Across the Great Water: Indigenous Tobacco and Haudenosaunee Diplomacy in Early Modern England, 1550-1750

by

Cole Hawkins

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

Department of History and Classics

University of Alberta

Abstract:
Across the Great Water: Indigenous Tobacco and Haudenosaunee Diplomacy in Early Modern England, 1550-1750
by
Cole Hawkins

The impacts of the transatlantic movement of Indigenous Peoples and goods has yet to be fully realized by scholars of the early modern world. Beginning in the sixteenth century, thousands of Indigenous Peoples and an immeasurable amount of goods and technologies moved eastward to Europe. Upon arrival, Indigenous Peoples, goods, and technologies transformed European cultures and peoples on the continent. While part of a larger phenomenon, this thesis focuses on the physical and material presences of Indigenous Peoples in early modern England as articulated by expressions of Haudenosaunee diplomacy and diplomatic tobacco use in London. Rooted in Indigenous methodologies, material culture analysis, and Indigenous perspectives of diplomacy and identity, this work shows how formal and informal expressions of Haudenosaunee diplomatic protocols and the Kayanerenkó:wa (The Great Law of Peace) were employed and accepted by Queen Anne and other British officials in London during the 1710 visit of four diplomats from the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican Nations —Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Sagayenkwaraton, and Etowaucum. Further, the paper demonstrates the ways that Indigenous knowledge and technology were transmitted to England from the North Atlantic and became crucial to the development of tobacco diplomacy in English (and wider European) practice. As a result, English smokers, snuffers, and diplomats learned to utilize tobacco to foster goodwill and seal agreements from Indigenous Nations on Turtle Island. Working in tandem, Indigenous Peoples and technologies fundamentally altered early modern diplomacy and left physical and material legacies which lasted for generations.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

In the spring of 1710, three Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) diplomats and one Mohican crossed the Great Water to participate in diplomatic negotiations with the Great Queen of the British empire. Material objects of Indigenous diplomacy travelled aboard the ship and also greeted them upon their arrival in London, predicated on generations of sophisticated Indigenous technological development: Wampum and tobacco. Once in the land of the "saltwater men," the quartet was whisked away to St. James' Palace for their audience with Queen Anne and welcomed with all the ceremonial splendour the British empire could provide.[1] It was clear to the thousands of Londoners who wrestled for a view of the delegation, that these men were powerful representatives of their austere nations which both affirmed and challenged local expectations of Indigenous Americans. Physically present, the diplomats expressed the diplomatic codes outlined by the Kayanerenkó:wa (The Great Law of Peace) to the highest authority in the British empire. They were important representatives of their nations and Clans influencing their world through negotiation and alliance making overseas. Their presence transformed London into an Indigenous space which was influenced and altered through an assertion of Indigenous laws, materials, and protocols. The diplomats did not write of their time overseas. Yet their experience can be understood by centering their perspectives and viewing the voyage through an Indigenous lens which utilizes the existing written record, visual record, and material culture. While they travelled through the city, another Indigenous presence asserted itself materially in London. Tobacco consumption through smoking and snuffing had firmly entrenched itself in the diplomatic and social culture of Londoners, creating clouds of smoke from lit pipes on street corners, taverns, coffeehouses, and palace chambers. Learned from interaction with Indigenous

[1] For use of the term "saltwater men" see Jeanette Rodriguez and Iakoiane Wakerahkats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call: Reconstructing Haudenosaunee Cultural Memory* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2017), 10.

Nations, tobacco was a crucial feature of diplomacy in early modern England as it had been on Turtle Island (North America) for thousands of years. Everything that smokers and snuffers learned was gleaned from interaction and sharing with Indigenous Peoples. The physical and the material were consistently represented at the heart of the burgeoning British empire.

Today, the story of the Haudenosaunee-Mohican diplomats and the history of tobacco are well known in works of contemporary historical scholarship.[2] However, few scholars have decentred Euro-American perspectives as normative to recognize the social and cultural impressions that transatlantic Indigenous Peoples and goods left on Europeans. Alongside this omission is a failure to incorporate the methodological considerations proposed by Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars working to decolonize history and academia. In fact, only recently has the stereotypical narrative of geographically, culturally, and physically static Indigenous Peoples shifted to incorporate the impact of physical and material networks of Indigenous movement on the early modern world. As Europeans altered Indigenous Turtle Island, so too did Indigenous Peoples and goods instigate change in Europe. Far from living in the "backwaters…on the fringe of the civilized world," Indigenous Peoples and goods altered and influenced diplomacy and culture at the heart of early modern empires.[3]

Beginning in the sixteenth century, thousands of Indigenous Peoples participated in overseas voyages to Europe for a variety of purposes. Some voyaged of their own volition, as diplomats, performers, sailors, translators, and tourists while others were taken under duress as slaves, cargo, and spectacles to present to kings and queens as evidence of newly encountered

---

[2] Kate Fullagar, *The Savage Visit: New World People and Popular Imperial Culture in Britain, 1710-1795* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012); Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[3] Timothy Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2008), 1.

lands and peoples across the sea. Interlocking networks of formal maritime movement between the North Atlantic and Arctic, the Eastern Seaboard, the Caribbean, and South America distributed a vast array of peoples and goods over long distances, placing diverse cultures in communication. As scholars of the Atlantic and the global have illuminated these vast and multiethnic early modern networks of physical and material movement, a recognition of the circulation of Indigenous Peoples, goods, and technologies has simultaneously occurred. The entanglement of Turtle Island into maritime networks transported Indigenous Peoples, materials, and technologies to Europe, and further afield, influencing and altering cultures of consumption and diplomacy along the way.

The Indigenous Atlantic

The study of oceangoing Indigenous Peoples is not a new historiographical phenomenon. Over fifty years of history writing have mentioned the movement of Indigenous Peoples and goods to the British Isles. However, the cultural impact and intention of Indigenous physical and material movement was diminished. As early as 1947, historian David B. Quinn mentioned the voyage of two Roanoke men across the North Atlantic: Manteo and Wanchese.[4] In a single sentence, Quinn illuminated an early imperialist view of Indigenous Peoples and their goods, stating, "the vessels reached England again in September, with two Indians, Manteo and Wanchese,… and their samples of Indian wares."[5] In this way, Manteo and Wanchese and the goods they carried were demoted to cargo, firmly planting the men and their cultures as

[4] K.R. Andrews, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, "Preface: David Beers Quinn," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650,* eds. K.R. Andrew, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), viii-ix.
[5] David B. Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire* (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1947), 54.

peripheral to the imperial project.[6] In 1953, Richmond Bond's publication *Queen Anne's American Kings* was the first full work dedicated to the 1710 Haudenosaunee-Mohican delegation. Hardly taking the scholarship seriously, Bond states that the research was a break "undertaken for personal amusement and relief from the chores of the Academe."[7] Bond emphasizes the spectacle of the diplomatic mission focusing on the parade around the city and the assertion that they displayed all the good qualities of a "noble savage."[8] These histories emphasized that Indigenous Peoples were only relevant when they were activated by Western actors, either physically moving them or useful entirely due to colonial designs. That being said, although Bond does not consider this an impactful work, he posits the Indigenous delegations' desire to meet with Queen Anne was to secure their military alliance with the Crown.[9] However, these works note that Indigenous Peoples needed the assistance of 'great' white men to facilitate their movement across oceans. Quinn's work, which is a benevolent adoration of Sir Walter Raleigh, demotes Manteo and Wanchese to impedimenta. They are seemingly only a side note in the story of Raleigh's journeys and the British empire. Whereas Bond notes that the planning and execution of the Haudenosaunee-Mohican delegation was entirely orchestrated by the desires of American colonists who looked to benefit from a military alliance with Indigenous Nations.[10] Heavily steeped in imperialism, Bond and Quinn depict Indigenous Peoples as weak, peripheral, and dependent on the whims of colonial officials to travel across the sea.

With the shift to social history in the 1960s and 1970s, the rise of the Red Power Movement, and "new Indian history," there was an accompanying recognition of the scale of Indigenous movement, both physical and material, and an attempt to understand Indigenous

---

[6] Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters,* 21-29.
[7] Richmond P. Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), v-vii.
[8] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 3-33.
[9] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 1-4.
[10] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 17-25.

motivations for travel. Powhatan-Lenape scholar Jack Forbes incorporated a discussion of Indigenous identity, agency, and interconnection to both the European Atlantic and an African Atlantic in *Africans and Native Americans.* He demonstrates how Indigenous, African, and mixed-race peoples moved between Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean fostering interaction, blending, and change.[11] In this way, Forbes acknowledges Indigenous existences within a range of scenarios and possibilities, not firmly existing within local contexts. By limiting Indigenous Peoples to a constructed historical binary of colonized or colonizer there is a failure to recognize any ability for negotiation or cross-cultural influence.[12] However, missing from his analysis is a particular voice of resistance, volition, or motivation. When speaking of the multiplicity of Indigenous circumstances, Forbes less intentionally suggests that Indigenous Peoples were forced to make the most of a desperate situation. As a result, his work mostly focuses on the abduction of Indigenous Peoples by Europeans instead of moments where Indigenous Peoples intentionally voyaged overseas.

In the 1990s, scholars started to recognize the ways that transatlantic Indigenous Peoples influenced early modern culture and intentionally participated in the Atlantic world. In 1993, anthropologist Harald Prins wrote of Indigenous "adventurers, envoys, sightseers, or performers" travelling "To the Land of the Mistigoches [Algonquian for boat-builders]." [13] Prins incorporates transatlantic voyages into the narrative of encounter to attempt to highlight the complexity of the Atlantic world.[14] Prins' reliance on the European written record privileges European perspectives of the voyages, where Indigenous Peoples from across the hemisphere participated, voluntarily

---

[11] Jack D. Forbes, *Africans and Native Americans: Colour, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 6-25.
[12] Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples,* 2nd ed (London: Zed Books, 2012), 69.
[13] Harald Prins, "To the Land of the Mistigoches: American Indians Traveling to Europe in the Age of Exploration," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1993): 175.
[14] Prins, "To the Land of the Mistigoches," 190.

or coerced, as translators, guides, and scouts to assist Europeans in political and economic ventures. While Prins mentions that Indigenous Peoples had their own motivations for travel, he does not look beyond the written archival record to understand them.[15] Next, historian Eric Hinderaker analyzed the ways that the Haudenosaunee-Mohican delegation influenced empire and metropole. In his 1996 article, he notes that the diplomats "stimulated a new visual and verbal language of empire…the images, conceptions, and ideals that would make imperialism a powerful component of British public life."[16] In this way, they "contributed to the imaginative construction of empire."[17] Utilizing visual images of the diplomats, Hinderaker's alternative methodology deconstructs the iconographic features of their portraits concluding that the contradictions between savagery and civilization within "embodied the possibilities of empire…idealized objects of the burgeoning state power that Britannia, in all her bounty and glory, implied."[18] Hinderaker's emphasis on British impressions and visual culture is notable. However, his analysis fails to give the diplomats the ability to influence or negotiate their reception through dress, action, and assertion overseas. The portraits and other visual depictions contain material markers of Indigenous culture. When these features are interpreted from an Indigenous perspective the identities and motivations of the diplomats become clearer and the images demonstrate knowledge transmission between painter and subject.

Alden Vaughan's *Transatlantic Encounters* was the first full publication to synthesize and critically evaluate the impact of the Indigenous Peoples on the history of the Atlantic world. Beginning with Martin Frobisher's 1576 capture of four Inuit who were later presented to Queen Elizabeth, Vaughan proceeds to briefly catalogue a range of Indigenous voyages to the British

---

[15] Prins, "To the Land of the Mistigoches," 188-190.
[16] Eric Hinderaker, "'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1996): 488.
[17] Hinderaker, "'Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," 488.
[18] Hinderaker, "Four Indian Kings' and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire," 505.

Isles covering almost 300 years. Vaughan's narrative format, which focuses on one voyage per chapter, allows the reader to engage with each distinct story recognizing the unique differences between diverse Indigenous cultures and historical circumstances. Vaughan covers Indigenous slaves, captives, translators, diplomats, leaders, and tourists. This unique juxtaposition of Indigenous slaves and captives with Indigenous diplomats and missionaries demonstrates the large difference and range of possibilities available for Indigenous travellers. Furthermore, Vaughan recognizes the individual and collective goals of specific endeavours. In this way, each story holds a unique ending; some voyages ending in diplomatic success while others never returning home due to disease or poor conditions. However, Vaughan is also the victim of his own ambition. Taking on such a large project that attempts an in-depth discussion of approximately 175 First Nations and Inuit peoples means that his work becomes a catalogue of Indigenous voyages rather than a meaningful analysis of impact.[19]

Kate Flint's *The Transatlantic Indian*, beginning in 1776, pushes the story of Indigenous travellers into the twentieth century.[20] Flint uses her expertise as a literary critic to understand popular British and American perceptions of Indigenous visits and Indigenous Peoples. She articulates that North American Indigenous Peoples lived within three interconnected worlds– Indigenous, American, and British. As a result, concepts of Indigenous identity and Western perceptions of Indigenous Peoples were much more complex. Flint attempts to trace the origins of Indigenous archetypes and myths, such as the noble savage, the dying and disappearing Indian, savagery, and modernity, using novels, imagery, and other primary sources such as newspapers, journals, and letters. Notably, her inclusion of questions of gender and Indigeneity provides a necessary addition to the field. Fortunately, Flint's range of Indigenous-written

[19] Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters,* xi.
[20] Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

literary sources assist her in incorporating a representative dialogue between cultures. This dialogue includes Indigenous Peoples who exist between two cultures through her inclusion of Christian Indigenous missionaries in the 1820s sent from the Americas to Britain.[21] By deconstructing and questioning stereotypes in European society, Flint ensures that Indigenous Peoples are not restricted to a binary of noble savage or civilized. Flint includes Indigenous voices but does not press further to understand Indigenous worldviews. In fact, *The Transatlantic Indian* focuses on Western perceptions of Indigenous Peoples rather than Indigenous perspectives of themselves.

Jace Weaver's *The Red Atlantic* re-contextualizes the Atlantic world to ensure that the movement of Indigenous Peoples is depicted as central rather than peripheral to history. Covering a period which spans from Innu abductions by Vikings, to Karl May and his depiction of Winnetou, Weaver argues that just as Indigenous Peoples are important to the Atlantic, so too is the Atlantic important to Indigenous Peoples. Primarily this is completed by the incorporation of Indigenous histories and language to provide a necessary centering of Indigenous knowledge. Utilizing this knowledge, he recounts a 1924 Haudenosaunee mission by Deskaheh and Thomas Davis to the League of Nations. Weaver discusses Deskaheh's belief in the use of a collective orenda*,* a spirit force, in giving him the collective power to fight against the Canadian Government's assimilative policies.[22] Of diplomatic missions and statecraft, Weaver considers material legacies and exchange. Using oral history, he suggests that the "legend" amongst the contemporary Cherokee records that the turban became traditional male headgear after a 1730 delegation to London.[23] A champion of Indigenous history, Weaver is highly critical of past works: "even if not articulated, the attitude toward these works and others like them was often a

[21] Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian,* 207-225.
[22] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*, 182-188.
[23] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 159.

feeling of preciousness. It was as if scholars thought, 'Isn't that cute? A few Indians *did* go to Europe."[24] Alongside his desire to centre the Indigenous influence on history, he expands the overall scope of the study by incorporating a transnational perspective on physical Indigenous presences. "National" borders are replaced by multinational, imperial, and Indigenous networks of movement. It is through these networks that Indigenous Peoples organically move across the globe. Weaver acknowledges Métis voyageurs in Egypt, Indigenous soldiers in the Philippines, and Indigenous diplomatic missions to Geneva.[25] Notably, Weaver calls for the expansion of the subject to the material asserting, "the Red Atlantic is part of a larger story of globalization and the worldwide movement of … indigenes and their technologies, ideas, and material goods."[26] In this way, the physical and material act interchangeably as evidence of Indigenous historical influence.

In 2017, Cecilia Morgan's *Travellers through Empire* ensured Indigenous movement was not predicated by imperial designs. She argues that voyages "were sparked by both disruptions and as part of a continuum of movement" as they were not explicitly "set in motion by imperialism."[27] Focusing specifically on voyages from early Canada, Indigenous travellers are intimately described as part of larger and smaller networks. Movement and interaction were natural features of Indigenous lives, not bounded by place, which created new relationships, structures, and cultural adaptations.[28] Rather than taking on a long period of time and multiple empires, Morgan advocates for "contextual specificity" to allow an understanding of the "nuances of relationships between the imperial and the local."[29] Morgan purposefully

---

[24] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 17.
[25] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 103-108, 121-123, 182-188.
[26] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 32.
[27] Cecilia Morgan, *Travellers through Empire: Indigenous Voyages from Early Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 4.
[28] Morgan, *Travellers through Empire,* 3-6.
[29] Morgan, *Travellers through Empire,* 9.

undermines imperially designed borders by her evaluation of networks. Highlighting stories of Indigenous missionaries such as Peter Jones who participated in a global missionary movement and held knowledge of "missionary work in the Pacific and India."[30] In all, the contextual specificity which Morgan proposes allows for a critical examination of specific persons as well as an acknowledgement of Indigenous diversity in culture and circumstance.

Coll Thrush's 2016 work *Indigenous London* demonstrates an incorporation of Indigenous worldviews and methodologies in the historiography of Indigenous ocean voyages. It asks not only why Indigenous Peoples travelled, firmly locating them within their nation's context, but how they perceived their voyages to London.[31] His argument demonstrates that "Indigenous Peoples around the world, far from being passive victims or metaphorical foils, have in fact actively engaged with and helped create the world we call modern."[32] Thrush situates Indigenous history as urban, far from the myth of the living in the "backwater." Furthermore, he argues that Indigenous Peoples living in or travelling to England experienced London in a uniquely Indigenous way. As a result, Indigenous Peoples influence the urban and convert London into an Indigenous space, linked between past, present, and future, as Indigenous visitors understood their environments through their own perspectives and cultures. Thrush recognizes that the challenge of history and colonialism "is one of memory as much as it is of what actually happened… London's Indigenous history is an enforced silence, not the hidden-ness of past events… the people in this book… did not need discovering. Indigenous peoples never do."[33] Thrush uses storytelling and the narrative form to tell London's Indigenous histories. This entangles Indigenous histories into the story of London by building a narrative connection to

[30] Morgan, *Travellers through Empire,* 239.
[31] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 3.
[32] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 14.
[33] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 6.

London's places and spaces. In itself, this is a particularly important addition because it incorporates an Indigenous worldview where "tribal stories are not…oriented within the linearity of time, but rather they transcend time and fasten themselves to places."[34] This style is constant throughout the book. For instance, Thrush tells the story of a heated encounter with the Cherokee diplomat Utsidihi at Vauxhall using the narrative form. He writes, "the night wore on; the alcohol flowed; the crowds grew, and grew threatening… the man drew his weapon, the crowd surged open around them. For Utsidihi, this was the final indignity."[35] Further demonstrating an understanding of Indigenous methodologies, Thrush emphasizes a shared experience between Indigenous travellers around the world.[36] Indigenous North American, Maori, Hawaiian, and Australian Aboriginals are given equal space in this narrative. These groups are treated distinctly but are linked in the publication to provide a "deeply human" and Indigenous story.

Moving from Quinn's troubling depictions of Manteo and Wanchese to a recent attempt at understanding the thousands of Indigenous voyages through Indigenous frameworks, scholars have expanded the size, scope, and impact of Indigenous voyages. Networks of movement and exchange are now viewed as increasingly more complex than simplified one-way imperial relationships of colonized and colonizer. However, many past works did not centre Indigenous Peoples, leading ultimately to a failure to fully understand Indigenous motivations, perspectives, and worldviews in encounters. Consequently, from the 1980s to the 2000s several scholars continued to portray Indigenous Peoples, histories, and experiences as peripheral. Future scholars must ensure that Indigenous Peoples, perspectives, and methodologies are recognized and

[34] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 96.
[35] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 69.
[36] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 24.

centred as Indigenous voyages, worldviews, and movement are crucial to an understanding of the early modern past.

Indigenous Material Culture and Tobacco

Material culture analysis offers a unique tool to uncover the diverse perspectives of Indigenous Peoples. Rather than relying solely on written texts— which are usually recorded and skewed by colonial powers— a recognition of Indigenous-made objects and technology as active agents of human expression, culture, communication, and knowledge transmission gives the historian a window into the perspectives of those who are silent, or misconstrued, by the written record. In the context of the Haudenosaunee-Mohican diplomats, few written sources exist which illuminate their understandings of the voyage. Therefore, in this work a material culture analysis which includes Indigenous voices and methodologies fills these archival gaps. Historian Leora Auslander articulates, "each form of human expression has its unique attributes and capacities; limiting our evidentiary base to one of them—the linguistic—renders us unable to grasp important dimensions of human experience, and our explanations of major historical problems are thereby impoverished."[37] Importantly, analytical contexts for material culture differ as consumption, display, and the physical use of objects illuminate the specific socio-cultural dimensions of objects. That being said, socio-cultural understandings of materials and exchange can differ, overlap, or be tied together in order to allow historians to find common understanding between historical actors and cultures.

Material culture and scholarship on Indigenous Peoples have often worked together to uncover the past. Indigenous material culture holds unique meanings to diverse nations and cultures. How Indigenous Peoples interact with objects through wear, consumption, exchange, or

[37] Leora Auslander, "Beyond Words," *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (2005): 1015.

presence is steeped in culture, tradition, and worldview. Thus, the presence or absence of goods or material action communicates the expectations of historical relationships, motivations, and knowledge. According to Sherry Farrell Racette, "the notion that objects are alive and infused with spirit is articulate throughout the Indigenous world."[38] Tobacco, pipes, drums, pouches, and many other objects converse with individuals through a reflexive process which potentially inspires and changes action. Therefore, objects are actors which inspire, hold stories and memories, and have the ability to influence humans. Learning to "see" the significance of specific goods from an Indigenous perspective activates their meaning in historical contexts and respects the spirit within objects. In the Haudenosaunee context, Onondowahgah (Seneca) scholar Penelope Kelsey writes, "wampum belts are intrinsically linked to the Hodinöhsö:ni' visual code…a set of mutually understood symbols and images that communicate culturally-embedded ideas to the viewer; these symbols arise from traditional forms such as pottery, beadwork, wampum, and sculpture."[39] In this way, cultural knowledge is embedded within material objects. Recognizing this engages with historical and contemporary Indigenous worldviews to illuminate the priorities, wishes, and worlds of those surrounding.

Importantly, in order to credit Indigenous Nations for their significant role in developing the early modern world as sophisticated knowledge producers it is crucial to acknowledge Indigenous material culture and expression as a form of technology and technological development. In 2017, historian Marcy Norton proposed an alternative definition of a term, which is often associated with Eurocentrism, materially represented by European guns, steel, writing, and Enlightenment science. She suggests, "a definition that would allow for the

---

[38] Sherry Farrell Racette, Alan Corbiere, and Crystal Migwans, "Pieces Left Along the Trail: Material Culture Histories in Indigenous Studies," in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies,* eds. Chris Andersen and Jean O'Brien (London: Routledge, 2017), 227.
[39] Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hondinöhsö:ni' Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014), xxi.

inclusion of cultivated or even foraged plants, as well as prepared foods…for communication devices and literacies, auditory and kinesthetic arts like music, dance and prey stalking, and building and furniture technologies such as thatching and hammocks."[40] While she understands the term technology's conflations with modernity, progressivism, and Eurocentrism, her use of the term in a broader sense recognizes the "impact of (native) Americ(ans) and Afric(ans) on Europe" to "change the narrative from European discoveries to introductions by Native Americans and other non-Europeans."[41] The sharing or transmission of knowledge to non-Indigenous Peoples allowed for the incorporation of Indigenous practice into European custom. Knowledge of consumables such as tobacco, chocolate, tomatoes, turkeys, potatoes, maize, vanilla, and many others, had to be learned from Indigenous Peoples who directed Europeans on the proper methods of consumption. Indigenous Peoples learned of these items through years of interaction, relationships with the land, environment, and one another, and technological development.

As the Atlantic has expanded beyond the national, economic, and imperial towards cross-cultural interaction and multinational perspectives, works on tobacco have slowly recognized Indigenous knowledge and technological development. Reflected in the historiography, previous works on tobacco emphasized the European drive for economic gain and finding cure-all medicines as the reason for adopting and incorporating the plant.[42] In this way, Europeans fit the desire for tobacco into their own motivations of capital gain, expansion, and science, ridding commodities of their Indigenous connections. In general, historians from the 1950s to the 1970s

---

[40] Marcy Norton, "Subaltern Technologies and Early Modernity in the Atlantic World," *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 1 (2017): 18. The authour's emphasis.
[41] Norton, "Subaltern Technologies," 27-28.
[42] Paul G.E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore From Tobacco to Grain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980); Jacob M. Price, *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, ands of its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973); Herbert J. Spinden, *Tobacco is American: The Story of Tobacco before the Coming of the White Man* (New York: New York Public Library, 1950).

credit "great" Europeans with bringing the plant to Europe including little mention of plebeian mariners or the Indigenous Nations who gave them the knowledge of consumption and the plant.[43] However, as the Atlantic expanded to include studies of labourers and mariners, works on tobacco began to highlight the social dimensions of consumption, crediting Indigenous Peoples for certain aspects of European patterns of consumption. Jordan Goodman's *Tobacco in History* acknowledged the ways that European interaction with different Indigenous Nations influenced how they ultimately ended up consuming the plant.[44] Other full publications on tobacco followed suit, recognizing that Indigenous Peoples taught Europeans how to smoke.[45] However, there is frequently a cleansing processes mentioned where Europeans attempted to rid tobacco of its Indigenous associations.[46] Further complicating the story of tobacco movement, was the recognition of contraband networks in the historiography.[47] Unfortunately, many analyses fail to connect the physical action of teaching peoples how to smoke and use the plant as a medicine with the social and cultural knowledge required to teach Europeans when and why to smoke.

