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Christine DeLucia

IN the cold months of early 1793, a delegation of Kaskaskia and Wabash tribal members entered the ancestral homelands of the Quinnipiac people.[1] The Native delegation had traveled east from Illinois country to engage in diplomacy with George Washington and other leaders of the newly independent United States in Philadelphia.[2] During this diplomatic mission to the Atlantic coast, the Native representatives stopped over in a place called New Haven by English colonizers, a town that encompassed bustling wharves, an active market center, and Yale College—an institution not yet a

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[1] Entry, Mar. 14, 1793, in *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D. . . .* , vol. 3, *January 1, 1782–May 6, 1795*, ed. Franklin Bowditch Dexter (New York, 1901), 488.

[2] "Minutes of a Conference with the Illinois and Wabash Indians [1–4 February 1793]," Founders Online, National Archives and Records Administration (FONA), http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-25-02-0120.

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century old, designed to support the educational activities of the colony and later the state of Connecticut. The collegiate buildings contained a fledgling museum that this delegation had been invited to tour. A snowstorm had swept through town the day before their arrival, so the group may have been glad to move inside to warmer chambers. Imagine the scene: representatives from sovereign Native nations moving through an exhibition space that contained a multitude of objects, many acquired from other Indigenous communities and then assembled within a startlingly different context. The precise movements and impressions of these Indigenous visitors, who represented strategically confederated tribes, went largely unrecorded by their guide, college president Ezra Stiles. Did they scrutinize the finely strung-together beads of a wampum belt, mull over a figure sculpted from stone into humanlike form, run their eyes (or hands) over Hawaiian cloth and a pair of buffalo garters? Did they converse in their own languages about why these objects were present in such a setting, leaving Stiles—a scholar rarely at a loss for words—to be the quiet and uncomprehending one?

The travelers from Kaskaskia and Wabash were highly savvy producers and users of material objects. As they demonstrated during their time in the provisional capital of the United States, they possessed clear understandings of the power of objects: as tools of diplomacy, as gestures binding together relations, and as crucial companions of deceased ancestors journeying onward. They were also people committed to resisting the designs of U.S. settler colonialism, which increasingly aimed to denigrate, diminish, and displace Indigenous populations in the name of American national expansion. Their presence within this museum suggests a potently multivalent space and an uneasy collision point between Indigenous people and colonizers—even ones who figured themselves as Indian allies and experts, as Stiles sometimes did. And their museum-going was not an isolated incident. There were myriad instances of Indigenous people touring early American museums, often in the course of diplomatic itineraries. A news item from Boston recounted: "Ten Cheifs of the Osage, Sac, Missouri, Powanee, Fox, and Powtoowatomee Indians, are on a visit in this town. . . . They have visited the Theatre, Museum, and Fort Independence." A multitribal delegation encompassing Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Shawnee, and other representatives visited Charles Willson Peale's Museum in Philadelphia, where they repurposed the space by enacting intertribal diplomacy that surprised onlookers. A Seneca contingent featuring Red Jacket and Cornplanter toured a different incarnation of Peale's Museum in Baltimore, while yet another delegation detoured to the East India Marine Society's global collections in Salem, Massachusetts. Seminole chiefs attired "entirely in the fashion of their own country" perused a museum in Charleston, South Carolina, and agreed to return the following evening.[3] These underrecognized Indigenous pathways

[3] For the Boston visit, see "Indian Chiefs," [Peacham, Vt.] *Green Mountain Patriot*, Mar. 11, 1806, [3] ("Ten"). For the Charleston visit, see "The Chiefs of the Seminole

through urban exhibition spaces suggest that their Euro-American escorts considered these nascent "memory houses" to be critical sites of showcasing American identities, power, and ambitions for empire.[4] But Indigenous viewers likely interpreted the assemblages in other ways, even though their precise impressions typically went unrecorded in the texts that circulated most widely among Euro-American readers. "They are remarkably taciturn," contended the *Massachusetts Spy* about an 1806 delegation's visit to Daniel Bowen's Columbian Museum in Boston, "but they do not exhibit that indifference to objects which the natives of the forest are generally charged with."[5] The travelers' very presence was a reminder that Indigenous people actively navigated and made sense of spaces that too frequently have been coded as the sole preserves of colonial actors.

Joe D. Horse Capture, an Indigenous (A'aninin) curator at the National Museum of the American Indian, remarked in 2015 that "the relationship (or lack thereof) between museums and Native Americans has been problematic for generations."[6] Horse Capture's reflection was prompted by a much-debated exhibition of Plains tribal artifacts then installed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. His incisive commentary touched upon only a few of the problems that have made museums troubled places since the earliest days of European *Kunst und Wunderkammern* and "cabinets of curiosities." These difficulties have included the unauthorized removal of objects from Indigenous homelands by entrepreneurial collectors, the desecration of burial sites in the name of scientific and anthropological research, the inappropriate public display of sensitive and ceremonial objects, and the curatorial tendency to interpret objects without input from the Native descendant communities who are most intimately tied to them. Horse Capture's critique also reflected a larger conversation among Native American and Indigenous Studies scholars and community members about museums' colonial roots and effects and the possibilities for transforming them into tools of decolonization.[7]

Indians," [Charleston] *City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 19, 1826, [2] ("entirely"). For the Baltimore visit, see "The Chiefs of the Seneca Tribe," *Baltimore Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser*, Mar. 18, 1823, [2]. For the Philadelphia visit, see "Philadelphia, Dec. 8," *New-Jersey Journal*, Dec. 14, 1796, [2]; "Philadelphia, Dec. 6," [Hagerstown, Md.] *Washington Spy*, Dec. 14, 1796, [2]; "Remarkable Occurrence," [Boston] *Mercury*, Dec. 16, 1796, [2]. For the Salem visit, see "The Indian Chiefs," *Salem Gazette*, Mar. 4, 1806, [3].

[4] On the concept of museums as memory houses, particularly in New England contexts, see Howard Mansfield, *In the Memory House* (Golden, Colo., 1993).

[5] "Indian Chiefs," *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy, or Worcester Gazette*, Mar. 5, 1806, [3].

[6] Joe D. Horse Capture, "Horse Capture: 'Native People Have a Story to Tell—Their Own,'" *Indian Country Today*, Apr. 26, 2015, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/native-news/horse-capture-native-people-have-a-story-to-tell-their-own.

[7] Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2012); Lonetree and Amanda J. Cobb, eds., *The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations* (Lincoln, Neb., 2008); Susan Sleeper-Smith, ed., *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives* (Lincoln, Neb., 2009).

Though Horse Capture and other critics have alluded to deeper histories behind these tensions, few have recognized the extent to which collecting, museumizing, and attendant practices originally took shape in North America in tandem with the early expansion of settler colonialism. Historical studies of collecting and museums have tended to follow distinct pathways. On the one hand, scholars of late Renaissance and early modern Europe have examined emergent *Kunst und Wunderkammern*, scholarly repositories, and specimen displays as critical sites of knowledge production and identity formation, which at times encompassed Indigenous objects drawn from the Americas as "New World" exploration and colonization ventures gained momentum. Such studies have assessed not only how these imperial collecting venues shaped the intellectual frameworks of the European elites who maintained and perused them but also how they linked dynamic networks of creators and collectors spanning an Atlantic world and facilitated multidirectional flows of meaning.[8] On the other hand, another body of scholarship has concentrated on the growth of collecting in the United States, locating the North American origins and heyday of museumizing in the mid- to late nineteenth century, coinciding with self-conscious antiquarian movements, attempts to articulate uniquely "American" national identities and taxonomies of race, the professionalization of anthropology, and related factors. Such scholarship has tended to consider Indigenous objects at times and places where American colonization and westward expansion were already in full motion and when many U.S. policy makers and citizens presumed the imminent disappearance or acculturation of Indigenous societies and nations.[9]

[8] On early modern European collecting and institutional developments, including close entanglements with the Americas, see Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985); Joy Kenseth, ed., *The Age of the Marvelous* (Hanover, N.H., 1991); Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (New York, 1992); Christian F. Feest, "European Collecting of American Indian Artefacts and Art," *Journal of the History of Collections* 5, no. 1 (January 1993): 1–11; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London, 1995); Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia, 2001); Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Aldershot, U.K., 2006); Daniela Bleichmar and Peter C. Mancall, eds., *Collecting across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2011); Jessica Keating and Lia Markey, "'Indian' Objects in Medici and Austrian-Habsburg Inventories: A Case-Study of the Sixteenth-Century Term," *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (November 2011): 283–300; Iris Montero Sobrevilla, "Transatlantic Hum: Natural History and the Itineraries of the Torpid Hummingbird, ca. 1521–1790" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, 2015); Mariana Françozo, "Beyond the *Kunstkammer*: Brazilian Featherwork in Early Modern Europe," in *The Global Lives of Things: The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World*, ed. Anne Gerritsen and Giorgio Riello (New York, 2016), 105–27.

[9] On the emergence and expansion of museums in the United States, including institutional specialization and involvement in collecting of Indigenous materials, see

The eighteenth-century Yale Museum helps us perceive more clearly an alternate storyline about museums and Indigenous peoples. It is one that reckons directly with collecting's close involvement with a tenuous yet growing form of settler colonialism, as well as with persistent Indigenous pushback. The Yale Museum illuminates important distinctions between imperial museums, created and used by Europeans who often had never encountered actual Indigenous people or even set foot in the Americas, and the early colonial museums that emerged in much closer proximity to the Indigenous homelands and communities who became represented in their exhibitions and who constituted formidable interlocutors in their own right. It also helps delineate underrecognized contours of Anglo-American collecting prior to and directly following U.S. independence, which manifested clear intellectual and procedural affiliations with preexisting European models of museum formation. As critical scrutiny of the Yale Museum's objects and circulation networks suggests, many Indigenous communities experienced this era of transition to the early Republic not as a clear break but rather as a time of ongoing (even intensifying) colonialism that held major implications for their sovereign futures and material transits.

The Yale Museum, which coalesced at a struggling college on the shores of Long Island Sound in the decades preceding and following the American Revolution, also foregrounds methodological challenges that continue to animate early Americanist and Native studies scholarship. How can investigators of museum contexts of this sort rigorously "braid together" material culture studies with archival and ethnographic or community-based techniques, as Sonya Atalay (Anishinaabe) has described multivocal interpretive approaches?[10] How can they reconstruct vital historical places and experiences that have left behind uneven traces? Many or all of this museum's Indigenous contents appear to have gone missing in a series of material diasporas, producing what I call "fugitive collections" that present significant challenges for reinterpretation, reconnection, and repatriation in the present. Additionally, Indigenous place-making events such as the 1793 delegation's visit have been powerful yet ephemeral processes, leaving

Curtis M. Hinsley Jr., *Savages and Scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the Development of American Anthropology, 1846–1910* (Washington, D.C., 1981); Joel J. Orosz, *Curators and Culture: The Museum Movement in America, 1740–1870* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1990); Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876–1926* (Chicago, 1998); Hugh H. Genoways and Mary Anne Andrei, eds., *Museum Origins: Readings in Early Museum History and Philosophy* (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2008); Richard Conniff, *House of Lost Worlds: Dinosaurs, Dynasties, and the Story of Life on Earth* (New Haven, Conn., 2016); Samuel J. Redman, *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums* (Cambridge, Mass., 2016). North American museums have recently occasioned a wide range of decolonial and postcolonial critiques; see for example Ruth B. Phillips, *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums* (Montreal, 2011).

[10] Sonya Atalay, *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities* (Berkeley, Calif., 2012), 207 (quotation).

behind few tangible signs to assist historians in reconstructing the nature and meaning of Indigenous transits through colonial exhibition spaces. In these respects, revisiting the Yale Museum does more than shed light on an example of small-scale collecting in one corner of southern New England. It invites deeper reflections on how material culture became mobilized in the services of identity formation and history making, and it encourages us to consider how Indigenous people strategically interacted with prominent Euro-American leaders during an era of tremendous transformations for tribal, colonial, and American societies.

When Edmund S. Morgan briefly described the Yale Museum in *The Gentle Puritan* (1962), his lively and incisive biography of Ezra Stiles, he largely dismissed its significance. Morgan praised the college's scientific "apparatus chamber" housed above the library but had less regard for what he construed as an ad hoc museum that likely resided inside the library: "It consisted of various skeletons, bones, horns, shells, fossils, minerals, stuffed animals, and Indian curiosities, plus a variety of miscellaneous junk which misguided donors had thrust upon the college."[11] As the now-dated language of "Indian curiosities" implies, historiographical currents have changed substantially since Morgan wrote. These changes open new avenues for interrogating such settings and their material contents as well as for asking profoundly different questions about a figure as seemingly well understood as Stiles, the museum's major supporter. When early American historians have considered Stiles, they have been occupied most intensively with his theological and intellectual contributions: his labors as a Congregationalist minister, his involvement in higher education in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and his navigation of the shifting tides of the Great Awakening and American Revolution.[12] Rarely have scholars recognized that one of Stiles's animating features was his lifelong entanglement with Native people and nations, including the Algonquian communities that endured in southern New England following the seventeenth century's devastating epidemics, warfare, and territorial dispossessions.

Stiles expended substantial time visiting with communities such as Mohegan and Niantic to learn more about Indigenous languages, political formations, tribal lineages, histories, and cultural landscapes. In his personal notes from the 1760s through 1790s, he wrote and sketched extensively

[11] Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* (1962; repr., New York, 1983), 381.

[12] Kevin J. Hayes, "Portraits of the Mind: Ebenezer Devotion and Ezra Stiles," *New England Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (December 1997): 616–30; Christopher Grasso, *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1999), 230–78; Paul H. Fry, "Ezra Stiles's Idea of a University," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 36, no. 3 (Autumn 2002): 4–8.

about Native architecture (though he gained access only to certain structures); amassed Pequot-language word lists (though his skills as a linguist are questionable); and tracked Indigenous practices of memorializing important terrain (though he misconstrued their larger significances). Stiles's inclinations manifested intense interest in relational understandings of individual and collective identities through careful study of "Others"—in this case, Native Americans—and his records are important, albeit fraught, lenses onto changing Indigenous societies.[13] Yet allowing the story to be framed primarily by Stiles risks replicating his own colonial pretensions to authority on Indigenous matters. The story appears differently when it situates him alongside Indigenous spaces, peoples, and epistemologies, stressing that these same Native communities—full of pastkeepers, chroniclers, and storytellers of their own—actively managed the pursuits of Stiles and other colonial power brokers, casting outsider claims of expertise in a new light.

