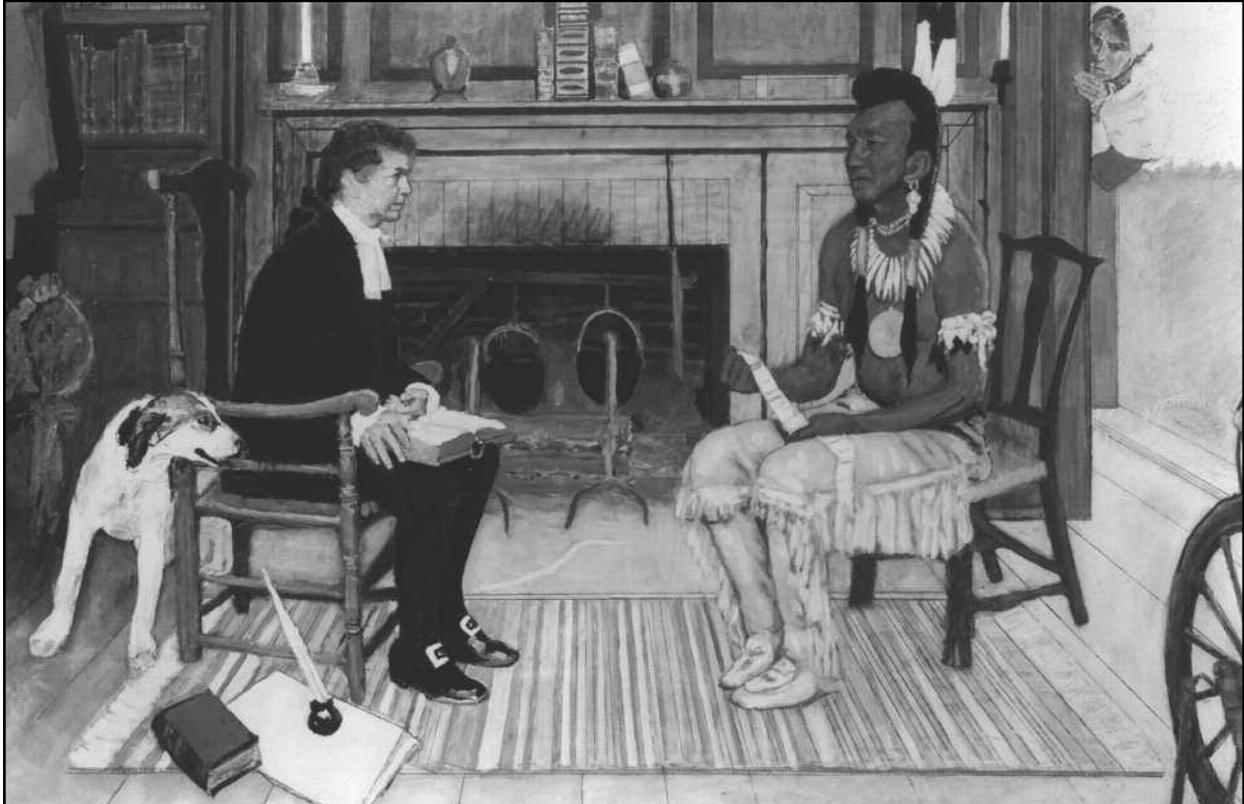


Mohican Seminar 2



The picture titled *John Sergeant and Chief Konkopot*, painted by noted twentieth-century artist Norman Rockwell, shows the Mohican chief talking with the minister in the Mission House at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Such conversations were made possible by trader Jochem Van Valkenburgh, who taught the Mohican language to Sergeant (see Chapter 2). Used by permission of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency, Copyright 1976, the Norman Rockwell Family Entities.

Mohican Seminar 2

The Challenge—An Algonquian Peoples Seminar

Edited by

Shirley W. Dunn

New York State Museum Bulletin 506
2005

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[Cover] Detail from a 1710 painting of the Mohican chief sachem, Etowaukaum. *National Archives of Canada*. See page 22

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PREFACE

It has become an annual event for the Native American Institute, a non-profit group originally sponsored by Columbia-Greene Community College, and for the New York State Museum, located on Madison Avenue in Albany, New York, to present a seminar on the subject of the Algonquian Indians of New York's Hudson Valley and nearby states of the northeast. The seminars were begun as conferences to be devoted to the study of the Mohican Indian nation, but the title and subject were quickly broadened to include the history of the many groups who speak the various Algonquian tongues of the area.

The seminars were initiated out of recognition that the historic presence of Algonquian groups in New York has been overshadowed by attention paid to the Iroquois. However, it is Algonquian remains and evidence of Algonquian lives that archaeologists find in the Hudson River Valley, in the eastern Mohawk Valley, on Long Island, and in New England. As holders of the land, these Native Americans had a long existence in the areas noted. After 1609 they influenced the process of colonial settlement by contributing to the economic and social development of the colonies. Besides being New York landholders, they were fur traders, neighbors, friends, customers, soldiers, seasonal farm workers, and an everywhere familiar presence among the Dutch and English settlers for over a century and a half. Moreover, scattered Algonquian groups remained in the countryside of the northeast in the nineteenth century. In small numbers, their descendants have persisted in rural enclaves and on reservations into the

present. The seminars, therefore, are designed to call attention to the important historic record of the area's Algonquian residents.

The chapters in this volume are papers presented at two conferences at the New York State Museum: the Algonquian Peoples Seminar of March, 2001, and the one of March, 2002. While each paper is identified by the year it was presented, for reasons of continuity the papers are arranged in order by topic, rather than by the year they were given. A future volume will follow the same format and will include papers from the 2003 and 2004 Algonquian Peoples seminars.

Acknowledgments: The seminars which produced these papers have been the work of many people who have been interested in the presence and contributions of the varied Algonquian groups of the Hudson River Valley and surrounding area. The Seminar of 2001 was arranged by Professor Richard Powell, of Columbia-Greene Community College, then Chairman of the Native American Institute. Powell initiated the Native American Institute at Columbia-Greene Community College in 1996. Among the people who helped with details in 2001 were Maria Macri, a talented administrator who chaired the dinner, Lisa Dipppo, secretary of the organization, and Steve Comer, a Mohican tribal member. Museum personnel who contributed included George Hamell, manager of the Museum's Ethnographic Collections, who led a museum tour, Penny Drooker, Curator of Collections, and Dan Bridges, who helped with room arrangements.

A year later, Terry D'Amour, newly-elected

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Chairperson of the Native American Institute, Richard Powell, Mariann Mantzouris, Steve Comer, Kevin and Mary Fuerst, Chris Layman and other Native American Institute members worked on the 2002 Seminar. Richard Frisbee of Hope Farm Press helped with book sales. Once again, museum staff, including George Hamell and Penny Drooker, provided a tour for those attending the conference. Joelean Dearstyne helped with arrangements. Additional thanks go to John Marshall, who played flute for the reception. For both seminars, our appreciation goes to museum staff who provided lighting and projection assistance, unlocked doors, answered questions, and otherwise helped with arrangements.

The editor would like to thank the authors of the papers for their courteous cooperation with the editing process and for extra help in securing illustrations. Dr. David McAllester, for example, put on paper the musical notes of an old Native American chant he found on an early wax record. The score appears in Chapter 7. Carol Lang of Columbia-Greene Community College spent hours transcribing Dr. McAllester's talk from a tape. Her work is much appreciated. In addition, thanks go to Stanley Joseph, author of Chapter 2, "A Dutchman at Indiantown: A Perspective on the Stockbridge Mission," for making the arrangements to obtain the Norman Rockwell painting which accompanies his article and which appears as the *Frontispiece* of this book. Moreover, our sincere appreciation goes to

the Norman Rockwell Family Agency for this privilege. Warren Broderick has generously furnished photographs of book jackets illustrating his article. Thanks go, also, to Emerson Martin for providing the family picture which accompanies the Introduction, and to Timothy Binzen for helpful editorial comments. John Skiba, Publications and Cartography Manager at the New York State Museum, has given much appreciated assistance with map preparation and editorial questions. His professional support has made this volume possible.

Since they were presented at the Algonquian Peoples Seminar, the following papers have appeared in print: "The River Beyond the Mountains: Native American Settlements of the Upper Housatonic During the Woodland Period," by Timothy Binzen, in *Bulletin of the Massachusetts Archeological Society*, Volume 65:1 (Middleborough, Massachusetts, 2004), pp. 29-38; and "New York State's Mohicans in Literature," by Warren Broderick, in *The Hudson River Valley Review*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (September, 2002), pp.1-20. In addition, information from "When Congress Acted: The Mohican Reservation and the Act of 1871," by Dr. James Oberly, is included in his book *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1974* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, published in Spring, 2005). All are printed here with permission.

Shirley W. Dunn, Editor

INTRODUCTION

This volume, *The Challenge—An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*, contains research papers about the Mohicans and other Algonquian Indians of the Hudson Valley and the northeast. The papers were presented in March, 2001, and March, 2002, at the second and third annual seminars co-sponsored by the Native American Institute and the New York State Museum. In the years mentioned, the Native American Institute was sponsored by Columbia-Greene Community College of Hudson, New York. Since that time, the organization has become an independent, non-profit organization. Its goals remain the same, to encourage research on the Mohicans and other Algonquian Indians who inhabited the area and to publicize their significant history.

A previous volume, titled *The Continuance—An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*, which was published in 2004, contained papers from the first Native American Institute seminar, held in March, 2000, at the New York State Museum. This new volume will continue the previous format, with articles from the second and third seminars. By combining the papers from the two seminars, an exciting variety of information about Hudson Valley and New England native nations is presented. The importance of the annual seminars cannot be overstated. They stimulate research in a field that has been understudied. Moreover, they contribute scholarship not only to the history of the Mohicans and other Hudson Valley and New England Algonquian groups, but to the larger body of knowledge about northeastern Native Americans as a whole. They help to provide balance in the study of contributions of various native groups.

The papers from the seminars detail the contributions and the importance of Native Americans in the population of the northeast over three centuries. For example, Indian land ownership was a key to the development of American colonies after Europeans arrived. Under both the Dutch and the English, a speculator could not obtain new land for development without an Indian deed, unless the land had been obtained previously by purchase from area Indians. While some deeds were obtained fraudulently, others were obtained as an honest exchange for goods. Moreover, the arrival of colonists did not always result in the departure of natives. Native groups continued as on-site landowners for over 150 years in some areas, with their presence influencing the course of settlement in the colonies. After the Revolution, in which Mohicans, Wappingers, Mohegans, and other Indians served, the Native American presence affected policies of the new states (see Chapter 6). The importance of Hudson Valley and New England Indians continues, as Native Americans wield influence today with casinos and unresolved land claims

In addition to presentation of formal papers, at the 2002 seminar a joint lecture about two remarkable locations for historical research on Mohican history was made. Titled "Two Mohican Archives: from a Basement in New England to a Log Cabin in the Midwest," the collaborating speakers were Barbara Allen, Curator and Librarian for the Historical Collection of the Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Library, and Sheila Miller Powless, Library-Museum Manager for the collection of the Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library Museum,

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located on the Mohican reservation near Bowler, Wisconsin.

Allen pointed out that the Stockbridge Library she now heads has been a repository for documents relating to area Mohicans of the Stockbridge mission (initiated in 1734) since 1864. From earliest times, the Library's Board has recognized the importance of gathering historical documents from the eighteenth century, when the town was founded as a model Indian-owned location. At first, Allen noted, the library's emphasis was on acquiring newspapers, sermons and religious tracts. Soon family papers and deeds, petitions, and Indian records from colonial times began to be donated, and the collection of Indian materials became significant. In 1937, when a new wing was added to the library, the lower level was dedicated to housing and exhibiting the historical collections and a curator was hired to care for them. That lower level recently (2003-2004) has been remodeled and updated with modern research facilities.

Allen explained that the extensive Stockbridge Historical Collection includes original documents, manuscripts, maps, newspapers, printed works, photographs, and artifacts that illustrate the evolving history of the town, including the part played by its Indian residents. The shelves contain many reference books about Native American history as well as about the early missions to the Indians. Materials also include the Stockbridge Indian Collection, the Lynch-Whitney Family Papers, the Sergeant Collection, and the records of the First Congregational Church, which are on permanent loan here. As an aid to researchers, the Stockbridge Indian Study Collection Index serves as a guide to the documents in the collections and to various research materials collected over the years. These include the Tobey research papers and also R. R. Bowker's 1915 correspondence. The latter tracks the path taken by the Mohicans after leaving the town. Resources available also include graduate theses and other articles. The remarkable Stockbridge Library collections are open to

the public. Information about current hours and access can be had by contacting the Stockbridge Library, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, at (413) 298-5501.