Marcy Norton's *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures* focused on the world of chocolate and tobacco within the Spanish-Mesoamerican context— a geographic region once left out of an Atlantic discourse which favoured European settlements and plantation labour in North

---

[43] Price, *France and the Chesapeake,* 3; Quinn, *Raleigh and the British Empire,* 240.
[44] Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), 67.
[45] Georgia Fox, *The Archaeology of Smoking and Tobacco* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), 19-21; V.G. Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991), 10-12.
[46] Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2008), 8.
[47] Joyce Lorimer, "The English Contraband Trade in Trinidad and Guiana, 1590-1617," in *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650,* eds. K.R. Andrew, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978).

America.[48] Importantly, Norton sees Indigenous tobacco and chocolate as "cultural artifacts" rather than products of a spiritless natural world.[49] By exploring the deep cultural and symbolic meaning behind Indigenous consumption, Norton illustrates which features of Indigenous consumption and belief were transplanted and incorporated into European practices in the colonies and abroad. Norton observes, "when Europeans and others came into contact with these goods, they learned not only about what tobacco and chocolate should taste like, smell like, look like, and where and when they should be consumed, but also about these more abstract associations."[50] By starting with the values that historical Indigenous Peoples placed on goods and then introducing diverse Europeans and mixed-race peoples to the narrative, Norton ensures that Mesoamerican and South American Indigenous knowledge is recognized for its ability to influence consumer cultures in the early modern Atlantic world "to see what happens if one tells the history of empire in reverse of conventional narratives, from the periphery to the center."[51] This work will address a gap in the historiography by attempting to fill in the narrative in the North Atlantic context.

Decolonizing the Discourse

This thesis becomes one thread in the decolonization of early modern history. Almost ten years ago, the prominent social historian Natalie Zemon Davis called for the decentering of history. A call to widen the historian's "scope, socially and geographically" by ensuring

[48] Amy Turner Bushnell, "Indigenous America and the Limits of the Atlantic World, 1493-1825," in *Atlantic History; A Critical Appraisal,* eds. Jack P. Greene and Phillip D. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 191.
[49] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 4.
[50] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 9.
[51] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 12.

"subalterns and their practices and beliefs carry the narrative."[52] Indeed, the historiography of the Indigenous Atlantic has reflected this move from notions of imperialism and perceived Indigenous weakness, to a recognition of networks of Indigenous resistance, impact, power, agency, and change. Rather than one-way narratives of all-powerful settler colonialism or competing empires, scholars of the Atlantic and the global have acknowledged an entanglement, or interconnectedness of the world.[53] In this way, Indigenous and subaltern peoples interact and shape historical contexts creating multidirectional networks of social, cultural, economic, political, and material exchange.[54] Works including *The Red Atlantic, Indigenous London, Travellers Through Empire,* and *The Transatlantic Indian,* demonstrated that Indigenous Peoples have not been physically limited by imposed imperial borders, but have asserted themselves, their identities, and cultures to ensure that "Indians, far from being marginal to the Atlantic experience, were, in fact, as central as Africans."[55] However, there is still much work to be done. A focus on methodologically utilizing Indigenous knowledge and worldviews to decentre imperial perspectives acts to decolonize and Indigenize the history of the Atlantic. Incorporating alternative methodologies, such as material culture and Oral History, and relying, whenever possible, on the voices of Indigenous scholars to build historical narratives works to create representative histories built on multiple perspectives and worldviews.

Knowledge is political. Including perspectives of the "subaltern" not only recognizes the perspectives of Indigenous Peoples but is essential to contemporary decolonization projects. This incorporation is crucial to recognize and dismantle the role of Western-focused enlightenment

---

[52] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World," *History and Theory* 50 (May 2011): 190.
[53] Norton, "Subaltern Technologies," 18.
[54] Kate Fullagar and Michael A. McDonnell, "Empire, Indigeneity and Revolution," in *Facing Empire: Indigenous Experiences in a Revolutionary Age,* eds. Kate Fullagar and Michael A. McDonnell (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018), 15.
[55] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic*, 17.

discourse in oppression and colonization which constructed and validated so-called universal truths and racial categories about the inferiority of Indigenous Peoples and created systems of power which undermined and attempted to invalidate Indigenous cultures, perspectives, and Oral Histories.[56] Nehiyawak (Cree) scholar Margaret Kovach observes, "while colonization came to affect every aspect of Indigenous life, Western science in particular has worked to first subjugate and then discredit Indigenous knowledge systems and the people themselves….science was used to support an ideological and racist justification for subjugating Indigenous cultures and ways of knowing."[57] In consequence, Western knowledge systems and Darwinian theory firmly planted subaltern peoples as inferior, nonevolved, nonmodern, and uneducated.[58] In Canada as in other settler colonial countries, perceptions of Indigenous inferiority and Anglo-European superiority created lasting harm to Indigenous Nations through colonial legislation, military action, removal, and regulation. Therefore, writing histories which incorporate Indigenous ways of knowing can alter present discourse which still works to dispossess Indigenous Nations. In fact, the subject of history writing is as crucial to decolonization as reclaiming land, language, knowledge, and sovereignty rests on contested accounts of the past which privileged Western knowledge and research methods.[59] An incorporation of Indigenous ways of knowing and using a decolonizing lens "identifies the centrality of voice and representation in research" constituting a first step in Indigenizing the history the early modern world.[60]

With the purpose of this history to decolonize and Indigenize history, I need to place myself in relation to this research so the reader can understand the cultural knowledge embedded

---

[56] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* 77.
[57] Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* 77.
[58] Dipesh Chakraborty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 9.
[59] Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, "Introduction: Dressing Global Bodies," in *Dressing Global Bodies: The Political Power of Dress in World History,* eds. Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello (London: Routledge, 2020), 6; Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 80.
[60] Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies,* 81.

in this work. This paper is not written from a place of supposed objectivity, but is heavily influenced by my knowledge, upbringing, and my accountability and connections to peoples and places.[61] First, the majority of this thesis was written from Treaty Six Territory in Edmonton/ Amiskwaciwâskahikan the ancestral territory of the Papaschase, the homeland of the Métis Nation, and a traditional gathering place for the Nehiyawak, Nitsiitapi, Nakoda, Haudenosaunee, Métis, Dene, Anishinaabe, and Inuit. I am thankful for their generosity in sharing this land and their cultures and knowledges with me. Second, I come from a settler heritage made up of English, French-Canadian, Irish, German, Polish, Romanian ancestors who built their homes on Treaty Four and Treaty Six lands in northeastern Alberta and southern Saskatchewan. As a result, I am a beneficiary of Indigenous land dispossession. I grew up and attained my formal and informal education in Regina, Saskatchewan, completing my undergraduate at the University of Regina. My relationships with Indigenous communities began in 2012 when I accepted a job as an after-school program staff member at a community school in Regina's North Central— a predominately Indigenous neighbourhood dubbed, "Canada's Worst Neighbourhood" by a 2007 and 2017 article in Maclean's Magazine. The students in my care were almost all of Indigenous backgrounds made up predominately of Nehiyawak, Anishinaabe, Nakota, and Métis children and families. Developing relationships with the children and their families, I learned and witnessed first-hand the impacts of ongoing colonialism and the racism and discrimination these children faced. While observers of the neighbourhood and school only saw crime and poverty, I was welcomed, cared for, and taught to understand the cultures, families, values, and people who had been ignored and discounted by many others. I hold my experiences and the relationships I

[61] Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "Relationality: A Key Presupposition of an Indigenous Social Research Paradigm," in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies,* eds. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien (Oxon: Routledge, 2017) 70-71.

built in North Central close to my heart. It is but one of my life experiences which has profoundly impacted the political nature of this work.

Networks of travel, goods, and knowledge are never one-sided. They are woven together to generate new meanings and understandings. However, understanding these networks requires the incorporation of differing knowledge systems and worldviews. Few scholars of Indigenous movement have employed a particularly "Indigenous" methodology or worldview. Indigenous scholars including Margaret Kovach, Heather Harris, Chris Andersen, and Jean O'Brien have proposed alternate research methodologies to encourage the incorporation and privileging of Indigenous knowledge into a largely Western academic tradition of positivism, categorization, and empiricism. [62] Defining an Indigenous worldview or knowledge structure is built on common understandings of the world shared by diverse Indigenous Peoples. Several scholars of various Indigenous backgrounds including Hawaiian, North American, and Maori share the idea that diverse Indigenous worldviews are similar enough to be categorized together.[63] These worldviews are, in general, founded on a rejection of binaries and dichotomies and a belief in interconnectedness, equality, and universal relationships. These connections extend to all life, space, and time; past, present, and future are bound together and inseparable.[64] Using these views, history writing must be based in analyses and recognitions of diverse, yet interconnected, experiences. Thereby, the history of the physical and the material Atlantic must include a conversation between Indigenous perspectives and Western perspectives. Each perspective is distinct but has the ability to influence each other which creates new spaces, experiences, and

---

[62] Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, "Indigenous Studies an Appeal for Methodological Promiscuity," in *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies,* eds. Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien (Oxon: Routledge, 2017), 1–12; Heather Harris, "Indigenous Worldviews and Ways of Knowing as Theoretical and Methodological Foundations for Archaeological Research," in *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonising Theory and Practice*, eds. Claire Smith and H. Martin Wobst (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), 30–38; Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies,* 56.
[63] Harris, "Indigenous Worldviews and Ways of Knowing," 31.
[64] Harris, "Indigenous Worldviews and Ways of Knowing," 32.

understandings of the past, present, and future. Without an incorporation of Indigenous knowledge and methodologies, transatlantic histories risk the imposition of Western research principles which lack an ability to contextualize visits from an Indigenous perspective.

With this in mind, this work tells the story of historical Indigenous physical and material movement from what the imperial power saw as the periphery to the imperial centre using Indigenous methodologies and research paradigms. The story of encounter and entanglement in the North Atlantic credits the knowledge of diverse Indigenous Nations interconnected with the British, French, Swedish, Basque, and Dutch worlds. The first chapter of this thesis centres the perspectives of the Haudenosaunee-Mohican diplomats in the 1710 visit to Queen Anne. I begin by outlining the nuances of Haudenosaunee diplomatic code and the Kayanerenkó:wa (the Great Law of Peace). This roots the diplomatic visit in an Indigenous worldview before proceeding to the narrative of the voyage. I pay close attention to the material and the spatial, reading the history of the delegates through non-traditional means. From there, the work expands in scope and focus to understand the *material* impact of Indigenous Peoples. By intentionally merging both individual instances of diplomatic Indigenous movement and the material legacies of Indigenous technologies. This thesis shows that Indigenous Peoples had the ability to influence and alter multiple aspects of the human experience. The second chapter of this work includes the incorporation of Indigenous tobacco knowledge and technology into English, and wider European, diplomatic practice. Tobacco's remarkable connective and diplomatic capabilities were learned directly from European interaction with Indigenous Peoples on Turtle Island. By the seventeenth century, tobacco was smoked and snuffed across the globe with Europeans utilizing the plant in ways which mirrored Indigenous consumption. It is a necessary inclusion in the historiography of tobacco and the Red Atlantic as it incorporates Indigenous Nations and

their relations with European mariners as the catalyst for knowledge transmission to Europe. In all, my research demonstrates that the physical and material presence of Indigenous Peoples and goods in England and other proximate spaces altered formal and informal diplomatic protocols at the heart of empire. In formal statecraft, the four diplomats successfully expressed and performed Indigenous diplomatic protocols in London using the established Haudenosaunee language of diplomacy, mediated by material objects such as Wampum and tobacco. The highest authority in the British empire, Queen Anne, accepted the diplomatic gifts which affirmed Anglo-Indigenous relationships on Turtle Island. While their visit was short, it was one of many formal and informal Indigenous presences which confronted Europeans in their home territories. The acceptance of Wampum Belts and strings at St. James' Palace and the smoking and snuffing of tobacco in coffeehouses, taverns, and palaces, transformed London into a space indebted to thousands of years of Indigenous technological development.

In my research on tobacco and Indigenous diplomacy, I have attempted to utilize Indigenous voices and language whenever possible. In the world of colonial historical sources, contemporary voices can occasionally provide the clearest understandings of Indigenous cultures. However, as this is a Master's thesis and I am limited in resources, it is crucial to note that I did not complete this work in consultation with the Haudenosaunee, the Kanien'kehá:ka, or the Mohican Nation. As a result, there are gaps in this story, questions I was unable to answer, and personal motivations for writing this history which are decontextualized from the community. It is my hope that future studies and questions of the Indigenous diplomats of 1710 work in conjunction with community Knowledge Keepers to further understand Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican perspectives of the mission and its significance to the contemporary community. To somewhat rectify this omission, I have privileged the perspectives of Indigenous scholars and

Elders who have shared their knowledge of their own cultures and worldviews in the written form and in conversation. This extends to both historical and contemporary voices who have contributed to a growing archive of Indigenous-written materials. Specific works have guided my understanding of Haudenosaunee cultures. Ononda'gega (Onondaga) legal scholar Kayanesenh Paul Williams has provided the bulk of my understanding of the Kayanerenkó:wa (the Great Law of Peace) which has allowed me to frame the diplomatic visit through an Indigenous lens rooted in history and political tradition. Community-based researcher Jeanette Rodriguez's conversations with Kanien'kehá:ka Condoled Bear Clan Mother Iakoiane Wakerahkats:teh and Onondowahgah (Seneca) scholar Barbara Alice Mann's *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas,* have contributed to my understanding of the political significance of women and Clan Mothers in the Haudenosaunee.[65] Of tobacco, Wampum, and the story of the Peacemaker I have learned their stories from the above works as well as Haudenosaunee Oral Traditions transcribed from Chief John A. Gibson, the Cornplanter, and contemporary voices including Onondowahgah scholar Penelope Kelsey.[66] I have also respected the voices of Indigenous scholars around me. In conferences and conversations, their insights have provided valuable additions and challenges to this work. In particular, I would like to thank my colleague and friend, Sharon Venne (Notokwew Muskwa Manitokan) for challenging me to deeply consider the relevancy of Clans, Clan Mothers, and the Clan membership of the Haudenosaunee diplomats sent overseas in 1710. Further, I am indebted to those along the way that have shared their life perspectives with me. In particular, Indigenous community members from Treaty Two,

---

[65] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); Rodriguez and Wakerahkats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call*.

[66] William Canfield, *The Legends of the Iroquois told by The* Cornplanter (Port Washington: Friedman, 1902); John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated in Onondaga*, eds. Hanni Woodbury, Reg Henry, and Harry Webster (Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, 1992); Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum*.

Treaty Four, and Treaty Six territories that I have had the privilege of working with over the past ten or more years. You have taught me the importance of listening first, understanding, truth-telling, and reconciling together. Thank you.

Chapter 2:
Two Wolves, A Bear, and A Turtle: Haudenosaunee Diplomacy in Eighteenth-Century London

Long ago, the Rotiyanershon and Clan Mothers of the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), Onayotekaono (Oneida), Ononda'gega (Onondaga), Guyohkohnyoh (Cayuga) and Onondowahgah (Seneca) gathered around the Central Fire. They were brought together by the Peacemaker who travelled across Turtle Island (North America) spreading his message of peace and cooperation.[1] Years of violence, bloody warfare, and feuding destroyed the lives of many in their homelands and forced apart families and nations. Now, their nations' representatives gathered together in the spirit of unity and reconciliation. Having accepted the Peacemaker's message, they awaited instructions. While the nations were no strangers to negotiation and diplomacy, the Peacemaker's words provided a diplomatic protocol which would govern them as one entity and shape their relationships with outsiders. First, he would define their relationships to one another. The Kanien'kehá:ka, Ononda'gega, and Onondowahgah will be related as fathers while the Onayotekaono and Guyohkohnyoh will be sons in the Confederacy. Together, the nations will govern together to achieve "a single mind"—consensus and understanding among the Rotiyanershon (male chiefs). The Peacemaker declared the women the backbone of the nations, with Clan Mothers bestowing the names and titles upon their chosen Rotiyanershon.[2] Next, the Peacemaker would plant a Great White Pine at the Central Fire at Onondaga, "that will put forth roots East, West, North, and South… near Thataotáho's [Onondaga] seat will be place a great white mat, a large bird's wing, and a rod suspended horizontally between two poles and

[1] John Arthur Gibson, *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated in Onondaga*, eds. Hanni Woodbury, Reg Henry, and Harry Webster (Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, 1992) Gibson's dictation uses the name of the Peacemaker. However, Haudenosaunee Clan Mothers maintain the custom to not speak his name outside of the sharing of Oral History in ceremony, see Jeanette Rodriguez and Iakoiane Wakerahkats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call: Reconstructing Haudenosaunee Cultural Memory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 41.

[2] Brian Rice, *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 218.

used for Wampum, all of these representing his power."[3] The first Wampum, made by the Peacemaker, consisted of five strings representing each nation "converging and joining into a single mind."[4] The Peacemaker's message, called the Kayanerenkó:wa (the Great Law of Peace), ensured all nations and Rotiyanershon would be equal in status with each nation holding different responsibilities to the collective Haudenosaunee.[5] The Onondowahgah would keep watch over the western door while the Kanien'kehá:ka would protect the east. At the centre, where the Sacred Tree was planted in Onondaga, sat the Firekeepers, a common ground where these newly joined nations would come together for diplomacy, ceremony, and friendship. If future conflicts should arise, the Peacemaker offered a solution, proposing, "if, in future days, the strength of the League should diminish, the chiefs should look for the largest tree they can find—a huge elm tree with large branches and roots extending deep into the earth—and there the nations should assemble in order to rekindle the fire and revive the League." Together, they would meet at Onondaga for decision making, negotiation, exchange and trade, ceremony and peace, calling themselves, the Haudenosaunee— the People of the Longhouse. Importantly, the Peacemaker's intent transcended national boundaries. Chief John Gibson continues, "And the reason he shall have such a name is that he will travel about on the earth; for he is the principal person both in the skyworld and here on earth. For understand, he brings with him Power…and also the Great Law…so that everything shall become peaceful…on earth as well as in the sky-world."[6] Contemporary Ononda'gega (Onondaga) scholar Kayanesenh Paul Williams elaborates, "his plan, with the Great White Roots of the Tree of Peace gradually spreading to the four

[3] Gibson, *Concerning the League,* xxvii.
[4] Kayanesenh Paul Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), 269.
[5] Gibson, *Concerning the League,* xix-xxxiii.
[6] Quoted in William Fenton, *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 85.

corners of the earth, was for universal peace, and that would mean that all the peoples of the world would eventually accept both the peace and the family relationships that would make it possible."[7] Calling for peace and understanding, the Kayanerenkó:wa worked with the overarching goal to unite all the peoples of the earth in shared understanding.

The Kayanerenkó:wa and Haudenosaunee Diplomatic Protocol

In 1912 at the age of 63, Chief John A. Gibson, the son of a Onondowahgah mother of the preeminent Turtle Clan and the Ononda'gega Chief John Gibson, dictated this history to a Russian anthropologist, Alexander Goldenweiser.[8] His life exemplifies the continuity and tradition in Haudenosaunee law and diplomacy which stretches across generations into the present. Chief Gibson exemplified the crucial qualities of Haudenosaunee diplomats, both past and present. He was a skilled orator and cultural intermediary, or go-between, speaking Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca, Oneida, Tuscarora, Mohawk, and English. His skill in rhetoric and knowledge of ceremony, which was passed from generation to generation, allowed him to serve as a speaker at the Onondaga Longhouse on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario in the late nineteenth century. He was admired by his people for his knowledge of Oral Tradition and ceremony. His words, compiled and published by a shared effort of Indigenous and non-Indigenous scholars and Haudenosaunee community members, have preserved the history, traditions, and laws of the Haudenosaunee for future generations.[9]

While efforts to write and document Indigenous traditions and histories are appealing to scholars and researchers, it is important to note that the writing of laws and traditions on paper

---

[7] Kayanesenh Paul Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), 275.
[8] Gibson, *Concerning the League,* xii-xiii
[9] Gibson, *Concerning the League,* acknowledgements.

remains an introduced, colonial European phenomenon. As a result, it is difficult to fully understand the nuances of Indigenous diplomatic culture without carefully consulting Indigenous voices (historical and contemporary) and emphasizing Indigenous material culture. Understanding the meanings embedded in diplomatic protocols allows for an acknowledgement of Indigenous perspectives and assertions in Euro-Indigenous negotiations without solely relying on Eurocentric written sources. In fact, among the Haudenosaunee, it is the memorization and internalization of laws and traditions which influence the conduct of the speakers. Williams elaborates, "one is supposed to learn by listening, and by practising…the human mind is where we keep important things… if you keep your law in your mind, you will also keep it *in mind.*"[10] Therefore, attention to the specific words and metaphors which historical Haudenosaunee speakers employ ensures that the full meaning of negotiations are understood.

Alongside spoken words are necessary objects of Indigenous diplomatic protocol. In this way, material objects become active expressions of culture and protocol with the ability to hold multiple meanings for those who engage with them. One of the most significant and sacred diplomatic objects for the Haudenosaunee, and other northeastern Indigenous Nations, is Wampum.[11] Beads made of shell, and later glass, strung together to form belts, serve as material documentation of historical events, agreements, and laws. Coloured shells of purple and white, traded from the coastal Munsee, Pequots, and other Algonquian speakers, were processed into beads by men and knotted together into belts by women, often during Council deliberations, to create intricately crafted symbolic and mnemonic patterns and designs.[12] Mentioned in the story

[10] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 107, 116.
[11] In adhering to Indigenous elements of style, I capitalize Wampum as a measure of respect and recognition of Indigenous national identities, governments, and legal traditions. See Gregory Younging, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples* (Brush Education, 2018), 77-79.
[12] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Iroquois Women, European Women," in *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader,* eds. Reina Lewis and Sara Mills (New York: Routledge, 2003), 137; Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The*

of the Peacemaker, Wampum is "readable" and acts as material reminders of both formal agreements and diplomatic exchange between nations stretching back hundreds of years.[13] Wampum represents "the voice and the word…its purpose…to affirm and validate the message transmitted."[14] Wampum was (and is) synonymous with Indigenous diplomacy in the Northeast. The sheer volume of Wampum exchanged between nations and their representatives highlights not only its ubiquity and necessity in international Indigenous diplomacy but records the frequency of diplomatic interaction in the seventeenth century. According to anthropologist Marshall Becker and Huron-Wendat curator Johnathan Lainey, "by the 1700s, the numbers of diplomatic belts noted in the many treaty records are so large that a simple listing has been recognized as a daunting task."[15] In Haudenosaunee Oral Tradition, the Two Row Wampum (Tekeni teyohá:te) was the first treaty belt to record an agreement between Europeans and Haudenosaunee dating back to Dutch-Haudenosaunee agreements in 1613.[16] Depicted as two parallel white lines on a purple background, the Two Row Wampum represents and codifies the intended relationship between Europeans and Haudenosaunee. The Wampum Belt depicts two rivers, one for Haudenosaunee canoes and the other for European vessels, travelling side-by-side but never interfering with one another.[17] The river, represented in every Wampum Belt, is used to define relationships and laws through time "since rivers were paths of communication, they—and the wampum belts that flowed— became part of symbolically keeping minds and

---

Gantowisas (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 100, 167; Paul Otto, "Wampum, Tawagonshi, and the Two Row Belt," *Journal of Early American History* 3 (2013): 110-125.

[13] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 113.

[14] Gilles Havard, *The Great Peace of Montreal: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 23.

[15] Marshall Becker and Jonathan Lainey, "The White Dog Sacrifice: A Post-1800 Rite with an Ornamental Use for Wampum," *Transactions of the American Philosophical* Society 103, no. 3 (2013): viii.

[16] Penelope Myrtle Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hodinöhsö:ni' Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014), 2.

[17] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 48; To view the Two Row Wampum please see the Haudenosaunee Confederacy website where the nation has presented their Wampum as desired.

paths open."[18] In the Two Row Wampum, Europeans and Haudenosaunee come together to share common ground and understanding as governed by the Kayanerenkó:wa (The Great Law of Peace).[19] Importantly, the Two Row Wampum memorializes the negotiations and treaties between Europeans and Indigenous Peoples on Turtle Island, setting a precedent for future relations. The physical action of exchanging and displaying Wampum imparts not only an acceptance of its terms, but an acceptance of the Indigenous protocols embedded in the diplomatic action. As a result, to understand Haudenosaunee diplomatic tradition one needs to consider the immense value of the use and presence of material objects. Together, written words, Oral Traditions, and material objects encompass the diplomatic laws which instruct the Haudenosaunee and other Indigenous Nations in the Northeast.

While Wampum remains the most well-known object of northeastern Indigenous creation, there are several other material objects and actions of Indigenous diplomacy. Like the exchange of Wampum, other items and physical actions hold diplomatic and symbolic value which combine the physical and the material. For instance, the presence or mention of the hatchet or the Sacred Pipe serve as diplomatic symbols of war, peace, or negotiation.[20] When physically used, these objects convey the intents of those in attendance. Thereby, the object and the action work in tandem. Next, physical movement and travelling also communicate symbolic and cultural values. As Haudenosaunee diplomats travel from their homelands, they pass natural and spiritual thresholds which demonstrate relationships of trust, friendship, and alliance.[21] In international relations, the more these paths and trails by land and water are used "the plainer

---

[18] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 49.
[19] Kelsey, *Reading the Wampum,* 2-3.
[20] Robbie Richardson, *The Savage and the Modern Self: North American Indians in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 167-184; Scott Manning Stevens, "Tomahawk: Materiality and Depictions of the Haudenosaunee," *Early American Literature* 53, no. 2 (2018)**:** 483-488; Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 332-333.
[21] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 46-47.

they are and the smoother they become."[22] Other factors such as the location of the meeting, the political identity of each diplomat, and of course, the appropriate gift exchanges necessary for diplomacy all contain latent and active meaning to Indigenous Peoples and the non-Indigenous peoples they negotiated with. To the Haudenosaunee, material objects like Wampum Belts are entangled with the history of the Peacemaker. Importantly, these assertions and expressions of diplomacy extend far beyond the edges of their home territories. Haudenosaunee diplomacy travelled widely across Turtle Island and asserted its presence across the Great Water (Atlantic Ocean), extending the roots of the Sacred Tree in all directions.[23] In all, it is impossible to divorce the material objects of diplomacy from their meanings. These items are inextricably linked to Indigenous culture and Indigeneity.