The Indigenous worlds through which Stiles moved constitute vital contexts for making sense of the Yale Museum as an important site for the dialogic construction of meaning in a prominent urbanizing center of the American Northeast. This museum took shape at Yale College, founded in 1701 as the third institution of higher education in British North America (Figure 1). Yet it cannot be properly understood outside of several longer trajectories. The concept of a museum did not originate with North American colonists. Stiles's support for the collegiate museum likely arose from his awareness that European institutions, especially British ones, were engaged in object-based practices of collection, investigation, instruction, and exhibition. Though Stiles never traveled to Europe, he cultivated extensive transatlantic ties with correspondents there, in addition to reading widely in learned European publications. He would have known of collecting projects undertaken by individuals such as John Tradescant and his son John, whose Ark in seventeenth-century England formed the basis of the Ashmolean Museum at the University of Oxford and included standout North American items such as a deerskin embroidered with shells, said to be associated with the paramount chief Powhatan.[14] And Stiles likely also knew

[13] Many details about Stiles's interactions with Indigenous individuals, communities, and knowledge systems are contained in his manuscript notes from his travels; see Itineraries (ITN), 1760–94, Ezra Stiles Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. Stiles's notes on Indigenous and historical topics are voluminous. For a more exhaustive accounting of these sources, see Christine DeLucia, "The Itineraries: Seasons of History in the Native Northeast and Ezra Stiles' New England" (manuscript in progress, 2017).

[14] John Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum: or, A Collection of Rarities. Preserved At South-Lambeth neer London* (London, 1656); Christian F. Feest, "Powhatan's Mantle," in *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum, 1683, with a Catalogue of the Surviving Early Collections*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (Oxford, 1983), 130–35; Gregory A. Waselkov, "Indian Maps of the Colonial Southeast," in *Powhatan's*

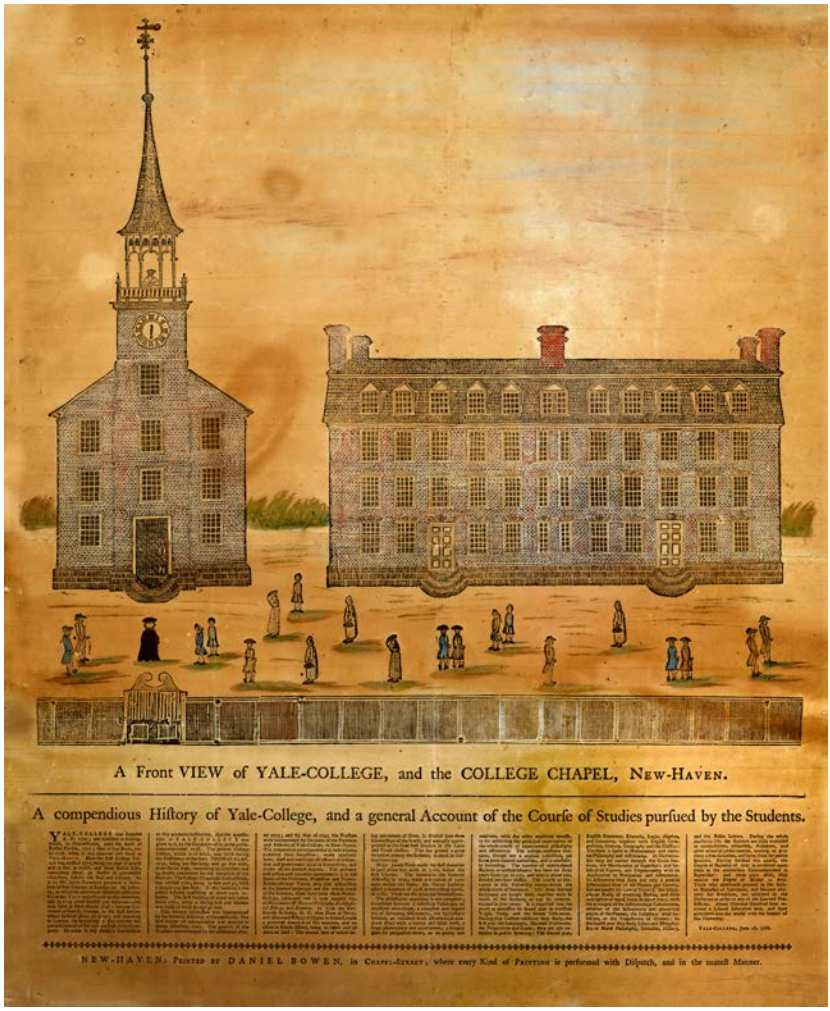

FIGURE I

Ezra Stiles appears dressed in black on the left side of this depiction of Yale College's campus, produced less than a century after the institution's founding as the Collegiate School in 1701. As college president (1778–95) Stiles oversaw the growth of a collegiate museum that included a wide range of Indigenous material culture objects acquired through diverse channels. *A Front View of Yale-College, and the College Chapel, New-Haven* was appended to *A Compendious History of Yale-College, and a General Account of the Course of Studies Pursued by the Students* published by Daniel Bowen (1786). Courtesy of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

of Hans Sloane, whose massive private collection undergirded the nationalized British Museum, opened to the public in 1759. Sloane's donation contained a number of North American Indigenous objects.[15]

Even these collections were late manifestations of the museumizing phenomenon. Museums had origins in late Renaissance and early modern Europe as part of imperialist exploration of the Americas and as more secularized successors to religious treasuries.[16] European collectors had been seeking out Indigenous American objects since the earliest overseas voyages. Conquistadors, crown officials, missionaries, and individual colonists acquired a range of objects from Native populations and brought them back to Europe for deposit in collections that encompassed *naturalia* and *artificialia*, attempting to encapsulate the known world in microcosm and convey the richness and difference of the "New World." These artifacts ranged from Spanish monarchs' holdings of Mesoamerican featherwork to a kayak suspended from the ceiling of Ole Worm's Copenhagen museum and English assemblages of wampum, regalia, and weaponry.[17] Though each collection had its own internal logic, Paul Grinke notes that "what is surprising is the relative uniformity": "Clearly everyone wanted an Egyptian mummy, a Mexican idol and a Greenland kayak, the 'blue chips' of the *curieux*." Yet the scarcity of such showcase items—difficult to obtain from Indigenous communities, who resisted plundering, and to transport securely across the Atlantic—meant that collectors often had to resort to substitutes.[18] Collecting and the generally subtle but vital incorporation of

Mantle: Indians in the Colonial Southeast, ed. Waselkov, Peter H. Wood, and Tom Hatley, rev. ed. (Lincoln, Neb., 2006), 435–502, esp. 453–57. I acknowledge Gabrielle Tayac, a Piscataway community member and former National Museum of the American Indian staff member, for additional insights.

[15] David I. Bushnell Jr., "The Sloane Collection in the British Museum," *American Anthropologist*, new ser., 8, no. 4 (October–December 1906): 671–85. Hans Sloane reported bringing back from Jamaica an arm bone from an Indigenous individual's cave burial site; see Sloane, *A Voyage To the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica. . . .* (London, 1707), 1: xlviii. For reconsideration of Sloane's collection through an analytic of colonialism, see James Delbourgo, "Slavery in the Cabinet of Curiosities: Hans Sloane's Atlantic World," British Museum, 2007, http://www.britishmuseum.org/PDF/Delbourgo%20essay.pdf; Delbourgo, *Collecting the World: Hans Sloane and the Origins of the British Museum* (Cambridge, Mass., 2017). On public access to the British Museum, see *Statutes and Rules, Relating to the Inspection and Use of the British Museum. . . .* (London, 1759).

[16] Impey and MacGregor, *Origins of Museums*; esp. Arthur MacGregor, "The Cabinet of Curiosities in Seventeenth-Century Britain," ibid., 147–58; Bleichmar and Mancall, *Collecting across Cultures*; Peter Mason, "On Producing the (American) Exotic," *Anthropos* 91, no. 1 (1996): 139–51.

[17] Olao Worm, *Museum Wormianum. Seu Historia Rerum Rariorum. . . .* (Leiden, 1655); Christian F. Feest, "The Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe, 1493–1750," in *America in European Consciousness, 1493–1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 324–60; John D. Heath and E. Arima, eds., *Eastern Arctic Kayaks: History, Design, Technique* (Fairbanks, Alaska, 2004), 61–63, 75.

[18] Paul Grinke, *From Wunderkammer to Museum* (London, 2006), 15.

Indigenous knowledge systems into European repositories were only one side of the coin of conquest and its approaches to Indigenous materiality, of course. Those efforts were welded to a colonial iconoclasm that produced searing losses as Europeans deliberately destroyed sacred objects and scribal records such as Aztec codices, attempting to efface Indigenous cosmologies, literacies, and authorities in order to expedite their supplanting by Euro-Christian ones.[19]

European voyagers returning from the Americas sometimes brought back not only material examples from the places they had visited but also living Indigenous people. One Danish ship was reported to have "arrived safe in *Greenland*, and brought from thence three Women, whose Names were *Kunelik*, *Kabelau* and *Sigokou*."[20] This trio of Indigenous women joined hundreds or thousands of Indigenous travelers to Europe, and their transits left behind a wake of historical trauma for the Indigenous communities whose members went abroad, sometimes never to return. Some individuals traveled transatlantically as "specimens" intended by their "collectors" both to demonstrate to Europeans the nature of American peoples and to encourage investment in overseas enterprises. Others were captured, enslaved, or otherwise rendered unfree for their labor, and sometimes stripped of their belongings in the process. Even when Indigenous travelers exercised considerable agency overseas, their objects could become fraught points of cross-cultural interaction. When four Indigenous diplomats from the Native Northeast traveled to England in 1710, they came with regalia and accoutrements, a few of which wound up in English collections. It is uncertain whether the men willfully deposited these objects in order to leave their imprint in the heart of the empire or were coerced into relinquishing them.[21] Those Indigenous travelers who managed to return to their home communities after surviving foreign diseases, the rigors of travels, and exoticizing scrutiny certainly conveyed trenchant impressions of Europe to their relations. These Indigenous returnees, moreover, generally carried back European objects to their kin for close examination or repurposing. Such practices are difficult to document with precision, but scrutiny operated in multiple directions even if European record keepers typically registered only a one-way gaze.

[19] Walter D. Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1995).

[20] Hans Egede, *A Description of Greenland. Shewing The Natural History, Situation, Boundaries, and Face of the Country. . . .* (London, 1745), 33 (quotation); "A Portrait Group of Four Greenlanders Dated 1654," in *The National Museum of Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1957), 188–89.

[21] Feest, "Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe," 331; Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500–1776* (New York, 2006); Eric Hinderaker, *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010); Coll Thrush, *Indigenous London: Native Travelers at the Heart of Empire* (New Haven, Conn., 2016), esp. chap. 3.

As European imperial repositories amassed Indigenous objects, the items' conveyance overseas and placement inside collections meant that they rapidly became dissociated from the local contexts and provenances that gave rise to them and were situated within new interpretive schemas and ordering systems. When the Royal Society in London came into possession of a "Canoo" in the seventeenth century, for example, Nehemiah Grew classified it under the catalog heading "Of Things relating to the Mathematicks; and some Mechanicks" that encompassed telescopes and instruments of navigation. The North American vessel, possibly of Greenlandic origin, was evaluated as an example of technical prowess, not categorized as an object denoting racial or ethnic difference. Society members likewise used form and function to classify a plethora of Indigenous items from the Americas—birch-bark containers, a basket woven from porcupine quills, a feather mantle—marshaling them into a comparative scholarly project about the range of human ingenuity.[22] The colonist John Winthrop Jr., a major New England conduit of Indigenous items, communicated with the Royal Society and conveyed into its repository exemplary specimens such as wampum—the Northeastern beads made from quahog and whelk shells—and natural resources associated with the region such as maize.[23] For Winthrop, an alchemist, physician, political leader, and fellow of the Royal Society who was anxious to maintain ties with learned bodies back in England and to garner patronage for colonial missionary and commercial endeavors, the conveyance of Indigenous objects to metropolitan collections helped bolster his status as a man of science. He capitalized upon his experiences on the colonial periphery to educate the Royal Society, which was deeply curious about unfamiliar lands and peoples. Winthrop and other colonial donors only perceived certain dimensions of these items' significances among their original Native communities, however, and their misapprehensions were magnified in European settings. When the Royal Society described the preeminent meaning of the wampum deposited in its collections as "*Indian* Money" useful for "Commerse, as *Silver* and *Gold* amongst us," they reductively applied a Eurocentric economic interpretation that erased wampum's manifold importance in Indigenous social processes including ceremonies,

[22] Nehemiah Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis. . . .* (London, 1681), esp. 364–65 ("Canoo," 364), 360 ("Things"); Michael Hunter, "The Cabinet Institutionalized: The Royal Society's 'Repository' and Its Background," in Impey and MacGregor, *Origins of Museums*, 159–68.

