and they in turn began an all-out plan of revenge on the Iroquois. By the spring of 1780, only two of the original thirty villages remained. The Onondaga village was also destroyed, and the three hundred warriors who had upheld neutrality enlisted and fought with their brothers for the British cause. The British began their raids of the American settlements in a huge arc from the Mohawk Valley to the Ohio River. One specific raid in the district of Canajoharie was ruled a success for the Iroquois and a personal victory to Cornplanter.

(Lights on. Cornplanter comes out at the right to the water's edge and speaks directly to the audience.)

Cornplanter: As a young child, I walked and played on this land. I learned the customs of my people. I was nurtured in a way pleasing to my elders. Now, I watch my own children grow, and my heart is filled with sorrow, for they are learning the tactics of war before our ways and traditions. Our women carry clubs and our children and old people carry weapons to protect themselves. This battle was spread with haste and is not at all the way the British had promised. We were promised an easy victory over the Americans, but they have great strength and their arms do not seem to weaken. Our people have been mistakenly made into a nation of what the whites call "blood-thirsty savages". I have been responsible for killing

seven men in this war, but I am not proud. Now the Americans no longer desire to defeat only the British, but their hearts are filled with a need to destroy the Indian people. Each day I give thanks to the Great Spirit for preserving our families and sparing their lives for another day. I implore him to keep their eyes open to see peace return again to our village. My heart grieves each time I hear the children cry for the men who must be warriors first and fathers second. We must continue to fight for the peace which will replace the heartbreak and mourning that the thoughtless white men have left behind.

(Two Indian warriors enter from left, escorting a white man who is wearing a black suit and a top hat.)

Warrior: We bring you news of our victory in Albany. Our forces surrounded the town. When the signal was given, we rushed toward the gates and surprised the Americans. They surrendered without a fight.

Cornplanter: We also were successful in our attack this morning, and now the news of success widens our bridge to peace. Who is this man? Were there no other prisoners taken?

Warrior: The prisoners number sixty and await you in the clearing. This man was chosen as their speaker and expressed a desire to meet with our chief.

Cornplanter: Return to the clearing and give the captives food and drink. Spread many blankets so they may rest. Leave us and take rest yourselves after the long journey. (He pauses.) Now, sir....

(As the two warriors exit on the left, the light narrows until only a circle of light surrounds the two men.)

O'Bail: My name, sir, is John O'Bail and by trade and profession am a pedlar. Many times I have come to this village as a friend, not as an enemy. I speak on behalf of all your prisoners and beg you to have mercy upon us for we have done you no wrong.

Cornplanter: You are right when you say that the people in the clearing have done no wrong. We, in turn, have done nothing to endanger the lives of your friends. You, O'Bail, are not in that clearing. It is you who has been at fault. Many years ago you came to this village. You traded your goods for our furs. One day you met a young girl and decided to stay with her in the village. Our people welcomed and accepted you. You stayed for three years, but just as you had arrived on the wind, the day came when a breeze arose and you left as hurriedly and as silently as the day you came. Just as you had arrived alone, you departed alone, leaving behind a woman and a very small child. You wonder why I tell you of the past, for your face is filled with surprise and your eyes question every word. That child has grown into a mighty warrior, and he stands before you now. (pause) Do you not know me, O'Bail? I, Cornplanter, am your son, the son you abandoned. You came of your own accord in a time of peace and left when the decision was yours to go. Now you are here in a time of war, and it is Cornplanter who will decide your fate. My mother became a prisoner of your love, and you are now a prisoner of my hate. You are completely in my hands as she once was in yours. She

pleaded for you to stay in this village, but when you made known your wishes to leave, she begged you to take us with you. (O'Bail slowly lowers his head and sinks to the ground on his knees.) You left behind a broken woman faced with raising a child alone. You are a deserter. You could not stay with my mother or support the life which you had created. You had no idea at all of who it was who stood before you. A father did not recognize his own son!

As a warrior, I know that your life must be spared. For as you were deaf to the pleas of my mother, I should also reject your pleas for mercy. My eyes look upon you with hate and disgust. My heart cries out to you as my father--my own flesh and blood. Indians love and believe in their own flesh and by my teachings I am an Indian. For this reason alone, lift up your head. You shall not be harmed. Live easy in your old age, father, for I will see to it that you are never in want of food, clothing, or shelter again. You will come and live in my house and live out your days there. (Cornplanter turns his back on O'Bail.)