Before examining Haudenosaunee diplomatic assertions overseas, it is necessary to outline and understand parts of the Kayanerenkó:wa. The Haudenosaunee, called the Five Nations by Europeans, observed the Kayanerenkó:wa, brought by the Peacemaker, which served as a constitution that outlined Haudenosaunee societal structure, diplomatic protocol, and political life. Specifically, it created a distinctly Haudenosaunee structure which would maintain peace, yet autonomy by taking existing elements of social and political organization and adding new laws of interaction in politics and diplomacy.[24] The Kayanerenkó:wa is complex and imbued with meanings and structures which ensure balance and representation.[25] Importantly, Clan Mothers and women hold a separate Council, consider issues, and present them to the Men's Council at Onondaga and vice versa.[26] Before Councils words of thanksgiving

[22] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 41.
[23] Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travellers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 80.
[24] Davis, "Iroquois Women," 143.
[25] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 8-9.
[26] Mann, *The Gantowisas,* 121.

(Kanonhweratonhsera) are spoken.[27] Establishing gratitude brings participants together, generating understanding through the creation of one-mindedness (ska'níkon:ra) and goodwill. After these words, matters are presented to the Council and small groups of two to four Rotiyanershon, initially chosen by the Peacemaker, come to an agreement on the issue at hand.[28] The Elder Brothers, the Kanien'kehá:ka and Onondowahgah sit on one side of the fire, while the Younger Brothers, Onayotekaono (Oneida) and Guyohkohnyoh (Cayuga), sit on the other side. Each group has one speaker, who speaks on their behalf. The speaker stands (a mark of respect) on his side of the Council Fire and addresses others, then the other side deliberates and replies.[29] If needed, nations are allowed to leave the Longhouse to consult Clan Mothers, Clan members, or family members, ensuring that diplomacy includes the voices of Clan Councils and the home community.[30] There is also an emphasis in dealing with one issue at a time. This is visually represented in the form of a Wampum Belt hung on a pole, which "symbolized each item on the agenda."[31] With each request, comes a necessary presentation of Wampum Belts or individual strings of Wampum. Once an agreement takes place the principles of the Kayanerenkó:wa dictate that relations are consistently renewed and recalled, through verbal reminders, ceremony, and material exchange.[32] This allows people to keep agreements fresh in their minds, attain one-mindedness, and ensure goodwill between negotiating peoples.[33] In this way, the exchange of Wampum and other goods consistently renews the commitment between nations as well as acts as a tangible material reminder of history, treaty, and relationships. The Kayanerenkó:wa is law across Haudenosaunee territory, which traditionally stretches almost two hundred miles from the

[27] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* xi.
[28] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 282-283.
[29] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 238.
[30] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 291.
[31] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 292-293.
[32] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 75, 419.
[33] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 75.

Mohawk River Valley to the Genesee River, an area now called upstate New York.[34] However, the Kayanerenkó:wa and Haudenosaunee diplomatic protocols operated both inside and outside of Haudenosaunee territory.

The Haudenosaunee define themselves and their identity based on their relationships with one another and the wider community. One represents the Clan, the nation, and the Haudenosaunee. Nine Clans exist to present day: Bear, Wolf, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Heron, Eel, Snipe, and Hawk.[35] Clan membership is distributed matrilineally, but outsiders can be adopted through ceremony. Women hold an authoritative role in the community as the head of the Clan and household as extended families connected by women traditionally lived together in longhouses. The older women, called Clan Mothers, are responsible for the welfare of the clan.[36] According to Condoled Bear Clan Mother Iakoiane Wakerahkats:teh, "the Clan Mother's duties have to do with community affairs, the nation affairs (sic), and…the spiritual side…she must watch and always be ready to call the people together."[37] Strong and powerful voices, they chose and deposed Rotiyanershon (male chiefs), arranged marriages, appointed warriors and speakers, declared war and negotiated for peace, decided issues of citizenship through adoption and naming, and acted as judges and mediators.[38] Some Clans, most commonly the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle, stretch across Indigenous Nations, linking diverse peoples through the common personality traits associated with each Clan.[39] As a result, diplomats from other Indigenous

---

[34] Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks*: *Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 16; Other Haudenosaunee communities are found in contemporary Ontario and Quebec.
[35] Rodriguez and Wakerahktas:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call,* 38- 39.
[36] Rodriguez and Wakerahktas:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call,* 1.
[37] Rodriguez and Wakerahktas:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call, 18.*
[38] James Taylor Carson, "Molly Brant: From Clan Mother to Loyalist Chief," in *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives,* ed. Theda Perdue (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 49; Mann, *The Gantowisas,* 119, 144.
[39] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 69.

Nations are greeted by and negotiate with members of the same Clan.[40] Each nation has appointed Rotiyanershon from each Clan who are given a name and title by Clan Mothers.[41] These names, and all other Haudenosaunee names, belong to Clans and have been "carried by many other individuals in the past" creating a relationship between its carrier, their ancestors, families, and the future generations.[42] In this way, it is "belonging [that] gives a person identity [and] existence…one steps into a complex web of protection and duty, rights and obligations."[43] It is for this reason that allies, such as the English, Dutch, or Anishinaabe, were defined in relation to the Haudenosaunee and referred to as "brothers" to denote equality (with elder brothers having more privileges), "nephews" to show deference, or "cousin." In initial meetings with the Haudenosaunee, outsiders are often given a new name. Williams elaborates:

> [Naming] gave them not only existence but also protection and obligation. Now they had a place to stay and relatives to stay with. Now they were related to the Haudenosaunee as members of the family…Often those who were given names in this way understood the honour without grasping the reciprocity and obligation involved.[44]

As a result, every citizen of the Haudenosaunee and those who enter into relations with them, are defined as a part of a system of multiple diplomatic and relational identities.

Encountering and Incorporating Europeans

As the French, Dutch, and English established their North American colonies, collaboration with Indigenous Peoples, and an acceptance of their ways of being (albeit not uncritically), was crucial to future success.[45] New colonial forts and settlements relied heavily on

---

[40] Tom Mitrod, *The Memory of All Ancient Customs: Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2012), 26.
[41] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 21; Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 282;
[42] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 5, 73.
[43] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 125-126.
[44] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 397.
[45] Gail MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 2.

their connection to Indigenous Peoples. Not only did Indigenous Nations provide economic prosperity through the trading of peltry, but local Indigenous knowledge of flora and fauna, geography, history, and Indigenous politics, ensured European survival on the continent. Gradually, Europeans incorporated themselves into the geopolitical and diplomatic landscape of Turtle Island, renaming it America. Countless moments of interaction through wars, trade relationships, and alliances throughout the seventeenth century culminated in two distinct geopolitical entities at the start of the eighteenth century. In the north, the French, who clustered around the St. Lawrence River, forged alliances with proximate Indigenous Nations: the Wendat (Huron), Odawa, Potawatomi, Anishinaabe (Ojibwas), and other Great Lakes Nations. In the south, the Haudenosaunee, Dutch, and English forged a mutual relationship known as the Covenant Chain.[46]

Nestled to the south of the tiny, burgeoning colony of New France, and to the west of the Dutch (later English) colony of New Amsterdam/New York, the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) were an important force on the continent. Their geographic territory as well as their military strength meant they held a powerful role both in Indigenous and Euro-American politics in the middle of the seventeenth century.[47] The Kanien'kehá:ka, like other Haudenosaunee, built fortified villages along the crucial interconnected waterways of the Northeast, called "castles" by European sources. Their homelands on the Mohawk River flowed into the Hudson Valley which facilitated merchant, diplomatic, and military movement to the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence, the Atlantic coast, and beyond. Without an alliance, those encroaching into Kanien'kehá:ka territory were often threatened. Geographically, their position between the two competing colonies of New France and New Amsterdam/New York allowed the exploitation of imperial competition for

[46] Havard, *Great Peace of Montreal,* 16.
[47] Michael Laramie, *King William's War: The First Contest for North America, 1689-1697* (Yardley: Westholme, 2017), 2.

their benefit. In the Haudenosaunee, the Kanien'kehá:ka are the "Keepers of the Eastern Door"—a distinction given by the Peacemaker—denoting responsibility for interactions with eastern neighbours such as the Mohican, Dutch, and English. Beginning in 1609, frequent diplomatic and trade relations with the Dutch fur traders at Fort Orange (Albany) meant that Kanien'kehá:ka learned of the European rivalries nearby and across the ocean. This knowledge allowed the Kanien'kehá:ka to exploit the European merchant dependency on peace and furs as a tool to leverage better goods, prices, and treaties. While the Kanien'kehá:ka were formally allied with the English and Dutch through the Covenant Chain this relationship was not perceived as exclusive.[48] When English or Dutch traders did not provide quality goods or prices at Albany, the Kanien'kehá:ka could simply look for a better price among the French in Montreal.[49] Their proximity to Albany gave them a unique middling position between the Europeans and the rest of the Haudenosaunee as well as Indigenous Nations to the south and east. According to historian Kate Fullagar, "with the territory nearest to Albany…they were the Iroquois [Haudenosaunee] most likely to be familiar with English ways and most resentful of French threats."[50] By controlling and ferrying goods westward from Albany as well as establishing European connections for Indigenous Peoples, the Kanien'kehá:ka became more closely allied to the English than the rest of the Haudenosaunee. [51]

Europeans had to adapt to Indigenous protocols of diplomacy and abide by the Kayanerenkó:wa in order to ensure political and military alliances were successful. During these moments, the protocols set by the Kayanerenkó:wa reached out to non-Indigenous nations. At the heart of these diplomatic relationships was a European acceptance of the importance of

---

[48] Timothy Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2008), 44.
[49] Laramie, *King William's War,* 6-9.
[50] Kate Fullagar, *The Savage Visit: New World People and Popular Imperial Culture in Britain, 1710-1795* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 42.
[51] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks,* 76.

Indigenous methods of diplomacy. [52] These adaptations manifested themselves through principles of reciprocal gift giving, a respect for rhetoric, an understanding of Indigenous protocol, and the exchange and acceptance of Wampum Belts. A meeting held at Trois-Rivières between the Kanien'kehá:ka, Wendat, other unspecified Algonquin nations, and the French, illustrates French understandings of Indigenous diplomatic protocols. In the earliest written record of formal Euro-Indigenous diplomacy in 1645, Jesuit missionary Barthelemy Vimont observed that two poles were planted "and a cord stretched…on which to hang and tie the words that they were to bring us, that is to say, the presents they wished to make us, which consisted of seventeen collars of porcelain beads [Wampum]."[53] Kiotsaeton, the Kanien'kehá:ka speaker, presented Wampum with each request to the Wendat, Algonquins, and French ambassadors. [54] Importantly, treaty minutes suggest that French ambassadors understood the meaning of reciprocal exchange and Wampum. Vimont stated that after the conference, "on the fourteenth of the same month, Monsieur the Governor replied to the presents of the Iroquois by fourteen gifts, all of which had their meanings and which carried their own messages…Thus was peace concluded with them."[55] By the eighteenth century, Europeans were using Wampum to seal agreements. In 1700, the Earl of Bellomont offered Wampum to the Haudenosaunee, verbalizing Indigenous diplomatic meaning: "Brethren you are to understand that the Belt I give you is to be a pledge between us of mutuall friendship."[56] European diplomatic understandings also extended

---

[52] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements,* 2.
[53] Barthelemy Vimont, "Treaty of Peace Between the French, The Iroquois, and Other Nations," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League,* eds. Francis Jennings et al. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985) 127*,* 139.
[54] William Fenton, Francis Jennings, and Mary Druke,"The Earliest Recorded Description: The Mohawk Treaty with New France at Three Rivers, 1645," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League,* eds. Francis Jennings et al. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 128.
[55] Vimont, "Treaty of Peace Between the French, The Iroquois, and Other Nations," 143.
[56] John Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 4, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1854), 746.

to their acceptance of Indigenous names and kinship terms. Sometimes, failing to use the correct kinship terms properly risked harming negotiations. In 1688, English Governor Edmund Andros attempted to impose father-son terminology when meeting with the Haudenosaunee.[57] In response, Kanien'kehá:ka delegates hastily reiterated their relationship stating, "wee were called Brethren, and that was also well kept; therefore let that of Brethren continue without any alteration" offering a "Belt of Wampum eight deep" to confirm and memorialize this relationship.[58] Skilled negotiators understood the necessity of utilizing Indigenous diplomatic protocols. In 1692, at a meeting of the "Chiefe Sachims of the Indians of the Five Nations" at Albany City Hall, Governor Fletcher understood how the absence of trade goods was a diplomatic omission. Realizing this violation, he excused himself by stating, "I am come now in great haste and brought noe presents with me, but designe to be with you." To recover, Fletcher importantly included a Condolence, a requirement of the Kayanerenkó:wa, in hopes that his acknowledgement of their established relationship and his respect for Haudenosaunee diplomatic tradition might excuse him: "something to wipe off your tears for the losse of your relations, which I heartily condole."[59] The Ononda'gega speaker Sadekanaktie agreed to his request, seemingly impressed by the Fletcher's understanding of their diplomatic protocol: "Brother Cajenquiragoe…you have acquainted with us of old, that it hath always been our custom first to condole the death of those who are killed by the enemy… we return your excellency thanks for remembering our dead."[60] These moments of shared cultural exchange heavily favoured Indigenous diplomatic protocol. In this way, the Haudenosaunee incorporated Europeans under the Kayanerenkó:wa.

---

[57] Havard, *Great Peace of Montreal,* 29-30.
[58] Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 3, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan, (Albany, 1853), 559.
[59] DRCNY, vol. 4, 21.
[60] DRCNY, vol. 4, 22-23.

However, the presence and use of Haudenosaunee diplomatic protocol by Indigenous and Europeans negotiators was not limited to the Grand Council at Onondaga, or the bustling trade posts of Albany, or even the growing Euro-American settlements of Montreal and New York, but extended its influence far across the Atlantic Ocean to the homelands of their European brothers in Turtle Island.

Haudenosaunee Diplomacy Across the Great Water

In December of 1709, three Kanien'kehá:ka and one Mohican travelled to Boston with Peter Schuyler and his cousin Abraham Schuyler to begin preparations for a diplomatic mission across the Atlantic.[61] Peter Schuyler, the mayor of Albany since 1686, was chosen by Colonel Samuel Vetch to gather the Indigenous delegation. Vetch hoped to make a case to Queen Anne for more troops and resources in order to make one final military offensive to remove the French from New France during the War of Spanish Succession, named Queen Anne's War on the continent.[62] Although Schuyler had been involved in some questionable land deals in 1698 which removed title from Kanien'kehá:ka lands, Schuyler had relationships with the Haudenosaunee as well as lifetime of experience negotiating with them.[63] Peter and his cousin Abraham spoke the Mohawk language and were intermediaries between Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities. Specifically, Peter was gifted the name Quider by the Kanien'kehá:ka—suggesting he had frequent relations with the nation. Joining them on the voyage was Major David Pigeon who acted as an interpreter for the Indigenous diplomats as well as the American-

[61] Richmond Bond, *Queen Anne's American Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 40-41.
[62] Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters,* 115-117.
[63] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 50.

born colonists unfamiliar with London. Interestingly, Peter Schuyler requested Pigeon due to his knowledge of Whitehall protocol.[64]

One of the Kanien'kehá:ka men, Tejonihokarawa, like his mother, was a member of the Wolf Clan.[65] His wife, called Catherine, was the daughter of Karanondo (Lydia) of the Turtle Clan, the oldest and most influential of the Kanien'kehá:ka Clans.[66] Tejonihokarawa's brother-in-law Tekarihoken was a Turtle Clan Rotiyanershon, appointed by Clan Mothers to identify consensus among the Kanien'kehá:ka at the local Council and the Grand Council in Onondaga.[67] Tejonihokarawa's name, which translates to "open the door," means he held a political role in the village which was likely an advantage of his marriage. As a result, he was responsible for opening the door of the Longhouse for those who wished to visit the Council at the village of Tiononderoge, called the "lower Mohawk castle" by colonists.[68] Born around 1660, as a young man in Tiononderoge, Tejonihokarawa witnessed negotiations between Europeans and Kanien'kehá:ka, learning of Haudenosaunee diplomatic protocols and European ways of negotiation. New York officials travelled frequently to Tiononderoge during his lifetime. In August 1675, he likely witnessed the visit of New York's Governor Sir Edmund Andros to the Council at Tiononderoge where they called him "corlaer"; a name previously given to Arent Van Curler, an earlier Dutch colonist who lived at Schenectady.[69] Tejonihokarawa was baptized in

---

[64] Fullagar, *The Savage Visit,* 42.
[65] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 37- 40.
[66] Barbara Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears: A Mohawk Family History* (Westminster: Heritage Books, 2006), 12.
[67] Tom Porter (Sakokweniónkwas), *And Grandma Said… Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down Through the Oral Tradition,* ed. Leslie Forrester (Xlibris, 2008), 335; Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 361.
[68] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 115 refers to Hendrick as coming from Schoharee which was likely the village of Tiononderoge which stood on the west bank of Schoharie Creek, near its confluence with the Mohawk River; Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 15; Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy,* 116.
[69] Jaap Jacobs, *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 396; Francis Jennings et al, "Descriptive Treaty Calendar," in *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League,* eds. Francis Jennings et al (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), 160.

the Dutch Reformed Church at Albany and took the name Hendrick.[70] By this point, he had developed collaborative relationships with settlers at Albany, but had also witnessed several changes in his community. War, disease, and the emigration of Kanien'kehá:ka French-Catholic converts to the north had slowly eroded his community from approximately seven thousand people in the 1630s to just a thousand by 1690.[71] By 1713, Tiononderoge was home to some 360 residents.[72] In comparison, Albany, a collection of English and Dutch merchants, traders, officials, farmers, and artisans, was nearing the same size as all the villages and towns in Kanien'kehá:ka territory.[73] Tejonihokarawa was chosen as a warrior and became a member of multiple raiding parties which fought against the French and Wendat.[74] At the beginning of the eighteenth century, divisions between pro-French and pro-English Kanien'kehá:ka put considerable pressure on the Haudenosaunee.[75] Tejonihokarawa emerged as a crucial go-between and diplomat advocating for English allegiance and Protestant conversion. He was an emissary to New France and shared a close friendship with the Dutch Reformed missionary among the Kanien'kehá:ka, Godefridus Dellius.[76] Tejonihokarawa was familiar with the diplomatic protocols set by the Kayanerenkó:wa. He frequently acted as a speaker at Albany conferences throughout the early eighteenth century— appearing in treaty minutes in 1700, 1701, and 1702.[77] By the time he was preparing for his overseas voyage in Boston he was in his late forties or early fifties. Well-experienced, Tejonihokarawa had spent much of his life interacting with Europeans and learning of their traditions, religion, and protocols—a perfect choice for the diplomatic mission to England.

---

[70] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 40.
[71] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 44-49.
[72] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements,* 29.
[73] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 45.
[74] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 32.
[75] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 66-71.
[76] DRCNY, vol. 4, 540.; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears*, 62.
[77] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 62-63.

Travelling alongside Tejonihokarawa was his Wolf Clan brother, Onioheriago from the neighbouring village of Canajoharie. Living approximately sixty miles from Albany, Onioheriago's village controlled the Upper Mohawk Valley. Therefore, good relations with his people were necessary for safe passage to the Great Lakes.[78] The two men were related matrilineally. In fact, historian Kate Fullagar speculates that Onioheriago and Tejonihokarawa were brothers.[79] Regardless, from a Haudenosaunee perspective, their shared Wolf lineage and kinship brought their Clan's interests together at the Grand Council in Onondaga. In 1701, Onioheriago chose to covert to Protestantism, taking the name John (Johannes) during his baptism. His six children and spouse Louisa were also baptized Protestant during this period.[80] Firmly in the pro-English camp, Onioheriago acted as a representative for the Wolf Clan and the second major Kanien'kehá:ka village of Canajoharie.

The third diplomat was Sagayenkwaraton, taking the baptismal name of Brant, of the Bear Clan.[81] Living in the same village as Tejonihokarawa, he and his wife Margaret Kviethentha, are perhaps most well-known to historians for being the relatives of the reputable revolutionary Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant).[82] Sagayenkwaraton was his second name, given in 1700 which roughly translates to "disappearing smoke." This shows that he had been awarded an important ceremonial role in Haudenosaunee diplomacy at the turn of the century. It was Sagayenkwaraton's duty to carry a smoking brand from one village to kindle Council fires in other villages.[83] Alongside this duty, Sagayenkwaraton participated in conferences with the English at Albany and had enough political or military leverage that his threat to move to the St.

---

[78] Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*, 116.
[79] Fullagar, *The Savage Visit*, 42.
[80] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 64.
[81] Clan identified through their marks given on archival documents see Letters to Queen Anne, 1710, Add MS61647, f. 202-204, Blenheim Papers DXLVII, British Library, London, United Kingdom; Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 80.
[82] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 84.; Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 64.
[83] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 64.

Lawrence at a conference in August 1700 caused some consternation among English, Dutch, and Indigenous Peoples. Sagayenkwaraton expressed, "he had been in the wrong in designing to goe and live at Canada…and now fully resolv'd to stay in his own country and lyve and dye under the obedience of his Majestie of England and be further instructed in the trust Protestant Religion."[84] Recognizing the importance of this action, Robert Livingston, Secretary of Indian Affairs, promised "his Lordship would shew him all the kindness imaginable…united and live like loving brethren together."[85] While not a chosen Rotiyanershon, he was an accomplished and feared warrior in the Northeast, authorized to pursue the warpath by the Bear Clan Mothers. Just a year before the 1710 mission, Sagayenkwaraton had enough influence and political clout to be invited to Boston to witness the gathering of British troops and supplies ahead of Samuel Vetch's stunted invasion of New France.[86]

Finally, Etowaucum, a Turtle Clan Mohican from Schaghticoke joined the party.[87] While not a citizen of the Haudenosaunee, Etowaucum was active in Indigenous-European relations on the continent. Less is known of Etowaucum's early life. At some point, he, like the others, was baptized and took the name Nicholas.[88] By the end of the seventeenth century, he was a prominent war chief and intermediary in colonial affairs. His relationship with New York officials was expressed through allegiance on the battlefield and trust in his diplomatic skill. In the summer of 1691, he participated in a raiding party consisting of one hundred and two colonial militia led by Peter Schuyler, ninety two Kanien'kehá:ka led by six war chiefs, and sixty six Mohican warriors led by Etowaucum and three other war leaders against the French and their

[84] DRCNY, vol. 4, 731.
[85] DRCNY, vol. 4, 731.
[86] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 59.
[87] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 84.
[88] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 66.

Indigenous allies.[89] Etowaucum was praised for his diplomatic skill and intermediary status between Haudenosaunee and colonial officials. In 1695, he was chosen as an emissary to Onondaga on behalf of Major John Abeel to request a meeting with Governor Fletcher.[90]

Many sources from this period discount the political significance of Onioheriago, Sagayenkwaraton, and the Etowaucum. A contemporary of the diplomats, Mr. Barclay in New York stated that Tejonihokarawa was a "Great Prince" while "the other 3 were no Sachems."[91] Some present-day historians dismiss their significance as well. Historian Timothy Shannon suggests that "the four kings held by Nicholson and Schuyler might have been easily exposed as a bluff."[92] However, these criticisms are based on privileging Eurocentric sources which lack an understanding of the nuances of internal Haudenosaunee politics and power. Since the Kayanerenkó:wa called for balances of power, it meant that role and responsibilities were distributed evenly among members of the nation. Further, if not granted a direct role, citizens were able to exercise their voice through their Clans, Clan Mothers, and Rotiyanershon participating in local and Grand Councils. With this in mind, it is likely that the three, like Tejonihokarawa, participated in local Councils. From there, their voices extended to the Grand Council at Onondaga through Rotiyanershon or appointed speakers. While these threads of influence are difficult to trace through written sources, the Kayanerenkó:wa ensures that they had the opportunity to assert their voices. Most importantly, the diplomats were likely chosen to represent the interests of their Clans by the Clan Mothers.[93] University of British Columbia historian Coll Thrush observes "most important, they were go-betweens, key human links in the Covenant Chain; in fact, they may have been chosen by Haudenosaunee clan mothers and other

[89] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 31.
[90] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 65-66.
[91] Quoted in Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 58.
[92] Shannon, *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier*, 5.
[93] Mann, *The Gantowisas,* 180-181.

leaders to go to England."[94] With this in mind, Onioheriago, Sagayenkwaraton, and Etowaucum were far from "no sachems," but assertive Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican ambassadors. They were two Wolves, one Bear, and one Turtle, selected purposefully, who were empowered by their Clan Mothers to express their Clan and national desires overseas.