[23] Hunter, "Cabinet Institutionalized," 159–68; Matthew Underwood, "Unpacking Winthrop's Boxes," *Common-place* 7, no. 4 (July 2007), http://common-place.org/book/unpacking-winthrops-boxes. On John Winthrop Jr., see Walter W. Woodward, *Prospero's America: John Winthrop, Jr., Alchemy, and the Creation of New England Culture, 1606–1676* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2010). On the Winthrops as donors of items from the Native Northeast, see also "Spoon made of bone (great auk)," BM No. Am, SLMisc. 1730, British Museum, London.

diplomacy, record keeping, memorializing, relationship building, and other dynamic forms of intercommunal interaction.[24]

The eighteenth century's long stretch of interimperial warfare in North America provided a new impetus for the transportation of large numbers of Native objects to Europe, where they were viewed by wider publics. Military personnel returning to Britain from the Seven Years' War brought with them a vast array of Indigenous artifacts. Such materials supported new emphases in public-oriented exhibitions on "authenticity and accuracy," Troy O. Bickham has argued, locating this "quasi-scientific" approach in Britons' serious investments in the futures of the empire.[25] Yet even ostensibly scientific modes of classification and interpretation were pervasively shaped by Britons' ethnocentric and ideological assumptions about diverse Indigenous peoples. In other instances of British collecting and display, Indigenous objects were sharply deracinated from critical signifiers. Englishman James Salter, who went by the moniker "Don Saltero," operated a Chelsea coffeehouse that attracted customers with an eclectic museum that included "an Indian belt of wampum, a present from one Indian king to another, as a pledge of friendship" and an "Esquimaux canoe" suspended from the ceiling.[26] In this consumerist site that trafficked in visual spectacle, a veneer of ethnographic detail could not disguise the fact that many of the items' tribally specific contexts had been lost or erased in the transit to England. For what purpose did a particular Native community originally fashion the wampum belt? Had it fallen into European hands through diplomacy, exchange, coercion, or theft? Salter's enterprise remained silent on these essential points. The "history of collecting American Indian artifacts in Europe may be described as a history of losses," Christian F. Feest has contended: "losses of the primary documents—the objects—and losses also of the secondary documentation that somehow links an artifact with its former context."[27] Feest's emphasis on the reductive quality of object transmission and the attrition of ethnographic information is well warranted. Yet at the same time that Indigenous provenances and

[24] Grew, *Musæum Regalis Societatis*, 370 (quotations). The entries on wampum noted secondary qualities such as personal attire or decoration, also overlooking wider meanings.

[25] Troy O. Bickham, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford, 2005), esp. 34–50 (quotations, 35); Beth Fowkes Tobin, "Wampum Belts and Tomahawks on an Irish Estate: Constructing an Imperial Identity in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Biography* 33, no. 4 (Fall 2010): 680–713.

[26] *A Catalogue of the Rarities, to be seen at Don Saltero's Coffee-House in Chelsea. . . .*, 39th ed. ([London, 1786?]), esp. 8 ("belt"), 14 ("Esquimaux"); "Steele's Visit to Don Saltero's at Chelsea," in John Timbs, *Lives of Wits and Humourists* (London, 1862), 1: 184–86; J. Henry Quinn, "Replies. Don Saltero's Tavern, Chelsea," *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Intercommunication for Literary Men, General Readers, Etc.*, 10th ser., Aug. 8, 1908, no. 241 (London, 1908), 10: 110; MacGregor, "Cabinet of Curiosities," 158.

[27] Feest, "Collecting of American Indian Artifacts in Europe," 333.

meanings were being eroded or overwritten, these objects had new layers of significance grafted atop them—perhaps partially or utterly specious, but nonetheless constitutive of an evolving transatlantic palimpsest of meanings.

By the time Native American objects began moving into museum cases in the British North American colonies, Indigenous artifacts had already been in motion across European networks for several centuries. There were deeply embedded (though still evolving) protocols and social assumptions about how to obtain, display, interpret, and make accessible such objects. Collecting was an established way for people of European descent to think through the world and its complexities and to arrive at fresh understandings of cultures, peoples, and polities other than their own. Cast against this backdrop, Stiles was hardly inventing the museumizing genre anew when he began to assemble objects for perusal. But he was doing more than simply replicating extant models of amassing objects and constructing narratives about them. The museum that arose at eighteenth-century Yale signaled Stiles's and other New England colonists' complicated (and at times ambivalent) entanglements with settler colonialism amid both very local Algonquian communities and more distant Indigenous nations. It tangibly manifested Euro-American desires to engage with regional historicity through artifacts and eventually to grapple with the meanings of indigeneity and its futures in the context of an emerging independent United States.

Yale's museum took shape where the Quinnipiac River flows into Long Island Sound. Native populations had dwelled in this prime coastal area for thousands of years; they understood themselves as having been placed there by the Creator and given responsibility for its caretaking. Like their Algonquian relations throughout the Dawnland, Quinnipiacs developed fine-grained material practices that enabled them to thrive within these fertile homelands, crafting agricultural and fishing tools, dwellings, water-transit vessels, garments, and sacred items from the stones, woodlands, and coastal waters that surrounded them. It was in 1638, in the direct aftermath of the Pequot War, that John Davenport and a company of colonizers selected a site facing a good harbor as their desired prospect within Quinnipiac homelands.[28] Quinnipiacs, cautiously willing to parley with these newcomers in order to avoid further subordination or outright genocide, engaged in negotiations. The Puritans laid out their settlement in a nine-square grid atop long-standing Quinnipiac paths, maize-planting grounds, dwelling areas, and other meaningful sites, initiating a settler colonial project ardently desirous of a territorial base upon which to establish

[28] Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York, 1984), 225–28; John Menta, *The Quinnipiac: Cultural Conflict in Southern New England* (New Haven, Conn., 2003); Kevin McBride et al., "Battle of Mistick Fort: Site Identification and Documentation Plan, Public Technical Report, National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program," [2012], GA-2255-09-017, Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center.

families, agriculture, and commerce. As a consequence, Quinnipiacs were forced onto land east of the harbor, their territory circumscribed into what has been described as the earliest Indian reservation in British North America.[29] Yet despite these strictures and the colonial surveillances that came with them, Quinnipiacs remained present and mobile throughout the area, as did other Algonquians.

One striking feature of early Yale College (originally called the Collegiate School) was that it made no formal attempt to include Native students, whereas its predecessors, Harvard College and the College of William and Mary, did.[30] Yale's establishing documents made no mention of Native people or surrounding tribal communities.[31] Yet we should not be misled into thinking no relationships existed at all, particularly given the college's location at a busy crossroads of the Native Northeast. The young Mohegan Samson Occom demonstrated such promise as a scholar that he nearly matriculated at the college, suggesting Yale did not enforce formal barriers to Native entry. Though Occom did not ultimately study at Yale, he did attend commencement activities in 1744.[32] Two young Mohican boys dwelled at the college in the 1730s—not as matriculated students but under the tutelage of John Sergeant from the class of 1729—and they reminded college affiliates of enduring Native communities and networks spanning the Northeast.

[29] Charles Hervey Townshend, "The Quinnipiack Indians and Their Reservation," *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* 6 (1900): 151–219; John Archer, "Puritan Town Planning in New Haven," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 2 (May 1975): 140–49; Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence*, 225–28; Francis J. Bremer, *Building a New Jerusalem: John Davenport, a Puritan in Three Worlds* (New Haven, Conn., 2012).

[30] "Digging Veritas: The Archaeology and History of the Indian College and Student Life at Colonial Harvard," online exhibition, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University, http://www.peabody.harvard.edu/DV-online; Louis P. Nelson, "The Brafferton of the College of William and Mary: A Historic Structure Report," report for Director of the Historic Campus at the College of William and Mary, 2003; Karen A. Stuart, "'So Good a Work': The Brafferton School, 1691–1777" (master's thesis, College of William and Mary, 1984); Bobby Wright, "'For the Children of the Infidels'? American Indian Education in the Colonial Colleges," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12, no. 3 (1988): 1–14; Andrea Davis, "Digging Up Our Roots: Students Join the Hunt for Historical Relics at the Brafferton's Base," *Ideation*, Oct. 3, 2011, http://www.wm.edu/research/ideation/social-sciences/digging-up-our-roots4693.php.

[31] Yale's founding in 1701 came on the heels of several devastating conflicts between Northeastern Algonquians and Euro-Americans, perhaps chilling all parties' receptivity to cross-cultural higher education. On early institutional history, see Thomas Clap, *The Annals or History of Yale-College, In New-Haven. . . .* (New Haven, Conn., 1766); Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *Documentary History of Yale University, Under the Original Charter of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, 1701–1745* (New Haven, Conn., 1916); Brooks Mather Kelley, *Yale: A History* (New Haven, Conn., 1974), 1–46. On the potential involvement of Natives and African Americans as laborers (free or unfree) at colonial colleges, see Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York, 2013).

[32] Joanna Brooks, ed., *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America* (New York, 2006), 14, 248.

Sergeant attempted to impress upon Indigenous youth and their relations the power of Yale College as a space of knowledge production, and in doing so he conveyed a glimpse of early institutional collecting practices. In 1734 Sergeant had traveled among the Mohicans by the Housatonic River. He returned to New Haven to complete his tenure as a tutor and proposed to tribal leaders that he bring nine-year-old Nungkawwat and eight-year-old Etowaukaum with him.[33] The boys' families consented to the arrangement for reasons that must have satisfied expectations that the venture would prove useful for the community—for instance, by teaching the boys English literacy that could help combat colonial encroachments on their lands. On December 14, 1734, the trio arrived in New Haven: "I took the Boys into my own Chamber at *College*, and sent them to the free School kept at *New-Haven*," Sergeant recalled. "They liv'd very contentedly, were much made off by every Body." When Mohican adults (Captain Kunkapot, Lieutenant Umpachenee, his brother Johtohkuhkoonaunt, and Ebenezer) came to New Haven to fetch the children home in May 1735, Sergeant escorted them on a tour of college facilities: "I entertain'd these Men with as much Respect, and Kindness, as I could; shew'd them our Library, and the Rarities of the *College*; with which they seem'd to be well pleas'd; and behav'd themselves, while they were there, well, and with much Decency."[34] The fact that the visitors' itinerary included a deliberate stop to view the library as well as "Rarities of the *College*"—perhaps referencing an early incarnation of museum collections—demonstrated how eager the colonists were to perform systems of knowledge for their Indigenous neighbors and how intently they scrutinized Indigenous conduct in these spaces. Given that Yale was an underfunded enterprise for much of the eighteenth century, it is uncertain how impressed the Indigenous contingent actually was.

Sergeant's laconic description of the "Rarities" exemplifies the scanty record keeping about college collections in this era. The exact date of the Yale Museum's creation is uncertain, partly because it arose from an ad hoc amalgamation of objects gradually drawn together from donors. Documentation about its earliest days is scarce, and we know little of its layout, storage and display spaces, or precise role in the evolving curriculum.[35] The "fugitive" quality of these collections is inescapable: their half-glimpsed

[33] Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs, Relating to the Housatunnuk Indians. . . .* (Boston, 1753), esp. 16; David J. Silverman, *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2010), 35–37; Drew Lopenzina, *Red Ink: Native Americans Picking Up the Pen in the Colonial Period* (Albany, N.Y., 2013), 270–71.

[34] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 17 ("I took"), 27 ("I entertain'd"), 18. Sergeant demonstrated a modicum of pedagogical reciprocity by endeavoring to learn the boys' language, expecting that fluency would aid his missionary work.

[35] Early records include entries that Stiles jotted in his personal notes and a handwritten list that Josiah Meigs drew up for Yale: Meigs, "Catalogue of Articles in the Museum of Yale College," August 1796, Yale Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection, Manuscripts and Archives (MA), MS 1258, ser. 1, box 13, Yale University Library (YUL).

presences in archival traces, the persistent difficulties in fully ascertaining their outlines or tracking their changes over time. Nonetheless, it is clear that the museum expanded under Stiles, who attended the college as an undergraduate (entering as a fifteen-year-old freshman from North Haven, Connecticut, in 1742), stayed on as a tutor, and pursued a law degree. He accepted a ministerial post in Newport, Rhode Island, in 1755, then left that post to serve as college president from 1778 until his death in 1795. Any accounting of particular objects in the collection that Stiles oversaw must be partially speculative, arising from a blend of archival, ethnographic, environmental, and contextual clues that are variably available today. It is nevertheless possible to sketch the contours of these materials, their potential meanings both to their Indigenous creators and their Connecticut collectors, and their reverberating significances into the present.

Stiles's notations about specific items tended to be brief, but his entries provide avenues into the wider context of the objects' movements and meanings. For example, in May 1788 Stiles listed the acquisition of a "Belt of blue & white Beugles taken by Capt. Pratt from the Senecas in the Expedition of Gen. Syllivan last War into the Seneca Indian Country." The object was described as a "rich and elegant Belt of Wampum" in a newspaper item. (Other materials in this same donation were a pair of "Indian Garters made of Buffeloes Wool or Hair & Wampum.")[36] Given the subtle difference between Stiles's description of the belt and the published account, there is some uncertainty about precisely which types of materials and construction techniques were involved. Many wampum belts were created from strung-together shell beads originating in coastal areas such as Long Island Sound or Narragansett Bay, then circulated widely in Native contexts; such belts were critical for diplomacy, trade, record keeping, and ceremony among Haudenosaunee and other Native communities. They solemnized and affirmed social and intergovernmental relationships and acted as memory carriers about important events. Their maintenance and recitation were integral to community well-being.[37]

[36] Entry, May 14, 1788, in Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3: 317 (quotations); "New-Haven, June 5," [Philadelphia] *Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1788, [2]. "Bugles" were a type of bead distinct from those made from shell, and it is not clear how accurately Stiles or the newspaper writers may have employed various terms. I thank Margaret Bruchac for insights on glass wampum beads, terminology for particular materials, and challenges in researching such belts. Bruchac to Christine DeLucia, email correspondence, Aug. 28, Sept. 7, 2017.

[37] Angela M. Haas, "Wampum as Hypertext: An American Indian Intellectual Tradition of Multimedia Theory and Practice," *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 19, no. 4 (Winter 2007): 77–100; Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2008), esp. 9–10, 32–70; Jon Parmenter, "The Meaning of *Kaswentha* and the Two Row Wampum Belt in Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) History: Can Indigenous Oral Tradition be Reconciled with the Documentary Record?," *Journal of Early American History* 3, no. 1 (2013): 82–109; Richard Cullen Rath, "Hearing Wampum: The Senses, Mediation, and the Limits of Analogy," in *Colonial Mediascapes:*

Belts became heavily targeted by North American and European collectors, prized for their beauty and treated as visually arresting curios, a major reduction of their significance as material conduits for intercommunal bonds. Stiles's entry indicated that this specific wampum belt had been seized from the Senecas, one member of the Six Nations/Haudenosaunee Confederacy, during the Sullivan Campaign into their lands during the Revolutionary War. Led by Major General John Sullivan, this offensive during the summer and autumn of 1779 waged a scorched-earth campaign against Native allies of the British. American troops swept through Haudenosaunee homelands, leveling villages, destroying orchards and cornfields, and causing widespread starvation and refugee movements. Continental soldiers also plundered artifacts, seeking to carry home trophies of conquest.[38] The seizure of a wampum belt may have been highly symbolic: a calculated bid to undermine Haudenosaunee social cohesion, to transmute an emblem of political authority and sovereignty into a cultural memento or souvenir, and to demonstrate the military capacities of the emergent United States to tribal nations and confederacies that resisted its overtures.[39]

What did this belt mean in 1788? It may have appeared to New Haven audiences as an icon of revolutionary heroics and recent military conquests, especially because Stiles was an ardent supporter of the U.S. patriot cause and New Havenites closely remembered the 1779 British attack on their town. The object may also have been interpreted in ways that honored its donor, Captain Pratt, a revolutionary officer who was "of Hartford." (This Connecticut connection underscores the growing collection's debt to localized channels of acquisition, especially compared to the more cosmopolitan networks that supplied items to imperial venues such as the British Museum and the Royal Society. Connecticut military personnel's involvement in geographically distant Revolutionary War campaigns expanded the range of potential sites for object acquisition and eventual conveyance back to New England).[40] In a postrevolutionary moment that encouraged new expressions

Sensory Worlds of the Early Americas, ed. Matt Cohen and Jeffrey Glover (Lincoln, Neb., 2014), 290–324.