Mohican tribal member Sheila Miller Powell, the speaker from the Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library Museum, told an engrossing story of how the library-museum on the Mohican Reservation near Bowler, Wisconsin, was begun. Extensive collections on Mohican affairs were made by Arvid E. Miller, chief of the tribe for twenty-six years. As there was no public building available, he kept the material in his house. His wife, Bernice Miller, cared for the collections after his death. When the house caught on fire, neighbors rushed in to save the precious historical items, carrying them out to safety through a window. In the words of Dorothy Davids, a community leader, "in 1972 . . . the Library Museum came into being as the result of this emergency and a surge of community activity." Additions to these collections continue.

The Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library-Museum archives include, in the Library, rare books, microfilm about the Green Bay Indian Agency, the Huntington Library Collection, language films, copies of historic maps, pictures of tribal members from early tintypes to present-day portraits, personal papers, missionary journals, government documents, research papers, and tribal documents. On the Museum side, the collection includes ancient baskets made of splints and birch bark, projectile points, stone axes, war clubs, tobacco pipes, snowshoes, fishhooks, awls, and other implements. Shell beads and wampum belts are on display, as are goods such as beads and beadwork dating to the fur trade, as well as clothing, metal axes and kettles. From the missionary era, the museum retains a catechism written in the Mohican tongue and a prized, two-volume bible given to the tribe in 1745 by the Chaplain to the Prince of Wales. The Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library Museum, at N8510 Mohheconnuck Road, Bowler, Wisconsin 54416, is open to researchers and the public.

SPEAKERS AND EXHIBITS

There have been other valuable presentations at the annual meetings which did not result in research papers, for these annual Algonquian seminars have been anything but stuffy. Some presenters have offered demonstrations of attire, or performances featuring songs and drumbeats. Displays of furs, clothing, extinct birds, and artifacts have lined the walls of the seminar room at the Museum. From these contributions, seminar audiences have learned about the remarkable and evolving native way of life and Native American adaptation to change.

For example, a speaker, Emerson Martin, in 2001 brought an Algonquian Indian basket collection for display. From him, the group learned not only about basket construction, but also about a Mohican enclave at Indian Fields, which was west of Coeymans, New York. This spot is now under the waters of the Alcove Reservoir. The families there were representative of little-known groups of Mohicans who never left their homeland, or who, in some cases, moved back to familiar territory. Emerson Martin learned about Mohican baskets from his grandmother and aunt. They remembered his grandmother's great-aunt, an "Indian lady" of Mohican descent, who lived at Indian Fields and always kept an Indian basket on the porch of her home (Figure 0.1).

Another contributor to the 2001 seminar was Patrick Frazier, author of the 1992 book titled *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, an exhaustive study of the Mohican Indian experience related to the mission town of Stockbridge. The bibliography for this book can be recommended as a starting point for Indian researchers, particularly regarding the native experience in New England. Frazier worked on the book several years, finding that "once a project like this begins, one door leads to another door, which may lead to two or three more, and before you know it you are wandering in a labyrinth of research . . ." Besides unearthing the history of the village of Stock-



Figure 0.1. A tintype shows Cornelia Albright Schoonmaker, born June 11, 1811, in Albany County, the daughter of a Mohican woman. Her mother belonged to a group of Mohicans who moved inland from an island in the Hudson River. Family members who lived along the Onesquethau Creek and at Indian Fields (now covered by the Alcove Reservoir) west of present Coeymans made splint baskets of a distinctive style, according to Emerson Martin, a descendent. Early in the nineteenth century, the group, called the Aquetucks, kept close connections with Mohicans living at New Stockbridge, in Madison County.

bridge, he studied Moravian records for information about the Moravian missions at Shekomeko and Wechquadnach. After he learned that Mohicans served with Rogers' Rangers and under other leaders in the French and Indian Wars, he investigated Stockbridge warriors' contributions in two significant conflicts between the English and the French in the eighteenth century. Each new revelation required months of additional travel and study.

Frazier described the vicissitudes of finding

a publisher for his seminal work. Although he had previously published articles, and he worked for the Library of Congress, no commercial or academic publisher was interested in his book until, on his second try, he finally found a sympathetic editor at the University of Nebraska Press. Today, thanks to a change in the intellectual climate, Frazier's volume might more easily have found a home. In recognition of his contributions to Mohican history and Indian research, the Native American Institute presented Patrick Frazier with an award at the seminar.

TANGIBLE RESULTS SEEN IN PAPERS PUBLISHED HERE

The most tangible results of the seminars of 2001 and 2002, however, remain the eight seminar papers included in this publication. The volume opens with a study by Timothy Binzen of Mohican villages on the Housatonic River. He addresses the challenge of unraveling "the discrepancy between early European explorers' descriptions of the Algonquian people they encountered and the archaeological record from the Late Woodland and Contact periods." Part of the mystery has to do with a perceived lack of archaeological evidence for maize cultivation in southern New England.

In the next paper, which connects and illuminates the histories of both New York and Massachusetts, Stanley Joseph defends the reputation of the trader of Dutch ancestry, Jochem Van Valkenburgh, who served as a friend and interpreter to Konkapot, the Mohican chief living on the site of later Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Van Valkenburgh, who kept a tavern at Konkapot's village, taught the Mohican language to Rev. John Sergeant, founder of the mission, but he rarely receives credit for his help. New insights into Norman Rockwell's well-known illustration featuring Konkapot and John Sergeant, as well as an understanding of Van Valkenburgh's character and his historical importance, result from this examination of

Van Valkenburgh's part in the establishment of the mission (see Frontispiece).

In another presentation from the Seminar of 2001, James Folts analyzes the little-known and hard to trace movements of Munsee settlements displaced by land cessions in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. He has found that "soon after 1700 the upper Delaware watershed of New York and Pennsylvania became the new home of Minisink Indians moving north from northwestern New Jersey and of Esopus Indians moving west from the mid-Hudson Valley." Later this new home was gone, as well, and further moves ensued. The relations of Delawares with the Six Nations are scrutinized by the author. For the Delawares, the American Revolution meant choosing sides between the English and the Americans, and between old allegiances and new ones.

In a complementary paper, also at the 2001 Seminar, Shirley Dunn presented research on the movement of Mohicans to nominally Iroquoian sites along New York's portion of the Susquehanna River, particularly during wars of the mid-eighteenth century. These co-operative village locations ended with the American Revolution. The evolving relationship of Mohicans and Delawares with the Mohawks and with Sir William Johnson, Indian Commissioner, is a feature of this paper. In another piece related to the mid-eighteenth century French wars, Heriberto Dixon's 2002 paper surveys the Indian studies of New England for a revised interpretation of what really happened during the raid by Robert Rogers' Rangers on the Abenaki mission village of Odanak (St. Francis) in 1759. He cites Abenaki traditions about the results of the raid which are at variance with Rogers' reports. The old memories change the accepted view of the affair.

From the 2002 seminar, in Chapter 6, James Oberly discusses the effects on the Mohican Reservation previously established in Wisconsin of the Act of 1871 passed by Congress. Politics within the Mohican nation, U.S. government machinations regarding reservation

lands, and the greed of the white lumbermen and sawmill owners are analyzed. Oberly's work provides a leap in time from the wars of the eighteenth century to the realities of the nineteenth, when Indian life became circumscribed by reservations and removals. He has recently published a thoroughly-researched book detailing events both before and after the Act of 1871.

Chapter Seven contains another special paper: David McAllester, a musician and retired college professor who has spent years studying Indian tribes, held the 2001 audience spellbound with his survey of Native American music, old and modern. He shared songs, rhythmic sounds and even dance lyrics that have been an integral part of Native American culture. Dr. McAllester located a rare old wax recording of an Algonquian chant, of which he obtained a tape-recorded copy. This he played at the Seminar. In his article, readers will find musical notations included with which they can reproduce the sounds of this early Indian dance. The audience enjoyed singing the chorus of some Indian music. Much of Dr. McAllester's talk, including the rare Algonquian chant from the wax recording, can be viewed and heard on the CD in the envelope inside the back cover of this book.

The final paper, Chapter 8, is one which attendees at the Algonquian seminars have particularly enjoyed as they have followed installments through three different years. The work is published in final form here. In this

summation of his extensive search, author Warren Broderick looks at the appearance of both imaginary and real Mohican figures in literature. He also notes the confusion in literature between the name and spelling of the Mohicans of yesterday and today—as well as with an unrelated group, the Mohegans of eastern Connecticut. Readers will find background material in the chapters in this volume which will be useful for evaluating the information and misinformation about historic events and people used in the plots of some of the books surveyed by Broderick.

SEMINARS PROMOTE RESEARCH

It is with great pleasure that the New York State Museum and the Native American Institute present these papers from the seminars of 2001 and 2002. The varied research included here further indicates that traditional tales, and archaeological and documentary finds dealing with Native Americans of the Hudson Valley and New England, are vast and only beginning to be tapped. The resources listed after each chapter in this work are representative of this trove. These annual seminars provide an impetus for research into Algonquian experiences, past and modern. The result, as Patrick Frazier has noted, is doors that open to other doors.

Shirley W. Dunn, Editor
2005

THE RIVER BEYOND THE MOUNTAINS: NATIVE AMERICAN SETTLEMENTS OF THE UPPER HOUSATONIC DURING THE WOODLAND PERIOD

Timothy Binzen (2002)

INTRODUCTION

Recent research in archaeology and ethnohistory has demonstrated that Mohican settlements were widespread in the Hudson River valley during the Contact Period, circa 1500-1600 A.D. (Dunn 1994; Lesniak 2001). In significant respects, the Mohican settlement system encountered by the first European explorers likely reflected patterns that had developed by the time period that archaeologists call the Late Woodland, beginning shortly before 1000 A.D. Less is currently known about the Native American settlements that were located to the east of the Hudson, in the upper Housatonic River valley, during the Late Woodland and Contact periods. The notion that the upper Housatonic was a cultural backwater during the pre-Contact period has been refuted (Johnson et al. 1994). However, the belief persists that the upper Housatonic area served primarily as a seasonal hunting ground that witnessed only intermittent occupation by native people in the centuries prior to the early colonial period.

Recent examination of archaeological site data from the Housatonic watershed in Massachusetts and Connecticut suggests that Wood-

land Period occupations in the Housatonic Valley were more widespread than previously has been thought, a pattern supported by Shirley Dunn's recent research (2000) regarding the Mohican settlements of the early historic period in the upper Hudson and Housatonic valleys. This paper will review some archaeological evidence from the Housatonic and suggest patterns related to the settlements of the ancestral Mohicans there.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Housatonic watershed is the largest river drainage between the Hudson on the west, and the Connecticut River on the east. The Housatonic River arises from three ponds, the largest of which is Onota Lake in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, forming fast-flowing streams that unite in the Berkshire Valley. From there, the Housatonic meanders through extensive floodplains, passes through western Connecticut, and empties into Long Island Sound at Stratford, Connecticut. The Housatonic watershed occupies nearly two thousand square miles, of which watershed approximately one quarter is in Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