It is impossible to know what the four ambassadors were thinking as they boarded the *HMS Reserve* on the last day of February in 1710. Feelings of curiosity, anxiety, and excitement likely manifested as the voyage drew nearer. The presence of their trusted allies aboard, Peter Schuyler and Abraham Schuyler, must have provided them some comfort. However, to the Haudenosaunee, what exactly was beyond the ocean was only known through the stories, objects, and the knowledge that was brought to them through first-hand accounts. Europe was known to be a place of conflict which affected Haudenosaunee homelands. In a trade negotiation with Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohicans six years earlier at Albany, Peter Schuyler blamed "thee hard warrs in Europe" as a reason for unsatisfactory goods.[95] Certainly, the diplomats were not strangers to European-style settlements. Tejonihokarawa travelled to Schenectady, Albany, and New York, the latter was home to almost five thousand people.[96] However, London's population was over ten times greater at almost six hundred thousand.[97] While thousands of Indigenous Peoples ventured overseas, both intentionally as visitors and unintentionally as slaves and curiosities, this was the first time the Haudenosaunee would send diplomats across the ocean.[98]

---

[94] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 76.
[95] Propositions made by Three Mohogs and some River Indians and Waganhaer come from Tiogsagrondie, June 22, 1704, GLC03107.02078, p. 2, The Livingston Family Papers 31, Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, American History 1493-1945 Database.
[96] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks*, 85.
[97] Robert Bucholz and Joseph Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 185.
[98] Two French-allied Kanien'kehá:ka are recorded to have been taken to London as prisoners of war after an attack on Fort York during King William's War they were returned to New York on an English vessel see DRCNY, vol. 4, 258; The French and Canadiens kidnapped Haudenosaunee warriors to be sold as slaves into the Royal French Galleys for further information see Daniel Richter, "Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American

Their personal and collective goals were clear— providing at least some security and hope for their mission. First, they were to secure Protestant missionaries in order to disempower the French Jesuits who were converting their brothers to Catholicism and relocating many Haudenosaunee to Kahnawake and the St. Lawrence. Hopefully, this would stop the splitting of families, Clans, and villages due to the loss of brothers, sisters, cousins, and children to the north. Second, and most importantly, they would reaffirm their brotherhood with the English by exchanging gifts and words with the Great Queen. This would ensure that the Covenant Chain remained strong and that English troops, weapons, and goods would arrive to keep their encroaching enemies at bay.[99] In this way, England would be incorporated into "the Longhouse from the outside."[100] With an affirmation of the alliance and a pledge to support one another militarily, the Haudenosaunee hoped to secure the resources to finally remove the French threat from the north to restore peace to their homelands.[101] While warfare is not the overarching goal of the Kayanerenkó:wa, the law recognizes that its disappearance "is as impossible as creating universal goodness."[102] Sometimes Clan Mothers had to control peace by "regulating wars, appointing warriors, declaring war, and negotiating the peace that followed."[103]

However reassured as they may have felt by their allies and strong purpose, the voyage was particularly significant as the ocean was understood as a place of transition between worlds.[104] Water is sacred to the Haudenosaunee. In the creation story, the earth was a planet of

---

History" in *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, eds. Daniel Richter and James Merrell (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 25.

[99] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 74.

[100] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa* 393.

[101] Alden Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 116, 130-131.

[102] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 262.

[103] Mann, *The Gantowisas,* 180.

[104] George Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21, no. 4 (1986): 77-78.

water when Sky Woman fell and created land with the help of water creatures on the turtle's back.[105] Crossing the water meant leaving Turtle Island and travelling to completely distinct and new world.[106] The journey to the east, and farther from home, "moves one from being owner to guest to visitor to stranger."[107] Each geographic threshold was spiritually and symbolically significant as the diplomats moved from the relative safety of their home community to placing their well-being in the hands of others. Protection was also important aboard the ship as the sea was seen as a dangerous place. Like the European sailors and travellers aboard, the Haudenosaunee believed in great monsters, spirits, and mythical beasts under the deep water. Under the water "was the realm of the chiefs… of the game animal man-beings, and the fish… the giant horned or antlered, under(water) world serpent man-being and the horned or antlered under(water panther man-being)."[108] During a conference at Albany in 1710, after the homecoming of Etowaucum and his partners, Haudenosaunee delegates commended the bravery of Indigenous mariners. An unnamed Haudenosaunee speaker noted the perils of Atlantic journeys, "wee are glad that God has been pleased to spare you from ye dangers of ye Sea."[109] Another Canachknoie Speaker noted that the ocean was a "turbulent Element not to be resisted" where one could be met with "ye Peril of the deep."[110] While the men were all converted Protestants, their voyage was steeped in Haudenosaunee cultural and mythological contexts, enhancing the risk and thereby, the reputation of the diplomats. To complete such a voyage was an act of fortitude and trust to be celebrated.

---

[105] Joyce Tekahnawiiaks King, "The Value of Water and the Meaning of Water Law for Native Americans Known as the Haudenosaunee," *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy* 16, no. 3 (2007): 453.
[106] Rodriguez and Wakerahkats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call*, 24, 32.
[107] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa*, 46.
[108] Hamell, "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains," 78.
[109]John Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 5, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1855), 220.
[110] DRCNY, vol. 5, 219.

Once the *Reserve* unmoored from the Pisqataqua River and "maid sayle to the eastward," her passengers entered a place of exchange and interaction.[111] The Atlantic Ocean not only served as a connection point between Europe, Africa, the Americas, and the world, but itself was a site of intermingling, trade, exchange, and created customs. Official vessels from Britain, France, Holland, Spain, Sweden, and Denmark sailed across and around the Atlantic, while privateers and pirates circulated offshore waiting for their arrival. During the mid-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, sailing vessels were a mix of ethnicities, languages, and experience where sailors boarded and disembarked at ports around the world.[112] It was common for mariners from one ship to interchange with others at port. These exchanges blurred allegiances as it was common for sailors from one country to work on the ships of their imperial competitors. In England, this intermingling resulted in the passing of the Navigation Acts of 1651 which mandated that "three fourths of the crew importing English goods were to be English or Irish under penalty of loss of ship, tackle, and lading."[113] Despite regulations, it was nearly impossible to enforce as the exchange of crew at port was a reality of labouring on the sea. A ship travelling between the Americas and Europe might have English, Scottish, Dutch, German, Swedish, French, and free and enslaved Africans, sailors from the Indian Ocean world, and Indigenous Peoples aboard— all contributing to maritime life, and shaping culture on land, in various capacities. Ships were active agents in the history of the Atlantic. Together, mariners created their own language, a mixture of African, Indigenous, and English words called pidgin English,

[111] Lieutenant's Logbook for HMS Reserve 1704-1710, ADM/L/R 87, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom.
[112] Daniel Vickers and Vince Walsh, *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 129.
[113] Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000), 151.

to facilitate communication on board.[114] These languages extended their influence to land as pidgin-speaking communities developed in New York, Halifax, Philadelphia, Kingston, Bridgetown, Calabar, and London by the mid-eighteenth century.[115] Aboard European slave ships from Africa, women milled and cooked African cereals to "sustain African lives and identities in brutal circumstances."[116] Upon arrival, the leftover seeds and cereals from plants such as kola nut, okra, rice, and guinea squash were introduced to Americas, creating yet another visible reminder of the legacy of African slave ships and the agency of maritime movement. Overall, the Atlantic world must be regarded as an active participant in the shaping of lands, peoples, and cultures on either side of the voyage.

Importantly, the four diplomats were not the only Indigenous Peoples to participate actively and willingly in the maritime world of the North Atlantic. Indigenous Peoples near to Haudenosaunee territory actively worked as soldiers, sailors, and whalers.[117] Off the coast of Long Island, Indigenous men laboured alongside Englishmen on whaleboat crews in exchange for trade goods.[118] The Indigenous whalers, recruited for their expertise in whale hunting and behaviour, worked closely with colonists at lookout towers. Often, Indigenous whalers worked for English companies seeking fortunes in the Americas. As a result, English whaling entrepreneurs actively participated in Indigenous diplomatic tradition. Trade and gift giving were used a form of payment, but as mentioned, also ensured good relations between parties. In 1671, an "Atungquion" (Algonquin) man agreed to whale for an English company in exchange for

---

[114] Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 152.
[115] Linebaugh and Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, 154.
[116] Judith A. Carney and Richard Rosomoff, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 74-79.
[117] Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 86-88.
[118] Nancy Shoemaker, *Living with Whales: Documents and Oral Histories of Native New England Whaling History* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014), 37-40.

three coats, "a pair of shoes, and stockings, ½ lb of powder, and 3 lbs of shot."[119] While functioning as paid sailors aboard European ships was a common feature of Indigenous participation in the Atlantic world, Indigenous Peoples also forged their own distinct legacies in the Atlantic. Wampum was included in the maritime economy of exchange and negotiation. At Fort James in 1676, the Governor of New York accepted Wampum from a delegation from the Unkechaug Nation in exchange for permission to form their own independent whaling company.[120] Along the Atlantic coast, the Wabenaki, located northeast of the Kanien'kehá:ka stretching into modern day Nova Scotia, took up pirating and plundered English (and other European) fishing vessels, devastating the productivity of the North Atlantic fishery.[121] Lastly, the ships on the Atlantic physically transported Indigenous Peoples, goods, and culture of their own volition. In fact, several purposeful diplomatic missions across the Atlantic, while rare, happened before the Haudenosaunee delegation in 1710.[122] Nearby, in 1696, "six Canadian sachems," perhaps Wendat or Odawa from the north, were presented at the court of Versailles in an attempt "to amaze and dazzle the with the greatness and splendour of the French court and army."[123]

As the four diplomats sailed across the ocean and witnessed the created traditions of the maritime world, sailors from all backgrounds stared back at them. Once in port, sailors, merchants, military officials, or passengers would share first-hand accounts of their experiences with the diplomats with family, colleagues, and friends. As crew interchange was common, records show the crew aboard both the *Reserve*, and their return ship the *HMS Dragon*, disembarked at many locations around Europe and the Caribbean. After safely delivering the

---

[119] Quoted in Shoemaker, *Living with Whales,* 43.
[120] Shoemaker, *Living with Whales,* 44-45.
[121] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 87.
[122] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 135-153.
[123] Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters,* 114; Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 154.

diplomats to Portsmouth the *Reserve* prepared for another voyage. By July, the ship and her crew were anchored at the bustling port in Hamburg, passing Swedish, Dutch, and German ships and bringing their knowledge of the Haudenosaunee diplomats they had encountered just months before.[124] On the way home, members of the *Reserve's* crew disembarked in ports around the world including Portsmouth, Boston, Virginia, Barbados, and Hamburg.[125] The global circulation of ships and sailors around the globe acted as an informal network of knowledge transmission, sharing perceptions of the diplomats, their cultures, and the Americas.

On April 2, 1710, after almost two months at sea, Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Etowaucum, and Sagayenkwaraton docked at Spithead, a naval anchorage just outside of Portsmouth harbour. From the deck, they witnessed the many warships of the British fleet while smaller vessels transported crews and cargo to shore. Just before docking, the diplomats observed "a Large Fleet of Man of Warr" heading into the harbour.[126] The number of guns, sailors, and soldiers above deck may have reassured the diplomats of the military strength of their ally and brought hope for the upcoming negotiations. During the mission, the men were consistently offered shows of British military power. On April 20th, the delegation inspected the Life Guards with James Butler, the Duke of Ormonde, at Hyde Park.[127] The next day, the Duke showed them the grandeur of the British Navy at the Dock and Yard at Woolwich.[128] At some point during their visit, the diplomats viewed the Royal Arsenal at the Tower of London.[129]

---

[124] Lieutenant's Logbook for HMS Reserve 1704-1710, ADM/L/R 87, June 10, 1710, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom.
[125] Lieutenant's Logbook for HMS Reserve 1704-1710, June 10, 1710, June 29, 1710, ADM/L/R 87, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom; Lieutenant's Logbook for HMS Reserve, "Reserve Pay Book from 1708 to 1714," ADM L/R/ 33, p 15-17, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom.
[126] Lieutenant's Logbook for HMS Reserve 1704-1710, May 2, 1710, ADM/L/R 87, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom.
[127] Fullagar, *The Savage Visit,* 55.
[128] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 3.
[129] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 10.

As the diplomats stepped onto the English shore, they crossed another important threshold into an unfamiliar, but not unknown, land. The shoreline often represented a division between territories. Therefore, crossing this threshold was likely a significant event for the diplomats. To step onto the shoreline into foreign territory, like the woods' edge, was an act of trust in their relationships with their English allies. Back home, outsiders meeting the Haudenosaunee were first greeted at fires placed at the woods' edge by their hosts. At this point, visitors were unsure of their welcome and could be denied entry or choose to leave. However, once accepted by their hosts, a relationship of mutual trust and respect is established, whereby one becomes a host and a guest. In a similar scenario, Williams recounts a 1645 meeting of the Kanien'kehá:ka speaker Kiotsaeton with the French and Wendat at Trois Rivières:

> he conducted the preliminaries of the treaty making from a canoe. Possibly, since the Haudenosaunee had arrived by canoe, by the water paths, standing near the water's edge was the river equivalent of standing at the woods' edge. But the fact that he did not land, that he remained in the canoe, also sent a message: we are not sure of our welcome, and we do not yet have enough of a relationship, enough trust in you, to step onto the shore before being invited to do so.[130]

While these moments likely went unnoticed to Europeans surrounding the diplomats, they were filled with meaning. Crossing the boundary affirmed and solidified the relationship between the diplomats, their allies, and their host: Great Britain. It was an act of trust and an expectation of hospitality which was now made clearer by the crossing of the boundary.

Once landed in Portsmouth, the diplomats travelled to London with their English allies by coach.[131] They arrived in London one week later, residing with Thomas Arne at the well-regarded "Two Crowns and Cushions," in King Street.[132] Now physically present in the capital, the diplomats experienced London in a uniquely Indigenous way while Londoners experienced

---

[130] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 44.
[131] John Garratt, *The Four Indian Kings* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985), 7.
[132] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 2.; Fullagar, *The Savage Visit*, 45.

them in return. Unfortunately, little is known of how the diplomats spent their "free" time before the start of their formal program of tours, meetings, and theatrical performances on April 19th. London's newspapers do not mention the diplomats until April 29th, well after their formal audience with the Queen. However, the diplomats' physical presence was well-known to the English public as their speech to the Queen was printed and circulated throughout London on April 20th.[133]

Hosted in the heart of London, their lodgings were chosen near "St. Paul's Church and led from the west into the spacious Covent Garden Square, which from the east received Russell Street."[134] This area was home to the Covent Garden market, and was filled with shops, coffeehouses, brothels, theatres, and inns, where Londoners could find a diverse intermingling of peoples, goods, foods, and performance.[135] These locales allowed Londoners to learn about the world and make sense of their role within it. Nearby the diplomats' lodgings stood Button's coffeehouse. Coffeehouses around London became places of knowledge transmission where Londoners received their news through print, socialized with others, and consumed coffee, sugar, and tobacco, reminders of Britain's vast empire and global network of peoples and goods.[136] Places of learning and business, the coffeehouse facilitated the actual and the imaginative construction of empire. However, the coffeehouse was also a place which required and utilized the knowledge and technologies of Indigenous Peoples. In the context of the tobacco which clouded the air, Indigenous Peoples taught Europeans how to smoke, when to smoke, and why to smoke— all materially represented and internalized through the consumption of pipe and snuff tobacco in coffeehouses. While this chapter focuses on physical expressions of Indigenous

[133] *Dublin Intelligence*, April 29, 1710, no. 670.
[134] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 2.
[135] Bucholz and Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History*, 57, 205.
[136] Bucholz and Ward, *London: A Social and Cultural History*, 239; Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 20050, 2-4.

diplomacy, the next will consider the material in order to demonstrate how Indigenous tobacco diplomacy altered European diplomatic culture. Even though the activities of the diplomats before the official program are unknown, perhaps, without the lavish royal carriage and its loudly dressed driver used for later transportation, the diplomats were able to quietly observe and participate in the bustling centre. Unfortunately, these remain only speculations.

On April 19, Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Sagayenkwaraton, Etowaucum, Colonel Francis Nicholson, Colonel Peter Schuyler, Captain Abraham Schuyler, and Major David Pigeon were escorted into the presence of Queen Anne and her court at St. James' Palace. Their physical presence in the palace was complemented by the material objects they carried with them including the clothing on their backs. Walking into the presence of the Queen, the Clan representatives intentionally conveyed their identities and diplomatic roles through clothing. They were dressed in "black under-clothes after the English manner; but instead of a blanket they each had a scarlet-in-grain cloth mantle, edged with gold, thrown over all their other garments."[137] Because the court was in mourning over the death of the Prince of Denmark, black was the natural choice to clothe the diplomats. Even though the diplomats' clothing was selected for them, they were familiar with European styles of dress, as the Haudenosaunee had incorporated European cloth and trade items into their sartorial systems for generations.[138] In Jan Verlest's paintings of the diplomats, three wear tanned hide moccasins, called "yellow slippers" by eighteenth century sources, while Tejonihokarawa is depicted as wearing black leather shoes with buckles (Figure 1).[139] In his iconographical study of the portraits, Bruce Robertson suggests that Verlest painted only the diplomats faces in person, while the rest of the portrait was painted

[137] Quoted in Garratt, *Four Indian Kings,* 7.
[138] Timothy Shannon, "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no.1 (1996): 19-22.
[139] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 2-3; Garratt, *Four Indian Kings,* 7; *Four Kings of Canada Being a Succinct Account of the Four Indian Princes Lately Arriv'd from North America* (London, 1710), 7.

afterwards.[140] Nevertheless, Tejonihokarawa's black leather shoes and breeches are exceptional in visual depictions of the diplomats. Historians McNeil and Riello observe that the men's leather shoe acted as a visual marker of gender and class demonstrated through the use of space. Widely styled as the leader or "emperor" of the group, Tejonihokarawa's shoes communicated his role and status to Western observers as they permitted him to participate in London's public spaces and, by extension, diplomatic life.[141]

[140] Bruce Robertson, "The Portraits: An Iconographical Study," in the *Four Indian Kings* (Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985), 139-149.
[141] Peter McNeil and Giorgio Riello, "The Art and Science of Walking: Gender, Space, and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth Century," *Fashion Theory* 9, no. 2 (2005): 179-181.

Figure 1 Tejonihokarawa (baptized Hendrick. Named Tee Yee Neen Ho Ga Row, Emperor of the Six Nations, 1710. Jan Verlest (1648-1734). 2836993. Library and Archives Canada.

While the delegation's dress was regimented and controlled during their visit— styled in uncomfortable breeches (Indigenous men preferred lose fitting clothing) and entirely foreign turbans— the Indigenous men were able to visually express their identities on their own terms through the exposure of skin.[142] Three of the men wore tattoos covering their faces and chests. These tattoo's held immense personal and communal significance, acting as both a record of the

[142] Shannon, "Dressing for Success," 21.; *The Four Kings of Canada*, 4.

warrior's accomplishments on the battlefield and presenting the manitou (personal guardian spirit) of the individual— tattooed to make the bond more lasting and sacred.[143] Sagayenkwaraton and Onioheriago's tattoos on their faces and bodies, included the appearance of the many crossed lines, which represented the number of men they killed and battles they won and lost. This demonstrated to others that they were accomplished warriors and had gained the appropriate status to speak before the Queen. A crayfish tattoo on Sagayenkwaraton's chest and birds on Etowaucum's face symbolize their personal manitous, walking beside them as they approached Queen Anne. The British public at least marginally understood the significance of their tattoos. One source positing, "the Marks with which they disfigure their Face, do not seem to carry as much Terror as Regard with them."[144]

The material items presented to Queen Anne, and her court, were markers of reciprocity and an expression of Haudenosaunee diplomacy overseas. Her Majesty's acceptance of them, especially the Wampum Belt, and the subsequent gifting of guineas and other material items, entered Great Britain into a formalized agreement which was punctuated by Indigenous material culture. This acknowledgement stretched the roots of the Sacred Tree, and therefore the laws of the Kayanerenkó:wa into the heart of empire. Verlest's painting suggests that Tejonihokarawa carried the Sacred Wampum Belt, with black background and white crosses. While I will not attempt to "read" the Wampum Belt out of respect for modern Haudenosaunee Knowledge Keepers, the English perception of Christian crosses on the Wampum was understood as a marker of allegiance to Protestantism and, by extension, the Crown by the British monarch, court, and wider English public. As the men were baptized Protestants, they also understood the

[143] Lars Krutak, "Tattoos, Totem Marks, and War Clubs: Projecting Power through Visual Symbolism in Northern Woodlands Culture," in *Drawing with Great Needles: Ancient Tattoo Traditions of North America*, eds. Aaron Deter-Wolf and Carol Diaz-Granados (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013), 97-109.
[144] *Four Indian Kings,* 6-7.

symbolic value of the cross in a Christian context. The envoys also presented a quillwork rope, two tumplines**,** "necklaces, and shell bracelets" (likely Wampum strings presented by the diplomats after each verbal request), and other unfortunately undescribed "curiosities" to Queen Anne.[145] The two tumplines, one plain and the other embellished, are currently housed in the British Museum and worn as belts in the Verlest's paintings of the diplomats.[146] Made of red, white, and black dyed hemp and moose hair the tumpline was likely created by Kanien'kehá:ka or Mohican women to use for displacing the weight of heavy loads across the forehead and shoulders. A gendered gift for the Queen, Haudenosaunee women likely produced and decorated the tumplines for Anne. According to Barbara Mann, "the *gantowisas* [Haudenosaunee women] controlled the Iroquoian economy, and not just through their ultimate legal ownership of the means of all production (Mother Earth) but, more importantly, through their sole right to keep and distribute her bounty."[147] In this way, the tumpline helped women cultivate and distribute the agricultural bounty of Mother Earth in order to sustain their people.[148] When analyzed through this perspective, the tumpline can be seen as a symbol of maternal power and care for the wellbeing of the nation. However, Queen Anne's impression of the tumpline is unknown. On the other hand, Queen Anne understood the meaning of the Wampum Belt and the exchanging of goods, making this event a significant expression and acceptance of Indigenous diplomatic protocol overseas. A letter, signed by the diplomats with their Clan markings, communicates the obligations set by Wampum acceptance to Anne and her court:

To the Right Honorable the Lords of Her Majesties Most Honorable Privy Council,
The Indian Sachems cannot repass the great water from these Ample and flourishing kingdoms without expressing a just resentinent and admiration for the Signal favour done 'em by the

[145] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 13, 104; *Dublin Intelligence,* Saturday April 29, 1710, No. 670.
[146] "Tumpline; Warrior Tie," 1710, AM SLMisc.573, British Museum, London, United Kingdom; "Tumpline; Warrior Tie," 1710, AM SLMisc.574, British Museum, London, United Kingdom.
[147] Mann, *The Gantowisas,* 187.
[148] Mann, *The Gantowisas,* 185-187.

Nobles especially of the Great Queen's Court and Council. The Continuance of which they will endeavour to deserve by a just observance of what is expected from their offering their belts of Wampam and what shall be further explain'd by Anadagarjoux (Colonel Nicholson) as the Pleasure of our Great Queen. Our desire is that our Brother Queder may deliver this as our minds.[149]

The reference to "our minds," or one-mindedness (ska'níkon:ra) is a key component of the Kayanerenkó:wa and is evidence of the diplomats' voice in the writing of this letter. In particular, the letter's reference to expectations is particularly informative as it suggests, at minimum, a shared understanding by the British court of the diplomatic value of Wampum. Certainly, the envoys made an impression on Queen Anne, their requests, and Wampums, were fulfilled with a fort, chapel, and missionary installed near Tiononderoge.[150] Four years later, Queen Anne remained interested in the diplomats' request. She penned a letter to the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel referencing the good work of the two missionaries "among the Indian Sachems, bordering upon New Yorke."[151]

The practice of gift giving, which from an Indigenous perspective affirmed the reciprocal relationship expected between Haudenosaunee and the English, permeated relations in London. In return for the Wampum and other gifts, the Queen them gave them 200 guineas and a shipload of goods valued at two hundred pounds for their return journey. The list of goods contains almost fifty entries with a number of items purchased by the dozen. Historian Richmond Bond provides a comprehensive list of the goods:

There are many varieties of material—cotton, woolen, and linen, kerseys, duffels, garlix, rowlings, silver orice edging. There is a charge for making 'said Linnen into 43 Shirts at 18d.' There are brass kettles, lead bars, firkins, three dozen looking glasses, knives (six kinds)…, two dozen large scissors, two dozen smaller ditto, tobacco boxes, two gross coloured twist necklaces, one gross large sorted necklaces, one dozen three-drop pendants sorted, razors, hair horn combs,

[149] Letters to Queen Anne, 1710, Add MS61647, f. 202, Blenheim Papers DXLVII, British Library, London, United Kingdom.
[150] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks,* 109.
[151] Queen Anne to Archbishop of Canterbury, May 1714, Gibson Papers MS 941, f. 39, Lambeth Palace Library, London, United Kingdom.

ivory combs, one gross large jew's-harps, one hat and gun and sword and pair of pistols and trunk apiece, four hundred pounds of gunpowder, ten pounds of vermilion, the Queen's picture, 'a parcel of odd things,' and a 'Magick Lanthorn with Pictures.'[152]

From a Haudenosaunee perspective, the large distribution of gifts by Queen Anne reinforced her power and the power of Britain, placing the diplomats in her debt. By accepting such a large gift, the Haudenosaunee felt a great obligation to ally with the British. As was custom, these gifts were redistributed among the Clans and villages once the envoys arrived home. This distribution likely took place during a conference at Albany held in 1710. This gesture would have greatly enhanced the prestige and influence of the diplomats, and their Clans, on Turtle Island.[153] A few days later, the diplomats crossed the River Thames to meet with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) at Lambeth Palace. During their meeting, the ambassadors spoke through an interpreter to invite missionaries to reside at Tiononderoge.[154] While there is no evidence of the diplomats giving the SPG gifts, the ministers gave them "Bibles in Red Turkey Leather" to affirm their promise while Queen Anne gifted them a set of communion plates for a new chapel.[155] An especially important gift seems to have been paper copies of agreements. Writing to Archbishop Tennison aboard the *Dragon* on their return journey, Colonel Nicholson requested a copy of proceedings, "by a mistake of Colonel Schuyler and Capt Schuyler the interpreter they have not kept a copy of what the Indians said…will be wanted to Communicate to the Five Nations."[156] Back home, paper copies of treaties, conferences, and negotiations were kept as records alongside Wampum. Historian Tom Mitrod observes the usage and archiving of treaty documents in the Hudson Valley, "when their sachems met with Ulster County authorities to

[152] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 12.
[153] MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements,* 19.
[154] 28 April 1710, Minutes 1708-1711, SPG II, f 131-133, Lambeth Palace Library, London, United Kingdom.
[155] Sivertsen, *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears,* 68.
[156] Letter from Francis Nicholson, May 22, 1710, Gibson Papers MS 941, f. 24, Lambeth Palace Library, London, United Kingdom

renew this treaty in June 1712, the magistrates had to peruse the Indians' copy, apparently lacking their own."[157] In all, the gifts exchanged during the diplomatic voyage affirmed the negotiations through the Haudenosaunee material language of diplomacy.