[38] Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York, 1995), 51–53; Joseph R. Fischer, *A Well-Executed Failure: The Sullivan Campaign against the Iroquois, July–September 1779* (Columbia, S.C., 2008); Brant Venables, "A Battle of Remembrance: Memorialization and Heritage at the Newtown Battlefield, New York," *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 41, no. 1 (2012): 144–65; Zara Anishanslin, "'This is the Skin of a Whit[e] Man': Material Memories of Violence in Sullivan's Campaign," in *The American Revolution Reborn*, ed. Patrick Spero and Michael Zuckerman (Philadelphia, 2016), 187–204.

[39] On British imperial efforts to undermine Indian (Southeast Asian) political power and leadership by recasting it, and its objects, as cultural or religious—a project with commonalities to North American colonial situations—see Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (New York, 1987).

[40] "New-Haven, June 5," *Pennsylvania Packet*, June 13, 1788, [2] (quotation). The donor may have been John Pratt (1753–1824); see Charles B. Whittelsey, *The Ancestry*

of American identities, the *New-Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine* and other newspapers published a notice about the belt's arrival as well as attendant objects, enticing readers to view them and entreating travelers to donate more artifacts to the collegiate museum so they could "furnish matter for the contemplation of the republic of letters, and for useful deductions in natural science."[41] For Senecas and other Native nations, however, the belt might have painfully exemplified wartime dispossessions and the pitfalls of becoming caught up in imperial and colonial conflicts. For them the American Revolution was hardly liberatory. When Haudenosaunee communities regrouped "after the whirlwind," as Alyssa Mt. Pleasant (Tuscarora) has characterized this tumultuous era, they did so while missing community members and heritage objects that were wartime casualties.[42] Yet amid these upheavals wampum diplomacy remained active, with belts signifying continuing Indigenous sovereignties and nation-to-nation negotiations. For instance, a six-foot-long belt ratified the Treaty of Canandaigua (1794), a foundational postwar agreement with the U.S. federal government that reaffirmed Six Nations lands and autonomous rights.[43] Given these contexts, the belt ensconced within collegiate walls may have resonated in multifaceted ways with museumgoers rather than acting as a simplistic signifier of Indigenous disempowerment.

Not every Indigenous object arrived in New Haven through traumatic or coercive events. In 1790 the Yale Museum received a donation from "the Indian Countries on the River *Aurabaska*, in the distant interior Parts of America." This assemblage of "natural and artificial Curiosities" included at least some Indigenous items—an "Otter Skin with Indian Ornaments" and an "Indian drinking Cup, made of the Arctic Buffaloe's horn." The donation was substantial enough to attract notice in Connecticut and New

and the Descendants of John Pratt of Hartford, Conn. (Hartford, Conn., 1900), 46–47. On more cosmopolitan or global collecting networks, see Neil Chambers, *Joseph Banks and the British Museum: The World of Collecting, 1770–1830* (London, 2007); James Delbourgo, "'Exceeding the Age in Every Thing': Placing Sloane's Objects," *Spontaneous Generations* 3, no. 1 (2009): 41–54; John Gascoigne, "The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the 'New World(s),' 1660–1800," *British Journal for the History of Science* 42, no. 4 (December 2009): 539–62.

[41] "Capt. Pratt, of Hartford," *New-Haven Gazette, and the Connecticut Magazine*, June 5, 1788, [7] (quotation).

[42] Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, "After the Whirlwind: Maintaining a Haudenosaunee Place at Buffalo Creek, 1780–1825" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 2007).

[43] G. Peter Jemison and Anna M. Schein, eds., *Treaty of Canandaigua 1794: 200 Years of Treaty Relations between the Iroquois Confederacy and the United States* (Santa Fe, N.Mex., 2000); "George Washington Belt," Onondaga Nation: People of the Hills, http://www.onondaganation.org/culture/wampum/george-washington-belt; Rob Capriccioso, "Onondaga Nation Presents Historic Wampum Belt from George Washington, Asks Americans to Honor Treaty," *Indian Country Today*, Feb. 29, 2012, https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/onondaga-nation-presents-historic-wampum-belt-from-george-washington-asks-americans-to-honor-treaty.

York newspapers.[44] The items came to Yale via Peter Pond (1739/40–1807), a colonist from neighboring Milford, Connecticut, who left New England to pursue a career in the military and fur trade. Working for the North West Company, Pond ranged far into the Michilimackinac, Athabasca, and Peace River regions, where he became deeply entangled with Indigenous/First Nations communities, on whom he relied for the goods, raw materials, and knowledge that he sought to convey to eastern consumers. The items he acquired may have come his way through relatively equitable economic exchanges or gift-giving protocols with Native partners who deemed it beneficial to interact with Euro-American entrepreneurs, at least in limited ways. The goods may have been trade objects (or even early "tourist" wares), expressly outward-facing items intended for circulation among faraway peoples rather than for internal community use.[45] Yet it is vital not to exempt Pond from larger structures of expansionist colonialism or to lapse into an antiquated romance of the fur trade that glosses over its complex power dynamics. After all, one of Pond's animating interests was to create cartographic representations that could be transmitted back to British and American authorities, who ardently desired such maps to facilitate national growth and governance agendas.

While maps hand-drawn by Euro-Americans might not immediately resonate as Indigenous artifacts, the cartographic transfers facilitated by Pond suggest how Indigenous forms of place-based knowledge could be amassed by outsiders, albeit incompletely. In spring 1790 Pond visited Stiles in New Haven, "shewed [him] a large map of his own Construction," and permitted the scholar to make a copy for his own collections (Figure II).[46] Pond's mapping process, to which he gave Stiles partial access, involved close attention to Indigenous spatial knowledge and toponyms, which he combined with his own experiential insights and speculations about distant areas. The final product, however, gave the appearance of Euro-American authorship rather than foregrounding the expertise of what was likely a multitude of Indigenous informants.[47] Stiles recalled that Pond conveyed

[44] "New-Haven, March 31," [Conn.] *Norwich Packet and Country Journal*, Apr. 9, 1790, [3] ("*Aurabaska*"); "Quadrupeds & parts of," in Meigs, "Catalogue of Articles in the Museum of Yale College," n.p. ("Otter"); "On the 24th," [New York] *Daily Advertiser*, Apr. 8, 1790, [2].

[45] On these types of objects, see Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle, 1998); Cary Miller, "Gifts as Treaties: The Political Use of Received Gifts in Anishinaabeg Communities, 1820–1832," *American Indian Quarterly* 26, no. 2 (Spring 2002): 221–45.

[46] Entry, Mar. 24, 1790, in Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3: 385 (quotation); requoted in David Chapin, *Freshwater Passages: The Trade and Travels of Peter Pond* (Lincoln, Neb., 2014), 295.

[47] On entanglements between Indigenous and Eurocolonial cartographies and geographic knowledge, see Martin Brückner, *The Geographic Revolution in Early America: Maps, Literacy, and National Identity* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), 204–37.

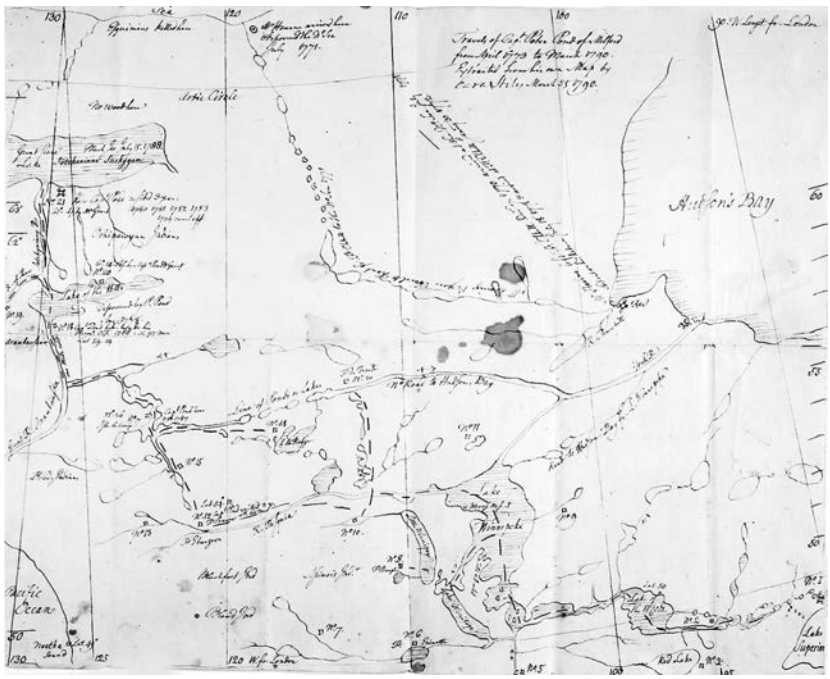

FIGURE II

This map is a hand-copied cartographic representation that Ezra Stiles made in 1790 while meeting with the fur trader Peter Pond, formerly a resident of neighboring Milford, Connecticut. Pond's map conveyed detailed information about Indigenous communities and traditional knowledge in the far northwestern interior, which were vital to his trading interests and caused him to become entangled in complex economic relationships with Native trappers, hunters, and suppliers. During the 1790 visit, Pond donated a number of objects to the Yale College Museum, Indigenous ones among them. *Travels of Capt. Peter Pond of Milford from April 1773 to March 1790*, Ezra Stiles Papers, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

ethnographic information about Native North Americans, a topic of great interest given the president's queries about origins of the human species and peopling of the continents. Stiles also quizzed Pond about the beliefs and practices of northwestern Indigenous communities, pressing him on how they compared to New England Algonquians. It was during this encounter that Pond presented his assemblage of objects to Stiles, who may have read them as material signs of western entrepreneurship, territorial exploration, and ambitious travels by a Connecticut-raised neighbor or as indices of multidirectional linkages between Natives and traders. Or perhaps he

treated them as products of specific Indigenous contexts, useful for comparative measurement against Northeastern Indigenous objects.[48]

Whatever the case, Stiles and Pond were not the only historical agents enmeshed in matters of material interpretation. At the same time that such Indigenous objects were circulating into Euro-American hands (and sometimes museums), Euro-American objects were moving into Native spaces. Pond's northwest-bound trade canoes "contained English textiles, New England wampum, West Indian rum, and Madeira wines," goods that he could exchange for animal furs and skins.[49] European- and American-made textiles, metals, ceramics, beads, foodstuffs, and a host of other materials were adopted, used, and valued by Indigenous people. These items were not intended for static exhibition, scholarly scrutiny, or popular perusal, but they were examined, interpreted, circulated, and transformed by Indigenous recipients who undoubtedly devised narratives about the materials themselves and about the outsiders who had conveyed them.[50]

Whereas Pond transported objects from the northwestern interior across an entire continent for deposit in New Haven, enabling Stiles and other Connecticut museumgoers to encounter and (mis)interpret materials from geographically distant Indigenous communities, other items that wound up in the Yale Museum derived from much more local contexts. Because Stiles used his personal records to comment in detail on their provenances, it is possible to speak with greater precision about the intellectual and ethical complexities that such objects from the Native Northeast

[48] On Pond and his contexts, see Charles M. Gates, ed., *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest. . . .* (Minneapolis, Minn., 1933); Gloria Fedirchuk, "Peter Pond: Map Maker of the Northwest (1740–1807)," *Arctic* 43, no. 2 (June 1990): 184–86; Chapin, *Freshwater Passages*; Barry M. Gough, "Pond, Peter," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/pond_peter_5E.html. For an autobiographical account ca. 1756–61, see Pond Family Papers, MA, MS 638, YUL.

[49] Chapin, *Freshwater Passages*, 8.