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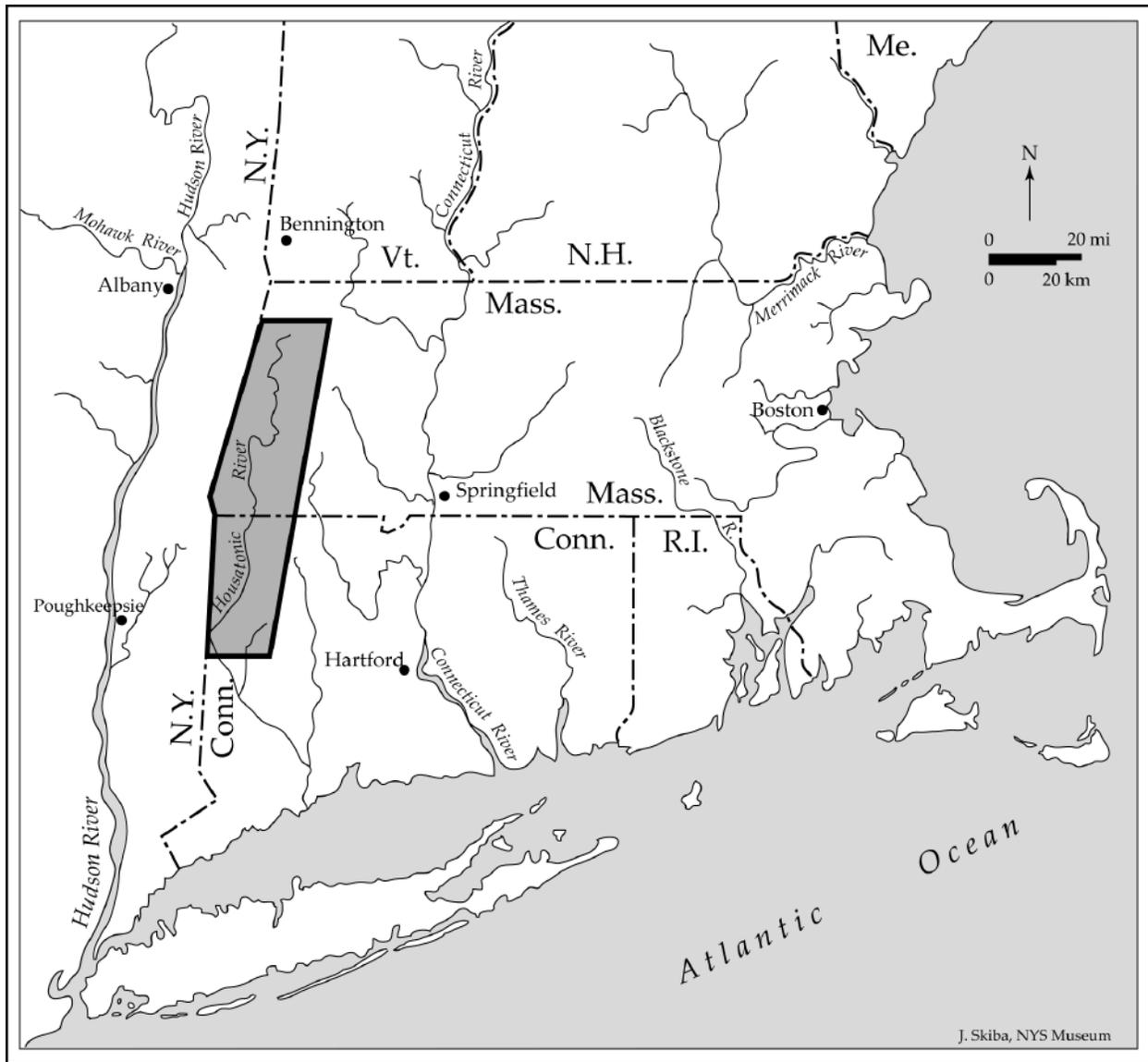


Figure 1.1. The map outlines the study area in the Upper Housatonic watershed.

A small part of the watershed is located in eastern New York State. The study area for this paper, henceforth called the Upper Housatonic, consists of the Massachusetts portion of the watershed, located in Berkshire County, combined with the northern half of the Connecticut portion, in Litchfield County (Figure 1.1.).

Because the middle and upper reaches of the Housatonic could not be navigated by large vessels during the early historic period,

the river valley was less well known to Europeans than the Hudson and Connecticut River valleys. Surprisingly, the upper Housatonic was not explored by colonists until the late seventeenth century and was not extensively settled by them until the mid-eighteenth century (Binzen 1997). In 1694, the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth visited “a place called Ouse-tonuck formerly inhabited by Indians” (Smith 1946). This location, believed to be a fording

point in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, is remembered today as the Great Wigwam Site. Wadsworth stated that “Thro’ this place runs a very curious river, the same which some say runs thro’ Stratford [Connecticut], and it has on each side some parcels of pleasant, fertile intervale land.” However, he went on to describe the area in general as “a hideous, howling wilderness” (Smith 1946).

Because the upper Housatonic was beyond the frontier of early New England, the documentary record concerning the Native American communities and villages located there in the contact period is virtually nonexistent, and even during the early colonial period is sparse compared to that of the Hudson and Connecticut River valleys. This contributed to the misperception that the Housatonic Valley had long been devoid of Native American inhabitants, a misperception that was reinforced in the nineteenth century by John W. DeForest. In his history of the Indians of Connecticut, DeForest wrote that in the early historic period “the whole country now known as Litchfield County [that is, the Connecticut part of the upper Housatonic] . . . presented an uninhabited wilderness. The birds built their nests in its forests, without being disturbed by the smoke of a single wigwam; and the wild beasts, who made it their home, were startled by no fires save those of a transient war-party, or a wandering hunter” (DeForest 1852).

Europeans defined the Housatonic from the perspective of their regional settlement centers at Albany, Hartford and Springfield. Separated from the Hudson Valley by the steep escarpment of the Berkshires, the Housatonic Valley also formed the last frontier of Massachusetts and Connecticut, forming a wedge of land unfamiliar to the colonial governments. During the early eighteenth century, this sense of remoteness and distance from the administrative reach of the colonial governments may also have appealed to the sachems of the Mohicans (Binzen 1999); in the 1730s the Mohican sachems Konkapot and Umpachenee

established a new political center in the upper Housatonic that attracted native people from the Mohican diaspora and beyond (Frazier 1992).

Despite the frequent discovery of Native American artifacts in plowed fields, historians during the nineteenth century tended to downplay or even ignore the Native American heritage in the region. By depicting the Native Americans as primitive, few in number, and an improvident, vanished race, histories of that time helped to rationalize the confiscation of native lands that had occurred during the colonial period (Handsman and Richmond 1992).

Archival research has provided new insights into the lives of the native people of the upper Housatonic during the early historic period (Dunn 1994, 2000). The archaeological record also provides a unique link to their way of life prior to the contact period, indicating where and how they lived, and perhaps offering a closer sense of who they were.

“WHERE ARE THE VILLAGE SITES?”

Among the open questions challenging archaeological inquiry today are the following: Where are the Native American village sites in the upper Housatonic? If there was a sizeable native population there during the Woodland Period (500 to 3,000 years ago), where is the archaeological evidence of those communities?

The greater Woodland Period has been defined by archaeologists as the time period that began about three thousand years ago and ended with European contact. The period is divided into the Early Woodland (2,000 to 3,000 years ago), Middle Woodland (1,000 to 2,000 years ago) and Late Woodland (500 to 1,000 years ago) on the basis of changes in native settlement systems and technologies. Archaeology indicates that during the greater Woodland Period, the native people of the northeast manufactured pottery and adopted maize horticulture to a degree. The use of the bow and arrow (in addition to spears) began

during the Woodland Period, and the projectile point types indicative of occupations during the period include Levanna, Jack's Reef, Greene, Fox Creek and Rossville points. Across the region, systems of trade intensified and social relations between the main tribal groups were formalized (Dincauze 1990). People lived in nucleated villages, practicing an annual round of subsistence that included fishing and hunting, and they favored river valleys and coastal areas for their major settlements (Lavin and Mozzi 1996). However, in most respects the cultural practices of the Woodland Period were the continuation of cultural trajectories that had originated much earlier (Feder 1999).

DESCRIPTIONS BY EARLY EXPLORERS

There is a discrepancy, as yet unexplained, between early European explorers' descriptions of the Algonquian people they encountered, and the archaeological record from the Late Woodland and Contact periods. The explorers described well-populated native communities, where people cleared and cultivated extensive fields and maintained great stores of maize, beans and squash (Dunn 1994). Maize may not have attained its historically documented importance in native diet, economy and spirituality until shortly before the Contact Period (McBride and Dewar 1987). The archaeological evidence for maize cultivation in southern New England has turned out to be uncommon, and the centrality of maize cultivation in native subsistence has been questioned. In western Massachusetts, no archaeological evidence for large, year-round horticultural villages has yet been obtained (Chilton et al. 2000).

Questions have been raised for some time concerning this lack of archaeological signs of Late Woodland village sites in New England (Thorbahn 1988). An interesting set of explanations has emerged for this absence. One explanation has to do with the nature of European

settlement. During the contact and early colonial periods, the locations of the largest native settlements typically became centers of trade between Native Americans and Europeans. In many parts of southern New England, European settlement followed the Algonquian pattern, and colonists took advantage of prime farmland that had been cleared and prepared by native people. As a result, many of the largest Late Woodland villages may now be underneath the streets of cities like Albany and Hartford and are unavailable for archaeological excavation (Snow 1980).

Another possible reason for the lack of evidence is that in places like the upper Housatonic, the main villages of the Algonquian people were not the large, palisaded Iroquoian towns often depicted in the movies. More likely, the Housatonic villages were smaller clusters of wigwams (Handsman 1989), and people may have moved regularly between summer and winter settlements, using small satellite camps for seasonal subsistence activities (Binzen 1997). Specific main village sites may not have been occupied for more than one or two generations before other locations were used nearby, in a form of rotation that precluded the outstripping of natural resources. Many horticultural settlements of the Woodland Period may be deeply buried in floodplain areas, where they are beyond the access of conventional archaeological testing methods (Hasenstab 1999). It should be expected that the archaeological record resulting from a seasonal settlement system will be subtle and a challenge to recognize today.

A third factor has to do with archaeological preservation. Four centuries of architectural development, intensive farming and collection of artifacts has resulted in the depletion of the archaeological record in the northeast region (Hasenstab 1999). As it has been said, however, "the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence" (Thorbahn 1988). And, indeed, recent research into the archaeological files from Massachusetts and northwestern Connecticut has offered evidence of widespread occupa-

tions in the Housatonic during the Woodland Period.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE: THE WOODLAND PERIOD IN THE UPPER HOUSATONIC

The study area considered for this paper consists of the Housatonic River watershed in western Massachusetts and northwestern Connecticut, an area referred to as “the Upper Housatonic.” In his 1980 synthesis of New England archaeology, Snow proposed a watershed-based model for understanding the cultural dynamics of pre-contact native populations. It was presumed that the territories of tribal groups were defined by the watersheds occupied by those groups. However, the distribution of lithic materials and pottery styles in the lower Housatonic suggests that a mechanism of cultural interaction overrode these environmental parameters (Cassedy 1996), and it makes intuitive sense that the ancestral Mohicans would have used parts of both the Hudson and Housatonic river systems. Reference to the Housatonic watershed transcends the modern political boundaries between Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York and creates a frame of reference that would have been meaningful to the ancient native societies.

For this study, the state archaeological site files were consulted for twenty-five Massachusetts towns and eight Connecticut towns in the upper Housatonic. To date, the majority of archaeological sites known in the study area were recorded on the basis of information obtained from local collectors of Native American artifacts and were not initially identified through systematic testing. Several cultural resource management projects have provided important overviews of pre-contact archaeology in the area. These projects have included archaeological surveys in the Massachusetts towns of Lee (Macomber 1992), Pittsfield (Shaw et al. 1987), and Sheffield (Nicholas and Mulholland 1987). The most comprehensive

analysis of pre-contact Native American settlement and land use yet produced in the study area resulted from data recovery excavations at the Chassell 2 Site (19-BK-141) and Kampoosea Bog Site (19-BK-143) in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (Johnson et al. 1994).

Often, the site forms lack detailed information about site dimensions and artifact assemblages and rely heavily on projectile point types to date sites. Five of the Massachusetts towns in the study area have no recorded Native American sites at this time, and three of the towns have just one known site. It is noted that many of the Connecticut sites were recorded as a result of public outreach efforts by staff of the former American Indian Archaeological Institute in Washington, Connecticut, who were trained in the recognition of Woodland Period cultural materials. A comparable level of public outreach has not yet been attained in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, although efforts to this end would likely have favorable results.

It is probable that the pre-contact Native American sites recorded to date in the study area represent just a fraction of those that actually exist. Given the increasing pressures of residential and commercial development in the region, however, there is now an urgent need to recognize and record as many additional sites as possible, in order to ensure that the cultural resources of the Mohicans and other native people can be protected and, if necessary, properly investigated (Hasenstab 1999; Binzen 2001). While the site files of Massachusetts and Connecticut do provide important locational data, there is a great deal of research and site recording yet to be done to confirm some of the patterns that are suggested by this preliminary review.

The Massachusetts Sites. As of 2001, 112 pre-contact Native American archaeological sites had been recorded in the Massachusetts portion of the study area (Table 1). Of these sites, 32% (T=36) contain evidence of occupation during the greater Woodland Period. Among these Woodland sites, about one in six

(16.6%, T=6) provides evidence of occupation during the Late Woodland Period, that is, after 1000 A.D. Overall, however, only 5% of all the Massachusetts sites currently offer evidence of Late Woodland occupations, occurring after 1000 A.D.