The diplomats also verbally expressed their requests to the Queen's court. While the speech was read aloud by Major David Pigeon, who acted as the speaker for the Indigenous diplomats, historians speculate that it was the first largely Indigenous voice recorded overseas.[158] However, a lack of certain protocols such as an absence of the required words of thanksgiving (Kanonhweratonhsera) or a Condolence implies some mediation by the colonial officials who delivered it. The Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican diplomats asserted their culture and diplomatic protocols through the words in the speech. It is one of the richest written sources related to the visit, actively expressing their diplomatic protocol in the urban metropolis. First, they emphasized their ability to speak based on their status attained through the voyage overseas. Placing themselves apart from other diplomats, they open the speech with "we have undertaken a long and tedious Voyage, which none of our Predecessors could ever be prevail'd upon to undertake." Since the diplomats were chosen by Clan Mothers, they were in part stating that they carried a request on behalf of their community. Acknowledging a long journey increased the gravitas of the visit, similar to when in 1661 Kanien'kehá:ka negotiators at Fort Orange (Albany) stated they had travelled long distances across Haudenosaunee territory to gather information from their brothers and sisters.[159] Their personal commitment to their Clan's interests is also made clear through their written marks, drawings of a Wolf, Bear, and Turtle on documents.[160] Next, the diplomats defined their diplomatic relationships through the use of the term "brother."

---

[157] Mitrod, *Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley,* 42.
[158] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 73.
[159] B. Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 13 (Albany, 1881), 191.
[160] Letters to Queen Anne, 1710, Add MS61647, f. 202-204, Blenheim Papers DXLVII, British Library, London, United Kingdom

This defined an equal relationship between Britain, the Kanien'kehá:ka, and the Mohicans. In the speech the diplomats reference their relationships with Colonel Schuyler and Colonel Nicholson by stating their Haudenosaunee community names: "Queder" and "Anadagarjaux."[161] At the same time, Queen Anne is interpreted as a mother, the diplomats calling the British subjects and colonists "Great Queen's Children." It is possible that the diplomats saw Queen Anne as a type of Clan Mother, as it was common for children of the same Clan call to all women of their mother's generation mother.[162] The speech also contains reference to two symbolic Indigenous diplomatic actions. The representatives stated, "and in token of our Friendship we hung up the *Kettle*, and took up the *Hatchet*."[163] In the Americas, these were commonly understood terms for peace and war, often used by both colonial officials and prominent speakers in treaty negotiations. For example, in 1709 the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of New France, accused Peter and Abraham Schuyler of going to Onondaga to "sing the War song in the Villages, and to present the hatchet to the Nations on the part of the Queen of England."[164] Networks of information allowed the British public to also understand the symbolic meaning behind these terms. In 1710, a ballad sold in London in Paternoster Row chimed, "a Prince of Mettle, Had oft hung up the Kettle, And took the * Hatchet down, Sir, In League with Britain's Crown, Sir, Against its Foes the French."[165] The asterisk, explained the significance of the kettle and hatchet to readers as "a Method us'd amongst 'em in Declarations of War."

English Impressions and Informal Diplomacy

---

[161] *The Four Indian Kings Speech to Her Majesty,* (London, 1710)
[162] Carson, "Molly Brant: From Clan Mother to Loyalist Chief," 49.
[163] *The Four Indian Kings Speech to Her Majesty*; emphasis in text.
[164] John Brodhead, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Volume 9, ed. E.B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1855), 828-829.
[165] *Have at you Blind Harpers, Three Ballads Concerning the Times* (John Baker: London, 1710), 3.

While this was not the first time that Indigenous diplomatic protocols were expressed at the heart of empire, a circulating print and visual culture educated Londoners and the English-speaking world of Indigenous Peoples and their diplomatic traditions. Together, the diplomats and items they carried were understood and accepted by the monarch, British officials in the church and military, prominent Londoners, and the wider public. Thus, the Haudenosaunee asserted their sophisticated diplomatic law across the sea. They entered formal and informal moments of diplomacy which were steeped in Haudenosaunee and other Indigenous cultures. Formal diplomatic meetings with Queen Anne, the SPG, and the Board of Trade took different forms, with the diplomats participation being limited in some meetings.[166] During their visit, the diplomats and the essential diplomatic material culture surrounding them was captured by the widely circulating world of print, drawings, and etchings. In Paternoster Row, nearby the newly completed St. Paul's Cathedral, bookshops sold all manner of visual and textual works pertaining to the Kings. While in London, the diplomats were written about frequently and sat for portraits three times with painters Bernard Lens Sr, Jan Verlest, and John Faber. The original Verlest portraits decorated the walls of Kensington Palace and later Hampton Court, while copies of the portrait and reproductions drawn by other artists memorialized the visit of the "Kings" on both sides of the Atlantic.[167] However, informal networks of communication like word of mouth, also generated knowledge which rippled through London and into cities, towns, and the countryside.

Apart from their participation in formalized state and business diplomacy, the diplomats also built trust and friendship through moments of informal, or less formalized, diplomacy. In particular, the sharing of meals fostered an environment of collaboration and was a diplomatic necessity for the Haudenosaunee and British alike. While in London, the diplomats were treated

---

[166] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 76.
[167] Robertson, "The Portraits: An Iconographical Study," 139, 148.; Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 79.; Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters,* 122-123.

to dinners with prominent British officials. They dined with the Lord Bishop of London after hearing a sermon at St. James' Palace.[168] Next, William Penn, the prominent colonist familiar with Indigenous diplomacy and treaty making, dined with them at the Devil's Tavern in Charing Cross.[169] Hudson's Bay Company records indicate that the diplomats dined with their officers at Pontack's Tavern, spending an astronomical seven and a half pounds sterling for their meals and drink when "meat was two to three pence a pound."[170] The diplomats also feasted onboard the *Royal Sovereign* with the Admiral and commander of the Royal Fleet, Matthew Aylmer.[171] The amount of dinners made one English commentator remark, "[the diplomats] feed heartily, and love our English Beef before all other Victuals that are provided for 'em; of which they have Variety at the Charge of the Publick."[172] Dining and the skills of "being interesting and amusing at dinner" was a crucial skill for English plenipotentiaries who were required to attend court dinners, balls, and suppers both at home and abroad.[173] The diplomatic code embedded in sharing meals was clear to the Indigenous diplomats who feasted to strengthen relationships, reconcile, and maintain peace. Meals and feasts were common at the conclusion of treaty negotiations on Turtle Island.[174] To mark the exchange onboard the *Royal Sovereign*, the diplomats were greeted with a familiar gesture of goodwill. Captain Monypenny recorded, "att 2 yesterday the 4 Indian Princes came aboard to see the ship, and their going away Cheer'd and Saluted them with 9 guns."[175] Back home, salutes were fired for welcoming and honouring

---

[168] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 9.
[169] Andrew R. Murphy, *William Penn: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 274.
[170] Malvina Bolus "Four Kings Came to Dinner with Their Honours" *The Beaver* (1973): 4; Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters,* 127.
[171] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks,* 92.
[172] *Four Kings of Canada,* 7.
[173] Jeremy Black, *British Diplomats and Diplomacy, 1688-1800* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), 98-99.
[174] Havard, *Great Peace of Montreal,* 25.; Williams, *Kayanrenkó:wa,* 319.
[175] Captain Monypenny's Journal for the Royal Sovereign, 1709-1710, May 8, 1710, ADM/L/R 288, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom.

guests to the village.[176] By the eighteenth century, saluting was a common feature of Euro-Indigenous diplomatic protocol. For example, the French who arrived in Onondaga in July 1700 and the Haudenosaunee in Montreal in 1710 were greeted by the sound of musket fire. Saluting to honour agreements and signal good relations appeared in 1645 Treaty of Peace, where Father Vimont recorded, "the Savages replied by a fine salvo of musketry, and the Fort fired a cannon shot" after the first meetings of the peace treaty had come to a close.[177]

The following weeks were busy for the delegates as they dashed around London viewing the sights and participating in scheduled events and outings. On their tour, Tejonihokarawa and company witnessed all the sights, sounds, and smells of the imperial capital— interacting with the city's elite and poor. The envoys visited the Duke of Ormonde at his country home in Richmond and travelled with him to Greenwich aboard the Queen's Barge to meet the Astronomer Royal Dr. Flamsteed.[178] In the city, they were the first recorded Indigenous Peoples to have scaled the dome at the newly completed St. Paul's Cathedral.[179] Coll Thrush, a historian of urban space describes their tour in the bustling cosmopolitan city:

> They toured Guildhall, seat of London's powerful mercantile community; Gresham College, where the city's leading minds taught law, geometry and divinity; and the Royal Exchange, venue for the deals that drove Britain's growing empire…they met the city's poor and middling classes in places like Leadenhall Market where Londoners of all sorts sold and bought meat; the bearbaiting venues at Hockley-in-the-Hole in Clerkenwell; and even Bedlam Hospital.[180]

The diplomats certainly drew a crowd. Since the representatives toured London in a decorated coach, they were constantly harassed by curious Londoners eager to witness the envoys they dubbed the "Four Indian Kings" from America.

---

[176] Havard, *Great Peace of Montreal,* 22.
[177] Vimont, "Treaty of Peace Between the French, the Iroquois, and the Other Nations," 144.
[178] Bond, *Queen Anne's Kings,* 2.
[179] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 76.
[180] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 76-77.

After two months at sea, the Clan representatives returned to Turtle Island, arriving back in Boston on July 15. The assertion and acceptance of their diplomatic protocol overseas reassured the diplomats, and the Haudenosaunee, to place trust in their British allies. Upon their return, a Haudenosaunee speaker called Kaquendero rejoiced in the diplomats' success:

> some of our Brethren have been lately in England and are now returned safe and altho' they were natives of the Mohogs nation yet we are as well satisfyd as if there had been one from each of the five nations being all united, they have seen the great Queen and her Court, and been very well treated for which we are very thankfull.[181]

Kaquendero, as well as the other Rotiyanershon and speakers in attendance understood that the diplomatic protocol enacted overseas was significant to the renewal and commitments of Indigenous-British relations. They assured the British delegates that "[the Covenant Chain] shall be kept Invioable by all out 5 nations as long as the sun and moon endures."[182] Important British figures actively participated in Indigenous diplomacy and accepted the expectations embedded in diplomatic action and the Kayanerenkó:wa. The Great Queen had listened actively to Indigenous voices mediated through a speaker which were filled with Indigenous diplomatic symbols and protocol. By accepting the Wampum Belt and reciprocating with gifts, Queen Anne formally entered her nation into a binding agreement and established one-mindedness with the diplomats. When missionaries, supplies, and the military did eventually arrive in Kanien'kehá:ka territory, Queen Anne, and the SPG, fulfilled the expectations set during their diplomatic encounters with Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Etowaucum, and Sagayenkwaraton. In 1711, Britain mobilized the largest force assembled in North America prior to the Seven Year's War to undertake an invasion of New France.[183] A massive flotilla of ships and soldiers set out for Quebec by sea while a land force comprised of militia, regulars and nearly one thousand Indigenous warriors,

---

[181] DRCNY, vol. 5, 224.
[182] DRCNY, vol. 5, 224.
[183] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks,* 105-107.

seven hundred Haudenosaunee and three hundred from allied nations such as the Mohicans, met at the aptly named Fort Anne. The invasion was disastrous as the ships ran aground on the river shore due to heavy fog in the St. Lawrence. Once the fog cleared, the fleet had lost eight transports numbering almost nine hundred troops including uncounted women and children.[184] Although the military invasion was a failure, the Indigenous means of diplomacy enacted overseas affirmed British commitments to their alliance.

Conclusion

The visit of the Haudenosaunee and Mohican diplomats was a spectacle for many Londoners who were able to read about, view, and remember the austere visitors from America for years to come. However, those who entered into informal and formal diplomacy with the diplomats engaged with the Kayanerenkó:wa and other Indigenous diplomatic protocols. For a moment, their interactions bridged oceans and affected two interconnected spheres; the roots of the Sacred Tree extended, and the Covenant Chain renewed in the heart of British metropolis. By viewing the negotiations of Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Etowaucum, and Sagayenkwaraton through Indigenous protocols and perspectives, the actions of the diplomats become much more significant. Understanding the deep symbolic meaning behind seemingly innocent words, gestures, and goods recognizes how Indigenous Peoples actively participated in shaping their early modern world. The diplomats were far more significant to their Clans and nations as emissaries of collective Indigenous interests, rather than, "pawns of empire" or individualistic opportunists. They encountered familiar diplomatic protocols in London viewed through local contexts and already established languages of negotiation and treaty making. From Onondaga, to Albany, to Montreal, and to London, Indigenous protocols of diplomacy were not limited by

[184] Hinderaker, *Two Hendricks,* 107.

borders or oceans. The Kayanerenkó:wa united a diverse array of peoples and nations seeking mutual understanding, one-mindedness, and peace— as was the Peacemaker's intent.

Chapter 3:
Tobacco Diplomacy: Indigenous Knowledge and Technology in European Practice

The use of tobacco by diverse societies around the globe is a significant example of the impact of Indigenous Peoples and technologies on early modern history. From cities like Tenochtitlan, Stadacona, Chota, and Onondaga, tobacco moved across the Atlantic to Lisbon, London, and Istanbul, finding its way to West Africa, Persia and to the far reaches of the Indian subcontinent, China, and Japan. Tobacco crossed oceans, languages, and cultures rolling humankind together through a shared language of consumption. While peoples often incorporated tobacco in their own unique way, tobacco's uses and methods of consumption are predicated on a millennia of Indigenous knowledge and technology developed on Turtle Island (North America). There was nothing predestined about Europeans, or other societies, adopting tobacco and utilizing it in similar ways to Indigenous Peoples. Everything humans learned and came to understand of tobacco was initially gleaned from interactions with dynamic Indigenous Peoples. Ships frequently crossing the Atlantic, carried Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous knowledge, and Indigenous technologies and goods around the globe— instigating change and adaptation. In particular, Europeans learned to incorporate tobacco into their social and diplomatic rituals. As it was done in the Americas, the diplomatic necessity of tobacco was mirrored in European practice. By the time the Haudenosaunee and Mohican diplomats visited London in 1710, European men and women had already adopted tobacco and were employing it in familiar ways. By the 1620s, London imported over half a million pounds of tobacco annually, excluding extralegal trade, to meet consumer demand.[1] The tidal wave of tobacco and its associated paraphernalia ensured that Indigenous Peoples were both physically and materially present at the centre of empire. A multiplicity of uses found their way into European culture,

[1] V.G. Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991), 19.

including methods of consumption such smoking, chewing, and snuffing and rituals of consumption fostering diplomacy and goodwill. In London, the English smoked and snuffed while negotiating in smoky inns, taverns, and coffeehouses, at dinner tables, at port and on the street, and in the courts of kings and queens across Europe. As the threads of smoke ascended, tobacco tied smokers together in the spirit of good relations and diplomacy as had been done for generations on Turtle Island.

Tobacco and Turtle Island

Creation stories from many Indigenous Nations emphasize that tobacco was present at the beginning of existence. According to the Haudenosaunee, during the First Epoch, at the beginning of the world, Sky Woman fell through a hole in Sky World towards a primal sea. As she slipped, she grasped the roots of the Life Tree which gifted her sustenance. The Life Tree's seeds were caught beneath her fingernails. In her right hand, she gave the Three Sisters (Beans, Corn, and Squash), in her left, Tobacco. Pregnant when she fell, Sky Woman (called Grandmother) and her daughter Fat-Faced Lynx roamed Turtle Island planting seeds, creating plants, and naming the animals. When Grandmother died, her son Sapling raised her up to the moon, where he carefully placed the Three Sisters in her skirt and scattered an offering of Tobacco around her.[2] To Indigenous cultures, tobacco is an important gift from the Creator and is always held in great esteem. It has a unique ability to foster goodwill, communicate with the sacred, and bring peoples together in common understanding. In the Oral History of the Peacemaker, tobacco is presented as a tool to calm tensions between enemies. When spreading the message of peace among the Haudenosaunee, an Onondowahgah (Seneca) War Leader

[2] Barbara Alice Mann, *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004), 31-35; Jeanette Rodriguez and Iakoiane Wakerakats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call: Reconstructing Haudenosaunee Cultural Memory* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017), 21, 25.

questioned the Peacemaker asking, "what happens if a war party comes from somewhere, and they begin to use their hatchets…to kill our women and our children?" Calmly, the Peacemaker replied, "in place of weapons of war, I will give you this sacred tobacco, and this is what you will use in times of need…and you will call to the Creator and you will call to me. And we are the ones who will stop whatever threat comes to you."[3] And so, the Onondowahgah accepted the Peacemaker's message of unification and the Kayanerenkó:wa (The Great Law of Peace).[4] When tobacco is used, the smoke rises to the Sky World: "the white smoke rises, and as the tobacco originated as a sacred plant of the Sky World, so the Creator notices… pays attention to the symbolic smoke…[that is] used to admonish the participants to behave properly."[5]

Tobacco's centrality in Indigenous Oral Histories and Traditions demonstrates its distinct connection to Indigenous identity, culture, and diplomacy. According to Jeanette Rodriguez in consultation with Haudenosaunee condoled Bear Clan Mother Iakoiane Wakerakats:teh, "culture concept is an integral element and plays a crucial role in how one understands who they are and to whom they belong."[6] Importantly, the Haudenosaunee share a similar creation story with other proximate and distant Indigenous Nations in which the beginnings of Turtle Island and the birth of the tobacco plant are synonymous. On the Pacific, in the Yokuts origin story, the deity Hawk ate tobacco after creating the mountains.[7] To the Nehiyawak (Cree), the tools of the Sacred Pipe

---

[3] Tom Porter (Sakokwenionkwas), *And Grandma Said… Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down Through The Oral Tradition,* (Philadelphia: Xlibris Corp, 2008), 301-302.

[4] The Haudenosaunee Creation Story and Tom Porter's story of the Peacemaker serve as one example of tobacco's significance to Indigenous Nations. Their story has been chosen here in order to make a connection to Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Sagayankwaraton and Etowaucum, the Haudenosaunee and Mohican diplomats referenced in the second chapter. Across North and South America, Indigenous Peoples are connected by tobacco and utilize it in a multiplicity of ways based on their culture, identity, and worldviews.

[5] Kayanesenh Paul Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018), 258.

[6] Rodriguez and Wakerakats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call,* 21.

[7] Joseph Winter, "Traditional Uses of Tobacco by Native Americans," in *Tobacco Use by Native North Americans: Sacred Smoke and Silent Killer,* ed. Joseph Winter (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 35.

(fire, sweetgrass, tobacco, pipestem, pipebowl) were gifts from the Creator.[8] Today, it is protocol to offer tobacco to Indigenous Elders or Knowledge Keepers to show respect and ensure truth.[9] During the Haudenosaunee Crossover Rituals, tobacco burnings focus the intent of the gathering and send "intentions to the ancestors."[10] Tobacco's connection to the spiritual, sacred, and the beginnings of the universe dictate its importance to historical and contemporary Indigenous Peoples. These include tobacco's remarkable cross-cultural and connective capabilities which unite diverse Indigenous Nations who have interacted for generations. From the wind-swept tundra of the Subarctic, to the rainforests of the Northwest Coast, to the vast altiplano of South America, Indigenous Peoples across the Americas are connected by tobacco.[11]

Tobacco is consumed in different ways by diverse Indigenous Nations. It could be fired and smoked through a pipe as in most of North America or rolled and smoked as a cigar in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean. It was cast over fires and offered to spirits, chewed, juiced and drunk, licked, applied to wounds and ailments, absorbed ocularly, and many more.[12] Many Indigenous Peoples, including the Inuit, snuffed powdered tobacco leaves— sometimes using bone tubes.[13] While Indigenous Nations consumed tobacco in different ways, the plant was consistently held in high regard for its diplomatic and social value. Significantly, tobacco's consumption, exchange, and place in Indigenous culture ensured that the plant became a material marker of both local and international pan-Indigenous diplomacy. In the Northwest Coast, the

---

[8] For the origin stories of pipes including those of the Cree, Winnebago, Iowa Black Bear Clan, Osage, Hidatsa, Siouan, and Gros Venture see Jordan Paper, *Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and Native American Religion,* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1988), 57-59.
[9] Margaret Kovach, *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 102-103, 116.
[10] Rodriguez and Wakerakats:teh, *A Clan Mother's Call,* 73.
[11] Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1.
[12] Jason Hughes, *Learning to Smoke: Tobacco Use in the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 21; Winter, "Traditional Uses of Tobacco,"12.
[13] Winter, "Traditional Uses of Tobacco," 5.

Tlinget and Haida cultivated tobacco to be exchanged and offered at communal feasts as a sign of goodwill and friendship.[14] The Tlinget created ornate tobacco pipes to gift the neighbouring Tahltan.[15] According to Marcy Norton, "the Tionnontate Nation of the Great Lakes traded the tobacco they produced to the Hurons [Wendat] of the Northeast, who then distributed it to their Algonquian partners to the north, west, and east."[16] Across Turtle Island, agreements between nations were validated by the smoking of tobacco in ceremonial pipes.[17] Passing the pipe between individuals bound peoples, nations, and the sacred together. This delineated a social condition favourable to peace, friendliness, and one-mindedness. Lakota Elder Black Elk, speaking in the 1950s, elaborates on the complexity of relational agreements made with tobacco and pipes,

> in this rite we establish a relationship on earth, which is a reflection of that real relationship which always exists between man and *Wakan-Tanka.* As we always love *Wakan-Tanka* first, and before all else, so we should also love and establish closer relationship with our fellow men, even if they should be of another nation than ours…through these rites a three-fold peace was established. The first peace, which is the most important, is that which comes within the souls of men when they realize their relationship, their oneness, with the universe and all its Powers…the second peace is that which is made between two individuals, and the third is that which is made between two nations…there can never be peace between nations until there is first known that true peace which, as I have often said is within the souls of men.[18]

Black Elk's words centres tobacco's multivalent ability between the individual, the nation, and the spirit. East of Lakota territory, the Haudenosaunee burn tobacco at councils and meetings, where the Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk), Onayotekaono (Oneida), Ononda'gega (Onondaga),

---

[14] Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Turner, "Introduction: Reconstructing Indigenous Resource Management, Reconstructing the History of an Idea," in *Keeping it Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 4; James McDonald, "Cultivating the Northwest: Early Accounts of Tsimshian Horticulture," in *Keeping it Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 246-260.

[15] Winter, "Traditional Uses of Tobacco,*"* 13.

[16] Marcy Norton and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert, "The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco, 1492-1650: An Iberian Perspective," in *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624,* ed. Peter Mancall (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 255-256.

[17] Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, "The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco," 255.

[18] Black Elk, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux,* ed. Joseph Epes Brown (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 101, 115.

Guyohkohnyoh (Cayuga), Onondowahgah (Seneca), and Ska-Ruh-Reh (Tuscarora) meet to discuss and debate diverse issues. By burning tobacco, Haudenosaunee negotiators, like the threefold peace of the Lakota, enter into a symbolic personal, spiritual, and national agreement between the Creator, their nations, and one another. As stated by Ononda'gega legal scholar Kayanesenh Paul Williams, "while they are imploring the Creator for direction and assistance, they are also bringing their minds together in a good way. The power of the tobacco burning, the unity of their minds, sets them at ease."[19] In these specific ceremonial moments, the sacred and the social become one. In effect, the Creator assists and witnesses the diplomatic events ensuring that the individuals present treat negotiations with respect, truth, and goodwill. These formal diplomatic moments punctuated by tobacco bind peoples and nations together. It sets present and future expectations of behaviour, ensuring that the negotiations and the agreed terms are understood, internalized, and witnessed by one another and the Creator.

While formal negotiations between diplomats, ambassadors, and chiefs dictated the established terms of international behaviour, the recreational sharing of tobacco united Indigenous Peoples on a personal level. These acts of informal diplomacy between persons, connected individuals through shared consumption—delineating community and an environment of sociability. This feature of Indigenous consumption is less recognized by scholars. Anthropologist Georgia Fox incorrectly notes, "the religious use of sacred tobacco by Indigenous Peoples stood in stark contrast to the discovery and recreational use of tobacco by sailors."[20] However, there is considerable evidence which supports Indigenous consumption outside of ceremonial or religious circumstances. Before continuing, it is important to note a distinction between ceremonial tobacco and other forms. Kanien'kehá:ka Bear Clan Elder

[19] Williams, *Kayanerenkó:wa,* 266n380.
[20] Georgia Fox, *The Archaeology of Smoking and Tobacco: The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015), 19.

Sakokwenionkwas (Tom Porter) makes a distinction between commercial tobacco and ceremonial tobacco: "[Haudenosaunee] are the only ones that touch that [ceremonial tobacco] seed…whereas commercial tobacco, probably hundreds of people have touched that…if they do it'll touch our prayer."[21] Historical Indigenous Peoples demonstrated deep individual connections with their personal pipes and the ritual of smoking. Tobacco paraphernalia was an essential part of daily dress, as Indigenous Peoples carried tobacco in decorated pouches, sometimes adorned with dyed porcupine quills, wherever they went.[22] According to tobacco anthropologist Alexander von Gernet, "the most oft-mentioned accessory [by European observers] was the tobacco pouch… pouches were valuable commodities which were occasionally requested by [healers] in return for curing services or offered as stakes during gambling."[23] Tobacco and pipes were a part of personal identity and communal sociability. Archaeological research in Wendat villages has revealed that persons created their own pipes, most frequently out of clay. Interestingly, personal pipes were rarely discarded. Regardless of the pipe's quality, they were repaired and restemmed once the bowl was worn down by habitual chewing and use.[24] Upon death, personal pipes were broken and placed intimately alongside their owners. This demonstrates not only a spiritual connection to the habituation of smoking, but a connection between the pipe and personal identity. Near Tadoussac, Jesuit missionary Paul Le Jeune reported on the frequency of smoking observing that Algonquin men "go to sleep with their reed pipes in their mouths" and often stopped journeys to smoke. While travelling, Le Jeune

---

[21] Tom Porter (Sakokwenionkwas), *And Grandma Said..Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down through Oral Tradition,* ed. Leslie Forrester (Philadelphia: Xlibris Corp, 2008), 318.
[22] Porter, *And Grandma Said,* 318-322; Alexander Von Gernet, "Nicotian Dreams: The Prehistory and Early History of Tobacco in Eastern North America," in *Consuming Habits Global and Historical Perspectives on How Cultures Define Drugs,* eds. Jordan Goodman et. al (London: Routledge, 2005), 70-71;
[23] Von Gernet, "Nicotian Dreams," 70-71.
[24] John L. Creese, "Making Pipes and Social Persons at the Keffer Site: A Life History Approach," in *Perspectives on the Archaeology of Pipes, Tobacco and other Smoke Plants in the Ancient Americas,* eds. Elizabeth Bollwerk and Shannon Tushingham (Cham: Springer, 2016), 32-45.

intimately lit Algonquin paddlers' pipes so they could continue their voyage.[25] Jacques Cartier mentioned that Indigenous Peoples around the St. Lawrence, "never go about without" tobacco, pipes, and tobacco pouches.[26] While delivering a sermon at Fort Orange pastor Johannes Megapolensis described "ten or twelve" Kanien'kehá:ka smoking "long tobacco pipe[s]" in the pews.[27] These moments of informal sociability bonded Indigenous Peoples together. Tobacco signaled respect and friendship through mutual consumption fostering environments of conviviality. In all, the use of tobacco satisfied the sacred and the social and was an important part of Indigenous lives on Turtle Island.