O'Bail: The day that I took my leave there was no sorrow for in my heart burned the need to travel on to new places. You must understand that my entire life is a journey, and it was very difficult to stay in one place too long. You have called me a coward for deserting you and your mother when a true man would have stayed or else taken you with him. I could not bear to take you away from the perfection of this village. There is

just no comparison of my life with what you have here. Even at the price of my own happiness I knew that it would be best to leave you here in this place that could give you much more than I could ever offer you. This day you have shown me the greatest kindness in pardoning my life when all I gave to you and your mother was a life of sorrow and bitterness. (Cornplanter slowly turns and faces his father.) You have grown into a fine man, a strong and brave warrior. This you could never have learned from me. You mocked me because I did not recognize my own son, but I see a tall, deep-chested warrior with the dignity of a king. I know now that you are my son, but I see in you all the things I never was nor can be. I thank you for your invitation to live with you and settle among you, but now that would only re-open the old wounds that have healed through time. You gave me freedom from my life, and perhaps now you can also give me freedom from the past. I hope you understand why I chose to leave you in this life. Never question my motives for I truly love your mother and you, my son, and that love made me leave you in a place that was richer and a life that you should be proud to be a part of. I thank you, but I cannot stay. I must return to Albany.

Cornplanter: The Seneca have been disgraced this day for they have destroyed the place which you call home. The decision is yours to return, and I will send a party of my finest scouts to ensure you and your friends a safe journey back to your own fields. May peace and good fortune be yours always. I respect you for

your honesty, father, and I realize now that I have accused you unjustly of deserting us, for your intentions were well meant. Just as you have helped our people in the past, this day you have helped me clear my mind and heart of bitterness, and now there is love and kindness for you. As you return to your home, remember that the Indians are your friends.

(Two warriors enter from the left and escort O'Bail out at the left. Cornplanter exits at the right. Lights dim.)

SCENE V

Narrator: The American Revolution had ended. Although the British and Indian armies had tasted many victories, the American forces proved the stronger and the Thirteen Colonies received their independence. Peace treaties had been signed between the Americans and the British officials. The Six Nations waited patiently for their role in the great peace, but they were greatly alarmed to learn that they had been completely ignored, and that the treaties made no provisions whatsoever for the protection of their lands. In fact, most of the Indian territory had been given outright to the United States without the consent or knowledge of the Iroquois. Joseph Brant saw to it personally that the British kept their words, and the Mohawks and others of the Six Nations were granted the Grand River lands in return for their loyalty to the King. The United States' officials were now responsible for those of the Six Nations who chose to remain on their lands in New York State. They were dealt with by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1784. The treaty involved the surrender of the western lands to the United States. Cornplanter and Chief Big Tree, representing the Senecas, were forced to sign the treaty against their wills and much to the dissatisfaction of their people. From that time on, the Senecas were constantly approached by men who claimed portions of their land in return for meagre amounts of money.

Whenever the Senecas refused to bargain, they were told that the land had been given away during the negotiations for peace. The Treaty of Fort Harmar in 1789 involved the surrender of the eastern half of the Seneca lands to the United States in return for a bundle of moth-eaten blankets for the people. Cornplanter did receive a personal reward for he was deeded a tract of land measuring 1500 acres along Lake Erie. Included in this tract were the 750 acres which were the remains of Cornplanter's town. The Senecas, filled with despair, turned with hatred on Cornplanter, accusing him of being a traitor and selling his people for practically nothing. Cornplanter finally carried all their grievances to Philadelphia where he met with President George Washington.

(Lights on. A distinguished man sits at a table that is at the front left side of the stage area. The table faces the right side. Behind the man stands a guard. At the back right there is a bench which is parallel to the table. Three Indians are sitting on it. One of the three, Cornplanter, rises from the bench and walks to the front of the table.)

Cornplanter: Father, we have journeyed a great distance to speak with you, the great councillor, in whose hands the Thirteen Colonies have placed their trust. At the time you kindled the thirteen fires, we were approached by the white men and told that we were all brothers under the great King across the waters. You urged us to pledge our obedience to that King, and a treaty was made to show and record our loyalty. After we listened to your speeches and accepted that brotherhood, you then began to disobey the King. He sent his messengers among us requesting our support in punishing your disobedience. You knew our strength

was promised to the King, yet you lured away two of our brother nations and then with your armies destroyed our villages. We were then deceived and have suffered much by your hand. When we heard of your desire to make peace, we hastened to meet with you, but on our arrival we became like the captive prisoners. We were told that our people were entirely in your hands and that by closing them you could crush us to nothing. Our hands were forced behind our backs, and our eyes were made to see your guns all the while we listened to the terms of your treaty. We were threatened with another war unless we signed that deed and gave you a large portion of land. We, the Six Nations, are the sovereigns on our own soil and equally free as you or any nation under the sun, yet we were forced to sign that treaty. I ask you now, is that just and fair?