The Connecticut Sites: As of 1995, 85 pre-contact Native American sites had been recorded in the Connecticut portion of the study area (Table 1). Of these sites, 34% (T=29) contain evidence of occupation during the greater Woodland Period. This is virtually the same proportion seen in Massachusetts. Among these Woodland sites in Connecticut, however, nearly three quarters (72%, T=21) provide evidence of occupation during the Late Woodland Period, that is, after 1000 A.D. This is a frequency five times greater than what is seen for the Massachusetts sites of the greater Woodland Period. Overall, one quarter (24.7%) of all the recorded Connecticut sites have evidence of Late Woodland occupation.

Recent Outreach Sites in Connecticut: Recently, a public outreach event was held in the town of Salisbury in Litchfield County, Connecticut (Binzen 2002). Members of the public were invited to bring in Native American artifacts that they had found (typically projectile points from agricultural fields) for identification and to plot the find-spots on topographic maps. Seventeen previously unrecorded pre-contact Native American sites in the towns of Salisbury, Canaan and North Canaan were recorded. (Updates were obtained for three previously recorded sites.) Evidence for Woodland Period occupation was reported from five of the sites. Of these Woodland sites, three had evidence of Late Woodland occupation.

SUMMARY OF PRE-CONTACT SITE INFORMATION

In the overall Upper Housatonic study area of thirty-three towns, 214 pre-contact Native American archaeological sites have been recorded. Of these sites, one third contain

evidence of occupation during the greater Woodland Period, which began about 3,000 years ago. Among the sites of the greater Woodland Period, close to half provide evidence of occupation during the Late Woodland Period, after about 1000 A.D. Overall, 14% of all the recorded sites in the study area have provided evidence of Native American occupation(s) during the Late Woodland Period or in the six centuries leading up to first contact between the Native Americans and the Europeans.

PATTERNS FROM THE SITE DATA IN THE UPPER HOUSATONIC

The archaeological evidence indicates that the frequency of occupations during the greater Woodland Period (500 to 3,000 years ago) is virtually identical among sites in the Massachusetts and Connecticut portions of the study area (Table 1). Proportionally, however, evidence for Late Woodland occupations (occurring after 1000 A.D.) has been reported at five times more archaeological sites in northwestern Connecticut than to the north in Massachusetts. This would seem to suggest that Native American settlement in the northernmost quarter of the Housatonic watershed was comparatively sparse after 1000 A.D. Johnson (1994) suggests that with the adoption of a seasonal round of horticulture and hunting during the Late Woodland Period, the native people of the Housatonic moved seasonally between separate settlements in the river valley and upland areas. It is possible that the Late Woodland sites in western Massachusetts, though fewer in number, were larger, more centralized settlements than the contemporary sites in western Connecticut. Alternative explanations involve the possibility of a proportionally smaller population in the upper part of the watershed; the apparent concentration of native populations near the coast and in the valleys of the Hudson and Connecticut rivers during the Woodland Period; and the possibility that archaeological evi-

dence for Late Woodland occupations simply has had greater visibility in the lower part of the watershed.

The Late Woodland sites of the Housatonic in Massachusetts and extreme northwestern Connecticut may have been occupied by native people who were affiliated primarily with the Mohican society to the west, while the sites in the Connecticut portion of the study area may have been small, seasonal, short-term habitations, used by people who were affiliated more closely with the native communities of the lower Housatonic valley and the Connecticut coast. This possibility is supported by a previous study of the distribution of lithic materials and pottery styles in the lower Housatonic, which suggested that the native people of the upper part of the watershed interacted closely with the Mohicans of the Hudson (Cassedy 1996). In Stockbridge, however, Johnson (1994) reported the presence of a variety of lithic raw material (chalcedony) that probably had been traded or transported to the upper Housatonic from the Kent, Connecticut, area on the middle Housatonic. This suggests that cultural connections also existed between the native people of western Massachusetts and those living downriver, to the south.

Archaeological evidence supports “historically documented, traditionally recalled ties” between the native people of Stockbridge and the native communities of northwestern Connecticut and western Massachusetts (Johnson 1994, citing Brassler 1974, 1978; Frazier 1992; Handsman and Richmond 1992). When compelled to vacate their villages during the colonial period, about 1740, some of the native people of the middle Housatonic were torn between the options of joining the Stockbridge Mohican community of the upper Housatonic or joining their non-Mohican kinfolk living in the lower Housatonic region (Binzen 1997). The friendly tension that existed between these related but distinct Native American social polarities on the river may have echoed the conditions that prevailed during the Late

Woodland period.

Is there a natural landmark that symbolized a point of transition between the native groups of the upper and middle Housatonic? Pawachtuek, the Great Falls on the Housatonic in Canaan, Connecticut (Dunn 1994), has the greatest drop in elevation on any major river in New England. It can be speculated that this landscape feature represented a gateway to Mohican country for native people who traveled up the river from the south. Evidence of Mohican influence in the upper Housatonic north of Pawachtuek is provided by early documents from Albany, which demonstrate that the series of riverside flats upstream from the Great Falls all had distinct Mohican place-names at least by the late seventeenth century: Kenachkehantick, Achneganick, Awaankaniss, and Taashammik (Dunn 1994). It seems likely that these places along the Housatonic had been named by the ancestral Mohicans many generations earlier. The Mohican presence upriver in the Massachusetts towns of Sheffield, Great Barrington, Stockbridge and adjacent parts of New York between 1675 and 1750 has also been demonstrated (Dunn 1994, 2000; Binzen 1997). As Johnson observed, archaeological evidence from the upper Housatonic supports the tradition that the native people of western Massachusetts had stronger cultural ties to the Hudson Valley than to the Connecticut Valley during the historical period, “ties that extend deep into the remote past” (1994).

Although evidence for Late Archaic occupations that occurred three to six thousand years ago is very common in the study area, there is no indication that the rate of occupation significantly increased or decreased during the subsequent Woodland Period. The sole exception to this observation is the relative scarcity of Late Woodland sites in the northern (Massachusetts) quarter of the watershed. This was clearly a time when native settlement intensified in the lower Housatonic and in coastal Connecticut. Perhaps a re-orientation of native settlement towards the lower

Housatonic, combined with an intensification of horticulture in the Hudson Valley, attracted native people from the upper Housatonic and resulted in the partial depopulation of the study area by the ancestral Mohicans after 1000 A.D. During the colonial period, however, the strategic advantages of settlement in the remote "hunting grounds" of the Housatonic were once again recognized by the Mohican people (Binzen 1999). With the ascent of the fur trade in the seventeenth century, moreover, control of headwater areas had become a new priority for the native people of southern New England (McBride and Soulsby 1989). The upper Housatonic area may have regained logistical significance for this reason also.

While it is possible that the native population in the northern part of the Housatonic watershed decreased after 1000 A.D., people certainly did not disappear. In Massachusetts, several towns have sites with evidence of native occupation during the Late Woodland Period. These towns are Great Barrington, which contains the Skatekook Site, the Great Wigwam Site, and the Mt. Peter Site; Sheffield, with the Clark's Field Site and the Chapin Farm Site; and Pittsfield, near the headwaters of the Housatonic, with the Caldwell Site, the Village Site and the Canoe Meadows Site (Massachusetts Archaeological Site Files).

In northwestern Connecticut, the places that were favored for habitation during the Late Woodland are distributed along the floodplains and terraces of the Housatonic and its tributaries in Cornwall, Canaan, North Canaan, Salisbury and Sharon. They also are located in the vicinity of the Twin Lakes and Lake Wononscopomuc in Salisbury; at Lake Waramaug in Warren; and at Bantam Lake in Litchfield (Connecticut Archeological Site Files).

Artifacts other than projectile points can provide insights into the Woodland Period. Native American pottery is a well-known indicator of Woodland Period occupations in the region. It is noteworthy that pottery has been reported from only four sites in the Massachu-

setts portion of the study area. It may be that this type of artifact has gone unrecognized or unreported at other Woodland Period sites. Constituting one of the few sources of information about stylistic trends and ethnic affiliations, native pottery merits further investigation in the upper Housatonic.

One of the most interesting secondary patterns to emerge from the Housatonic study involves the frequent occurrence of pestles. These tapered, cylindrical implements of worked stone were used to grind food materials and are often associated with societies that practice horticulture. Frequently seen at sites of the Woodland Period, pestles have sometimes been found in association with women in funerary contexts (Gibson 1980). Pestles have been reported from one quarter (25%, $T=9$) of the sites that contain Woodland Period components in the Massachusetts portion of the study area. Among related implements, stone hoes were reported from sites in Massachusetts and Connecticut, and one mortar stone was reported.

Artifacts that may provide a glimpse into the symbolic and ritual aspects of Mohican lifeways in the upper Housatonic include a pestle with an animal head from a site in Great Barrington, and a set of bear teeth with drill holes that evidently formed a necklace, from a site in Pittsfield. Animal symbols were associated with the bear, turkey, deer, wolf and turtle clans in Mohican society (Dunn 2000).

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, archaeological site data indicate that Native American occupations did occur in the Upper Housatonic study area during the greater Woodland Period (500 to 3,000 years ago). However, evidence for occupations that occurred during the Late Woodland Period (after 1000 A.D.) has been recorded in markedly fewer locations in the northern part of the watershed (Figure 1.2.). As the regional trade and communication networks of the Woodland Period developed, the people of the

upper part of the watershed appear to have had a closer social affiliation with the ancestral Mohicans of the Hudson Valley to the west than the people of the Connecticut River Valley to the east. The people of the middle and lower part of the Housatonic watershed were probably affiliated with the large native communities of the southern Housatonic Valley and the Connecticut coast. Native occupation of the lower Housatonic watershed in Connecticut apparently continued at a steady rate during the Early and Middle Woodland periods, even intensifying during the Late Woodland. In the upper part of the watershed in Massachusetts, however, the number of Native American sites (and presumably the amount of settlement) appears to have decreased during the Late Woodland period, or to have become concentrated at a smaller number of main villages in the river valley.

When colonists from New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut explored the upper Housatonic area in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, they documented vast tracts of forested land, but also many open meadows and the settlement areas of

native people who identified themselves as Mohicans. During the same period, Mohican leaders recognized the strategic benefits of re-settlement in the upper Housatonic. Although the Mohican village on the site which later became Stockbridge may have been newly established, the community made use of a system of native settlement, travel and land use which in many respects had first emerged in the Housatonic during the Woodland Period.

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Figure 1.2. Table of information concerning pre-Contact Native American archaeological sites in the Upper Housatonic study area.

SITES	Number of known pre-contact sites in Upper Housatonic study area	Number of sites with a Woodland Period component(s)	Number of sites with a Late Woodland Period component(s)	Percentage of all sites that include a Woodland Period component(s)	Percentage of all sites that include a Late Woodland Period component(s)
Massachusetts Site Files 2001	112	36	6	32.1 %	5 %
Connecticut Site Files 1995	85	29	21	34.1 %	24.7 %
Recent NW Connecticut Outreach Binzen 2002	17	5	3	29.4 %	17.6 %
TOTAL	214	70	30	32.7 %	14 %

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A DUTCHMAN AT INDIANTOWN: A PERSPECTIVE ON THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION

Stanley Joseph (2002)

The Dialogues of Plato tell us that when a child is born in an atmosphere of greed and conceit, the midwife that attended the birth often incurs the mother's wrath. Socrates understood this from his mother, a busy midwife with whom he acknowledged a strong affinity, and after whom he secretly practiced midwifery. But he was a midwife who differed from his mother's sort in that he attended men and not women, and looked after their laboring souls, not after their bodies. The triumph of his art was in examining whether the thought which the mind of a young man brought forth was false or noble and true. The Dutchman, Johoiakim (or Jochem) Van Valkenburgh, was not unlike Socrates in this respect. He worked quite like a midwife to help the eighteenth-century Anglo-Christian mission to the Housatonic Mohicans deliver a noble and true child, but sadly discovered the new arrival to be only a vague shadow of its promise. And much as intensely possessive, complacent mothers gave their midwives quarrel, so did the crusading New Englanders scorn this stalwart Yorker trader, this extrinsic presence, despite his generous help.

Van Valkenburgh was born over three hundred years ago and lived much of his adult life in the wilderness of the Taconic Range, the borderland between Massachusetts and New York. He was well-known in the region in his day, but the reality of the man has been clouded by a storm of acrimony that leaves him almost totally forgotten today. Nevertheless, linked as he was to the tribal history of the Housatonic Mohicans, he has gained from partisan Yankee historians both notice and criticism, neither of which he could have expected nor sought.