Sharing the language of tobacco

With the arrival of fishers, whalers, fur traders, explorers, and mariners on Turtle Island's shores came an incorporation of Indigenous diplomatic traditions into European practice. Europeans not only learned how to use tobacco, but also when and why. While tobacco would eventually serve as a common bridge across Indigenous and European languages and cultures, these meanings needed to be gleaned from interaction with Indigenous Peoples. Tobacco appears in the earliest written records of encounter among established Indigenous Nations and the few newly arrived peoples from across the water. The Genoese born admiral and colonizer Cristoforo Colombo (Christopher Columbus), mentions the presence of tobacco in early contacts with Taino on Guanahani which he later renamed San Salvador.[28] Importantly, tobacco leaves were repeatedly offered as gifts to exchange with Colombo and his crew. Upon arrival, Colombo sent

[25] Creese, "Pipes and Social Persons," 41.
[26] Jacques Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier,* ed. Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1993), 69-70.
[27] John Franklin Jameson ed., *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* (Bedford: Applewood Books, 1909), 177.
[28] Eric Burns, *The Smoke of the Gods: A Social History of Tobacco* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007), 15; Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 44-47.

Rodrigo de Xerez and Luis de Torres, the former an accomplished sailor and the latter an multilingual Arabic scholar, along with two Indigenous guides, one captive from the Bahamas and one willing from Cuba, to seek the "king of the land" to "establish a friendship, favouring him in what he might desire from them."[29] The small diplomatic envoy was sent to find the appropriate leader to speak on behalf of the Taino Nation. The ubiquity of the plant in Indigenous diplomacy suggests that the party was enveloped in smoke.[30] This meeting between the Taino Cacique (chief) and the multiethnic Spanish/Italian exploratory party was potentially the first diplomatic use of tobacco between Europeans and Indigenous Peoples. Perhaps not so coincidentally, de Xerez is credited as the first European to bring tobacco back to the continent having been taught its value from interactions with the Taino.[31] For centuries, tobacco exchange and consumption continued to consecrate alliances and trade relations with Indigenous Caribs, Mesoamericans, and newcomers.[32]

In the North Atlantic, archaeological and written evidence mimics the diplomatic interactions in the Caribbean in new contexts. As historian Laurier Turgeon has observed, "the St. Lawrence was a pole of attraction for Europeans on par with the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean."[33] French, Basque, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch fishers, fur traders, pirates, and smugglers operated along the coasts of Newfoundland, the St. Lawrence, Nova Scotia, Cape Cod, and further south along the Atlantic Seaboard. Importantly, their ships landed frequently to restock firewood, water, and provisions through resource extraction and trade with Indigenous

---

[29] Christopher Columbus, *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (during His First Voyage, 1492-93): And Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real,* ed. Clements Markham (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 66.
[30] Columbus, *Journal of Christopher Columbus,* 69-70.; Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 44-47.
[31] Burns, *The Smoke of the Gods,* 17-19.
[32] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 101.
[33] Laurier Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians During the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (October 1998): 593.

Peoples.[34] Their experiences with Indigenous Peoples, knowledge, and the material trade goods they acquired, travelled back with them to Europe through networks facilitated by maritime movement, word of mouth, and written accounts.[35]

Throughout the sixteenth century, tobacco sharing served as a medium of communication between European and Indigenous Peoples. Some of the earliest written accounts in the North Atlantic mention tobacco, the pipe, and the practice of smoking as well as an Indigenous eagerness to share and incorporate Europeans into their protocol. Travelling in 1535, Jacques Cartier described the processing and smoking of tobacco in pipes, of which Europeans had not developed a sufficient vocabulary to label, at the village of Stadacona. Cartier and his crew were actively taught how and why to smoke by St. Lawrence Iroquoians:

> they hold it in high esteem…they carry it about their necks in a small skin pouch in lieu of a bag…then at frequent intervals they crumble this plant into a powder, which they place in one of the openings of the hollow instrument, and, laying a live coal on top, suck at the other end to such an extent that they fill their bodies so full of smoke that it streams out of their mouths and nostrils as from a chimney. They say it keeps them warm and in good health, and never go about without these things. We made a trial of this smoke. When it is in one's mouth, one would think one had taken powdered pepper, it is so hot.[36]

Cartier's observations of tobacco pouches, pipe preparation and smoking, and his interpretation of the Indigenous reasons for smoking—of keeping them "warm and in good health"—offer just one glimpse into the many Euro-Indigenous interactions punctuated by tobacco in the North Atlantic. It is important to note that Cartier's written account was likely one of hundreds of encounters between Indigenous Peoples and Europeans in this region during the sixteenth century. Since many of these encounters were not recorded, shipping records can serve as a way

---

[34] For restocking and resupplying on Atlantic coasts see Nancy van Deusen, "Seeing Indios in Sixteenth-Century Castille," *The William and Mary* Quarterly 69, no. 2 (April 2012): 215.; Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians," 595.
[35] Peter Mancall, "Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe" *Environmental History* 9, no. 4 (October 2004): 649-651.
[36] Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier,* 69-70.

to measure Euro-Indigenous interaction. Between 1544 and 1565, approximately 536 ships were outfitted in France for trade, fishing, and whaling in Newfoundland and the Gulf of St. Lawrence.[37] This number does not include ships sailing on behalf of Spain, Portugal, the Low Countries, and England which were also present. In 1578, English navigator Anthony Parkhurst estimated ships in the region at "150 French cod-fishing vessels, 100 Spanish, 50 Portuguese, 30 to 50 English, and 20 to 30 Basque whalers."[38] Significantly, whalers and fishers often lived with, learned from, and traded actively with Indigenous Peoples at several whaling stations across the North Atlantic.[39] At Île aux Basques, in the St. Lawrence estuary near contemporary Trois Pistoles, Basques and Indigenous Peoples traded, lived together, and likely smoked with one another. In these intimate scenarios, Indigenous Peoples articulated tobacco's uses and values to a mobile and multiethnic community of mariners. Europeans learned when to smoke as well as how to smoke through imitation and coaching by Indigenous Peoples. This steady interaction between European mariners and Indigenous Nations allowed both cultures to share their customs, goods, and technologies with one another— passing knowledge and goods to proximate Indigenous Nations to the west and across oceans to the east.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, smoking grew in popularity among mariners across the Atlantic. These men smoked and traded with Indigenous Peoples then returned to Europe with tobacco, Indigenous smoking paraphernalia, and their newly acquired knowledge— allowing them to instruct others in port or at home. Eventually, the plant and the practice of smoking spread worldwide facilitated by a globalized network of trade and interaction. By the second half of the sixteenth century, tobacco smoking was a common practice for mariners

[37] Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians," 591.
[38] Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians," 590.
[39] Turgeon, "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians," 608.

around the world including European, East Asian, Arab, Indian, and African peoples.[40] Living in a multiethnic world both on land and at sea, sailors learned of tobacco and passed their knowledge to a diverse range of peoples. In the Caribbean, Marcy Norton observes, "the return of colonial hands (indianos) and mariners to their homelands, tobacco in pouch, explains the spread of smoking and snuff to Iberia…quickly passed from port to port along the East Atlantic coast and appeared at roughly the same time, the 1570s, in Seville, London, and Flanders."[41] French and English students at the University of Leiden smoked as early as 1590.[42] Operating alongside European networks, Islamic oceanic and overland networks spread tobacco and tobacco technology to North and West Africa and the Middle East around the same time.[43] At the dawn of the new century in 1602, while sailing throughout the Caribbean, Samuel de Champlain observed that "sailors, even the English, and other persons use it, and take the smoke of it in imitation of the savages."[44] Circulating around the world, tobacco use became so widespread among mariners that it was ubiquitous in oceangoing life. European slave ships paid and pacified both their crew and their human cargo with tobacco.[45] Multinational ships in the Atlantic acquired tobacco from Indigenous Nations and Spanish plantations, cultivated by Indigenous agricultural technology and relying on African and Afro-Caribbean labour.[46] From here, the seeds could be taken and planted around the world with tobacco from the Americas growing in

---

[40] Carol Benedict, *Golden-Silk Smoke: A History of Tobacco in China, 1550-2010* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 26-28.
[41] Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, "The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco," 258.
[42] Wim Klooster, "The Tobacco Nation: English Tobacco Dealers and Pipe Makers in Rotterdam, 1620-1650," in *The Birth of Modern Europe: Culture and Economy, 1400-1800: Essays in Honor of Jan de Vries,* eds. Laura Cruz and Joel Mokyr (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 21.
[43] Beverly Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Culture: The Material World Remade, c. 1500-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 204-205.
[44] Samuel Champlain, *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the Years 1599*-1602, eds. Alice Wilmere and Norton Shaw (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 47.
[45] Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Culture,* 198-199, 223-229; Lieutenant's Logbook for HMS Reserve 1704-1710, ADM/L/R 87, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, United Kingdom.
[46] Norton and Studnicki-Gizbert, "The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco," 256-258.

England, India, Japan, China, Madagascar, and many other countries.[47] Distributing harvested tobacco and tobacco knowledge through all major and minor ports, sailors were important cultural conduits of mediated Indigenous knowledge and technologies.

The sharing of tobacco between persons was quickly identified as a means of establishing good relations with Indigenous Nations. Europeans travelling across the Atlantic needed to understand the Indigenous language of tobacco in order to ensure peaceful and friendly interactions. Smoking eased tensions and allowed both parties to understand the nature of the encounter without needing to fully grasp the other's language. Across the continent, Europeans were frequently introduced to Turtle Island alongside tobacco and a pipe.[48] The pipe, or its absence, acted as a material indicator which symbolically defined the nature of interaction. In 1609, French writer Marc Lescarbot's widely published and read *Nova Francia,* transmitted the meaning of the pipe to readers. Interestingly, he compares pipe smoking to the established European social custom of presenting friends, new and old, with a good bottle of wine. He writes, that Indigenous Peoples "can make cheere to them that come to visit them with no greater thing, as in these our parts one presents his friends with some excellent wine: In such sort that if one refuseth to take the Tabacco-pipe, it is a signe that he is not a friend."[49] Two years earlier in the Chesapeake Bay, Englishman George Percy shared tobacco with the Paspaheghs and Rappahannocks who "gave us of their tabacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger."[50] Similarly, in 1605, James Rosier and his men smoked

---

[47] Benedict, *Golden-Silk Smoke*, 34-49.; Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), 50- 52.
[48] Paper, *Offering Smoke,* 18-20.
[49] Marc Lescarbot, *Nova Francia, or the Description of that Part of New France which is on the Continent of Virginia* (London: 1609), 278.
[50] Richard Hakluyt, "Discourse of Western Planting, 1584" in *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Peter Mancall (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1995), 119.

Abenaki tobacco in European clay pipes.[51] In the Hudson Valley, Dutch peace negotiators Jan Dareth and Jacob Loockermans were treated "very kindly after we had together smoke a pipe of tobacco" with Kanien'kehá:ka treaty negotiators near Beverwyck.[52] These moments of cross-cultural understanding were established by the smoking of tobacco in pipes. This allowed both parties to understand the other's intent. Eighteen years later, French missionary Gabriel Sagard described tobacco's ability to instigate friendship with the Wendat,

> when they wish to entertain someone and demonstrate their friendship to him, present him with the lighted pipe after smoking themselves; and considering us friends and relatives they would offer and hand it to us with very fine courtesy. But as I never wished to become habituated to tobacco I used to thank them but not take it, at which they were at first all astonished, because there is nobody in all those countries who does not take it.[53]

While the Indigenous reception was not mentioned in his text, Sagard's refusal to smoke was likely frowned upon by the Wendat, who looked to ensure reciprocity, goodwill, and truth in their dealings with the missionary. Later missionaries learned the necessity of taking and smoking tobacco during inaugural meetings with Indigenous Nations they hoped to evangelize and convert to Christianity. Near the Great Lakes, missionary Louis Hennepin believed he was to be murdered after Siouan peoples refused to smoke with him.[54] In 1673, Jesuit Missionary Gabriel Marquette noted that Indigenous Peoples "use [pipe smoking] to put an end to Their disputes, to strengthen their alliances, and to speak to Strangers."[55] To protect him on his voyages, the Illinois gifted Marquette a ceremonial pipe to use as a diplomatic tool, "to serve as a

---

[51] Joyce Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 208.
[52] Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 13 (Albany, 1881) 381-382.
[53] Gabriel Sagard, *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons,* ed. George Wrong (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939), 88.
[54] Christopher Parsons, "Natives, Newcomers, and Nicotiana: Tobacco in the History of the Great Lakes Region," in *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815,* ed. Robert Englebert (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013), 25.
[55] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791* (Cleveland: Burrows, 1900), 181.

safeguard among all the Nations through whom I had to pass during my voyage."[56] Learning the language of tobacco diplomacy necessarily ensured that Europeans could understand and define their immediate social and diplomatic relationships.

Significantly, tobacco smoking was not always necessary to facilitate good relations with Indigenous Peoples. Trading and exchanging tobacco also allowed Europeans to participate in established Indigenous diplomatic protocol and foster goodwill. As was custom before the arrival of Europeans, Indigenous Peoples expected tobacco to be part of reciprocal exchange. This included both tobacco and its associated paraphernalia. While the nuances of tobacco's social and spiritual significance were not fully understood by all Europeans, its economic and diplomatic value was clear. Traders offered tobacco and in return received both economic and diplomatic gain. In 1597, Basque Captain Martin Sance de Arestega traded tobacco to the Mi'kmaq in the Strait of Belle Isle. In return Captain de Arestega received an impressive haul, "for tobacco fifty buckskynnes, forty bever skinnes, twenty martins and twenty barrels of rowes of fyshes."[57] At a unnamed river near Jamestown, the Susquehannock Nation offered "skins, bows, arrows, targets, beads, swords and tobacco-pipes" to a party of English settlers.[58] To the north in Inuit Nunangat, Labradormiut (Labrador Inuit) frequently traded for tobacco and pipes, of both European and Labradormiut origin, with Basque, Dutch, French, and English fishers and traders for recreational and medicinal purposes during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[59] Interestingly, by 1650 tobacco was traded across both oceans, with Western Alaskan Inuit trading for tobacco with Siberian Inuit who had acquired the plant from Asian and Russian

---

[56] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations,* 181.
[57] Quoted in Charles Martijn, "Early Mi'kmaq Presence in Southern Newfoundland: An Ethnohistorical Perspective," *Newfoundland Studies* 19, no. 1 (2003): 66.
[58] Samuel Clarke, *A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America…* (London: 1670), 6. Sabin Americana: History of the Americas, 1500-1926.
[59] Beatrix Arendt, "The Return to Hopedale: Excavations at Anniowaktook Island, Hopedale, Labrador," *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 37 (2013): 317-318.

markets.[60] English captain, and later governor of Plymouth, Christopher Levett reconciled European and Indigenous customs of welcome, exchanging tobacco and spirits during his first meeting with an Abenaki chief: "the Sagamore or King of that place hath a house, where I was one day…They bid me welcome and gave me such victuals as they had, and I gave them Tobacco and Aqua vite...and so in great love we parted."[61] A few days later Levett sailed with Cagawesco, an Abenaki chief, along with Cagawesco's wife and son towards his newly established plantation. Cagawesco requested that he and his family join Levett, as envoys of the Abenaki Nation, in order to liaise with the new English settlers. Upon arrival, a ship anchored in port gave "them meate, drinke, and tobacco." In recognition of this act, the Abenaki matriarch reciprocated stating, "they were welcome to her Countrey and so should all [Levett's] friends be at any time."[62] The European clay pipe was also traded with Indigenous Peoples, demonstrating a shared interest in the practice of pipe smoking. In 1632 in the Catskills, David Pieterson de Vries noted "they could buy a deer for a loaf of bread, or for a knife, or even for a tobacco-pipe."[63] In other scenarios, the pipe was used as a diplomatic gift which demonstrated friendship and goodwill. According to a recorded Oral History, King James I gifted the Wampanoag leader Massasoit "a present of a silver pipe" as a token of friendship. The pipe was said to be one of Massasoit's prized possessions from his "white brother over the sea."[64] Later in the seventeenth century, Euro-Indigenous tobacco exchange was an important factor in alliance and treaty making. Since tobacco was the most basic trade good which symbolically indicated goodwill and

---

[60] Winter, "Traditional Uses of Tobacco," 11.
[61] Christopher Levett, *A Voyage into New England begun in 1623 and ended in 1624* (London, 1628), 8.
[62] Levett, *A Voyage into New England,* 10.
[63] David Peterson de Vries, *Voyages from Holland to America, 1632-1644,* trans. Henry C. Murphy (New York, 1853), 132.
[64] Jenny Hale Pulsipher, *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 20; Richard Veit and Charles Bello, **"**Neat and Artificial Pipes': Base Metal Trade Pipes of the Northeastern Indians," in *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America*, eds. Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 195.

sealed agreements, the absence or presence of tobacco dictated how Europeans were received by Indigenous communities. In 1609, Dutch explorer Henry Hudson and his English-Dutch crew, were welcomed to Turtle Island by the Lenape and the Mohicans, who gifted him tobacco and Wampum to ensure goodwill and reciprocity.[65] These early gifts started a long-standing military and trade relationship between the Dutch, Mohican, Lenape, and the Haudenosaunee, culminating in a formal alliance, evidenced by the Two Row Wampum Belt of 1614. The absence of tobacco was not taken kindly by Indigenous Peoples looking to negotiate with Europeans. As it did not fulfill the basic expectations of Indigenous diplomatic tradition, the absence of tobacco meant the failure of diplomacy. In 1660, the Onondowahgah (Seneca) expressed their frustration at receiving "not even a pipeful of tobacco" in return for the presents they gave the Dutch at Manhattan.[66] Understanding the violation of tobacco diplomacy, the Dutch Director-General reciprocated, "because the tobacco was forgotten at that time, we give them now a roll of tobacco, that, when they return to their country, they may remember the friendship and keep it as firmly, as if they were bound to us by a chain."[67] In these cases, Europeans understood the correlation between tobacco and relationship building with Indigenous Nations.

The Sacred Pipe Ceremony, called the calumet by Europeans, was the most obvious expression of tobacco diplomacy on Turtle Island. It not only incorporated European envoys under Indigenous protocols of diplomacy, but also explicitly educated Europeans on the diplomatic necessity of the plant. Several accounts by missionaries, officials, and merchants

[65] Mark Meuwese, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 116-119.
[66] Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* vol. 13, 184.
[67] Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 13, 185.

describe the Sacred Pipe Ceremony or the firing of pipes before councils and negotiations.[68] Describing an Onondowahgah Council in 1669, a French missionary observed "fifty or sixty [chiefs] assembled in their cabins…and at once take fire for lighting their pipes which are not taken from their mouths during the whole time of the council. They say that good thoughts come from smoking."[69] The importance of the Sacred Pipe Ceremony travelled across oceans. In 1710, a London publication described the pipe culture of the four Indigenous diplomats to Queen Anne:

> as to their methods of making Peace, that is always done by the Calumet, which is the most mysterious Thing in the World…however it is nothing else but a large Tobacco-Pipe…in all embassies the embassadors carry that Calumet, as the symbol of peace…all their enterprizes, declarations of war, or conclusions of peace, as well as all the rest of their ceremonies, are seal'd…with this Calumet; they fill that Pipe with the best Tobacco they have, and then present it to those with whom they have concluded any great Affair, and Smoke out of the same after them.[70]

While the Sacred Pipe Ceremony was mostly unknown to early eighteenth-century Londoners, the associations between the pipe and diplomacy were already understood by the English public. Over a hundred years of mariners, travellers, missionaries, and officials travelling across the Atlantic, coupled with networks of written, material, and oral knowledge transmission had firmly planted tobacco in the culture of English and European diplomacy.

"Intrenched under a Cloud of our Own Raising"

By the seventeenth century, the practice of smoking in diplomatic scenarios was well-established. An increase in European settlement, Indigenous dispossession, and the importation

---

[68] Penelope Drooker, "Pipes, Leadership, and Interregional Interaction in Protohistoric Midwestern and Northeastern North America," in *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America*, eds. Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004), 73-75; Paper, *Offering Smoke,* 18-34.

[69] Quoted in Paper, *Offering Smoke,* 23.

[70] *The Four Kings of Canada. Being a Succinct Account of the Four Indian Princes lately Arriv'd from North America…* (London, 1710), 36-37.

of millions of African slaves to work on Spanish and English plantations firmly entangled Indigenous, African, and European lives and cultures on Turtle Island. Since tobacco diplomacy was a common feature of relations between fledgling European colonies and Indigenous Nations, tobacco users formed knowledge networks, compromising physical movement and written works, which passed these sentiments to Europeans. In this way, tobacco became a part of a European diplomatic material culture heavily influenced by Indigenous knowledge and technologies. Both formal statecraft and informal relations were mediated by the presence of tobacco.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, pipe smoking was the principal means of taking tobacco in England. Importantly, Indigenous Nations in the North Atlantic who favoured the pipe instructed English, French, and Dutch merchants to smoke. In consequence, the pipe became the preferred technology in northern Europe while the Spanish learned from Central and South American Indigenous Nations to smoke the cigar.[71] Supported by written sources, archaeology, and material evidence, London had widely adopted pipe smoking by the late sixteenth century.[72] In order to facilitate the material requirements of smoking, the English clay pipe making industry developed around port cities such as Boston and London around 1600.[73] This not only allowed mariners to easily purchase and replace their pipes when resting in port, but ensured that clay pipes, pipe tampers, and tobacco were able to access new markets through maritime shipping and movement. Importantly, the shape and style of European clay pipes, called the "elbow pipe," imitated a sophisticated Indigenous pipe technology— developed over one thousand years— commonly found in the Eastern Woodlands, Mexico, Virginia, and

[71] Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 66-68.
[72] Lauren Working, "Locating Colonization at the Jacobean Inns of Court," *The Historical Journal* 61, no. 1 (2018): 42.
[73] Klooster, "The Tobacco Nation," 28.

Florida.[74] The astronomical quantity of clay pipes produced exemplifies how widespread the practice of pipe smoking had become in northern Europe. Clay pipes of European origin appear en masse at archaeological sites in Britain, the Netherlands, France, the Americas, and beyond. Archaeological work in colonial Jamestown has uncovered well over 50,000 pipes dated between 1620 to 1690.[75] By 1614, it is estimated that London had 7000 tobacconist's shops, selling pipe tobacco, snuff, pipe tampers, and other accessories including tobacco boxes.[76] Horatio Busino, the Venetian diplomat in London, observed in 1613 that pipe smoking, "is in such frequent use that not only at every hour of the day but even at night they keep the pipe and steel at their pillows to gratify their longings."[77] Further, an extensive maritime network transported pipes overseas to meet Indigenous and global consumer demand. One seventeenth-century merchant shipwreck in the Caribbean contained approximately 25,000 Dutch clay pipes.[78] Indeed, Europeans quickly adopted the practice of smoking and included Indigenous practices in their consuming rituals.