[50] On Indigenous North American use, interpretation, and repurposing of Euro-American material culture and the emergence of hybrid or transcultural forms, see Laurier Turgeon, "The Tale of the Kettle: Odyssey of an Intercultural Object," *Ethnohistory* 44, no. 1 (Winter 1997): 1–29; Patricia E. Rubertone, "Archaeology, Colonialism and 17th-Century Native America: Towards an Alternative Interpretation," in *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*, ed. Robert Layton (London, 1989), 32–45; Kathleen L. Ehrhardt, *European Metals in Native Hands: Rethinking the Dynamics of Technological Change, 1640–1683* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2005); Stephen W. Silliman, "Change and Continuity, Practice and Memory: Native American Persistence in Colonial New England," *American Antiquity* 74, no. 2 (April 2009): 211–30; Meghan C. L. Howey, "Colonial Encounters, European Kettles, and the Magic of Mimesis in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Indigenous Northeast and Great Lakes," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 15, no. 3 (September 2011): 329–57; Matthew Liebmann, "Parsing Hybridity: Archaeologies of Amalgamation in Seventeenth-Century New Mexico," in *The Archaeology of Hybrid Material Culture*, ed. Jeb J. Card (Carbondale, Ill., 2013), 25–49.

present, both historically and in the twenty-first century. In 1788 a stone "bust" arrived at the museum. The stone had been located in the Kwinitekw (Connecticut) River valley, "where it has been immemorially known." Colonial clearance of the land around 1740 exposed it to view. Measuring 31.5 inches high and 17 inches wide, it was "hard, coarse grained stone, or white granite, not white indeed, like marble, but with a dark or greyish intermixture." Stiles referred to it as a "sculpture"—it was likely shaped like a three-dimensional human profile—and deemed it "a real work of art, and undoubtedly Indian." According to Stiles's queries among locals, "the constant tradition has been, that it was anciently worshiped by the Indians, who powawed before it." Stiles learned more about the stone in conversation with minister Eliphalet Williams, who remembered having been shown it by Mr. Spencer, its elderly "owner." Spencer recalled witnessing Native ceremonies associated with the stone. Stiles conjectured from this testimony—as well as from comparable accounts of Native "idolators" in other parts of the Northeast who prayed to "Chepi, or the evil Manitoo, or Evil Spirits"—that the stone had ritual significance in Algonquian funerary practices. He referred to stones of this sort repeatedly as "Idols," imposing his own Protestant (and possibly anti-Catholic) frameworks upon other forms of material spirituality.[51]

During Stiles's presidency he traveled to many such stones across southern New England—some still in situ in the earth and others that had been removed by farmers and antiquarians. In January 1789 he visited an "Indian Stone God" in southeastern Connecticut that Euro-American residents had removed from a swamp's edge and inserted into a fence.[52] In May 1789 near Springfield, Massachusetts, Stiles viewed "an Indian Stone God . . . similar to ours in the College Library." Later that month, while traveling in central Connecticut, Stiles met with Reverend Huntington, "who went & shewed me another Indian stone Gd. about half a Mile East of his Meetghouse; ejusdem farinae."[53] In September 1790, also in central Connecticut, Stiles visited two "Indian god[s]."[54] In September 1794 he visited yet another significant stone: as he paused by a stream, "a few feet from the fountain I spied a carved or wro't stone, which I know to be one of the Indian Gods, of which I have found about or above twenty in diff. places from Boston to Hudsons River, & party between New Milfd on W. and Medfield Mass. on East."[55] These (and other) notes about stone sightings underscore a distinctive quality of

[51] Ezra Stiles, "Account of a Stone Bust, Supposed to Have Been an Indian God. *Written A.D.* 1790," *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (*MAAAS*) 3, no. 1 (1809): 192–94 ("bust," "Idols," 192, "owner," 193, "idolators," 194).

[52] Entry, Jan. 29, 1789, in Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3: 339.

[53] Entries, May 19, 22, 1789, ibid., 3: 354. The Latin, "of the same flour," means objects of the same sort.

[54] Entries, Sept. 22–23, 1790, ibid., 3: 403 (quotation); Stiles, *MAAAS* 3: 192–93.

[55] Entry, Sept. 19, 1794, in Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3: 538.

Stiles's interests: he delved intensively into the historical landscapes of his immediate environs, probing corners of southern New England in search of materials that spoke to him about ancient and more recent pasts. By attempting to peel back layers of extremely local histories, he pursued a granular approach in his peripatetic researches, an inclination that might have elicited bemusement or disdain from more cosmopolitan scholars and collectors. This approach may, however, have bolstered the Yale Museum's claims to being a valuable window on the past, encompassing a collection that did more than faintly imitate the holdings of more established, elite institutions; instead, the Yale Museum's unique assemblage of objects conveyed distinctive vantages on histories in multiple scales, including ultralocal ones, and manifested ties to a network of donors with local and regional stature.

Looking beneath Stiles's ethnocentric characterizations steeped in Protestant worldviews and devoted to colonialist forms of "possession," it appears likely that these "Indian Gods" were ritual stones connected to Algonquian belief systems involving the natural world, powerful sites, and other-than-human beings. Tribal oral traditions, documentary records, archaeology, and other sources maintain extensive references to stones and marked landscapes as conduits of Algonquian identity, memory, ancestor connection, and manitou (power). The very term *sunksquaw* (a female leader) connotes a concept of "rock woman," Mohegan tribal historian and medicine woman Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel has noted, indicating deep links among community leaders, the earth, and figural representations.[56] When such stones were forcibly wrested from Indigenous sacred landscapes and transported to the college museum or other locales for display before colonial eyes, the very act of collecting caused damage to those objects and their meanings for Algonquians.

Stiles and like-minded colleagues did not view these extractive activities as detrimental. Many prominent Euro-Americans of this era desired the conversion of Native communities to Christianity and disparaged

[56] Melissa Jayne Fawcett [Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel], *Medicine Trail: The Life and Lessons of Gladys Tantaquidgeon* (Tucson, Ariz., 2000), 21–29 ("rock woman," 21), 31–36. Discussions about possible meanings of these "effigy" or "spirit" stones are indebted to consultations with Zobel (medicine woman and tribal historian, Mohegan Tribe), February 2013, March 2017; Kevin McBride (director of research, Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center); Timothy Ives (state archaeologist, Rhode Island); Stephen Silliman (archaeologist, University of Massachusetts–Boston); Colin Porter (Brown University), March–April 2013. See also Fawcett, *The Lasting of the Mohegans, Part I: The Story of the Wolf People* (Uncasville, Conn., 1995), 49–50, 58; Russell G. Handsman, "Landscapes of Memory in Wampanoag Country—and the Monuments upon Them," in *Archaeologies of Placemaking: Monuments, Memories, and Engagement in Native North America*, ed. Patricia E. Rubertone (Walnut Creek, Calif., 2008), 161–93; Lucianne Lavin, *Connecticut's Indigenous People: What Archaeology, History, and Oral Traditions Teach Us about Their Communities and Cultures* (New Haven, Conn., 2013), 285–94.

traditional Indigenous spiritual systems.[57] (Stiles had nearly pursued such a missionizing project years earlier; he had been considered for a ministerial post at Stockbridge as a successor to Sergeant but ultimately withdrew his candidacy.) Yet in a manner different from earlier New England Calvinist leaders such as seventeenth-century "Praying Town" evangelist John Eliot or the Mather family, who desired the effacement of supposedly "diabolical" Indigenous spiritualities and their attendant materials, Stiles demonstrated quasi-ethnographic interest in Algonquian beliefs and practices and an inclination toward comparative study of the cosmologies these stones reflected. Consequently, Stiles deemed it acceptable to remove these stones into a collegiate setting for scholarly and pedagogical aims, alienating them from Indigenous ancestors and descendants.[58]

These objects present methodological and ethical challenges for scholars. In fields including American history and anthropology, there have long been presumptions that scholars ought to exhaustively scrutinize, visualize, and publicize the subjects of their research. This has led to the widespread circulation of images depicting Native skeletal remains, burial objects, and sacred or ceremonial materials, with the justification that such practices are vital to intellectual inquiry. Seemingly neutral invocations of transparency, scholarly objectivity, and attendant concepts notwithstanding, these habits are bound up with long-standing impulses to collect and exhibit that constitute the very roots of Western and colonial appropriating and museumizing. Critiques of these mentalities and behaviors from Native American and Indigenous Studies have persuaded me not to include Stiles's visual representations of these materials from his personal "Itineraries" and a posthumously published account.[59] Though scholars informed by decolonizing methodologies are increasingly calling for such sensitive attention to sources, taking care around access to Indigenous heritage items is not a phenomenon unique to contemporary scholarship. Historical Native communities shaped Stiles's own observing and collecting as Indigenous people

[57] Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Cultures in Early America* (New York, 2012).

[58] On colonial characterizations of Northeastern Natives and their spiritual practices as devilish, see Mary Beth Norton, *In the Devil's Snare: The Salem Witchcraft Crisis of 1692* (New York, 2003), 344 n. 35. On Algonquians' active reshaping of Puritan missionizing, see David J. Silverman, "Indians, Missionaries, and Religious Translation: Creating Wampanoag Christianity in Seventeenth-Century Martha's Vineyard," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 62, no. 2 (April 2005): 141–74. On another disruptive episode from earlier in Stiles's career, pertaining to Narragansett homelands, see Christine M. DeLucia, *Memory Lands: King Philip's War and the Place of Violence in the Northeast* (New Haven, Conn., 2018), 145–48.

[59] Stiles, *MAAAS* 3: 192–94. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755–1794. . . .* (New Haven, Conn., 1916). I have not included a manuscript map that Stiles created showing locations of certain stones because maps have been misused by avocational "collectors" who employ them to find sites known to be replete with Indigenous artifacts.

worked to maintain appropriate boundaries. For instance, when Stiles visited the Niantic tribal community in 1761 and sketched the interior of George Waukeet's *wetu* (home), he was accompanied by Waukeet himself, as well as by Ben Uncas, the current Mohegan sachem (leader) (Figure III).[60] Though Stiles may have believed he had unconstrained access to Native spaces, objects, and knowledge systems, tribal representatives had vested interests in shaping how a relentlessly inquisitive outsider navigated their home territory.[61] Desirous to deflect activities that would undermine their own cultural heritage, tribal communities who interacted with Stiles or his network of donors likely viewed the very process of "collecting" in starkly different terms than the Yale Museum's strongest advocate.

Stiles's lifelong entanglement with regional Algonquian communities explains some of his attentiveness to Native materials. But it is important to recognize that other factors—intellectual, theological, pedagogical—shaped his practices as well. It is difficult to encapsulate Stiles's extraordinarily capacious interests in the world around him, both in southern New England and globally. At various moments he intently focused on sericulture (cultivation of silkworms), on tree rings as measures of time, on atmospheric temperature measurements, and on a host of other human interactions with the natural world; on the comparative study of religious traditions, particularly Judaism; and on competing theories of the peopling of the world, including the possibility that Native Americans were heirs to the Lost Tribes of Israel. He was especially attuned to thickly layered and multiply storied traces of bygone times, as with his attempts to pursue the folkloric geographies associated with the so-called regicides in Connecticut and Massachusetts. He had an abiding—and intrusive—inclination to prod elderly individuals into verbally sharing memories of what had transpired in their families' and communities' pasts. Often he turned to Euro-American informants, but he sought out Native knowledge keepers when opportunities presented. Many of their insights he scribbled down in his private "Itineraries," amassing detailed compendia that he never published in any comprehensive way.[62] For Stiles, the process of knowledge formation itself and the unceasing attempts to perceive clearly the historicity of New England and the world may have been the most satisfying pursuits. In this light, one may imagine that Stiles did not perceive the Yale Museum as a static set of meanings but

[60] Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries*, 131.

[61] William C. Sturtevant, "Two 1761 Wigwams at Niantic, Connecticut," *American Antiquity* 40, no. 4 (October 1975): 437–44; Christine M. DeLucia, "Indigenous Stories in Stone: Mohegan Placemaking, Activism, and Colonial Encounters at the Mohegan Royal Burial Ground" (manuscript in progress, 2017).

[62] Morgan, *Gentle Puritan*, 130–58. I thank Karen Halttunen for sharing insights about Stiles, his information-gathering practices, and his pursuits of historical and geographic topics from her book manuscript "Groundwork: Time and Local Place in Thoreau's New England" (unpublished manuscript, 2015), particularly the section entitled "World History, Native Place: Travels with Ezra Stiles."

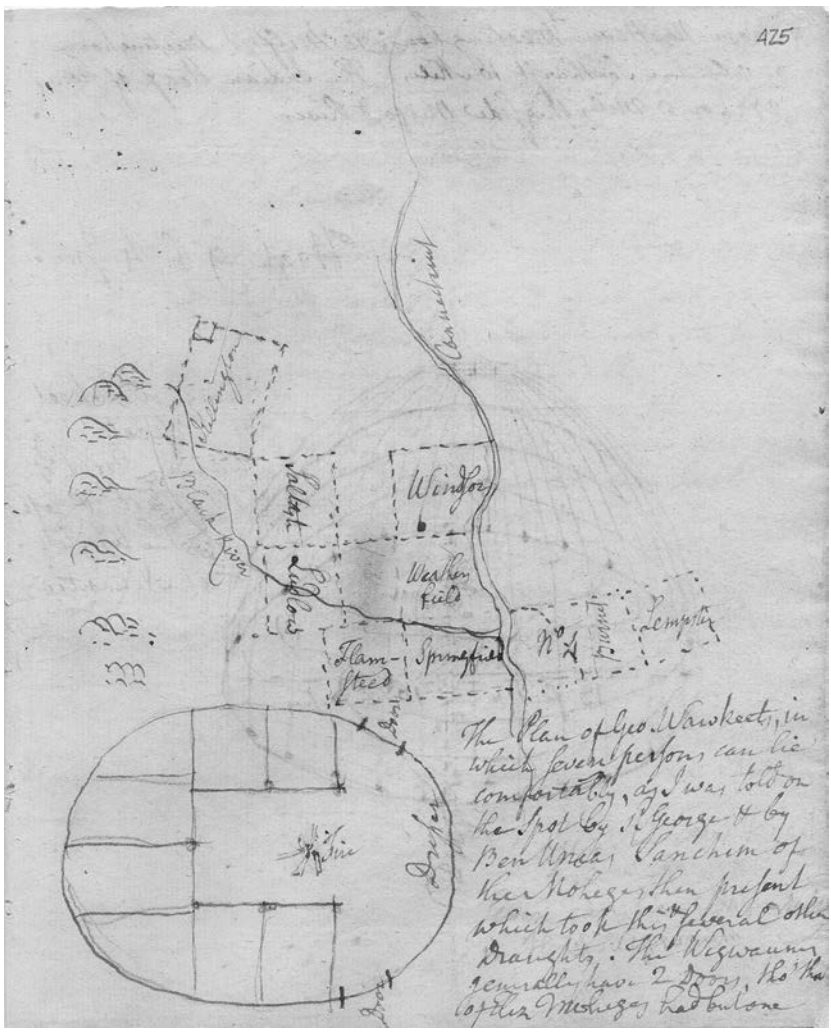

FIGURE III

The *wetu* (wigwam) of George Waukeet attracted the attention of Ezra Stiles during the colonist's visit to the Niantic community in 1761. Stiles's sketch of the dwelling, which reflected his abiding interests in Indigenous materialities, was accompanied by marginal notes indicating he viewed it in the company of Waukeet and the Mohegan leader Ben Uncas. Their presence underscores the importance of Indigenous networks and protocols around access that shaped Stiles's investigative forays across the Native Northeast. "The Plan of Geo Waukeet," Ezra Stiles Papers, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

instead as a continuously growing, perpetually unfinished constellation of objects, each a dynamic prod to active learning, sometimes in cross-cultural settings.