How then did he come to draw such negative attention? Why was he scorned? To properly consider this apparently ordinary Dutchman and to get at the root of his reputation, one must see the man in the context of his time. At that pivotal moment when the Anglo-Christian mission (later to be called Stockbridge) first arrived in western Massachusetts, Van Valkenburgh was well-established as the principal trader to the Housatonic band of Mohicans and enjoyed an exceptional friendship with their sachem (chief), Konkapot. Cultural change was implicit in the Christian

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mission, but little did anyone suspect that the stage was set for so emotionally-charged an interplay among the region's diverse cultures—English, Dutch, and Indian—and for a drama that spelled a melancholy outcome for the native people.

The story of the mission to the Housatonic Mohicans (or to the Stockbridge Indians, as they came to be known) is, on the one hand, a testament to the power of the Christian faith, but on the other hand, it is a tragic tale of cultural insensitivity, greed and denied guilt. By any accounting it is a remarkable story, one worthy of re-telling and surely deserving of such periodic recognition as was shown in 1989 on the two hundred fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of Stockbridge, in 1739, as a township in the Province of Massachusetts. We know the town today as a pleasant, affluent Berkshire community and tourist destination, but it began as an unusual, amalgamated community of Englishmen and Indians. A worthy social experiment in the eyes of many English colonists, yes, but one that was not all sweetness and light. It definitely had a darker side. And that side has traditionally been ignored.

The concept of the mission, one should understand, was driven by the desire of the colonial folk of New England and their counterparts in England and Scotland to rescue those they viewed as destitute of Christianity and civilization. And certainly uppermost in the minds of many were the native people, particularly that "Heathenith Tribe" (Hopkins 1753), the Mohicans, in the hill country of the Housatonic River at the western reaches of the Bay Colony. It is fair to say that the native people had received little religious intervention from the Dutch of the Hudson Valley who had been their neighbors for the prior hundred years. Though similar in their Calvinism, New Netherlanders were disposed to deliver Christian instruction informally, "by the sweet influence of the charities of life," not by doctrinal instruction, as Anne Grant reminds us in her contemporary *Memoirs of an American Lady*



Figure 2.1. A detail of a painting (see Frontispiece) shows the Mohican chief, Konkapot, as artist Norman Rockwell visualized him. A 1973 visit at Stockbridge with five Mohican women, one a direct descendent of Konkapot, may have helped Rockwell conjecture his face. An Oneida Indian posed for the chief's figure. Printed with permission of the Norman Rockwell Family Agency.

(1876, I:62). The native interest in a mission came from sachem Konkapot, largely out of concern for the future of his people. He considered that, in order to survive, they needed to become literate in English, accepting of Christian belief, and knowledgeable in English law and modes of commerce (Figure 2.1.).

Konkapot inadvertently gained the collateral support of various Bay Colony land speculators, government agents, and independent adventurers from Westfield and points east, who had their own agendas. They appeared in the interior primarily to promote their own interests on the province's western frontier. Word got back to the governor that visitors found the Mohicans pliable and open to contact. In the wake of ugly memories of King Philip's War, a mission to these non-combative native people might serve to ease the wary minds of potential Yankee settlers, afford a means of control, and also give coastal New Englanders a foothold in territory that had long eluded them. The timely convergence of three factors—Christian concern for destitute heathens, Mohican concern for their future, and the white man's desire for new lands—assured the prompt establishment of a mission.

The outreach to the Housatonic Mohicans was initiated in 1734 by a young Yale tutor, John Sergeant, who was just completing his clerical studies but, more importantly, had a strong desire to work among the Indians. Unlike most of his colleagues, he managed to overcome the prevailing animosity of New England colonists toward Indians and he felt considerable sympathy for their plight. Though descended from a New Haven Colony family, Sergeant was born in Newark, New Jersey, and that degree of separation may have been sufficient to gain for him his special tolerance. Sergeant was ordained the following year and soon thereafter enlisted the assistance of the equally youthful Timothy Woodbridge as his schoolmaster. The fledgling team had the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the civil authority of Governor Belcher, The General Court, and the Massachusetts House of Representatives (Sedgwick 1939:10).

In granting the mission, its religious benefactors were responding to a heartfelt moral imperative, but the Crown's representatives were only making good on a friendly gesture made two decades earlier to the renowned

four Indian "kings" presented to Queen Anne at Court. The Indians were conducted to London in 1710 by colonial leaders Pieter Schuyler, earlier the first mayor of Albany, and Francis Nicholson, who had come to America years earlier as an aide to Governor Andros. The trip was designed to promote native peoples' confidence in the colonists' mother country and win them away from French influence. In addition, the visit was meant to make up for the disappointment felt by the Indians when a promised punitive expedition against Quebec was called off in 1709. The Mohicans on that exceptional London outing were represented by their chief sachem, Etowaukaum (Figure 2.2.). The other Indian representatives were Iroquois. Strangely, the Reverend John Sergeant, their future mission leader, was born that very year!

MISSION VILLAGE ORGANIZED

In the spring of 1735, John Sergeant and Timothy Woodbridge set about organizing a village around a meeting house and school for the Indians. To this end a handful of New England families were enlisted within a few years to be role models and to teach European life-arts "to those that continue in their native Ignorance and Barbarity" (Hopkins 1753:14). Over the next few years, the preacher, the schoolmaster, four resolute white families and about fifty native people were positioned not so much to reciprocally teach and learn as to teach or learn. The Englishman was to teach and the Indian was to learn. It was at this juncture in 1736 that Van Valkenburgh relocated his truck-house from below Monument Mountain in present-day Great Barrington to the newly-formed village north of that sacred hill, where he would be close by Konkapot's dwelling (Sedgwick 1939:19). Van Valkenburgh was a great help in bridging the culture gap between the English and the Mohicans. He not only translated English into Mohican for Konkapot at meetings and for children in the mission school, but also tutored Sergeant



Figure 2.2. The Mohican chief sachem, Etowaukaum, also known as Nicholas, visited London in 1710. He and three Mohawks were the toast of the English city. After this experience, Etowaukaum returned to Schodack, in the Colony of New York. His daughter became the wife of a sachem named Umpachanee at Mahaiwe, a Mohican village near Monument Mountain in Massachusetts. Later, Umpachanee and his family moved to the mission at Stockbridge. Their son was called Jonas Etowaukaum. While fighting for Rogers' Rangers, he was killed at Ticonderoga by French Indians in 1759 (see Chapter 5). The painting is at Canada's National Archives.

in the Mohican language.

Indiantown evolved with the gathering in of Mohicans from a number of settlements up and down the Housatonic River and from the Hudson Valley. They congregated about Chief Konkapot's dwelling on the Great Meadow north of Monument Mountain at present-day

Stockbridge village so that they might consolidate their community. In so doing, it was necessary to relocate upwards of twenty-five Dutchmen previously settled in the vicinity. A provincial settling committee approached these independent Dutchmen and managed, with surprising ease, to negotiate an arrangement. The Dutchmen agreed to have give up their farms in return for property located to the south of Monument Mountain, in the Upper District of Sheffield (now Great Barrington), an area earlier reserved for the Indians. Most of the Netherlanders availed themselves of the exchange and relocated.

A few, however, were invited by Konkapot to stay on at Indiantown. Van Valkenburgh, predictably, was one of them. You would suppose he stayed primarily to continue his business and protect his investments, but he was also there to interpret for Konkapot and to teach missionary Sergeant the Mohican tongue. He remained until 1739, the same year Indiantown gained township status and took the name Stockbridge (Hopkins 1753:23; Sedgwick 1939:29).

For fifteen years, until his death in 1749, John Sergeant (with Timothy Woodbridge) labored to teach the Indian children to read English and to raise the Native American elders to a meaningful appreciation of Scripture. From the beginning, Sergeant was determined as well to learn the Indian language and he labored strenuously to accomplish that. In three years, he gained command of the difficult tongue and in five he was said to have become fluent, even eloquent, in it (Hopkins 1753:70, 166).

The mission was a heroic struggle that continued after Sergeant's passing when his old Yale mentor, the celebrated, but controversial, Reverend Jonathan Edwards, was persuaded to come to Stockbridge. Edwards' service to the racially integrated congregation was sincere, but ultimately ended with mixed, if not sad, results, when the church divided into two segments, white and Indian (Dwight 1830:450).

By 1755, events had heated up sufficiently

between British America and New France to distract and draw away the men and youth of Stockbridge, both English and Indian. The demands of war effectively dismantled the mission and closed down the idealism that had made it possible for the Indian to take and hold his place in the amalgamated community (Sedgwick 1939:77-92).

MOHICANS SERVE IN REVOLUTION

At war's end, the native people of Stockbridge were confronted with an onrush of white settlers and their unlimited requirements for land. An unsentimental crassness superseded idealism and the Indian was crowded out. He was too lacking in funds, and too trusting and reticent, to stand up to the acquisitional drive of the New England land speculator. Mohicans found themselves forced to make concessions repeatedly and finally, just after the Revolutionary War—during which, ironically, they served the American cause with distinction and great personal sacrifice—many of the Stockbridge Indians began to withdraw to Oneida lands in central New York State and, eventually, to make their way to northern Wisconsin (Jones 1854:85-113). Descendants of the Stockbridge Indians, representing a people who had earlier been displaced from the Hudson Valley to the Berkshire Hills, now make their home west of Lake Michigan. Many residents there maintain a devotion to the Christian faith their ancestors first acquired under John Sergeant's guidance on the Housatonic plain.

During the evolution of Stockbridge in those embryonic years at Indiantown, briefly sketched here, Jochem Van Valkenburgh continued to trade and to serve as interpreter for both Sergeant and Konkapot (New-York Historical Society 1767:20). These activities might seem necessary enough, but he was not welcome in the mission community. Though he gained occasional, oblique acknowledgment from the Reverend Sergeant as someone who was helpful, the mission families generally

were disposed to lump him together with the New York Dutch, who they vilified as enemies. Dutch traders were discovered to have spread frightening rumors that the New Englanders designed to make slaves of the natives and that they would deny them strong drink (Hopkins 1753:32). As a class, Dutchmen came to be considered a major obstacle to the success of the mission.

Sergeant, somewhat naively, was chagrined to realize that the traders might feel so threatened by the English presence at Stockbridge that they would resort to venomous insinuation and try to overturn the mission. Whether the insinuations were in earnest or just boisterous Dutch sport, they endangered the credibility of the mission. Sergeant did not waste time trying to unravel the motives of the perpetrators. He knew the Indians would be vulnerable to this type of disinformation and he moved immediately to contain the damage. He called on Konkapot and others and helped them see through the rumors (Hopkins 1753:28). The favorable resolution of this crisis dramatically strengthened the resolve of all those committed to the success of the mission. And at the same time, anyone identified as a Dutchman was consigned to the enemy camp.

If Sergeant did not actually incriminate Van Valkenburgh, he did not clearly disassociate him from the rumors, and the ambiguity served to encourage later commentators to condemn the man and diminish his stature. A disparaging passage in Beers' *History of Berkshire County* is a case in point:

"In what is now Stockbridge, a single Dutchman, named Van Valkenburgh, obtained a livelihood by bartering whiskey and trinkets with the Indians for the products of the chase; while a very few others of the same nationality claimed possessions along the interval below. Many of the difficulties in locating and allotting subsequent grants of townships arose from the extinction of the titles, real or pretended, of these Teutonic 'squatters'" (Smith 1885, II:568).

In a similar vein, Jones, in her *Stockbridge*:

Past and Present, expresses the frustration and anger of those associated with the mission at the perceived stubbornness and provocativeness of Van Valkenburgh. Why he “not only refused to sell the farm which Captain Konkapot had given him, but, still more ungrateful, kept a store of rum on hand which he sold and gave away to all who would drink” (Jones 1854:63). All this occurred, she believed, at a time when the natives had become generally temperate.

Sedgwick and Marquand, in *Stockbridge 1739-1939, A Chronicle*, tell us the “god-fathers” of the mission despaired of sending the “glorious and ever-lasting gospel among the Indians, among whom Satan’s kingdom had remained so long undisturbed.” They wondered how Christians could be expected to prevail over such a “veritable Satan as the rum-dispensing Van Valkenburgh?” (1939:22). Castigated as he later was, the fact remains that Jochem Van Valkenburgh was the man who for five years graciously tutored John Sergeant to fluency in the Indian language, no minor accomplishment as Sergeant, in his own indirect way, attests (Hopkins 1753:127). Learning the language was exceptionally difficult for him, but to Sergeant’s mind, it was crucial to a favorable outcome. If Van Valkenburgh was not Sergeant’s cross to bear, the native tongue must have been.