Sharing tobacco allowed smokers to consecrate and maintain relationships. The portability of the clay pipe and the tobacco box or pouch gave smokers the ability to create sociability in any bar, back alley, ballroom, or bawdyhouse. Historian Marcy Norton elaborates, "[tobacco's] suitability to the moveable feast of street life" meant "any odd corner could become a site of tobacco diffusion…any place there was a gathering of folk desirous of a respite from

---

[74] Fox, *Archaeology of Smoking and Tobacco,* 20; For the development of pipe technology see Sean Rafferty, "Smoking Pipes of Eastern North America," in *Perspectives on the Archaeology of Pipes, Tobacco and other Smoke Plants in the Ancient Americas,* eds. Elizabeth Bollwerk and Shannon Tushinham, (Cham: Springer, 2016), 13-22.
[75] Fox, *Archaeology of Smoking and Tobacco*, 17.
[76] Madeline Marsh, "This Sovereign Weed: A Brief History of Tobacco from Its Discovery until the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *Tobacco Containers and Accessories: Their Place in European Social History*, eds. Deborad Gage and Madeline Marsh (Cham: Springer, 2016), 15.
[77] Quoted in Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 66.
[78] Fox, *Archaeology of Smoking and Tobacco*, 17.

their labors and enjoying the company of their peers."[79] Similar to moments of tobacco smoking among Algonquin paddlers, tobacco gave European consumers the ability to create conditions of friendliness and goodwill in multiform scenarios. In England, the practice of sharing tobacco among friends and guests quickly entrenched itself in the culture of pipe smoking. Communal pipes, passed from patron to patron, appeared in crowded taverns and coffeehouses, transmitting methods and rituals of consumption from experienced to inexperienced smokers.[80] Writing in 1604, the famous opponent of tobacco King James I, demonstrates how tobacco was necessary to welcoming and establishing friendship. Condemning the practice he writes, "And is it not a great vanitie, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, by straight they must bee in hand with Tobacco?...and he will refuse to take a pipe of tobacco among his fellowes…is accounted pecuish and no good company."[81] Tobacco's incorporation into English rituals of welcome was clear to outsiders visiting the bustling capital. Echoing Marc Lescarbot's description of Algonquin uses in 1609, Horatio Busino observes London in 1618: "amongst themselves, they are in the habit of circulating toasts, passing the pipe from one to the other with much grace, just as they here do with good wine, but more often with beer."[82] Although the mobile nature of the pipe allowed for the creation of friendship and goodwill in all locales, over the course of the seventeenth century, taverns and public houses became popular common spaces for pipe smoking.[83]

In seventeenth-century London, taverns, inns, and coffeehouses were preferred sites of consumption for English smokers. By the 1660s, coffeehouses were a part of Londoners' habits,

---

[79] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 159.
[80] Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History*, 19.
[81] James I of England, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco,* (London, 1604), D1.
[82] Quoted in Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 66.
[83] Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 67.

frequented several times a week for hours at a time.[84] These public spaces both allowed for the shared consumption of tobacco in communal settings and the transmission of tobacco knowledge—where patrons, if not already familiar, could be introduced to the pipe and the city. While the nature of each site differed, the function of public houses involved the serving of food, the smoking of tobacco, and the gathering of persons for events and meetings.[85] Sitting around large tables full of rambunctious conversation and whispered secrets, a patron might lift their glass of wine, beer, or coffee with one hand while chewing on a personal or communal pipe. In the local context, the tavern was a meeting place; a centre of political discussion and business where negotiations and debates between individuals and representatives were frequent.[86] These moments of diplomacy took place within the smoke-filled coffeehouse, inn, or tavern. New arrivals to the capital arranged to meet friends or business partners at public houses, while those without connections flocked to these spaces to acquaint themselves with the city. Similar to Indigenous Nations welcoming Europeans to Turtle Island, countless peoples were welcomed to London by the scent or smoking of tobacco. Coffeehouses and taverns frequently took on regional identities, with travellers and newcomers to the capital stopping in to make contacts in their respective locales. Those visitors from the budding American colonies might frequent the New England Coffeehouse on Threadneedle Street while those from northern England, speaking their regional dialects, might meet at the Hole in the Wall on Fleet Street.[87] These public spaces eased transitions to the city by meeting friends and associating with those who held common

[84] Lawrence E. Klein, "Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspects of Post-Courtly Culture in England," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1996): 31.
[85] Christel Lane, *From Taverns to Gastropubs: Food, Drink, and Sociality in England* (Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2018), 20-27.
[86] Lane, *Taverns to Gastropubs,* 23-26.
[87] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 160.

backgrounds or interests for personal or professional gain. Significantly, the ritual of smoking pipes allowed strangers to be welcomed into new company. Historian William Tullett observes,

> At a coffee house near the Royal Exchange the eponymous Spectator saw a group in discussion over a pipe of tobacco" going over, the man "filled his pipe, lit it at the candle standing in the middle of the group, and 'after having thrown in two or three Whiffs amongst them, sat down, and made one of the company' engaging in a 'very amicable manner, being intrenched under a cloud of our own raising.[88]

In 1710, Tejonihokarawa, Onioheriago, Sagayenkwaraton, Etowaucum from the Wolf, Bear, and Turtle Clans of the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican Nation were similarly welcomed when they dined with the colonist William Penn at the Devil's Tavern in Fleet Street.[89] While historical sources cannot fully confirm if Penn and the diplomats smoked, the nature of the space means they were, at minimum, enveloped by the familiar scent of tobacco—invoking sensory associations of diplomacy back home. Together, in the smoky public houses of London, pipe smoking patrons participated in rituals of welcome which mirrored Indigenous tobacco consumption overseas.

The London coffeehouse was not only a site of sociability and welcome, but a place where Londoners could learn about their burgeoning empire while Indigenous Peoples were materially represented by tobacco. The creation and movement of knowledge regarding Indigenous Peoples and goods helped Londoners "learn to be colonial."[90] By the eighteenth century, tobacco's associations with racialized Indigenous Peoples were clear to the British public. Early writings on tobacco consistently refer to the plant's ability to corrupt English sensibilities and bodies.[91] In fact, tobacco smoking retained "strong associations with native

---

[88] William Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2019), 139.
[89] Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 76.
[90] Thrush, *Indigenous London,* 36.
[91] Chaplin, *Subject Matter,* 147-149.

ritual until the 1620s."[92] In *A Counterblaste to Tobacco,* King James I expressed English anxieties towards the use of tobacco which was associated with the imitation of "the beastly manners of the wilde, godlesse, and slavish Indians…slaves to the Spaniards, refuse to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Covenant of God."[93] James even credits the introduction of tobacco to England to two "Savage men," perhaps two Inuit or Beothuk men abducted by John Cabot in 1497.[94] A medical treatise from 1712 credits tobacco's curative knowledge to the "experience" of "poor ignorant Natives" who "hang [tobacco] about their necks, and are seldom seen without a Pipe in their Hand."[95] In coffeehouses, patrons also learned of the world by consuming literature which brought news of faraway lands, goods, and peoples. Newspapers *The Tatler* and *Spectator* were commonplace in English coffeehouses, as well as newspapers from other countries, with patrons frequently using the public space to talk about current events and the dealings of empire.[96]

[92] Working, "Locating Colonization," 42.
[93] James I, *A Counterblaste to Tobacco,* B1-B2.
[94] Peter Mancall, "Tales Tobacco Told," 662; Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 52-56
[95] *The Virtues and Excellency of the American Tobacco Plant* (London, 1712), 4, 12.
[96] Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 108, 173-175.

Figure 2 Snuff Box, London, ca. 1680, Silver, chased and engraved, 808-1864, Victoria and Albert Museum.

This feature allowed the English to learn about their growing empire, as well as the peoples within it, to make sense of their world and transmit knowledge between patrons. The *Daily Journal* from September 1728, explained Wampum diplomacy and tobacco smoking during treaty negotiations at Conestoga between William Penn and the Conestoga, Conoy, Shawnee, and Delaware Nations.[97] Apart from written sources, visual culture including trade tokens, shop signs, trade cards, and tobacco jars and boxes, reinforced racialized associations between Indigenous Peoples and tobacco.[98] In fact, the coat of arms of the London clay pipe makers

[97] "Continuation of a Memorial of What Happened on Concluding a Treaty Between the Governor of Pennsilvania and the Indians Bordering on the Settlement," *The Daily Journal,* September 6, 1728, 1; James H. Merrell, *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (New York: Norton, 1999), 163-167.
[98] Lemire, *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Cultures,* 233-243.

displayed a 'Moor,' with pipe and roll of tobacco.[99] This silver snuffbox (Figure 2) depicts a stereotypical image of an Indigenous man from the Americas. The figure appears to be taking a break from his time hunting in a pastoral scene— signified by the discarded bow and arrow— and is kneeling to worship the sun. In French, the inscription reads "Jadore qui me brule," or, I worship the one who sets me on fire, an amusing play on the firing of tobacco in a pipe and imagined Indigenous associations with idol worship, paganism, and savagery. Images of Indigenous Peoples circulated around the City of London in coffeehouses, in the streets, or in pockets. In this way, Londoners were frequently reminded of the perceived physical and material qualities of Indigenous Peoples and goods and their imperial connection to Indigenous Peoples and cultures.

Coffeehouses served as learning places for political and diplomatic trainees where patrons learned the skills of debate and the etiquette of negotiation. In coffeehouses, Londoners gathered together to consume the material pleasures of global trade including coffee, sugar, and tobacco all while socializing, learning from, and negotiating with one another.[100] Acting as places of informal and formal learning, coffeehouse patrons could take lessons in foreign languages, listen to lectures, and discuss and debate the politics of the day.[101] At the beginning of the eighteenth century the diplomatic service began to be formally established in England.[102] Across the channel in France, the Académie politique at the Louvre was built as a formal establishment for the training of the king's diplomats.[103] However, in England, it was clear that the coffeehouse schooled the diplomat. In 1712, Joseph Addison wrote, "Our Coffee-houses are,

---

[99] Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History,* 15-16.
[100] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee*, 44.
[101] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee,* 99-101.
[102] M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919* (London: Longman, 1993), 80-87.
[103] Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee,* 104.; Joseph Klaits, "Men of Letters and Political Reform in France at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV: The Founding of the Academie Politique," *The Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 4 (Dec 1971): 579.

indeed, very good Institutions, but whether or no these our British Schools of Politicks may furnish out as able Envoys and Secretaries as an Academy that is set a-part for that Purpose, will deserve our serious Consideration."[104] Apart from the informal training of diplomats in the arts, languages, and the proper means of gentlemanly conduct, the coffeehouse also facilitated the business of the British empire. They were both places of consumption and places of decision-making which supported colonial encroachment and radical plantation development in the Americas. The London Quaker tobacco merchant Peter Briggins participated actively in the imperial world of tobacco and coffeehouse commerce. His diary, recording his daily movements from May 1706 to February 1708 shows that he visited various coffeehouses, to vend and partake in tobacco and ale, between three and four times a week.[105] Briggins stopped frequently at the docks to meet traders, including one "Moor," purchasing tobacco directly from merchant ships from the Americas.[106] Also participating in coffeehouse business was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the missionary wing of the Church of England headquartered at Lambeth Palace. Frequently, the Society subcommittee utilized St. Paul's Coffeehouse to discuss religious affairs regarding the conversion of Indigenous Peoples and the church. On March 6, 1705, the organization drafted letters to be sent to colonial officials such as Colonel Francis Nicholson, informing them of lands "donated" by officials in Virginia and New Jersey for the building of churches.[107] An organizing body of colonial expansion and Indigenous conversion, the Society worked and debated while Indigenous Peoples and their technologies were materially present in the coffeehouse.

---

[104] Quoted in Klaits "Men of Letters and Political Reform," 579.
[105] May 11, 1706- February 2, 1708, Diary of Peter Briggins. Closely Written, details daily life, family, official meetings, and religious remarks, ACC/1017/0002, 1706-1708, London Metropolitan Archives, London, United Kingdom.
[106] May 25, 1708, Diary of Peter Briggins. Closely Written, details daily life, family, official meetings, and religious remarks, ACC/1017/0002, 1706-1708, London Metropolitan Archives, London, United Kingdom
[107] Memorandum of Secretary to a Subcommittee, Financial Records 1702-1796, SPG VI, f. 23, Lambeth Palace Library, London, United Kingdom.

"A Man of Wit and Merit": Snuff and Snuffboxes

While the pipe served as a mediator between the attendants of the coffeehouse— present for welcome, business, and sociability — there was an obvious divide in the tobacco-taking methods of the lower and middle classes, and the gentry and aristocracy. Edward Ward, the English satirist, wrote of an interesting encounter at "the most Eminent Coffee-House" in London. Full of sarcastic and satiric remarks towards the coffeehouse patrons within, Ward's story speaks to a wider cultural divide in tobacco consumption. In his story, he entered the coffeehouse to find a "Fluttering Assembly of Snuffing Poripateticks…their whole Exercise being to Charge and Discharge their Nostrils; and keep the Curles of their Perriwigs, in their proper Order. The Clacking of their Snuff-box Lids…making more Noise than their Tongues."[108] Ward and his friend were likely out of place in this seemingly upper-class coffeehouse. Ward wrote that the patrons, including military officers from Flanders, glanced at them. Hesitantly, and feeling most unwelcome, the two men lit their pipes, "which we were not assur'd we could have the Liberty of Smoaking, lest we should offend those sweet-Breath-Gentlemen, who were always running their Noses in the Arse of a Civet-Cat."[109] Ward's experience with the aristocratic snuff takers was part of a wider divide in tobacco's diplomatic culture which elevated tobacco to the aristocratic world of European international diplomacy.

The clientele found in Ward's coffeehouse were a distinct community of tobacco takers, composed of upper-class courtiers, envoys, and officials who consumed tobacco in ways which were socially acceptable to their class and lifestyle but predicated on Indigenous knowledge and technology. Snuff became a requirement for sociability and diplomacy. However, the Indigenous

[108] Edward Ward, *The London-spy compleat. In Eighteen Parts.* (London, 1700), 134-135.
[109] Ward, *The London-spy,* 135.

knowledge producers that upper-class snuff takers were dependent on were actively denigrated and disparaged by ideologies of European superiority.[110] The engraving in figure 3 visually depicts one member of this elite class of snuff takers. Finely dressed and bewigged, the French military officer, likely a member of the Court of Louis XIV, takes a pinch of snuff with his right hand while holding the snuffbox in his left. Below an inscription details snuff's usage in the military: "the army has much tobacco, it's the joy of the unlucky; the soldiers inhale the smoke and the officers take it through the nose." The French officer's gestures, clothing, and snuff-taking all brand him as a member of an elite and wealthy group with interests in politics, diplomacy, and empire building, participating in a shared culture of snuffing tobacco. As officers stationed on the European continent frequently wintered for up to six months, they were permitted to return to their home cities and enjoy social life at coffeehouses, taverns, or in the courts of monarchs.[111] In England, Queen Anne's officers were both nobles as well as Members of Parliament: entangled in state policy, military action, empire building, and negotiation.[112] In Flanders, the Duke of Marlborough often entertained subordinate officers by inviting them to dine with him, drink French wine, and take tobacco.[113]

[110] Chaplin, *Subject Matter,* 157-163; Marcy Norton, "Subaltern Technologies and Early Modernity in the Atlantic World," *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 1, (2017): 25.
[111] Steward Stansfield, *Early Modern Systems of Command: Queen Anne's Generals, Staff Officers, and the Direction of Allied Warfare in the Low Countries and Germany, 1702-1711* (Solihull: Helion, 2016), 70-71.
[112] Steward Stansfield, *Early Modern Systems of Command,* 48-49, 54.
[113] Stewart Stansfield, *Early Modern Systems of Command,* 78-80.

Figure 3 *Habit despée en hiver*, 1682. Nicolas Bonnart (1637-1718). 2002.139/285. Museum of London.

Among elite men and women, snuff was adopted as a visual and ritualized material expression of gentility, status, and wealth. To carry, consume, and share snuff in the correct way communicated courtliness and conviviality to those around.[114] An eighteenth-century Dutch writer described the ideal character of a gentleman snuff taker:

A man, who wears good Cloaths, fine Linnen, and a long stately Perrwig;…who walks nimbly, takes, and offers Snuff to everybody about him;…In short a man, whose Head, properly

[114] Tessa Murdoch, "Snuff-taking, Fashion, and Accessories," in *Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and Collecting of Gold Boxes,* eds. Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2014), 2.

speaking, is a library of fashionable and new fooleries; who besides does not fail to frequent all the Circles… Such a one is generally call'd a Man of Wit and Merit.[115]

Snuff's shared consumption was lavish and conspicuous as monarchs, officials, officers, politicians, courtiers, and diplomats shared snuff in communal settings. By the eighteenth century, snuff-taking was ubiquitous in courts across Europe.[116] According to a sixteenth-century medical professor, "in these and foreign kingdoms" snuff tobacco was used to toast others during feasts where carrying snuffboxes "always prepared [one] for company."[117] Elaborate court feasts, balls, and festivities were bursting with snuff takers. In Valencia, the viceroy hosted a party for King Charles II of Spain which included poetic odes to chocolate and tobacco and the consumption and sharing of snuff.[118] As far as St. Petersburg, Tsar Peter the Great and the Russian elite imported snuffboxes from Western manufacturers to meet the demands of the court.[119] As snuff-taking became fashionable among the upper classes it altered ways of statecraft between European nations—developing into a material lingua franca used to consecrate community and relationships, similar to Indigenous practice overseas. As a result, tobacco became an indispensable part of a European gentleman-diplomat's accoutrements making it consistently present in international relations.

In England, courtiers and politicians— the two roles often working in tandem— "temperament, appearance, manner and capacity for friendship all influenced a politician's success."[120] Therefore, it was crucial for the politician to understand the rituals, manners, and

---

[115] Michel de La Roche, *Memoirs of Literature Containing a Weekly Account of the State of Learning both at Home and Abroad,* vol. 1 (London, 1712), 216.
[116] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 194.
[117] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 183.
[118] Norton, *Sacred Gifts,* 173.
[119] Olga Kostjuk, "Western European Refinement and Asiatic Luxury: Gold Boxes for the Imperial Court in St. Petersburg," in *Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and Collecting of Gold Boxes,* eds. Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2014), 122-125.
[120] Marilyn Morris, *Sex, Money and Personal Character in Eighteenth-Century British Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 25.

etiquette of snuff-taking. In 1706, The well-connected Tory MP and Vice Chamberlain of the Household to Queen Anne, Thomas Coke purchased and consumed one pound of snuff per month. However, as more time in politics and the courts passed his personal snuff consumption increased to almost two and a half pounds per month.[121] Snuff was so essential to the politician and the diplomat because it was believed to have characteristics which "foster conversations by heightening wit, facilitating introductions, and demonstrating conspicuous consumption."[122] A poem from 1717 demonstrates how snuff was used to punctuate political points while speaking. The politician, "who daily canvassing the grand Affairs of Europe" uses his snuffbox:

> At proper Intervals his Snuff-box draws;
> Sucks up a Pinch, and makes a solemn Pause
> Which shews there's something weighty in the Clause…
> From hence the rules of Elegance we draw;
> This gives Mankind the Fashion and the Law
> The Snuff-box, recommended by the Choice
> Of all the Fair, soon gains the publick voice.[123]

Using tobacco at particular intervals focused others on the importance of the issue at hand to the speaker, similar to the Indigenous burning of tobacco before councils or ceremonies. This type of posturing not only audibly dictated significance—as the practice of snuffing is loud and messy—but reinforced the consumer's attention to etiquette. Thus, snuff-taking allowed politicians and diplomats to visually signal their status and ability. By consummating introductions to foster goodwill and demonstrating the importance of words, snuff-taking retained many of the diplomatic traits that Indigenous Peoples imparted on the plant.

---

[121] Coke Papers (Series III), Vol XLV. Personal and Household Expenditure of Thomas Coke, Vice Chamberlain, his Wives and Children, 1692-1748*,* Add 69980, British Library, Global Commodities Online, 9, 21; Stuart Handley, "Coke, Thomas (1674-1727), of Melbourne, Derbys. Melton Mowbray, Leics., and St. James's Place, London," in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690-1715,* eds. D Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, S. Handley, 2002.

[122] Tullett, *Smell in Eighteenth-Century,* 148.

[123] James Arbuckle, *Snuff: A Poem* (Glasgow, 1717), 9, 18.

Elaborately constructed of gold, silver, porcelain, or tortoiseshell, snuffboxes acted as a material expression of wealth, status, and allegiance. Snuffboxes communicated individuality and community and were created to be shared. French manufacturers incorporated the creative world of artists and artisans who personally "[designed customized] snuffboxes for an aristocratic clientele."[124] As a result, boxes often featured the owners' initials or family crests coupled with a lavishly decorated interior. After performing an elaborate consumption ritual, which involved removing the box from pockets with flair, tapping the box, and sniffing, the cultural expectation was to leave the lid open and offer a pinch to those around.[125] An English newspaper in London emphasized, "tis general custom, says he, to give Snuff to all Comers. A Snuff-Box is a kind of Publick Right, which every Body claims."[126] Much like the expectation of sharing tobacco among Indigenous Peoples, European snuff takers offered their tobacco to others with an expectation of reciprocity. As a result, those who did not carry snuffboxes violated social norms. *The Tatler* observed "there is a poorer Creature in the World than this, and he is a Borrower of Snuff; a Fellow that keeps no Box of his own, but is always asking others for a Pinch."[127] In all, the snuffbox was a valuable item meant to be carried, displayed, and shared. In this way, snuffboxes and tobacco were a signifier of personal expression and communal participation.

Abroad, English diplomats consistently engaged in tobacco diplomacy. William Trumbull, the seventeenth-century English diplomat to the Ottomans, frequently feasted, drank coffee and smoked tobacco during his time abroad.[128] In order to persuade the Ottoman envoy to

[124] Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 74.
[125] Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 75.
[126] Michel de La Roche, *Memoirs of Literature,* 42.
[127] Richard Steele, *The Tatler* (London 1709), No. 35.
[128] John-Paul Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 80.

England Yegen Mehmed Aga to not travel, Trumbull expensed 207 akces on sugar, sweetmeats, sherbet, perfume, sweetwater, coffee, tobacco and pipes.[129] England's Lord Chesterfield, Phillip Stanhope (1694-1773), ambassador to Holland under George II, articulated that a diplomat's behaviour should "consist in the relations of persons, things, time and place"— extending performance to physical and the material.[130] Stanhope continues, while in company with equals, "your words, gestures, and attitudes have a greater degree of latitude…You may have your hands in your pockets, take snuff, sit, stand, or occasionally walk as you like."[131] Giving recommendations regarding court culture in Hanover, Brunswick, and Cassel, Stanhope scoffed at violations of proper tobacco etiquette where "many people, who while you are speaking to them… twirl their snuff-box, or pick their nose."[132] These passages not only demonstrate the importance of using snuff and tobacco correctly, but the necessity of tobacco as a part of international diplomat's accoutrements. Professors Linda and Marsha Frey have demonstrated the importance of international diplomats sharing and performing a unique code of norms, values, and family allegiances "rooted in ceremonial forms and gestures."[133] In essence, the creation of a common diplomatic culture, mediated by tobacco, helped to make international cooperation possible.[134]

Lastly, tobacco's Indigenous associations with peacemaking expressed themselves in European contexts. In *London Magazine* an anonymous author writes of tobacco's ability to inspire peace through shared consumption: "inspir'd by thee[tobacco], dull cits adjust the seale

---

[129] Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities,* 80-81.
[130] Philip Stanhope, *Letters written by Lord Chesterfield to His Son,* ed. Charles Sayle (London, 1889), 208.
[131] Stanhope, *Letters written by Lord Chesterfield,* 210.
[132] Stanhope, *Letters written by Lord Chesterfield,* 244.
[133] Linda and Marsha Frey, "The Olive and the Horse: The Eighteenth-Century Culture of Diplomacy," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713,* eds, Renger de Bruin et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 25.
[134] Frey and Frey, "Olive and the Horse," 37.

of Europe's peace, when other statesmen fail: By thee protected."[135] International treaty negotiations, which often dictated ownership over the colonial possessions of European empires, were full of snuff takers using tobacco to affirm relationships. John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough and the negotiator of the 1701 Treaty of the Hague listed three gold snuffboxes in his possession.[136] Based on the material expectations for a gentleman of his standing, Churchill likely carried and shared snuff during the treaty negotiations. At the negotiations of the 1713 Peace of Utrecht, balls, festivals, and banquets, flush with snuff tobacco allowed plenipotentiaries to demonstrate their social and diplomatic prowess to impress others through display, dress, and ceremony.[137] Significantly, the conclusion of the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 restructured French-claimed territory on Turtle Island, ceding, by European laws, Indigenous homelands in Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay to Britain.[138] While the Treaty had brought an end to military conflict for Indigenous Nations, the peace that followed declared the Haudenosaunee subjects of Great Britain, without their consent. This "peace" accelerated and justified British dispossession of Haudenosaunee lands increasing British military presence and settlers in the mid-eighteenth century.[139] The Treaty of Utrecht, like many others negotiated without the voices of Indigenous Nations, carved up and claimed Indigenous homelands in the name of imperial expansion and colonial ideologies.[140] While tobacco consumption had become

---

[135] "Of the Praise of Tobacco," *London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 1732-35* (London, 1735), 677.
[136]A.T. Thomson, *Memoirs of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough and the Court of Queen Anne,* vol. 1 (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), 473.
[137] Henriette Goldwyn and Suzan van Dijk, "Madame Du Noyer Presenting and Re-presenting the Peace of Utrecht," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713,* eds. Renger de Bruin et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 103-105.
[138] Renger de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink, "Introduction," in *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713,* eds, Renger de Bruin et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 3.
[139] Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: Norton, 1984), 282-283; Gail MacLeitch, *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 75-84.
[140] Marcy Norton, "Subaltern Technologies and Early Modernity in the Atlantic World," *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 1 (2017): 25.

an integral part of European diplomacy, the Indigenous knowledge producers who they relied on were disregarded and denigrated by the same elite European diplomats.

Conclusion

As it had been done on Turtle Island for millennia, tobacco was ritually exchanged and consumed in diplomatic contexts by Europeans. With the entanglement of Indigenous Nations and knowledge into the Atlantic world and beyond, tobacco and its paraphernalia were also incorporated as gifts alongside other diplomatic goods such as previous stones, metals, cloth, silks, glass, and furniture.[141] However, tobacco diplomacy was particularly significant to international relations with historian Madeline Marsh calling the snuffbox, "the great political gift of the age."[142] In 1616, the Portuguese Missionary Matteo Ricci presented Ming Emperor Wan Li with clocks, maps, engravings, and snuffboxes filled with a quantity of Italian snuff.[143] Among the Qing elite, Indigenous, European, and Chinese produced snuff bottles and tobacco products were ritually exchanged.[144] This practice stretched Indigenous knowledge and technology across the Pacific and throughout Asia. Finally, when Indigenous diplomats went to Europe, they were greeted with tobacco. In 1725, the Duke and Duchess of Orleans received a diplomatic envoy from the Illinois Confederacy, made up of chiefs from the Missouri, Osage, and Otopata Nations. After formal presentations and an audience of nearly one hour, the Duchess gifted Chief Chicagou, "a magnificent snuffbox of black tortoise shell with a gold-embossed lid,

[141] Zoltan Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello, "Introduction: Global Gifts and the Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia," in *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 1; Goodman, *Tobacco in History,* 74.
[142] Marsh, "This Sovereign Weed," 25.
[143] Susan Williams, *Chinese Snuff Bottles: Documentation of World Trade, West to East,* (Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1977), 5.
[144] Benedict, *Golden-Silk Smoke*, 113.

having in its center a gold flower adorned with several precious gems."[145] In summary, tobacco continued to hold a significant role as a mediator between nations and individuals and was an integral part of diplomacy on both sides of the Atlantic. Early modern European diplomats owed these traits to thousands of years of Indigenous culture, technological development, and exchange with the Indigenous Nations of Turtle Island.