You have no answer to give? From that treaty we were promised complete possession of the lands that lie east and north of the line, but only hours after the signing, your commissioners from Pennsylvania came to claim our lands within the limits of their state. They told us once again that the King had given them the land. Later, your agent, John Livingstone, came among us and we agreed to let him rent our lands to the north and we were to receive the money. Instead, he sold that land to a man named Phelps for $20,000. Our people received only $500. Is there any doubt in your mind whatsoever why our people are dissatisfied? It is not just

the Six Nations who grow impatient for the tribes to the east call and ask, "Where is that place you have reserved for us to lie down upon?" We have no answer, for it seems we have nothing. I will not conceal the fact from you that it has been the Great Spirit alone who has saved Cornplanter from the hands of his own people, for they have become desperate. My wife and children call to me and cry from lack of food. For in this season of hunting, I do not look for food; I search for peace. The land of which I speak belongs to the Six Nations and no part of it ever belonged to the King of England. He had no right to give any of it to you. Our forefathers received that land from the great Creator, and we cannot part with it. We know your strength and wisdom are great, and I implore you now to speak plainly on these matters so we may know that you are just. (He returns to the bench and sits down.)

Washington: (He rises at his desk.) Chief, and people of the Six Nations, I am well aware of the difficulties that you have experienced in respect to your lands since the close of the war. I must remind you all that the dealings and sales of which you speak were transacted before the present government was established. I am now pleased to inform you that any treaty or lease will not be binding. The President of these United States declares that we are bound to keep our word and will protect all of the lands secured by you in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, 1784. I have investigated the entire situation and it appears that John Livingstone was not authorized to deal with you and

I have since declared his dealings to be null and void. I understand that your main grievance is the retention of your remaining lands. Let it be known that from this day on, any sale, any dealings concerning your lands will be entirely in your own hands. But there must be a government agent present to witness all transactions. This will be your security and counsel (?) for any bargains you may make. From this day on, you may have full rights and authority to own the land forever and rest assured that your children will have a place to call their own. It is the belief of this government that your people are as capable of civilization as any white man and this means being friendly as neighbours. With this in mind, I have the pleasure to assure you that there will be funds set aside to support educational and capital investment programs. Your annuity will be raised to a suitable amount for your own benefit, and your people will also have full access to the courts of these United States where your grievances will be fairly and justly considered. To begin with, those men who dealt unfairly and cheated you will be brought to justice and your people will recover their losses. The agreement will be signed and witnessed by those present at this gathering. May it be a reminder of our friendship and concern for you, and may it always remain in our hearts a solemn agreement.

(Cornplanter rises from the bench and comes to the desk. He signs the agreement and shakes the hand of Washington. He then offers the President a wampum belt which has been brought to Cornplanter by one of the Indians seated on the bench.)

Cornplanter: Father, our hearts are joyful at your decision, and we thank you for giving your assistance in giving the Indian peoples the remaining lands forever. This day we know for certain that you are just and wise. We never leave the fire of a friend until we say, "We are going." We tell you now we are setting out for our own land. We have gained new strength this day and we see that our children and your children will be at peace and our hearts are very glad. We will go now in friendship and in peace. (*Cornplanter exits with his companions. The lights dim.*)

Narrator: The response of the Americans was officially friendly and, for the most part, favourable to the Six Nations. The result of this meeting, however, became the basis for the reservation system which in time would prove extremely demoralizing to the Indian way of life. By 1797 all of the lands in New York State to the east of the Genesee River had been lost with the exception of a few reservations. Now the Indians were faced with the rapid migration of the white man. The title of the Iroquois Confederacy remained in name only, for the people were fenced apart by the over-growing white population.

SCENE VI

Narrator: The American officials saw the decline of the Iroquois as a race of people, and plans were made "to civilize the savages". Cornplanter became a firm advocate of learning the white man's means of survival, and by May of 1789, the Quakers from the Society of Friends arrived at the Seneca village.

(The benches are arranged the same as in Scene III. There are about thirty men, women, and children seated and standing about. Cornplanter is seated on the right bench with two white men who are dressed in black. Cornplanter, wearing a bright blue sleeveless shirt with dark blue fringes, rises from the bench and addresses the people on the other two benches.)