The March 14, 1793, visit by the Kaskaskia and Wabash delegation is a compelling example of Indigenous engagement that opens up other narratives about the multivocal, multivalent possibilities of these objects and their settings—resonant with how James Clifford has described museums as "contact zones, . . . a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull."[63] The six Natives—including one woman—whom Stiles hosted toured the museum as well as the college library.[64] Though on the surface their visit might seem a simple tourist outing orchestrated by Euro-American escorts, the larger context underscores the very different dynamics at work as compared to visits from Euro-Americans. Since the 1780s coalitions of tribes in the Ohio River valley and Great Lakes region had been contending with mounting pressures from British colonists and authorities as well as the newly independent United States. The pantribal Western Confederacy dealt a resounding blow to the U.S. Army under Major General Arthur St. Clair in November 1791, forcefully countering U.S. expansionism in the Northwest Territory and impressing upon U.S. leadership the importance of continuing diplomacy between tribal nations and the new republic. In 1792 Native representatives met with U.S. general Rufus Putnam and brokered a peace treaty.[65] Following this meeting, a Native delegation embarked for Philadelphia to meet with key U.S. representatives, including Thomas Jefferson and George Washington.[66]

[63] James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), chap. 7, esp. p. 192 (quotation); Entry, Mar. 14, 1793, in Dexter, *Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, 3: 488; "On Monday last," [Boston] *Columbian Centinel*, Mar. 27, 1793, [3].

[64] At least three women were part of the delegation in its early stages: Alanonsoqua, Wapetsonequa, and Monekatau. See "The names of the Indians," [Philadelphia] *General Advertiser*, Jan. 1, 1793, [3].

[65] On regional contexts for the St. Clair defeat and early Indigenous diplomacy with the United States, see R. David Edmunds, "'Nothing Has Been Effected': The Vincennes Treaty of 1792," *Indiana Magazine of History* 74, no. 1 (March 1978): 23–35; Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Bluffton, S.C., 1995); Colin G. Calloway, *The Victory with No Name: The Native American Defeat of the First American Army* (New York, 2015); Stephanie Gamble, "Treaty Negotiations with Native Americans," in *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, 2015, http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/treaty-negotiations-with-native-americans.

[66] A listing of delegates' names appeared in newspapers; see "The names of the Indians," *General Advertiser*, Jan. 1, 1793, [3]. For documents on U.S.-Wabash interactions in the 1790s, see *Papers of the War Department, 1784 to 1800*, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, George Mason University, http://wardepartmentpapers.org. For the delegates' plans to travel from Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, see esp. "Isaac Craig to Henry Knox," Dec. 8, 1792, ibid., http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=7708.

Prior to this meeting, half the party contracted a disease in Pennsylvania and died.[67] Those lost to illness—La Gese, Apautapeau, Bigigh Weautono, Barkskin, Grand Joseph, Wapeteet, and Toma—were buried far from home, in unmarked places within a Philadelphia churchyard.[68] The devastation of this eastern trip was so great that upon meeting with U.S. leaders on February 1–3, 1793, the Native delegates formally presented them with a series of material objects in order to emphasize to these foreign leaders the gravity of their nation-to-nation obligations. Taking the lead speaking role, John Baptist De Coin, "chief of Kaskaskia," remarked, "I present you a black-pipe on the death of our chiefs who have come here and died in your bed. it is the calumet of the dead, take it and smoke in it in remembrance of them. the dead pray you to listen to the living and to be their friends." The transcription of his remarks included a series of parentheticals that conveyed just how essential material presentations and formal bodily gestures were to the proceedings.[69] Delegation members presented a black pipe, a white pipe, and a pipe sent by De Coin's father, Crooked Legs, who was too infirm to make the journey. These pipes were not inert objects for display and visual consumption but rather intensely powerful devices of calumet ceremonialism and integral components of the political relationship building happening in Philadelphia.[70] Records of these proceedings indicated that Native delegates repeatedly complemented their remarks with objects they had brought with them for these very purposes: belts, "strands of dark coloured beads," a "bundle of white strands." They used these goods to remind the young republic of its obligations toward tribal nations, particularly "the orphans of our dead friends." As De Coin expressed it when urging Washington to take an active role in forestalling borderlands conflict:

> Father, your people of Kentuckey are like Musketoes, and try to destroy the red men: the red men are like musketoes also, and try to injure the people of Kentuckey. but I look to you as to a good being. order your people to be just. they are always trying to get our lands. they come on our lands. they hunt on them; kill our game & kill us. keep them then on one side of the line and us on

[67] "Seven of the Wabash Indians," *Columbian Centinel*, Jan. 26, 1793, [2].

[68] The rising death toll was widely reported; for example, see ibid. For those lost to illness, see Charles R. Hildeburn, ed., *The Inscriptions in St. Peter's Church Yard, Philadelphia. . . .* (Camden, N.J., 1879), 518.

[69] "Speeches of the Wabash and Illinois Indians, 1–4 February 1793," FONA, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-12-02-0056 (quotations). De Coin's name has been spelled a variety of ways, including Jean Baptiste de Coigne.

[70] On calumet ceremonialism, see Robert L. Hall, *An Archaeology of the Soul: North American Indian Belief and Ritual* (Chicago, 1997), chap. 1; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, 20th anniv. ed. (New York, 2011), 91–92.

> the other. listen, father, to what we say, and protect the nations of the Wabash & Missisipi in their lands.[71]

Whether U.S. representatives carefully stewarded the politically potent objects presented to them or dealt more casually (or carelessly) with them is uncertain. Yet given these transactions, one must imagine that by the time the grieving Native delegates arrived at the Yale Museum they had strong responses to the array of Indigenous materials displayed inside that institution.

Even at such a somber time, Stiles and his colleagues were intent on interrogating the visitors about theories of Indian origins and the peopling of the Americas. During their Yale stopover (facilitated by a translator and an escort), the Native delegates interacted with Jonathan Edwards Jr., whose fascination with Indigenous linguistics dated from a childhood spent among the Stockbridge Native community as his father was pursuing missionary work. The younger Edwards gained a degree of Mahican fluency ("all my thoughts ran in Indian") and also spent six months among the Haudenosaunee. By the late 1780s, Edwards was convinced that he had perceived similarities among certain Indigenous languages, as well as possible affinities between Algonquian and Hebrew. Such a finding might furnish evidence in support of long-standing Euro-American contentions about the tribes of Israel and their supposed global diaspora. In 1788 he published these hypotheses and urged like-minded Euro-Americans to correspond about linguistic information that might shed further light on the issue.[72] When the Kaskaskia and Wabash delegation came into town five years later, Edwards must have been enthusiastic about the prospect of running such queries about prefixes, suffixes, and other grammatical minutiae by informants from other tribal nations. Notably, Edwards described his linguistic research as "acquisition," a word that underlines the similarities between his activities and the extractive mentalities that animated Stiles. Such interactions with Indigenous interlocutors raise the possibility of deliberate reticence ("refusal"). They may have declined to act as subjects of study in the face of intrusive queries by those who were not tribal community members; provided only partial answers or feigned incomprehension; or otherwise resisted having their words "collected" for external purposes (Figure IV).[73]

[71] "Speeches of the Wabash and Illinois Indians, 1–4 February 1793," FONA, https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-12-02-0056 (quotations). The full text of De Coin's remarks elaborates on the significance of these colors, for example, with white being a road that is open between the parties and that shall be kept clean of blood.

[72] Jonathan Edwards [Jr.], *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians. . . .* (New Haven, Conn., 1788), [iii] (quotation). For context on such linguistic collecting, see Sarah Rivett, *Unscripted America: Indigenous Languages and the Origins of a Literary Nation* (New York, 2017).

[73] Edwards, *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*, [iii] ("acquisition"); Audra Simpson, "On Ethnographic Refusal: Indigeneity, 'Voice' and Colonial

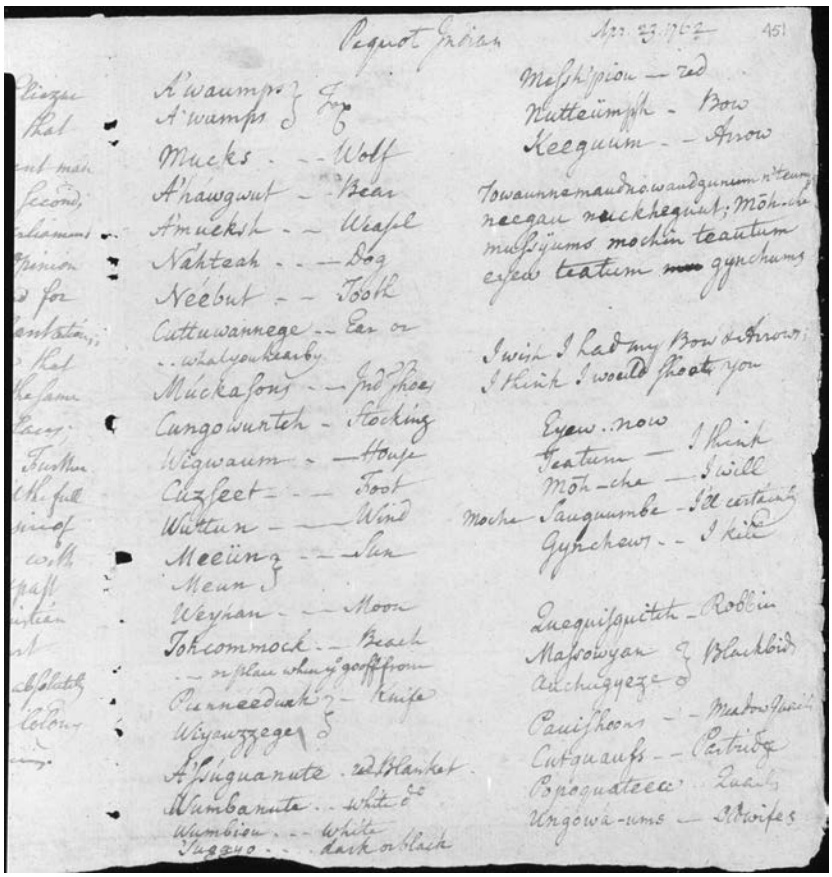

Figure IV

The Indigenous languages of North America, particularly of the eastern Algonquian tribal communities and nations near New Haven, Connecticut, deeply interested Stiles and colonial colleagues such as Jonathan Edwards Jr. This "Pequot Indian" list, compiled by Stiles in 1762, reflected his ongoing personal relationships with Native language speakers as well as his thoroughly acquisitive mentalities around collecting. Manuscripts such as this, which Stiles never published in his lifetime, raise questions about the extent to which Indigenous interlocutors cooperated with Stiles or deflected his overtures. "Pequot Indian," Ezra Stiles Papers, General Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Altogether, this Native delegation's travels through the Atlantic states were occasions for intercultural encounters, observations, and relationships.[74]

Citizenship," *Junctures* 9 (December 2007): 67–80; Carole McGranahan, "Theorizing Refusal: An Introduction," *Cultural Anthropology* 31, no. 3 (August 2016): 319–25.

[74] The delegation also visited Hartford and met with Noah Webster, known for his lexicographical interests. "Hartford, March 18," [New London] *Connecticut Gazette*, Mar.

Although interlocutors such as Stiles and Edwards may have imagined themselves as the primary observers and collectors, at every turn the delegates were certainly gathering information about their hosts, their political and social structures, and their intentions toward Native communities in the interior.

As museums proliferated in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century North America, the Yale Museum gained company and competitors. A "Philosophy Chamber" had coalesced at rival Harvard College circa 1766 and expanded into the 1800s. Its natural history, fine arts, and ethnographic collections were instrumental in scholarship and teaching for elites in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Indigenous objects and Euro-American representations of them, such as a visualization of the petroglyph-covered "Dighton Rock" in Wampanoag homelands—a locale that also fascinated Stiles—featured prominently alongside scientific apparatuses, enabling Euro-American students and learned men to engage in Enlightenment-influenced study of the world around them. As seems to have been the case with the Yale Museum, the Philosophy Chamber supported an evolving collegiate curriculum that increasingly made room for scientific empiricism and hands-on pedagogy, including close scrutiny of Indigenous textiles, featherwork, calumets, wampum, and other items that students and instructors employed as evidence in support of evolving theories of racial and social difference.[75] Beyond collegiate repositories, Peale's Museum in Philadelphia (established in 1786), the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston (1791), the East India Marine Society in Salem (1799), and the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester (1812) also made Indigenous collecting central to their missions.[76] Issuing calls for donations, these repositories showcased Indigenous acquisitions inside display cases where over time they tended to be described as generically "Indian" rather than marked as part of temporally, geographically, or socially specific

21, 1793, [3]; Emily Ellsworth Ford Skeel, ed., *Notes on the Life of Noah Webster* (New York, 1912), 1: 437.

[75] Ethan W. Lasser, ed., *The Philosophy Chamber: Art and Science in Harvard's Teaching Cabinet, 1766–1820* (New Haven, Conn., 2017). I thank Ethan for an invitation to give a gallery talk and Elizabeth James-Perry (Aquinnah Wampanoag) for valuable perspectives on this site and its ongoing significances; Christine DeLucia, "Gallery Talk: Philosophy Chamber Conversations–Dighton Rock" (June 13, 2017, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, Mass.).