[145] Richard Ellis and Charlie Steen, "An Indian Delegation in France, 1725," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67, no. 4 (1974): 404.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Understanding the immense social and cultural impacts of Indigenous physical and material presences complicates one-way contact narratives of encounter and eliminates historical binaries which have defined Indigenous Peoples and Indigenous Nations as local and static. Revisiting the travels of the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican diplomats by centring their perspectives incorporates Indigenous histories and worldviews into early modern history by situating Indigenous Peoples within transatlantic and metropolitan narratives. The envoys carried the interests of their Clans and nations and were not simply pawns in the colonial struggle for territory in the Americas. Long-established protocols of diplomacy were utilized and acknowledged by representatives of empire in order to establish relationships and mediate negotiations steeped in Indigenous tradition. Queen Anne, the foremost power in the British empire, engaged with these protocols, thereby binding the monarch and the nation under the laws of the Kayanerenkó:wa. The mission further extended the roots of the Sacred Tree and the influence of the Haudenosaunee across the Great Water. Alongside their physical presence, the diplomats carried material objects which affirmed promises and communicated relationships and obligations between negotiators for Great Britain, the Haudenosaunee, and the Mohicans. While they left no direct written record, their physical and material legacies were felt on both sides of the Atlantic.

Influencing European diplomatic culture long before the Kanien'kehá:ka and Mohican envoys was the European use of Indigenous tobacco. A gift from the Creator which was utilized for centuries, Indigenous Peoples shared their knowledge of tobacco with newcomers. From the fifteenth century, Europeans learned to physically smoke and take tobacco from Indigenous Nations. However, at the same time, Indigenous Peoples instructed them on tobacco's diplomatic

qualities. Whether on Turtle Island or in Europe, tobacco found its way into European diplomatic culture and became a crucial tool of negotiation, treaty making, and creating environments of sociability and conviviality. Europeans learned that tobacco consumption created conditions favourable to peace and used the material knowledge and technologies of Indigenous Peoples to assist them in international imperial cooperation. For years, the pipe and the snuffbox were synonymous with fostering goodwill between human beings, regardless of language or cultural background. These material legacies of Indigenous knowledge and technology impacted generations of Europeans who were tied together with threads of smoke.

Significantly, this work has focused on the impact of a single Indigenous visit and a single Indigenous commodity. This added even more specificity by limiting the regional scope of the analysis to the North Atlantic and Haudenosaunee knowledge and experiences. In this respect, the global impact of the Indigenous Peoples, technologies, knowledge, and goods has not been fully realized. Several historians have catalogued and analyzed the pervasiveness of transatlantic, and global, Indigenous physical and material movement. Now, it is important to continue to recognize the diversity of experiences and worldviews within each physical and material voyage. In 1710, Tejonihokarawa, Etowaucum, Onioheriago, and Sagayenkwaraton experienced and understood London uniquely—enacting the protocols and laws set by the Kayanerenkó:wa and the diplomatic code of the Northeast Woodlands. However, they were not the only Indigenous diplomats negotiating overseas. From the fifteenth century through to the contemporary present, Indigenous Nations have continually interacted with the urban and the global world to instigate change and act as representatives of sovereign Clans, nations, and cultures (intentionally and unintentionally). From negotiations in the courts of European kings and queens to discussing sovereignty and self-determination at the United Nations, Indigenous

diplomats have never been confined to the local, but have actively pursued their interests abroad. Did Indigenous diplomacy and tobacco transform London into an Indigenous space? Can centres of colonial and imperial power be Indigenized? Recognizing not only the number, but the diversity in encounters, receptions, and understandings ensures the complex nature of the history of entanglement, encounter, and Indigenous Peoples. By pursuing Indigenous methodologies which focus on consultation, listening, and communication with contemporary Indigenous Nations, scholars, and specialists of this phenomenon, we can work towards reconciliation, cross-cultural understanding, decolonization, and the Indigenization of the discipline.

Epilogue

Over fifty years after the four Haudenosaunee diplomats met Queen Anne, another contingent of Indigenous diplomats would cross the Atlantic. This time, three diplomats, Cunne Shote, Ostenaco, and Woyi, travelled as representatives of the Cherokee Nation. Touring the sights of Georgian London, witnessing the clouds of pipe smoke, the glimmer of snuffboxes, and the material markers of the Americas all around the city, the diplomats once again expressed Indigenous diplomatic protocols overseas. By the time of their visit in 1762, Europeans had fully incorporated tobacco into their own diplomatic protocols and rituals—snuff-taking and exchanging tobacco paraphernalia was ubiquitous in negotiation, etiquette, and diplomacy. European tobacco culture had grown out of years of Indigenous technological developments and cultural understandings of the plant in the Americas. Bringing their own protocols before King George III, Cunne Shote, Ostenaco, and Woyi were envoys of their nation. After years of war with the British, the Cherokee now hoped to restore their friendship with the Crown. Ostenaco

himself had demanded the voyage.[1] On August 6, 1762, the Cherokee diplomats met King George. Contemporary Cherokee historian Jace Weaver tells their story: "though the Cherokees had been instructed in etiquette before meeting the British monarch, Ostenaco prepared his pipe and started to offer it to His Majesty. Timberlake, interpreting the offer as 'according to the Indian custom of declaring friendship,' nonetheless intervened telling the Indian that 'he must neither offer to shake hands or smoak with the King."[2] Presenting a pipe of peace to the sovereign, Ostenaco called the sacred to witness the talks. Likely bringing his own pipe and carrying his own tobacco in pouch, Ostenaco merged the physical and the material, now both present before the King of England. An Indigenous diplomat once again incorporating a European into Indigenous tobacco diplomacy at heart of empire. Tobacco fostered negotiations and peace between the spirits, the individual, and the nation.

[1] Jace Weaver, *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014)*,* 157-160.
[2] Weaver, *The Red Atlantic,* 161.

Bibliography

Andersen, Chris, and Jean M. O'Brien. "Indigenous Studies an Appeal for Methodological Promiscuity." In *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, edited by Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, 1–12. Oxon: Routledge, 2017.

Anderson, M.S. *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450-1919.* London: Longman, 1993.

Andrews, Kenneth R, Nicholas Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, "Preface: David Beers Quinn," In *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650,* edited by K.R. Andrew, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, v-xi. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978.

Arbuckle, James. *Snuff: A Poem.* Glasgow, 1717.

Arendt, Beatrix. "The Return to Hopedale: Excavations at Anniowaktook Island, Hopedale, Labrador." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 37 (2013): 302-330.

Auslander, Leora. "Beyond Words." *American Historical Review* 110, no. 4 (2005): 1015-1045.

Becker, Marshall and Jonathan Lainey. "The White Dog Sacrifice: A Post-1800 Rite with an Ornamental Use for Wampum." *Transactions of the American Philosophical* Society 103, no. 3 (2013): vii-xx.

Benedict, Carol. *Golden-Silk Smoke: A History of Tobacco in China, 1550-2010*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Biedermann, Zoltan, Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello. "Introduction: Global Gifts and the Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia." In *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia,* edited by Zoltan Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello, 1-33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Black Elk. *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux*. edited by Joseph Epes Brown. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989.

Black, Jeremy. *British Diplomats and Diplomacy, 1688-1800.* Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001.

Bolus, Malvina. "Four Kings Came to Dinner with Their Honours." *The Beaver* (Autumn 1973): 4-11. https://canadashistory.partica.online/canadas-history/the-beaver-autumn-1973/flipbook/4/.

Bond, Richmond P. *Queen Anne's American Kings*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.

Brodhead, John. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Edited by E.B. O'Callaghan, Vol. 3. Albany, 1853.

Brodhead, John. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Edited by E.B. O'Callaghan, Vol. 4. Albany, 1854.

Brodhead, John. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Edited by E.B. O'Callaghan, Vol. 5. Albany, 1855.

Brodhead, John. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Edited by E.B. O'Callaghan, Vol. 9. Albany, 1855.

Bucholz Robert and Joseph Ward. *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550-1750.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Burns, Eric. *The Smoke of the Gods: A Social History of Tobacco.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007.

Bushnell, Amy Turner. "Indigenous America and the LimitesLimits of the Atlantic World, 1493-1825." In *Atlantic History; A Critical Appraisal,* edited by Jack P Greene and Phillip D. Morgan, 191-222. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Canfield, William. *The Legends of the Iroquois told by The Cornplanter*. Port Washington: Friedman, 1902.

Carney, Judith A. and Richard Rosomoff. *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Carter, Jacques. *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier,* edited by Ramsay Cook, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Carson, James Taylor. "Molly Brant: From Clan Mother to Loyalist Chief." In *Sifters: Native American Women's Lives,* edited by Theda Perdue, 48-59. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Chakraborty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Champlain, Samuel. *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the Years 1599-1602,* edited by Alice Wilmere and Norton Shaw. Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Chaplin, Joyce. *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500-1676.* Canbridge: Cambridge University Press 2001.

Clark, Peter. *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World.* Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.

Clarke, Samuel. *A True and Faithful Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America…* London, 1670.

Clemens, Paul G.E. *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore From Tobacco to Grain.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Columbus, Christopher. *The Journal of Christopher Columbus (During His First Voyage, 1492-93: And Documents Relating to the Voyages of John Cabot and Gaspar Corte Real,* edited by Clements Markham, Farnham: Ashgate, 2010.

Cowan, Brian. *The Social Life of Coffee: The Emergence of the British Coffeehouse.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Creese, John L. "Making Pipes and Social Persons at the Keffer Site: A Life History Approach." In *Perspectives on the Archaeology of Pipes, Tobacco and other Smoke Plants in the Ancient Americas*, edited by Elizabeth A. Bollwerk and Shannon Tushingham, 27-50**.** New York: Springer, 2016.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World." *History and Theory* 50 (May 2011): 188-202.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. "Iroquois Women, European Women." In *Feminist Postcolonial Theory: A Reader,* edited by Reina Lewis and Sara Mills, 135-151. New York: Routledge, 2003.

De Bruin, Renger Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen and David Onnekink. "Introduction." In *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713,* edited by Renger de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen, and David Onnekink, 1-24. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

De La Roche Michel. *Memoirs of Literature Containing a Weekly Account of the State of Learning both at Home and Abroad,* Vol 1. London, 1712.

De Vries, David Peterson. *Voyages from Holland to America, 1632-1644,* translated by Henry C. Murphy. New York, 1853.

Deur, Douglas and Nancy J. Turner. "Introduction: Reconstructing Indigenous Resource Management, Reconstructing the History of an Idea." In *Keeping it Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America,* edited by Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Tuner, 3-34. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

Drooker, Penelope. "Pipes, Leadership, and Interregional Interaction in Protohistoric Midwestern and Northeastern North America." In *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America,* edited by Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann, 73-123. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004.

Duer, Douglas and Nancy J. Turner, ed. *Keeping it Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America.* Seattle, Vancouver, and Toronto: University of Washington Press and UBC Press, 2005.

Ellis, Richard and Charlie Steen. "An Indian Delegation in France, 1725." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 67, no. 4 (1974): 385-405.

Fenton, William, Francis Jennings, and Mary Druke. "The Earliest Recorded Description: The Mohawk Treaty with New France at Three Rivers, 1645." In *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League,* edited by Francis Jennings, William Fenton, Mary Druke, and David Miller, 127-136. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985.

Fenton, William. *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

Fernow, B. *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York,* Vol. 13. Albany, 1881.

The Four Kings of Canada. Being a Succinct Account of the Four Indian Princes Lately Arriv'd from North America… London, 1710.

Flint, Kate. *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Forbes, Jack D. *Africans and Native Americans: Colour, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988

Fox, Georgia L. *The Archaeology of Smoking and Tobacco.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2015.

Frey, Linda, and Marsha Frey. "The Olive and the Horse: The Eighteenth-Century Culture of Diplomacy." In *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713,* edited by Renger de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen, and David Onnekink, 25-39. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Fullagar, Kate and Michael A. McDonnell. "Introduction: Empire, Indigeneity and Revolution." In *Facing Empire: Indigenous Experiences in a Revolutionary Age,* edited by Kate Fullagar and Michael A. McDonnell, 1-24. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2018.

Fullagar, Kate. *The Savage Visit: New World People and Popular Imperial Culture in Britain, 1710-1795*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

Garratt, John. *The Four Indian Kings.* Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985.

Ghobrial, John-Paul. *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Gibson, John Arthur. *Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated in Onondaga*, edited by Hanni Woodbury, Reg Henry, and Harry Webster. Winnipeg: Algonquian and Iroquoian Linguistics, 1992.

Goldwyn, Henriette and Suzan van Dijk, "Madame Du Noyer Presenting and Re-presenting the Peace of Utrecht." In *Performances of Peace: Utrecht 1713,* edited by Renger de Bruin, Cornelis van der Haven, Lotte Jensen, and David Onnekink, .95-113. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Goodman, Jordan. *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Hamell, George R. "Strawberries, Floating Islands, and Rabbit Captains: Mythical Realities and European Contact in the Northeast During the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21, no. 4 (1986): 72-94.

Handley, Stuart. "Coke, Thomas (1674-1727), of Melbourne, Derbys.; Melton Mowbray, Leics., and St. James's Place, London." In *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1690-1715,* edited by D Hayton, E. Cruickshanks, 2002. http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1690-1715/member/coke-thomas-1674-1727#footnote2_i4g8z1c

Harris, Heather. “Indigenous Worldviews and Ways of Knowing as Theoretical and Methodological Foundations for Archaeological Research.” In *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonising Theory and Practice*, edited by Claire Smith and H. Martin Wobst, 30–38. Oxon: Routledge, 2005.

Havard, Gilles. *The Great Peace of Montreal: French-Native Diplomacy in the Seventeenth Century*, translated by Phyllis Aronoff and Howard Scott. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001.

Hinderaker, Eric. “‘Four Indian Kings’ and the Imaginative Construction of the First British Empire.” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no. 3 (1996): 487–526. https://www.jstor.org/stable/2947202.

Hinderaker, Eric. *The Two Hendricks*: *Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Hughes, Jason. *Learning to Smoke: Tobacco Use in the West.* Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Jacobs, Jaap. *New Netherland: A Dutch Colony in Seventeenth-Century America.* Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Jameson, John Franklin ed. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664.* Bedford: Applewood Books, 1909.

James I of England. *A Counterblaste to Tobacco.* London, 1604.

Jennings, Francis. *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire.* New York: Norton, 1984.

Jennings, Francis, William Fenton, Mary Druke, David Miller, “Descriptive Treaty Calendar.” In *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six Nations and Their League,* edited by Francis Jennings, William Fenton, Mary Druke, and David Miller, 157-208. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985.

Kelsey, Penelope Myrtle. *Reading the Wampum: Essays on Hondinöhsö:ni’ Visual Code and Epistemological Recovery.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2014.

Kiernan, V.G. *Tobacco: A History.* London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991.

King, Joyce Tekahnawiiaks. “The Value of Water and the Meaning of Water Law for Native Americans Known as the Haudenosaunee.” *Cornell Journal of Law and Public Policy* 16, no. 3 (2007): 449-472.

Klaits, Joseph. “Men of Letters and Political Reform in France at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV: The Founding of the Academie Politique.” *The Journal of Modern History* 43, no. 4 (December 1971): 577-597.

Klein, Lawrence E. “Coffeehouse Civility, 1660-1714: An Aspect of Port-Courtly Culture in England.” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 59, no. 1 (1996): 30-51.

Klooster, Wim. “The Tobacco Nation: English Tobacco Dealers and Pipe Makers in Rotterdam, 1620-1650.” In *The Birth of Modern Europe: Culture and Economy, 1400-1800: Essays in Honor of Jan de Vries,* edited by Laura Cruz and Joel Mokyr, 17-34. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Kostjuk, Olga. “Western European Refinement and Asiatic Luxury: Gold Boxes for the Imperial Court in St. Petersburg.” In *Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and Collecting of Gold Boxes,* edited by Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech, 122-133. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2014

Kovach, Margaret. *Indigenous Methodologies: Characteristics, Conversations, and Contexts.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Lane, Christel. *From Taverns to Gastropubs: Food, Drink, and Sociality in England.* Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2018.

Laramie, Michael. *King William’s War: The First Contest for North America, 1689-1697.* Yardley: Westholme, 2017.

Lemire, Beverly. *Global Trade and the Transformation of Consumer Culture: The Material World Remade, c. 1500-1820.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Lemire, Beverly and Giorgio Riello. "Introduction: Dressing Global Bodies." In *Dressing Global Bodies: The Political Power of Dress in World History,* edited by Beverly Lemire and Giorgio Riello, 1-14. London: Routledge, 2020.

Lescarbot, Marc. *Nova Francia, or the Description of that Part of New France Which is on the Continent of Virginia.* London, 1609.

Levett, Christopher. *A Voyage into New England Begun in 1623 and Ended in 1624.* London, 1628.

Linebaugh, Peter and Marcus Rediker. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.

Lorimer, Joyce. "The English Contraband Trade in Trinidad and Guiana, 1590-1617." In *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650,* edited by K.R. Andrew, N.P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, 124-150. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978.

MacLeitch, Gail. *Imperial Entanglements: Iroquois Change and Persistence on the Frontiers of Empire.* Philadelphia*:* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

Mancall, Peter C, ed. *Envisioning America: English Plans for the Colonization of North America, 1580-1640: A Brief History with Documents.* Boston: Bedford/ St. Martin's, 1995.

Mancall, Peter C. "Tales Tobacco Told in Sixteenth-Century Europe." *Environmental History* 9, no. 4 (October 2004): 648-678.

Mann, Barbara Alice. *Iroquoian Women: The Gantowisas*. New York: Peter Lang, 2004

Marsh, Madeline. "This Sovereign Weed: A Brief History of Tobacco from Its Discovery until the End of the Eighteenth Century." In *Tobacco Containers and Accessories: Their Place in European Social History* edited by Deborah Gage and Madeline Marsh, 9-42. London: Gage, 1988.

Martijn, Charles. "Early Mi'kmaq Presence in Southern Newfoundland: An Ethnohistorical Perspective." *Newfoundland Studies* 19, no. 1 (2003): 44-95.

McDonald, James. "Cultivating the Northwest: Early Accounts of Tsimshian Horticulture." In *Keeping it Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America,* edited by Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Turner, 240-273. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005.

Merrell, James H. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier.* New York: Norton, 1999.

Meuwese, Mark. *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World.* Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Mitrod, Tom. *The Memory of All Ancient Customs: Native American Diplomacy in the Colonial Hudson Valley.* Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2012.

Morgan, Cecilia. *Travellers through Empire: Indigenous Voyages from Early Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

Morris, Marilyn. *Sex, Money and Personal Character in Eighteenth-Century British Politics.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Moreton-Robison, Aileen. "Relationality: A Key Presupposition of an Indigenous Social Research Paradigm." In *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies*, edited by Chris Andersen and Jean M. O'Brien, 69-77. Oxon: Routledge, 2017

Murdoch, Tessa. "Snuff-taking, Fashion, and Accessories." In *Going for Gold: Craftsmanship and the Collection of Gold Boxes,* edited by Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech, 1-16. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2014.

Murphy, Andrew R. *William Penn: A Life.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Norton, Marcy. *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World.* Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Norton, Marcy. "Subaltern Technologies and Early Modernity in the Atlantic World." *Colonial Latin American Review* 26, no. 1 (2017): 18-38.

Norton, Marcy and Daviken Studnicki-Gizbert. "The Multinational Commodification of Tobacco, 1492-1650: An Iberian Perspective." In *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550-1624*, edited by Peter C. Mancall, 251-273. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Otto, Paul. "Wampum, Tawagonshi, and the Two Row Belt," *Journal of Early American History* 3 (2013): 110-125.

Paper, Jordan. *Offering Smoke: The Sacred Pipe and the Native American Religion.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1989.

Parsons, Christopher. "Natives, Newcomers, and Nicotiana: Tobacco in the History of the Great Lakes Region." In *French and Indians in the Heart of North America, 1630-1815,* edited by Robert Englebert, 21-42. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2013.

Porter, Tom (Sakokwenionkwas). *And Grandma Said…Iroquois Teachings as Passed Down through the Oral Tradition*. edited by Leslie Forrester**.** Philadelphia: Xlibris Group, 2008.

Price, Jacob M. *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and of its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973.

Prins, Harald E L. "To the Land of the Mistigoches: American Indians Traveling to Europe in the Age of Exploration." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 17, no. 1 (1993): 175–95.http://uclajournals.org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/doi/pdf/10.17953/aicr.17.1.p7u382u0lu5n2w76.

"Of the Praise of Tobacco." *London Magazine, Or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer, 1732-35.* London, 1735.

Pulsipher, Jenny Hale. *Subjects unto the Same King: Indians, English, and the Contest for Authority in Colonial New England*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2005.

Quinn, David B. *Raleigh and the British Empire*. London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1947.

Racette, Sherry Farrell Alan Corbiere, and Crystal Migwans. "Pieces Left Along the Trail: Material Culture Histories in Indigenous Studies." In *Sources and Methods in Indigenous Studies,* edited by Chris Andersen and Jean O'Brien, 223- 229. London: Routledge, 2017.

Rafferty, Sean. "Smoking Pipes of Eastern North America." In *Perspectives on the Archaeology of Pipes, Tobacco and other Smoke Plants in the Ancient Americas,* edited by Elizabeth Bollwerk and Shannon Tushingam, 13-26. Cham: Springer, 2016.

Rice, Brian. *The Rotinonshonni: A Traditional Iroquoian History Through the Eyes of Teharonhia:wako and Sawiskera.* Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2013.

Richardson, Robbie. *The Savage and the Modern Self: North American Indians in Eighteenth-Century British Literature and Culture.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.

Richter, Daniel. "Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American History." In *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, 1600-1800*, edited by Daniel Richter and James Merrell, 11-28. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987.

Robertson, Bruce. "The Portraits: An Iconographical Study" In *The Four Indian Kings* by John Garratt, 139-149. Ottawa: Public Archives Canada, 1985.

Rodriguez, Jeanette and Iakoiane Wakerahkats:teh. *A Clan Mother's Call: Reconstructing Haudenosaunee Culture Memory.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2017.

Sagard, Gabriel. *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons,* edited by George Wrong. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1939.

Shannon, Timothy. "Dressing for Success on the Mohawk Frontier: Hendrick, William Johnson, and the Indian Fashion." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53, no.1 (1996): 13-42.

Shannon, Timothy. *Iroquois Diplomacy on the Early American Frontier.* New York: Viking Penguin, 2008.

Shoemaker, Nancy. *Living with Whales: Documents and Oral Histories of Native New England Whaling History.* Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014.

Sivertsen, Barbara. *Turtles, Wolves, and Bears: A Mohawk Family History.* Westminster: Heritage Books, 2006.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples.* 2nd ed. London: Zed Books, 2012.

Spinden, Herbert J. *Tobacco is American: The Story of Tobacco before the Coming of the White Man.* New York: New York Public Library, 1950.

Stanhope, Phillip. *Letters written by Lord Chesterfield to His Son,* edited by Charles Sayle. London, 1889.

Stansfield, Stewart. *Early Modern Systems of Command: Queen Anne's Generals, Staff Officers, and the Direction of Allied Warfare in the Low Countries and Germany 1702-1711.* Solihull: Helion, 2016.

Steele, Richard. *The Tatler.* London, 1709.

Stevens, Scott Manning. "Tomahawk: Materiality and Depictions of the Haudenosaunee." *Early American Literature* 53, no. 2 (2018): 475-511.

Thrush, Coll. *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France.* Cleveland: Burrows, 1900.

Thomson, A.T. *Memoirs of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough and the Court of Queen Anne,* Vol 1. London: Henry Colburn, 1839.

Tullett, William. *Smell in Eighteenth-Century England: A Social Sense*. Oxford: Oxford Scholarship Online, 2019.

Turgeon, Laurier. "French Fishers, Fur Traders, and Amerindians During the Sixteenth Century: History and Archaeology." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 4 (October 1998): 585-610, http://www.jstor.org/stable/ 2674446.

Van Deusen, Nancy. "Seeing Indios in Sixteenth-Century Castille." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 69, no. 2 (April 2012): 205-234, https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5309/willmaryquar.69.2.0205

Vaughan, Alden T. *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Veit, Richard and Charles Bello. "Neat and Artificial Pipes: Base Metal Trade Pipes of the Northeastern Indians." In *Smoking and Culture: The Archaeology of Tobacco Pipes in Eastern North America*, edited by Sean Rafferty and Rob Mann, 185-205. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2004.

Vickers, Daniel and Vince Walsh. *Young Men and the Sea: Yankee Seafarers in the Age of Sail*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Vimont, Barthelemy. "Treaty of Peace Between the French, The Iroquois, and Other Nations." In *The History and Culture of Iroquois Diplomacy: An Interdisciplinary Guide to the Treaties of the Six*

Nations and Their League, edited by Francis Jennings, William Fenton, Mary Druke, and David Miller,137-153. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985.

The Virtues and Excellency of the American Tobacco Plant. London, 1712.

Von Gernet, Alexander. "Nicotian Dreams: The Prehistory and Early History of Tobacco in Eastern North America." In *Consuming Habits: Drugs in History and Anthropology*, edited by Jordan Goodman, Andrew Sherratt, and Paul E. Lovejoy, 66-87. London: Routledge, 1995.

Ward, Edward. *The London-spy Compleat. In Eighteen Parts.* London, 1700.

Weaver, Jace. *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014.

Williams, Kayanesenh Paul. *Kayanerenkó:wa: The Great Law of Peace*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2018.

Williams, Susan. *Chinese Snuff Bottles: Documentation of World Trade, West to East.* Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1977.

Winter, Joseph. "Traditional Uses of Tobacco by Native Americans." In *Tobacco Use by Native North Americans*, edited by Joseph Winter, 5-58. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Working, Lauren. "Locating Colonization at the Jacobean Inns of Court." *The Historical Journal* 61, no. 1 (2018): 29-51.

Younging, Gregory. *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples.* Brush Education, 2018.