Cornplanter: Brothers, this day the Great Spirit has looked with kindness upon our village for he has sent these fine people among us to teach us their ways of survival. With their help, we will again function as a strong supporting nation. Welcome them to our village, for they are good and desire to help us all. (He sits down.)

Red Jacket: (He rises from the left bench.) Brothers, a great number of these blackcoats have come among us. With their sweet voices and smiling faces they offer to teach our people their religion. Our brothers to the east accepted their ways and turned from the religion of their fathers. What good has it done? Are they happier or a more friendly people than we are? No! They are a divided people. We are united. We have held many meetings in the past as (?) . Have we not been stepped

on enough when we lost our country? These people are sent by the government; they mean only to deceive us. This is our land. We have no desire to lose the small holdings which we have left. If you truly wish to help us, then keep away. Red Jacket will not welcome them. (He sits down.)

Handsome Lake: (He rises from the left bench.) The words of Red Jacket are true. Many mistakes have been made in the past, and we have received only sorrow for our efforts to aid the King. See there, in his hand! That book means danger to us all, for he means to change our belief in the Great Spirit. We do not worship the Creator in the same way as they do, for we believe that the different forms of worship are meaningless to the Creator. What pleases him is a man who worships with a sincere heart, and we worship him in that way. We give thanks for all that we have received and we love one another. Let them go and give their book to the white men who deceived the Indians, for their need is greater than ours. We have come to know well the vices of the white man, and we need not practice their virtues. Often we have been faced with an outstretched arm holding that book. While we listened to their words, another hand came behind us and clutched our land. They came to comfort our souls with promises and dreams while others came and deceived our minds with their strong drink. The Creator has provided for our people in the past and will continue to be with us in the future. Handsome Lake will not say welcome to these people, for we have no need for their help or their words. (He sits down.)

Missionary: (He rises from the right and paces back and forth in front of the fire as he speaks.)

People of the Seneca nation, we are members of the Society of Friends and we have travelled a great distance to come to you. We would have preferred to remain in the cosiness of our homes, but when we learned of your situation, we eagerly came to help. We did not come here with the intentions of changing your belief. We came to share with you our methods of farming, gardening, and building. We have arranged for ploughs and other tools to arrive here by boat from Philadelphia. While we are here, they will belong to you, and when we leave they will be yours to keep. We have no desire to intrude on the life you have here, so we will set up our farms off your land. You will come to us to learn the different methods and return to your village and practise what you have learned on your own fields. We know that your herds of game are growing scarce, and we offer you ways of doubling your harvest so that you will have enough food for all your people. We will teach you all that we know, and, to make it more interesting to you, we shall offer cash awards for your total harvests. To the women of the village these awards will be given to those who weave their own cloth. We understand that there is a drinking problem in this village, and we are sad to find out that it is our race that has given you the thirst for such evil drink. The money awards which I spoke of will not be paid to anyone who has tasted strong drink for the next six months. If you learn well and your harvests are great, we will give you half the money to pay for the grist

mill, and you must raise the other half, perhaps from your annuities. Many of you have asked if we can teach your children to read and write, and Mr. Simmons has accompanied us for this purpose of setting up a school. We truly sympathize with you over the losses of which you spoke, but the men who cheated you were evil and you must not judge the entire race by their actions. These are the proposals for your consideration, but I remind you we are here to help you. (He sits down.)

Cornplanter: (He rises from the bench.) Brothers, we have heard the plans of these fine people, and you must believe that they are here to help us, not to cheat and deceive us as others have done in the past. They have come to give us the means to stand firm and support ourselves. We are the ones who will gain for we will lose nothing. I came to know these people in Philadelphia and I have great respect for them. I desire their knowledge, and you must believe me when I tell you that religion has nothing to do with their being here. Our herds of game are going rapidly, and our crops have become our main means of support. If we refuse them, we will have turned down a great store of knowledge and in time we will be begging the government for our food. Our brother nations have accepted them, and we also should be eager to say, "Welcome!". Even our forefathers had to undergo some changes in order to survive the past. We all have the hope that the Senecas will again rise and become a great nation. Let us agree to their help and take the first step back to our own independence. (The lights dim.)

Narrator: Cornplanter had persuaded his people to welcome the Quakers and the great reform began. The most significant change of all was the reduction of drinking among the Senecas. The harvests were plenty and newer homes complete with glass and shutters were slowly replacing the old homes.