VAN VALKENBURGH’S ORIGINS

Dedicated instructor and friend? Dutch devil? Shrewd merchant? Just who was this man? Jochem Van Valkenburgh was the grandson of the immigrant to America, Lambert Van Valkenburgh, a married soldier of the Dutch West India Company when he arrived in New Amsterdam in 1642. Soon after, Lambert was at Fort Orange (later Albany) where he raised an uncommonly small family. His only son who produced a male heir, Jochem Lambertse, was a constable in Schenectady in 1692 when his son, Jochem, was born. As a young man, this Jochem inherited the farm on the Kinder-

hook Creek, at what is now Chatham Center, that his father had acquired in 1699 (Van Valkenburgh 1981, II:17). He was his father’s eighth child and last-born son, and as such he probably enjoyed a particularly close tie to the father who by the turn of the century was something of a squire as well as a schoolmaster of Kinderhook.

By 1729, Jochem had established himself as a tenant of the so-called patroon, Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, at Nobletown in the Claverack district of New York, today’s North Hillsdale (Goebels 1964:4-11; Joseph 1991:6-7). He first maintained a truck-house across the Massachusetts Province line at Pelton Bridge south of Monument Mountain in Great Barrington. This site, near today’s Taft Farm, was convenient to both the native settlements around present Great Barrington to the south and to Konkapot’s enclave about the Ice Glen at later Stockbridge to the north (Register of Deeds:402).

Jochem, therefore, had for many years traded with the Housatonic Mohicans for lucrative furs and skins, products of the wilderness that attracted Golden Age Hollanders to the region in the first instance. Nevertheless, a primary economic imperative may have been the acquisition of wildwood parcels. In Massachusetts, he could gain good title to land as a freeholder, whereas in New York, in the face of the entrenched manor system, it was difficult to get beyond tenant status. Van Valkenburgh’s ambitions conveniently coincided with the Van Rensselaers’ requirements at that time. The Van Rensselaer heirs felt it important to have their own people (Dutchmen, Swedes and Palatines) settled on eastern parcels of their Claverack District in order to forestall the thrust of New Englanders into the district. These Rensselaerswyck managers were not about to let their manorial holdings be muscled away from them by Yankees considered, as Anne Grant tells us, “selfish beyond measure” (1876, II:137). They needed courageous settlers, like Van Valkenburgh, to try to stem the tide.

Once it was decided to consolidate the Indian settlements on the Great Meadow north of Monument Mountain, Van Valkenburgh moved his business operation to that interval and built his truckhouse next door to the schoolhouse and very near Konkapot. Captain Konkapot clearly desired to have “his special friend” close by, as John Sergeant observed (Hopkins 1753:61).

Van Valkenburgh more than likely acquired his acquaintance with the Stockbridge Mohicans from his family’s early relations with them. Nearby Nobletown gained its name from a Westfield, Massachusetts, man, the enterprising Matthew Noble, who arrived in the Claverack District in 1725 (Smith 1885, II:541). The sworn affidavits of a number of men who were contemporary with Van Valkenburgh in Nobletown and in Massachusetts, taken for the Great Cause trial of 1768 to settle the Livingston-Van Rensselaer boundary dispute, reveal that Jochem Van Valkenburgh “has from infancy been conversant with the Mohigan [Mohican] Indians—particularly those bordering on New England,” and that “he understands the Indian language perfectly well” (New-York Historical Society 1767:20).

VAN VALKENBURGH AND KONKAPOT AS FRIENDS

Would it be too romantic to suggest that Van Valkenburgh and Konkapot may have known each other as boys and remained lifelong friends? The Reverend John Sergeant came to call on Konkapot one day early in the planning for the mission, and he found Van Valkenburgh there making plans to accompany Konkapot to Springfield, where the chief was to receive his commission in the Provincial Militia (Hopkins 1753:17). At Springfield, Van Valkenburgh was on hand not only to see his friend honored, but to serve as interpreter. The close association of Konkapot and Van Valkenburgh suggests that these men enjoyed the privileges of their friendship and accepted its responsibilities. It had to be a happy acci-

dent for Sergeant to find Van Valkenburgh with Konkapot when he called at the sachem’s lodge, because most certainly Jochem acted his usual role as translator for them. It must have been on such occasions that Sergeant came to appreciate that Van Valkenburgh would be ideal to teach him the native language (see Frontispiece).

Moreover, Konkapot was an intelligent leader. By most estimates the Captain was “the principal man among the Stockbridge; the man most taken notice of by the first English in the area.” He was described as “a man of worth, strictly temperate, just and upright in his dealings, prudent and industrious in his business, and inclined to embrace the Christian religion” (Hopkins 1753:15).

Moreover, he was frank enough to admit that in spite of his personal wishes to “be formed to Christianity,” (Hopkins 1753:14) as the English expression went, he retained some doubts and concerns. Konkapot, understandably, was afraid he might lose the respect of more skeptical kinsmen. Also, he could not quite equate the pious protestations of so many professed Christians with the abundant “ill conversation” to which many of them were given (Hopkins 1753:15).

It is doubtful that so genteel a soul as Konkapot would abide a coarse, unscrupulous, exploitative, impious companion. If that had been the kind of man Van Valkenburgh was, Konkapot would hardly have stayed connected. The fact of the matter is that Jochem Van Valkenburgh may have been the one Dutchman to have deliberately facilitated the Christian mission to the Stockbridge. He did so not because he was eager to have the aristocratic Puritans dominating the hill country of western New England—he was savvy enough to recognize that likelihood—but perhaps because he knew how deeply his friend Konkapot seemed to crave the change to the Christian faith, and how important it was for Konkapot to provide for his flock’s future.

Van Valkenburgh was no detractor of that faith, as the Dutch saw it. He was after all, the

product of a humble servant background where lives were founded sincerely on family and church. At the same time, his were pragmatic people with a rational outlook. The ancestors of the Dutch in America held views on government and religion that had served them well for more than a century in their mercantile dealings with a great variety of people around the world; these views had sustained them as a people under the heel of Imperial Spain.

As a young man, Van Valkenburgh married into the Van Hoesen family of riverside Claverack Landing (later the City of Hudson), whose members attended the Lutheran church. Jochem's wife was Elsje, the daughter of Jacob Jans Van Hoesen and Judik Clow (Hughes 1887, II:134-35). Later generations of the Van Hoesens were the people who opened the door to Nantucket Quakers in their quest for a congenial community and for a port suited to Quaker whaling activities. The Van Hoesens sold them the desirable parcel that the whalers developed into the City of Hudson. These Lutherans in their hospitality to the pious, industrious Quakers were affirming the values they themselves lived by.

John Sergeant found in the Stockbridge natives precisely what Van Valkenburgh had found—a hospitable society. One could not ask for a better positioned group to receive one's teachings or to be one's friends. It is not at all surprising that the preacher met with substantial success. The friendly nature of the Stockbridge people does not in any way diminish John Sergeant's sincerity, skill or effort. He was a remarkable young leader, intelligent and prudent. He met the natives in a friendly way and took pains to lead them to new ideas. He had a gift for identifying decisive issues and for aligning himself with the key players. He cultivated a powerful ally in Konkapot and, in a short span of time, came to be dear to the Captain and to the natives as a whole (Hopkins 1753:64).

One would not go so far as to say that Van Valkenburgh admired him, but Sergeant does

acknowledge that Jochem was impressed with the progress of the mission; "our Dutch interpreter tells me he is surpriz'd to hear some of them [the Stockbridge] talk so sensibly as they do about religion" (Hopkins 1753:65).

LEARNING THE NATIVE LANGUAGE

The Reverend Samuel Hopkins, the pastor of a church in Springfield, and the colleague responsible for retrieving Sergeant's papers in 1752, tells us that Sergeant had three reasons for attaching so much importance to learning and using the Indian language. Initially, he was concerned that he could not count on his interpreter to convey his precise meanings. Secondly, recognizing that he was confronted with an illiterate people who were not likely to learn to read or write English in quick order, he had to have a way to converse both formally, as on the Lord's day, and casually when he went about his everyday ministerial contacts. The third consideration may have contained an ulterior motive: Sergeant could use the cost of hiring interpreters and language instructors, and the additional time he put in to deliver his sermons through an interpreter, to justify his requests for increased funds from his benefactors in Cambridge, Edinburgh and London (Hopkins 1753:125-26).

Jochem Van Valkenburgh, besides being Konkapot's special friend, was unquestionably John Sergeant's mentor in matters of the native language. He was Sergeant's translator in the school and his language teacher. He managed to help the pastor establish a language-bridge to reach the hearts and minds of a people reaching out to alter themselves. Unfortunately, Sergeant, the apostle, was in too much of a cultural bind to openly admit this. Van Valkenburgh was Dutch and a trader! Ethnic and class bias and national differences in values and outlook were palpable attitudes in frontier Stockbridge and charged its atmosphere. All parties were beset by such airs and paid the price in distorted perceptions and in

strained and diminished relationships. A historical perspective may help.

Consider how this re-examination of the quite twisted and otherwise lost or deeply buried historical record could restore Jochem Van Valkenburgh to a measure of belated justice. What began in 1989 as a kind of commemoration of the founding of Stockbridge seems to have concluded with the reinstatement of a conspicuous player to his proper stature and place in that unique historical event. This lost history, now uncovered, can change the standard Stockbridge account. Could Jochem Van Valkenburgh have been quite the duplicitous, land-hungry figure Stockbridge's English families would have us believe? Not likely! He was a far more sympathetic figure, more the vulnerable soul caught up in a floodtide of change, greed and deceit. A sincere Dutchman strongly identified with the Indians, he undoubtedly struggled to cope with some of the same dilemmas that were the lot of the native people.

ENGLISH DISTRUST VAN VALKENBURGH

Still, one has to account for the widely held, emphatic opinion the New Englanders had of him. They clearly felt him the bane of their existence, an off-setting, if not corrupting, influence and an obstinate presence. But the vilification heaped on Van Valkenburgh, interestingly enough, was not unlike that usually reserved for the Indian. European colonists were usually hostile toward the "barbaric heathen," as such a commonly-used appellation suggests. It must have been extremely difficult for many of those colonists affiliated with the mission (ostensibly well-intentioned souls), to overcome long-standing, culturally-determined, and (in modern eyes) irrational attitudes that ran counter to their professed lofty aims.

Rather than give their suppressed loathing open expression, they conveniently displaced it on Van Valkenburgh. And at the same time, it seems quite conceivable that, for his part, he

may have taken pride in taunting his persecutors. As much as those with the Puritan mentality detested Van Valkenburgh's intemperate ways, he likely found their moral counsel pompous and artificial. As a Dutchman steeped in the spirit of the classic, mythical hero, Tyl Ulenspeigle, the merry prankster who moved through life poking fun at vanity and conceit, Van Valkenburgh might have found it difficult to resist the impulse to ridicule Puritan strictures. But more importantly, he undoubtedly harbored grave suspicions of the New Englanders' designs—not necessarily of the motives of John Sergeant and Timothy Woodbridge—but rather of the intentions of the other, more materialistic, elements soon associated with the mission. Van Valkenburgh was the bane of these elements because he threatened to expose their hidden agenda, their schemes to appropriate native lands for themselves—not only because he had an easy way with hard spirits!

It is probably no accident that Van Valkenburgh was the prime target of the most notorious of the mission land-grabbers, the senior Ephraim Williams (Davidson 1893:13), who was the crafty head of one of the English families brought in to act as a model for the Mohicans. It must have been Williams's own doomed son. Colonel Ephraim Williams, Jr. (the victim of a French ambush in the first hours of the Battle of Lake George), who was most humiliated by his father's scheming ways. Colonel Williams, possibly in hopes of redeeming the family's good name, willed lands in the northwestern corner of Massachusetts for the building of a college and town. Williams College and Williamstown remain today a living tribute to the nobility of that gesture.