[76] Orosz, *Curators and Culture*; Anya Zilberstein, "Objects of Distant Exchange: The Northwest Coast, Early America, and the Global Imagination," *WMQ* 64, no. 3 (July 2007): 591–620; Patricia Johnston, "Global Knowledge in the Early Republic: The East India Marine Society's 'Curiosities' Museum," in *East-West Interchanges in American Art: "A Long and Tumultuous Relationship,"* ed. Cynthia Mills, Lee Glazer, and Amelia A. Goerlitz (Washington, D.C., 2012), 68–79; Mairin Odle, "Buried in Plain Sight: Indian 'Curiosities' in Du Simitière's American Museum," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 136, no. 4 (October 2012): 499–502; Christine DeLucia, "Antiquarian Collecting and the Transits of Indigenous Material Culture: Rethinking 'Indian Relics' and Tribal Histories," *Common-place* 17, no. 2 (Winter 2017), http://common-place.org/book/antiquarian-collecting-and-the-transits-of-indigenous-material-culture-rethinking-indian-relics-and-tribal-histories.

histories; alternatively, Native objects were classified alongside natural history specimens, thereby aligning Indigenous peoples with the nonhuman world. Such venues, as well as Jefferson's "Indian Hall" at Monticello, legitimated "the development of an us-and-ours mindset in regard to the Euro-American conquest of the continent and the elimination of its original inhabitants," Scott Manning Stevens (Akwesasne Mohawk) has argued about these emerging collections. "Indigenous artifacts were transformed into the United States' cultural patrimony" and marshaled into the service of "American Antiquity," interpretive schemas that left little room in the growing U.S. republic for the robust continuance of Native people and sovereign tribal nations.[77]

The expansion and popularization of museums were generative processes for many of their Euro-American overseers and visitors. As museums, historical societies, libraries, and similar institutions proliferated across New England in the early to mid-nineteenth century, they bolstered growing aspirations among both urban and rural populaces toward learned pursuits that were considered virtuous hallmarks of cultural refinement and civic engagement in the American "Republic of Letters."[78] But the rapid growth of such institutional collections (which often amassed so-called Indian relics from local residents who unearthed them in fields and backyards) could be a cause for loss among the Indigenous communities who saw their ancestral homelands ransacked for materials. This was especially true as collecting of Indigenous human remains emerged as a central fixation. Peale's Museum in Philadelphia, to select just one example, contained at least two sets of Wabash ancestral remains, along with the partial remains of a Native man wounded during the Sullivan Campaign. The removal and display of these bodies or parts contravened traditional Indigenous protocols around appropriate mourning and treatment of ancestors. Yet such disruptive practices became commonplace in Euro-American repositories as scientific racism and stadial theories of human evolution gained momentum in the nineteenth century.[79]

[77] Scott Manning Stevens, "Collectors and Museums: From Cabinets of Curiosities to Indigenous Cultural Centers," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Indian History*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (New York, 2016), 475–95 (quotations, 480).

[78] David Jaffee, "The Village Enlightenment in New England, 1760–1820," *WMQ* 47, no. 3 (July 1990): 327–46 (quotation, 327); Alea Henle, "Preserving the Past, Making History: Historical Societies in the Early United States" (Ph.D. diss., University of Connecticut, 2012).

[79] The exact circumstances by which these remains were acquired and donated to Peale's Museum are not clear from their brief catalog description; see C. W. Peale, *A Scientific and Descriptive Catalogue of Peale's Museum* (Philadelphia, 1796), esp. 3; "Additions to Peale's Museum," [Philadelphia] *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 12, 1797, [3]; "Late Additions and Donations to Peale's Museum," [Wilmington] *American Watchman; and, Delaware Republican*, Mar. 10, 1810, [2]; Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art* (New York, 1980); Ellen Fernandez-Sacco, "Framing 'The Indian': The Visual Culture of Conquest in the Museums of Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere and Charles Willson

What became of the many Indigenous materials once housed in the early Yale Museum? The most viable hypothesis is that the museum experienced diminished investments after Stiles's death in 1795 and eventually lost the interest of its institutional caretakers. That trajectory of decline was not a foregone conclusion. In 1796 Josiah Meigs, who had assumed the role of keeper to ensure order, inventoried the collection, organizing one section into "Indian Curiosities" (Figure V).[80] A year later, Timothy Dwight IV, Stiles's successor as Yale president, circulated a letter about the repository that was published in area newspapers. Dwight admitted that the museum (then encompassing eight hundred items) had "been furnished rather thro' accident than design, or in consequence of any system adopted for the purpose." Dwight acknowledged it was diminutive compared to other American museums and issued a plea to "our fellow citizens and patrons" to donate, transforming private holdings into public assets. He singled out natural specimens (such as fossils, stones, and ore) and "*Indian antiquities and curiosities*" as especially desirable. Dwight believed that an expanded museum—more democratically accessible to the public than its earlier, elite scholarly incarnation—would lead to the "promotion of the essential interests of our country" in addition to giving "rational entertainment to the citizens at large."[81] In these formative years of the U.S. republic, a time of American pride but also cultural anxiety, this collection was being marshaled into the services of American nationalism and heritage formation. Dwight and his contemporaries viewed Indigenous objects as fundamental to these processes, not least of all because they assisted in distinguishing the young United States from Great Britain and the European "Old World." These boosterish aspirations for museums as civic gathering places rested upon profoundly racialized assumptions about who was an appropriate museumgoer or, alternatively, a brutalized subject of study. The first page of Meigs's inventory, in fact, listed "A Skeleton of an African boy prepared and presented" by a New Haven doctor, underscoring the museum's rendering of people of color—Black as well as Indigenous—into specimens, within a

Peale, 1779–96," *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 8, no. 4 (2002): 571–618. On later developments, see Ann Fabian, *The Skull Collectors: Race, Science, and America's Unburied Dead* (Chicago, 2010); Redman, *Bone Rooms.*

[80] Meigs, "Catalogue of Articles in the Museum of Yale College," n.p. (quotation); *The Laws of Yale-College, in New-Haven, in Connecticut, Enacted by the President and Fellows, the Sixth Day of October, A.D. 1795* (New Haven, Conn., 1800), 31.

[81] Timothy Dwight wrote the memo at Yale College, Aug. 29, 1797; for publication of the memo, see Dwight, "Yale College, Aug. 29, 1797," [Hartford] *Connecticut Courant*, Sept. 4, 1797, [3] (quotations). Dwight later developed associations with Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiian people) through the student Henry ʻŌpūkahaʻia [Obookiah]; see John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York, 2014), 17–19. On using materiality to navigate U.S. anxieties and ambivalences in the postrevolutionary era, see Kariann Yokota, "Postcolonialism and Material Culture in the Early United States," *WMQ* 64, no. 2 (April 2007): 263–70.

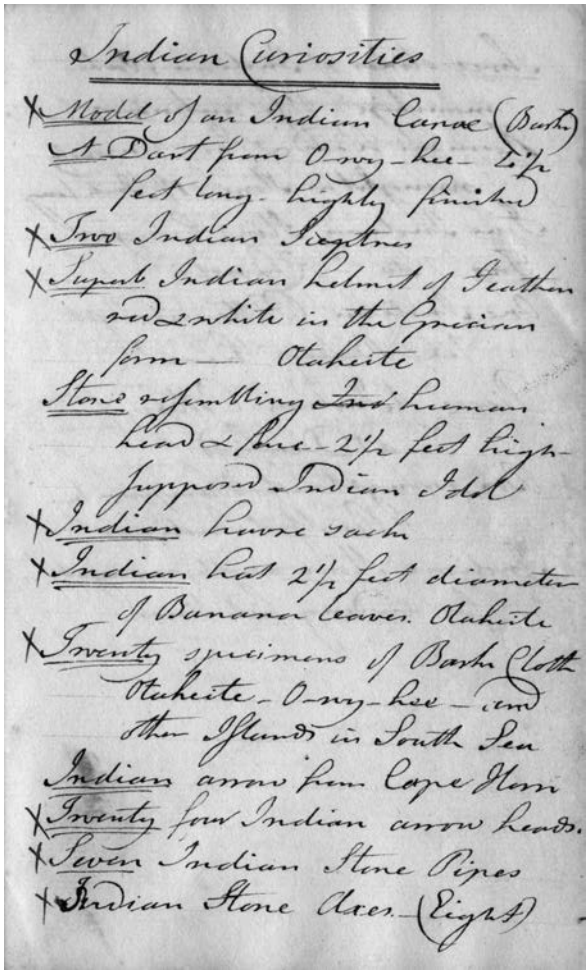
Indian Curiosities
Model of an Indian Canoe (Bark.)
A Dart from Otaheite 2½
feet long. highly finished
Two Indian Sceptres
Superb Indian Helmet of Feathers
red & white in the Grecian
form — Otaheite
Stone resembling a human
Head & face 2½ feet high.
Supposed Indian Idol
Indian Spears each
Indian Hat 2½ feet diameter
of Banana leaves. Otaheite
Twenty specimens of Bark Cloth
Otaheite. Otaheite — and
other Islands in South Sea
Indian arrow from Cape Horn
Twenty four Indian arrow heads.
Seven Indian Stone Pipes
Indian Stone Axes. (Eight)

FIGURE V

In 1796 Josiah Meigs, who had recently assumed the role of Keeper of the Yale College Museum, created an inventory of its holdings. This page shows part of his listing of "Indian Curiosities" and references a "supposed Indian Idol" made of stone, possibly denoting the important Algonquian representations that Stiles repeatedly sought across the Northeast. The historically and culturally specific information that Stiles, who died in 1795, had valued about such items was beginning to fall away, replaced by more generic descriptions of diverse Indigenous items from North America and the Pacific Islands as simply "Indian." Attrition of ethnographic information continued in the early 1800s when many objects were loaned to John Mix, proprietor of a popular New Haven museum, who prized them as curios to entice the public inside his entertainment halls. "Indian Curiosities," in Josiah Meigs, "Catalogue of Articles in the Museum of Yale College," August 1796, Yale Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection, Manuscripts and Archives, MS 1258, ser. 1, box 13. Courtesy of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

national context that affirmed liberty and human rights for some but marginalization and subjugation for others.[82]

Despite Dwight's initial enthusiasm, college interest in these object collections seemed to be waning. When John Mix, proprietor of a new wax museum and curiosity hall in New Haven, contacted the college in 1807 and informed them that he had "Erected a suitable Room in the upper Part of his House which he has appointed for the sole purpose of a Museum of Natural and Artificial Curiosities," it was not an idle notice. Mix requested the loan of certain articles from the college museum, noting that there were probably duplicates or similar types. Mix offered to exchange some of his own holdings, though it is uncertain whether the college accepted this proposal.[83] The very fact that Mix would write with such a sweeping request suggests that word had gotten around town that the collection was becoming marginal to Yale. In September 1808 the college transferred a batch of objects to Mix, including a number of Native artifacts as well as representations of Indigenous materialities:

"Indian drinking cup"
"Indian helmet"
"Model of an Indian Canoe"
"2 Indian Sceptres"
"Indian sack"
"Indian arrow heads"
"Indian stone pipes"
"Indian axes"
"Indian gouges & chisels"
"Indian basket wrought with [wampm?]"
"Indian bow and arrow"
"Copy of inscription on Dighton rock"[84]

Mix's published catalog contained an entry for "A singular Stone, resembling a Human Head and Face, supposed to be an Indian Idol," suggesting that at least one of the stone figures so avidly sought by Stiles—and so sensitive for Algonquian communities—was among this assemblage.[85]

When these objects were "loaned" to Mix in a process that both parties seem to have intended to be temporary (Mix affirmed he would "engage

[82] Listed under "Human Body" in Meigs, "Catalogue of Articles in the Museum of Yale College," n.p.

[83] John Mix to Corporation of Yale College, Sept. 11, 1807, Yale University Corporation Records (YUCR), RU 164, MA, YUL.

[84] "A List of Articles from the Museum of Yale College, loaned to Mr. John Mix," Sept. 20, 1808, YUCR, RU 164, MA, YUL.

[85] *A Catalogue of a Part of the Curiosities, Both Natural and Artificial, Contained in the Museum in New-Haven. Collected, Preserved and Arranged, by John Mix, of New-Haven, Connecticut, Proprietor of the Museum* (n.p., 1812), 11.

to return them"), their context shifted dramatically.[86] The listing compiled for Mix reduced these items to generic "Indian" holdings, flattening them into mere exemplars of otherness and racial and cultural difference rather than maintaining the more fine-grained provenances that Stiles prized. This reclassifying was indicative of their shifting uses in a museum of a markedly different kind. Mix, an entertainment promoter who previously rented space from Yale and plied students with food and amusements, had established his museum a few years prior, opening its doors on Olive and Court Streets on July 4, 1807. Located a short walk east from the college, the museum was also accessible to townspeople near the busy area of State and Chapel Streets. Its collections grew rapidly, ultimately occupying two rooms with a camera obscura installed on top. The museum enticed the public inside for a minor entrance fee and sought to entertain them. The "natural" specimens that the college had transferred fit well with this mission: a beaver tail, an elephant tusk, three mammoth teeth, the skin of a rattlesnake, two penguins, and other specimens of taxidermy. Mix's adjacent Columbian Gardens, which accommodated promenading, recreation at a bathhouse, and velocipede rentals, enhanced the museum's attractiveness for visitors.[87] Overall Mix had little compunction about deracinating his museum's holdings from their original contexts or interpretive associations. Whereas the collegiate museum had a genuine semblance of comparative scholarly study as its raison d'être, in Mix's hands Indigenous objects were commercial means to an end, "curious" lures to beckon casual visitors into his profiteering chambers, though he was careful to maintain a semblance of educational and civic value. The objects were largely interchangeable in his view rather than being important because of their specificity or the personal networks through which they had been acquired. Ironically enough, Stiles lived on in wax form within the Mix museum. His likeness shared space with a wax Indian paddling a canoe, among other installations that seduced crowds with their supposed verisimilitude.[88]

[86] "List of Articles from the Museum of Yale College," Sept. 20, 1808, YUCR, RU 164, MA, YUL.

[87] Ibid.; John C. Pease and John M. Niles, *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode-Island. Written with Care and Impartiality, from Original and Authentic Materials* (Hartford, Conn., 1819), 106–7; David V. Herlihy, *Bicycle: The History* (New Haven, Conn., 2004), 44–45. On the museum's urbanizing surroundings, see Amos Doolittle, *Plan of New Haven*, map, New Haven, Conn., 1824.

[88] "Burr & Hamilton," [New Haven] *Connecticut Herald*, Sept. 4, 1804, [3]; John Mix, "Mix's Museum," ibid., Aug. 4, 1807, [1]; "Mix's Museum," ibid., Sept. 5, 1809, [3]. A wax likeness of Stiles had previously been exhibited in Daniel Bowen's Columbian Museum in Boston; see "This Evening–Dec. 25. Bowen's Museum," [Boston] *Massachusetts Mercury*, Dec. 25, 1795, [3]. On the multiple goals and intended audiences of Mix's enterprise, see Arthur W. Bloom, "Science and Sensation, Entertainment and Enlightenment: John Mix and the Columbian Museum and Gardens," *Performing Arts Resources* 21 (1998): 33–49.