SCENE VII

Narrator: In the spring of 1799, Handsome Lake experienced a series of visions which expressed the themes of sin, damnation, and the destruction of the world. He condemned witchcraft and (?) in favour of repentance. With the assistance of his brother, Cornplanter, peace treaties were sent to every reservation and the Iroquois once again became united.

In the year 1804, Cornplanter and Handsome Lake disagreed and Handsome Lake left Cornplanter's town and took up residence at Coldsprings, New York. At the same time, Cornplanter had tried to persuade the people to move a sawmill onto the reservation and lease its operation to a white man. The people would not accept this, and Cornplanter turned very bitter and ordered everyone off his tract of land. The people then moved to build their own sawmill and also to displace Cornplanter from chief to a common warrior. This became the basis for uneasiness and bitterness among the people. Handsome Lake began to lose his political power and angered the Quakers by executing a woman accused of practising witchcraft. Finally, Cornplanter was reinstated as chief and speaker of the council. By 1814, the Indian people had survived another war, and a few of the people did enlist and many chose to uphold neutrality. At the close of the war, Cornplanter began to drink heavily for he was inspired yet jealous of Red Jacket and Handsome Lake.

He began to oppose all Christians and upheld the teachings of his forefathers. He urged the Indians to abandon their old system and divide their lands into private farms with legal deeds. Having been refused this request, Cornplanter became very withdrawn and morose. In 1820, he experienced his own series of visions which were repetitious of the teachings of Handsome Lake. By 1855, his mind had cleared, and he was able to address the people at annuity time in Buffalo Creedk.

(The benches are the same as in Scenes III and VI. Lights on. Cornplanter enters from the right. He is very old and is wearing a bright blue cape and walks with a staff. He stands on the right and speaks to the people on the benches.)

Cornplanter: Brothers, our business has been completed. Our annuities are collected and we are now prepared to return to our homes. Before our brother moves to cover the council fire, I, Cornplanter, desire to speak to you all. It has been over one hundred years now since the Great Spirit saw fit to open my eyes to this world. In that time, I have seen much happiness but far too much sorrow. We went to war with the British. Perhaps our first mistake was speaking out against neutrality, but in favour of unity we went into battle. The Americans were victorious in their war, but the Six Nations were left homeless and dependent. We had title to the promises of the white armies and awaited the lands which we were promised in return for our strength. Each day that we waited, our land was being given away. Peace treaties were signed and my own mark appeared on the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, the Livingstone's lease, and Phelps and Gorham purchase, and the Treaty of Fort

Harmar. I was accused of being a traitor, and threats were made on my life. I did not sign those deeds with a clear mind, for we were threatened by another war unless we agreed to their demands. I was given a tract of land, and you all resented that action. But when you asked for a place to stay, I gave you that place. If you had suffered losses, I gave you my own belongings. I travelled to Philadelphia to meet with the President, and we were given our remaining lands to do with as we pleased. We were also given funds to assist us. We now have a school, many and better homes. The Quakers arrived, and now we are farming our land with equipment that we would never have known about without their help. They are responsible for pulling our people out of the hole of drunkenness to the heights of prosperity. Our land was given away from below our feet, and you all accused me of giving that land away and selling our country for nothing. Can you not see that great portion of our land is gone? But the Americans are paying for their deceit. We may be surrounded by the white man on every side, but they can no longer take our land again.

Many of you have kept the belief of our forefathers, and others have accepted the Christian religion. Let this be no barrier between us, for we are all Indians. Handsome Lake upheld the belief of our fathers, yet was in favour of education, advancement, and achieving of the white man's values of living. I believe that we should make friends with our neighbours and save ourselves by imitating their ways. But we

must work hard to stay in keen competition with them. I remind you all that the dividing line must always remain clear, for we are different in many ways.

I wish you to know that any errors I have made in my life were errors of judgement, but never errors of the heart. I have always had your interest at heart at all times. Let any man to whom I have done any wrong step forward now and let our disagreement cease.

Uphold the traditions set down by our forefathers and continue in these ways. Teach your children the ways of peace, guidance, and happiness. I am now ready to leave this place and meet my brothers who have made the journey ahead of me. I have looked fondly upon your faces for the last time, and these will be my final words. (He looks directly at the audience.) I will leave you now, and may peace and good fortune be with you all--forever. (Lights dim.)

(An exhibition of Indian dances, introduced by the Master of Ceremonies, concluded the pageant.)

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