Van Valkenburgh was a European who stood apart, a man who did not subscribe to the group fantasy that members of the white race were destined, if not ordained, to dominate the red man. This Dutchman with a biblical name appears to have been a man of peace and restraint with compassion for the Native

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TO all People to whom these Presents shall come, **Greeting,**
Know Ye, That I David Nawnauwchenuck Benjamin Kokhewenaunant
 John Nawnauwchenuck & Johannis Mhousin all of Stockbridge in the County of Berkshire
 & province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Indian Proprietors of the
 Common Lands in the Town of Stockbridge and a Committee of said Proprietors
 for the sale of some of said Common Land for the payment of J. Deble for said Proprietors
 For and in Consideration of the Sum of *Thirty Pounds*
 to us in Hand before the Ensealing hereof, well and truly paid by *Johannis Vanvoulkenburgh*
 of *Wolfe town in the County of Albany & province of New York* yeoman &
 the said *Capacity of a Committe*
 the Receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, and our selves therewith fully satisfied and
 contented; and thereof, and of every Part and Parcel thereof, do exonerate, acquit and discharge
 him the said *Johannis Vanvoulkenburgh* his
 Heirs, Executors and Administrators, forever by these Presents: **HAVE** given, granted, bargained, sold,
 aliened, conveyed and confirmed; and by these Presents, Do freely, fully and absolutely give, grant,
 bargain, sell, aliene, convey and confirm, unto him the said *Johannis* his
 Heirs and Assigns forever, *One certain Tract or parcel of Land lying & being*
in said Stockbridge Township granted by the Indian Proprietors of the Com-
mon Lands lying in said Stockbridge in consideration in part for the
Services the then father of the said Johannis did for said Stockbridge Indians
and partly paid in Money by said Johannis to the use of said Proprietors
It being Ninety Acres laid out by William Ingersoll Surveyor a
plan thereof being returned for the said Reference to be had to
the said Surveyor for the Exact and certain Boundaries of the premises
the same to be held improved occupied & enjoyed by the said
Johannis agreeable to the Grant of the Proprietors of said Ninety
Acres to him

Figure 2.3. A detail from a deed shows that Mohican leaders, including chief sachem Benjamin Kokhewenaunant, remembered trader Jochem Van Valkenburgh as a friend. In July, 1768, Johannis, the son of Jochem, was given a deed for ninety acres within the Indian common land at Stockbridge, a rare privilege, "in consideration in part for the Services the then father of the said Johannis did for the said Stockbridge Indians." Johannis also paid the Indians thirty pounds. The deed, recorded the following spring, is at Book 5, page 718, at the Registry of Deeds, Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

Americans, someone perhaps who saw himself as their brotherly protector.

Jochem Van Valkenburgh and the New Englander were inevitably at loggerheads, but in the end, it was the Stockbridge natives who took it on the chin. It was the Mohicans of the eighteenth century who, though having gained literacy, some white ways, and the Christian religion, were tragically confronted with the forfeiture of their existence on the

Housatonic. As precious as their ancestral lands must have been to them and as wrenching as their dislocation had to be, the Stockbridge people placed the highest value on their Indian identity and on their cultural heritage. Over time, however, the tribe's hold on its heritage was loosened. They were urged to feel that the legacy was superfluous and encumbering. With the robust renewal felt by native people across America these days,

Stockbridge Indian descendents have worked to reinstate their cultural heritage. The significant expansion of America's economy since the Second World War and the growth in education and in mobility for so many people, have made it possible for Mohican descendents to revisit their homeland. And many today, young and old, come back each year to be replenished. These people, who traditionally called themselves the Muh-he-ka-neok, "People of the ever-flowing waters," (Jones 1854:15) have understood the ebb and flow of life and time.

Van Valkenburgh's constructive contribution to the Stockbridge enterprise has been unappreciated and has been under-reported over the years, and to this day he remains a pariah. With the Indiantown phase over and the Town of Stockbridge delivered, its improbable midwife was due to be banished. The senior Williams engineered a buy-out of the Dutchman's lands and Van Valkenburgh departed for his Nobletown property about 1740 (Joseph 1991:7). Though the New England heirs took some glee in getting him out of their hair, the Dutchman was far from crushed by their treatment. He continued to flourish. In an unobtrusive way he continued to be a presence in and an influence on the growing region.

JOCHEM'S LIFE AFTER STOCKBRIDGE

From his base in New York, for subsequent decades, he dealt actively in the more southerly Berkshire townships, buying and selling parcels of land. It was Van Valkenburgh who sold the Van Deusens the parcels on which they built a small empire of mills in Great Barrington. And it was he who sold parcels of land to the manumitted slave of Elias Van Schaik, Coffee Negro, one of the first blacks in the region to gain title to land as a freeholder. Thanks in part to Van Valkenburgh's help, some years later, Coffee Van Schaik, as he

came to be known, was in Rutland County, Vermont, a comfortable partner in company with several other important men of Stockbridge (Hemenway 1877, III:501-03).

Van Valkenburgh's date of death is uncertain but in 1768, the native people honored him by selling to his son a ninety-acre parcel in Stockbridge which was part of Jochem's original farm. In the deed they explained the sale was made, "in consideration in part for the services the then father of said Johannis did for the Stockbridge Indians" (Register of Deeds 5:718) (Figure 2.3.). Gratitude and gift-giving were traits of native etiquette. It seems the Mohicans fully appreciated the friendship of Jochem Van Valkenburgh and his significant assistance to them over the years and, as well, his contributions in the early days of the Stockbridge mission. But, alas, quite the opposite with guilt-burdened New Englanders, among whom no good deed goes unpunished!

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THE WESTWARD MIGRATION OF THE MUNSEE INDIANS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

James D. Folts (2001)

The Munsees, a subgroup of the people known in their own language as *Lenape* and in English as the Delaware Indians, started leaving their homeland in the lower Hudson and upper Delaware River Valleys around the beginning of the eighteenth century. Today a few families with Munsee ancestry live on the Cattaraugus Reservation in western New York but most descendents reside in southwestern Ontario, Wisconsin, Kansas, and Oklahoma (Weslager 1972:15-25; Goddard 1978:222, 224, 234; Kraft 1994:49). During the course of the eighteenth century, until the end of the Revolutionary War, most Munsees were situated in the upper Delaware, upper Susquehanna, and upper Allegheny River Valleys (Goddard 1978:221-22; Kent 1974:217-27). Some Munsees moved farther west to the Ohio country, where some resided in the Moravian mission communities established starting in 1769. Other, traditionalist, Munsees lived in close association with Unami-speaking Delawares who had migrated to the Ohio from the lower Delaware and lower Susquehanna Valleys (Weslager 1972:283-95, 302; Hunter 1978b:592; Olmstead 1991, 1997).

Colonial officials often referred to the Munsees generically as “Delaware” or “Susquehanna” Indians because of their

geographic locations prior to the Revolution and their political association with other Native American peoples in the same regions. Documentary evidence of Munsee villages and leaders during the eighteenth century is fragmentary because the Munsees lived in the interior, remote from most white settlements, and because the Munsees were suspicious of, and often hostile to, the British colonial and American revolutionary governments, which produced most of the records about the Delawares. The Munsees have also been subject to “cartographic submergence” in modern maps that attempt to show native settlements in the eighteenth century. Some published maps label Munsee villages in the upper Susquehanna region—Tioga, Chemung, Sheshequin, and Chugnut—as “Seneca” or “Iroquoian” (Capon 1976:21; Tanner 1987:Map 15). These and other predominantly Munsee villages did lie within territory overseen by the Cayugas or Senecas, and the villages did include some non-Munsee people (Figure 3.1.). The Six Nations relocated and supervised many refugee peoples in the upper Susquehanna region. Best known are the Tuscaroras from North Carolina, who arrived about 1712 (Landy 1978:519; Fenton 1998:382-97). Other refugee groups in the region includ-

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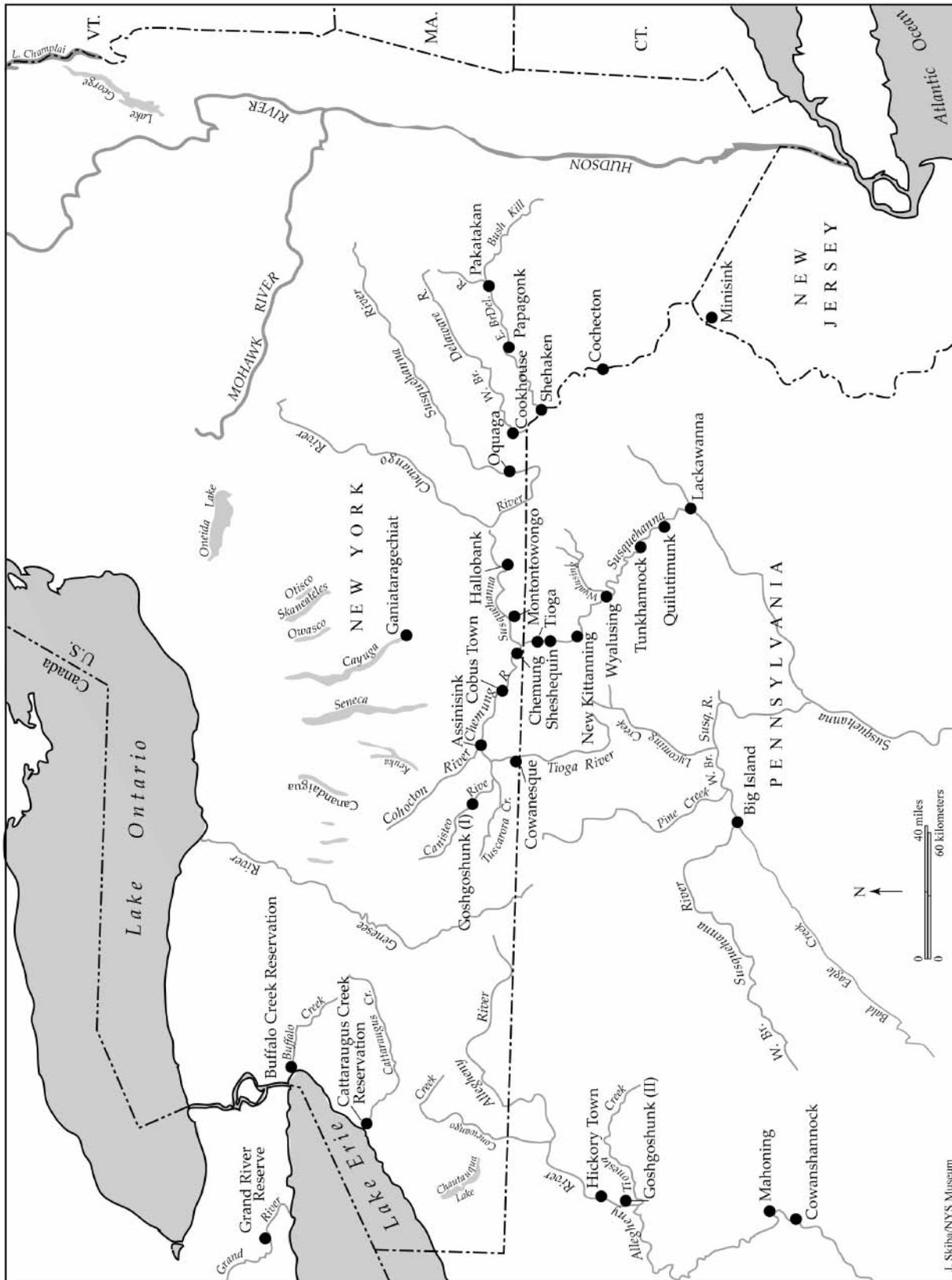


Figure 3.1. A map of Pennsylvania and New York shows locations to which Munsees moved during the eighteenth century.

ed Shawnees, Mesquakies, Nanticokes, Tuteloes, Mohicans, and Delawares—both Unamis and Munsees (Hauptman 1980:129; see Chapter 4).

MUNSEE VILLAGES

A historically accurate map of Munsee communities between about 1710 and the 1770s would show a chain of villages extending from the western Catskills and the upper Delaware Valley through the upper Susquehanna and Chemung Valleys to the upper Allegheny Valley. Munsee villages were not occupied in sequence, with one village necessarily being abandoned when another was occupied. Rather, the Munsees resided in multiple locations, in some cases over many decades. The refugee Munsees lived in villages, rather than in the dispersed, seasonal settlements that may have been typical of the Delaware Indians' aboriginal way of life (Kraft 1986:120-22; 2001:220-23). The rugged topography of the interior of New York and Pennsylvania encouraged the Munsees to concentrate their settlements in areas favorable to subsistence; good corn-growing soil was found on bottom lands near the rivers, many of which were also navigable by canoes. And the Six Nations undoubtedly found it easier to supervise refugee peoples who were settled together.

Land cessions led to the establishment of the new Munsee settlements in New York and Pennsylvania. By the early eighteenth century the Munsees had sold off most of northern New Jersey. Possibly they did so in an orderly, calculated way (Grumet 1979:264-73). The advance of European settlers obliged the native people to retreat to less accessible locations in the New Jersey highlands (Lenik 1999). Munsee-speaking Indians continued to live in modern Sussex County, New Jersey, in the vicinity of Minisink Island in the Delaware River, which was an important cultural center (Kraft 1977:15-24). Indians residing there, or coming originally from there, were called *Minisink* Indians. The term *Minsi* or *Munsee* came

into use by the 1750s and apparently referred to amalgamated groups of Minisink Indians from the Delaware, Esopus Indians from the Hudson, and other related people who had joined them (Goddard 1978:237; Hunter 1978a:31).