Though initially successful, Mix's museum fell into decline and eventually closed its doors sometime in the early nineteenth century. There is no direct record of Yale's having reclaimed the objects it loaned, which seems consonant with both the college's waning commitment to its early museum and its increasing prioritization of more specialized forms of collecting, such as a mineralogical cabinet designed to support natural history studies. (The present-day Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History contains many Indigenous artifacts, but it is not the direct institutional heir to the college's earlier repository.) Mix's objects went up for auction and, in a pattern that affected multiple early New England and American collections, dispersed into different repositories, which themselves frequently were broken up, gathered together with other holdings, and otherwise re-amalgamated.[89] Such was the continuous motion of objects contained provisionally, not permanently, in private and semipublic museums that were subject to the shifting whims of their proprietors and market forces. Yale's deaccessioning was atypical only because it occurred earlier than at many other collecting sites, at a moment when competing institutions were largely endeavoring to build up their own collections.[90]

These complex trajectories have major consequences for present-day tribal communities endeavoring to restore heritage objects and ancestral remains. In 1990, following years of community-based activism, the U.S. Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This legislation provides for the return of certain types of Native American items from repositories to tribal descendant communities, specifically human remains, ceremonial or sacred objects, and "cultural patrimony" of significance to the community's collective heritage and identity. NAGPRA creates a complicated framework for reassessing heritage materials' connections to communities, and many repositories are still working

[89] Joel Atwater, "Museum at Auction," *Connecticut Herald*, Apr. 10, 1821, [1]. The Boston-based New England Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts appears to have absorbed some of the Mix collection, while Ethan Allen Greenwood may have acquired other objects. Mary Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade: Northwest Coast Indian Art and Artifacts Collected by American Mariners, 1788–1844* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 130. On these early New England museums, see Georgia B. Barnhill, "Ethan Allen Greenwood: Museum Collector and Proprietor," in Peter Benes, ed., *New England Collectors and Collections*, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings 2004 (Boston, 2006), 40–52, esp. 45; Benes, "'A few monstrous great Snakes': Daniel Bowen and the Columbian Museum, 1789–1816," ibid., 22–39. On the dispersal of Indigenous objects from the Lewis and Clark expedition, see Scott Stevens, "Cultural Mediations: Or How to Listen to Lewis and Clark's Indian Artifacts," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 31, no. 3 (2007): 181–202.

[90] The set of objects "lost" from Yale when the college transferred them to Mix did not perturb Ebenezer Baldwin, who asserted that the items "are said not to have possessed much value." Baldwin, *Annals of Yale College, in New Haven, Connecticut, from Its Foundation, to the Year 1831* (New Haven, Conn., 1831), 239.

to come into compliance.[91] From many tribal perspectives, the ongoing presence of important materials within nontribal spaces perpetuates the sense of both cultural loss and forced separation from ancestors' items that retain deep resonance for tribal members today. From many non-Native curatorial perspectives, repatriation can feel like the loss of vital objects from museums, which have developed intense "retentive philosophies," as D. Rae Gould (Nipmuc) has termed these custodial or proprietary interests.[92] Present-day Indigenous communities continue to negotiate with repositories—including many at colleges and universities—for the return of essential materials, advocating for their return to settings that enact Indigenous forms of caretaking, interpretation, and cultural sovereignty while also navigating logistical challenges to completing such homecomings.

Even when the provenances of Indigenous objects are well known, it is difficult to properly follow NAGPRA protocols and to develop "restorative methodologies," as Margaret M. Bruchac (Abenaki) has noted.[93] It is even more challenging to do so in the case of long-established collections that were formed with very different norms for classifying and that have undergone historical transformations resulting in the scattering of objects, causing them to become very difficult to find. How might Haudenosaunee communities, for example, pursue repatriation of the wampum belt taken from them during the Sullivan Campaign? The belt was a prominent feature of postrevolutionary New Haven after it was brought to the Yale Museum, but its whereabouts today are uncertain. And even should a likely belt surface someday, Stiles's laconic description of the object held by Yale may not contain sufficient information about its physical appearance to assist in identifying it. Likewise, the whereabouts of the stone figures removed from the Kwinitekw Valley are unknown.[94] It is possible these items are still extant,

[91] Additional challenges include navigating complexities around tribal communities that may or may not presently have federal recognition. On repatriation dynamics, see J. C. H. King, "'Native Museums,'" *Anthropology Today* 17, no. 1 (February 2001): 22–23; Kathleen S. Fine-Dare, *Grave Injustice: The American Indian Repatriation Movement and NAGPRA* (Lincoln, Neb., 2002); Anne De Stecher and Stacey Loyer, "Practising Collaborative Research: The Great Lakes Research Alliance Visits to the Pitt Rivers Museum and British Museum," *Journal of Museum Ethnography* 22 (December 2009): 145–54.

[92] D. Rae Gould, "NAGPRA, CUI, and Institutional Will," in *The Routledge Companion to Cultural Property*, ed. Jane Anderson and Haidy Geismar (Abingdon, U.K., 2017), 134–51.

[93] Margaret M. Bruchac, "Lost and Found: NAGPRA, Scattered Relics, and Restorative Methodologies," *Museum Anthropology* 33, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 137–56. See also Bruchac, On the Wampum Trail: Restorative Research in North American Museums, https://wampumtrail.wordpress.com.

[94] On Haudenosaunee repatriations, see G. Peter Jemison, "Poisoning the Sacred," in *Contaminated Collections: Preservation, Access and Use: Proceedings of a Symposium held at the National Conservation Training Center*, Shepherdstown, W.Va., Apr. 6–9, 2001, 38–40; Richard W. Hill Sr., "Making a Final Resting Place Final: A History of the Repatriation Experience of the Haudenosaunee," in *Cross-Cultural Collaboration: Native*

hidden away in a closet or storage box or even displayed in plain view by an American museum. But they may have traveled onward. A small number of Indigenous objects, after having been deaccessioned from the American Antiquarian Society and transferred to Harvard University's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, ultimately were exchanged with other museums across the globe in a commonplace kind of collection swap. Thus items from Wabanaki, Pocumtuck, and other Algonquian homelands wound up in repositories in New Zealand, Japan, and South Africa.[95] In these far-flung global locales, Indigenous materials have been mobilized to support new interpretive paradigms while simultaneously becoming even further deracinated from their home contexts.

Nakuskawum kamuquk wuci nukôni cáqansh: "Meet me at the building of old things (the museum)."[96] This phrase appears in the *Mohegan-English Dictionary*, a language revitalization project supported by the Mohegan Tribe as it continues its cultural heritage endeavors in the twenty-first century. It alerts us to the importance of listening to Indigenous communities' own understandings of materiality and recognizing extensive tribal genealogies of caretaking toward vital historical resources. Mohegans have supported their own tribal museum since the Tantaquidgeon Museum opened in 1931. The museum serves as a site of caring for important "old things" that speak to tribal histories and identities; a venue for educational outreach to non-Mohegans; and a gathering place for present-day community members, linking ancestral traditions with tribal futures. We could also turn our ears toward *myaamiaatawaakani*, *Myaamia Dictionary*, a project designed to revitalize the Miami-Illinois language spoken by a number of historical communities, including the Kaskaskia. *Myaamiaatawaakani* translates *kaakisitoonkia* as "preserved objects (as in an archive)," conveying community conceptions of preservation, stewardship, and gathering in.[97] These Indigenous-language phrases reorient our attention to the fact that Native communities have long been collecting for their own purposes as well as negotiating outsider attempts to enact acquisitive processes upon them.

Peoples and Archaeology in the Northeastern United States, ed. Jordan E. Kerber (Lincoln, Neb., 2006), 3–17; Jemison and Alyson Vivattanapa, "Implementation of Repatriation Law and Policies: Institutional Compliance Issues," *Arizona State Law Journal* 44, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 697–701.

[95] Copies of ledger books of object accessions/deaccessions, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, esp. vol. 17, pp. 180, 186, 188, 191.

[96] Stephanie Fielding for the Mohegan Tribe, *Mohegan-English Dictionary* (2012), 122–23. This resource was previously made available on the Mohegan Language Project website, https://www.moheganlanguage.com.

[97] Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, *myaamiaatawaakani*, *Myaamia Dictionary*, s.v. "kaakisitoonkia," https://www.myaamiadictionary.org/dictionary2015/index.php, accessed Dec. 16, 2017.

There is no simple coda to this story, no straightforward narrative of restoration that remediates the disruptive dispersals caused by the early Yale Museum's emergence or dissolution. The repatriation of artifacts and ancestral remains from museums across New England and North America persists as both a pressing concern in the twenty-first century and as a source of emotional pain for tribal community members who continue to encounter significant heritage objects in colonized contexts that perpetuate damaging misinformation. Amid these challenges, community advocates persist in laboring for the return of their cultural patrimony. Many of the repositories in question still bear traces of much older mentalities that presumed the imminent decline, assimilation, or disappearance of Indigenous populations in the face of rising tides of Euro-American settler colonialism. Following the lead of scores of Euro-American antiquarians, they subscribed to historical discourses that "insisted that non-Indians held exclusive sway over modernity . . . and in the process created a narrative of Indian extinction that has stubbornly remained in the consciousness and unconsciousness of Americans," Jean M. O'Brien (White Earth Ojibwe) has contended.[98] Ezra Stiles himself contributed to such erasive discourses, methodically tracking Native demographics, homesites, and other features of New England's human landscapes in order to delineate what he interpreted as continuous Indigenous decline. What he struggled to recognize, however, were the myriad ways in which Native communities were transforming in response to the pressures of colonialism, sometimes rendering themselves less legible as "Indians" to outside observers. For all of Stiles's genuinely unusual attentiveness to the lifeways and traditional knowledge systems of Native people, with whom he conversed face-to-face throughout his adult life, he was still a New England colonizer; and in his later years he became a robust proponent of the growing United States, whose expanding towns, territories, and frontiers pressed into Native homelands at great cost to Indigenous peoples.

Amid all of these repressions and dispossessions, Native peoples, cultures, and nations have survived in the Northeast and beyond, maintaining important continuities with the past while also transforming in relation to changing circumstances. Some institutions have slowly evolved as well, reflecting shifting expectations about the roles of heritage sites and object repositories. Museum exhibitions that share authority among tribal community members and curators have been foregrounding dialogic, multivocal, cocreated forms of interpretation that actively link past, present, and future.[99] The Yale Indian Papers Project—a digital humanities endeavor

[98] Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis, Minn., 2010), xiii.

[99] Ruth B. Phillips, "Introduction to Part 3: Community Collaboration in Exhibitions: Toward a Dialogic Paradigm," in *Museums and Source Communities: A Routledge Reader*, ed. Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown (London, 2003), 155–70; Kimberly Kasper and Russell G. Handsman, "Survivance Stories, Co-Creation, and a Participatory Model at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center," *Advances in Archaeological Prac-*

that has begun to regather Native-related documents to make them more accessible to scholars, tribal communities, and the public—has been fostering long-term collaborative relationships with contemporary Indigenous community members in order to assist in the restoration of key cultural heritage sources. And in a turn of events that might have startled Yale's colonial founders, Gladys Tantaquidgeon, longtime medicine woman of the Mohegan Tribe and a revered knowledge keeper, accepted an honorary doctorate from the school in 1994. Tantaquidgeon (1899–2005) received a standing ovation at commencement 250 years after her fellow Mohegan Samson Occom stood as a witness to similar ceremonies and just more than 200 years after a grieving yet politically resolute Indigenous delegation toured the campus museum.[100]

In November 2017 another Indigenous delegation interacted with leaders of Yale. Representatives of the Mohegan Tribe formally signed an agreement with university president Peter Salovey enabling the return of hundreds of Mohegan objects from the Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History. Mohegan chief Many Hearts Lynn Malerba remarked, "This transfer completes a sacred circle for us. . . . We are joyous at the return of these spiritual objects."[101] This emotionally powerful transfer was generations in the making, reflecting protracted diplomacy and strategic efforts by tribal community members to exercise sovereignty over their own heritage materials—an endeavor recurrently challenged by colonialist mentalities and practices that have cast Euro-American scholars and institutions as the legitimate possessors of Indigenous objects and the best-qualified interpreters of Indigenous history. The circumstances that shaped the 2017 visit are markedly different in many respects from those that characterized the Wabash and Kaskaskia delegates' tour of the Yale Museum in 1793. Yet there are also potent reverberations across the centuries, echoes of earlier generations' experiences with contested conceptions of knowledge, authority, heritage, caretaking, and responsibilities. Though the Peabody Museum collections reflect practices of collecting distinct from those enacted by Stiles and his eighteenth-century contemporaries, including nineteenth- and twentieth-century salvage anthropology projects that unfolded in

tice 3, no. 3 (August 2015): 198–207; *Abbe Museum Strategic Plan*, 2015, https://abbemuseum.wordpress.com.

[100] "Commencements; 2,801 Degrees Conferred on New Yale Graduates," *New York Times*, May 24, 1994; "Gladys Tantaquidgeon, 106, Mohegans' Medicine Woman," *New York Times*, Nov. 2, 2005; Paul Grant-Costa, Tobias Glaza, and Michael Sletcher, "The Common Pot: Editing Native American Materials," *Scholarly Editing: The Annual of the Association for Documentary Editing* 33 (2012), http://www.scholarlyediting.org/2012/essays/essay.commonpot.html; Yale Indian Papers Project, Yale University, http://yipp.yale.edu.

[101] "Agreement Marks New Chapter in Yale-Mohegan Relationship," *YaleNews*, Nov. 17, 2017, https://news.yale.edu/2017/11/17/agreement-marks-new-chapter-yale-mohegan-relationship. I thank Melissa Tantaquidgeon Zobel for comments on this process; Zobel, email to Christine DeLucia, Dec. 6, 2017.

problematic ways across North America, they are thoroughly connected to longer-standing patterns of material culture circulation that have spanned the region, nation, and Atlantic world. As the watershed Mohegan-Yale agreement makes apparent, these histories are not finished. They continue into the twenty-first century, underscoring the ongoing agency of Indigenous community members and nations in shaping transits of meaningful objects and practices of fashioning history, and in envisioning alternate Indigenous futures.