In 1697 New York made its first small land grants in the Minisink region, the border area long disputed by New York and New Jersey. In 1703-1704 Governor Cornbury granted the very large Minisink and Wawayanda Patents in Orange County (Eager 1846:364, 445; Kraft 1977:28-40). And in 1708 Cornbury granted the million-acre patent in the Catskills region to Johannes Hardenbergh and others. Fortunately for the Munsees who still lived on those tracts, the boundaries of both the Minisink Patent and the Hardenbergh Patent were ill-defined and not accurately surveyed until decades later (La Potin 1975:29-50; JP 6:735). A few native communities persisted near colonial settlements in Orange and Ulster Counties, New York, and Warren County, New Jersey, until around 1750, as artifacts found in Native American burials attest (New York State Museum 10:59-60; n.d.: n.p.; George Hamell, personal communication, Dec. 5, 2002; Kraft 2001:393-97).

THE WALKING PURCHASE AND THE HARDENBERGH PATENT

The most notorious land transaction of all was Pennsylvania's fraudulent "Walking Purchase" of 1737. Governor Thomas Penn's officials discovered an unrecorded 1686 Indian deed for some lands on the Delaware River, to be measured by a day's walk. White runners were hired and a path cleared so that the day's "walk" inland turned out to be sixty-four miles long. The lands thus obtained included most of the Minisink territory on the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware River (Jennings 1984:330-39, 388-97). At a conference in Philadelphia in 1742, Canasatego, the spokesman for the Six Nations, bluntly ordered the Delawares residing within the bounds of the Walking Purchase to leave and

go to the Susquehanna Valley (PCM 4:578). Only some of the Minisinks did so; others stayed and nursed their grievances (Boyd and others 1930b 2:3, 21).

Around 1700 the upper Delaware watershed of New York and Pennsylvania became the new home of Minisink Indians moving north from northwestern New Jersey, and of Esopus Indians moving west from the mid-Hudson Valley. By 1712 the Esopus Indians were reported to have moved to the East (Pepacton) Branch of the Delaware River, on the western slope of the Catskill Mountains. There they had two villages, Pakatakan and Papagunk (Scott and Baker 1953:264; NYLP 40:128; JP 6:736-37; Hulce 1873). In 1719 a surveyor from New Jersey found a village and many corn fields at Cochection, on both sides of the Delaware River (Reading 1915:98, 102). More Indians removed to Cochection from Orange County in 1745, because of tensions during King George's War (NYCP 75:10). The Indians of Cochection sold their lands east of the Delaware River, within the Hardenbergh Patent, to Johannes Hardenbergh and Robert Livingston in 1746. In 1749 most of the Hardenbergh patent was surveyed into lots (NYLP 40:126; JP 6:736). In 1754-1755 a group of local Indians sold large tracts of land south and west of the Hardenbergh Patent, on both sides of the Delaware River in New York and Pennsylvania, to companies of settlers from Connecticut (Boyd and others 1930a:1:xxxviii, 196, 260, 308).

MUNSEES MOVE WEST

Most but not all of the Munsee Indians seem to have moved west after these sales; few names on the deeds of 1746 appear on the new deeds ten years later (*Pa. Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1756; Boyd and others 1969:7:175). Those Indians remaining on the upper Delaware were reported to be neutral when Indians from the Susquehanna and the Ohio began attacking the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania in the autumn of 1755. The Indians at Cochection

were exempted from Pennsylvania's declaration of war in April, 1756 (PCM 7:12, 88). The last Munsee settlement on the upper Delaware was *Cookhouse*, the English-language rendering of a word meaning "owl place" (NYLP 40:128b; Parrish 1903:527). In 1779 a British officer reported that some fifty men from Cookhouse had gone out in war parties against the Americans (HP 21,765:79). These people may have been former residents of Cochection, which was now a white frontier settlement.

The middle Susquehanna Valley was home to some of the Munsees by 1715, when a prominent Munsee chief, Manakawhickon, was reported to live on the West Branch (NYCD 5:417, 464, 471). Lackawanna, called the "Minisink Town" by colonial settlers and first mentioned in a document of 1728, was located near modern Scranton at the end of the "Minisink Path" leading west from the Delaware River (PCM 3:314, 326; P.A.W. Wallace 1965:101). Other Munsees settled on the West Branch of the Susquehanna (Donehoo 1928:122; Turnbaugh 1977:242-48). Munsees also located at Tioga Point, where the Chemung River joins the North Branch of the Susquehanna (modern Athens, Pennsylvania). Tioga was occupied by 1743, if not before (Bartram 1966:61, 66). Probably most if not all of the "Delawares" living there came from the Minisink region (Beauchamp 1916:31-32, 158; MA 117:3 May 8, 1752, 118:2 Dec. 4, 1754; Grumet 1989:211).

Other Munsee towns in the region were Chugnut, upriver from Tioga Point and west of modern Binghamton (PCM 9:46; JP 10:945, 948, 960, 11:476), and Chemung-Wilawana (east of modern Elmira).¹ All three towns were supervised by the Cayugas (Beauchamp 1916:32-33, 159-60, 162). The Cayugas had assumed some authority over the lands and the Indians on the Susquehanna after the Susquehannocks were absorbed into the Five Nations in the 1670s (Jennings 1968:33-34; Wraxall 1915:11-12, 96; PCM 5:284; Speck 1949:1-2).

The French and Indian War forced a fur-

ther relocation of Munsees. When Delaware and Shawnee war chiefs from the Ohio were readying their forces to attack the Pennsylvania frontier in the autumn of 1755, they warned the Indians living in the Susquehanna Valley to get out of the way (PCM 6:672f.; *Pa. Gazette*, Nov. 6, 1755). By the spring of 1756 most of the non-combatant Indians residing between Shamokin, at the junction of the North and West Branches, and Tioga Point, were gone. They went either north, to various places beyond Tioga Point, or west to the Ohio country (PCM 7:282-83; PA (1) 3:56-57; *Pa. Gazette*, Sept. 9, 1756; NYCD 10:408, 436). The Six Nations directed Munsees from the Susquehanna to settle at a new town on the Chemung, called *Assinisink*, at present-day Corning, located in Seneca territory. The Senecas received some of the Munsees' war prisoners as part of the negotiations (NYCD 7:157; AP 29:212). The old town of Tioga was abandoned by 1758 (PCM 7:171-72; PA (1) 3:504).

POLITICAL RELATIONSHIP WITH SIX NATIONS

What was the political relationship between the Munsees and the Six Nations during the early to mid-eighteenth century? Some sort of tributary arrangement, symbolized by presents of wampum belts to the Onondaga council, had existed for many decades (NYCD 4:98-99; Hunter 1978a:23; Hanna 1911:1:101-103, 130; Weslager 1947:299-301; MA 118:1, June 23, 26, 1754). The Munsees who migrated into the upper Susquehanna appear to have subordinated themselves to the Cayugas and Senecas.² During a meeting at Philadelphia in August, 1758, a Cayuga spokesman for the Munsees, Cayugas, and Senecas declared to provincial officials that leading chiefs of those nations had recently shown him a wampum belt which symbolized the affiliation. The great belt was "more than a fathom [six feet] long, which they valued much. It was their old ancient belt, the confederates or union belt, which tied them together" (PCM 8:152-53).

This "ancient" compact between the Munsees and the Senecas and Cayugas presumably dated to a generation before, when the Munsees began to move west from the Delaware Valley and to settle the upper Susquehanna towns of Lackawanna, Tioga, Chugnut, and Wilawana-Chemung. A relationship to the entire confederacy, not just the Senecas and Cayugas, was recognized in the treaty of Easton of October 23, 1758. In that conference the Munsees and some related Wappinger Indians settled their claims to lands in northern New Jersey. Because the boundaries of the lands already sold were often uncertain, "A great uneasiness and divers disputes between the Native Indians, and English inhabitants of the said northern parts of said province have arisen, to put an end to which, the Mingoes or United Nations, have permitted their nephews the said Minisink or Munsie, and the said Oping [Wappinger] or Pompton Indians to settle on their lands on the branches of the Susquehannah and elsewhere, to which they have for their better convenience removed" (Philhower 1936:251).

Iroquoian adoption practice was based on an elaboration and extension of kin relationships to outsiders, who could be adopted into a family, a clan, or even a nation. Adoptive nations were either assimilated into the group, or associated with it. In several cases, refugee nations were welcomed to live under the Great Tree of Peace. One of the Five Nations acted as supervisor; the associated nation received the use of land for planting and hunting, and it retained the right to govern its own village affairs. However, an associated nation was not permitted to take the lead in councils or in war (Parker 1916:50-52; Lynch 1985; cf. Mann 2000). The associated Delawares were considered to have the status of "women," who might be esteemed as peacemakers but not as wagers of war. To be "women" could have a positive connotation; the Delawares who later resided with the Cayugas in southern Ontario were given a ceremonial title that meant "lady" (Weslager 1944; Miller 1974). But when the

Susquehanna and Ohio Delawares went to war against the English in 1755, without approval of the Onondaga council, an Iroquois spokesman scornfully termed them fallen “women” and accused them of lying with the French like a “common bawd” (PCM 7:218).

The Munsees maintained their semi-independent status through the tumultuous wars of the mid-eighteenth century. Indian informants told Sir William Johnson and his agent George Croghan soon after the outbreak of war in 1755 that the western four of the Six Nations had promised to make the Delawares, Shawnees, Munsees, and Nanticokes part of the Iroquois confederacy. In exchange, these non-Iroquoian nations were expected to drive white settlers back to the “South Mountain” (West 1756; A.F.C. Wallace 1949:90). A tradition on the Grand River Reservation in Ontario in the early twentieth century held that the Cayugas had adopted the Delawares then residing in the upper Susquehanna Valley (Speck 1945:11; 1949:16-17, 74-75). However, the date suggested for this event, 1763, is evidently incorrect. The Delawares were not, like the adopted Tuscaroras and Tuteloes, one of the “four younger brothers” of the Iroquois league, either in the eighteenth century or on the Grand River Reservation in Ontario during the nineteenth (Fenton 1998:141). In January, 1777, Munsees and Delawares from the upper Susquehanna region attended a (futile) peace conference at Easton, Pennsylvania. The conference proceedings state that the Munsees and Delawares were “in alliance with but not a part of the Six Nations” (Easton Treaty 1777; Harvey 1909:914).

MUNSEES ACT ALONE

The Munsees proved not very obedient “nephews” to the Five Nations. Their guardians, or “uncles,” the Cayugas and Senecas, experienced frequent problems with their Munsee subordinates, in both wartime and peacetime. The Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, who knew the Munsees well,

described them as “averse to manners, prone to mischief and friends of war” (Heckewelder 1872:256). Colonial speculators had good reason to think so. Munsees seized the chain of the surveyor who first tried to survey the boundaries of the Hardenbergh Patent in 1743 (JP 6:735), and they tried to stop a survey of Pennsylvania lands on the upper Delaware in 1750 (PCM 5:489). Munsees bitterly resented the “Walking Purchase” of 1737 and the many other frauds and insults perpetuated by the settlers. They could not forget the hanging of the prominent Munsee chief, Weequehela, in New Jersey in 1727, after he was convicted of murder for shooting a white farmer in the midst of a heated argument (Grumet 1991; Wilk 1993).

When General Edward Braddock was mortally wounded and his army decimated near Fort Duquesne in July, 1755, Delawares residing both west and east of the Appalachian Mountains saw and seized the opportunity for revenge, for glory, for booty, and for captives to replace lost family members. Encouraged and supplied by the French commanders at Fort Niagara and Fort Duquesne, Delawares and Shawnees organized war parties. Coordinated attacks on frontiers of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York began in October and November of 1755. For nearly three years the Philadelphia and New York City newspapers carried frequent reports of raids by Indians in frontier settlements near the Delaware River and on the east side of the Catskill Mountains. Newspaper accounts almost never identify the hostile Indians by tribal or individual names.

Historians have focused their attention on the “belligerent” Delawares and Shawnees living in the Ohio country (Ward 1992). However, Sir William Johnson wrote to the governor of New Jersey in the summer of 1758 that “the Minnisink Indians who formerly lived [in New Jersey], if not the only, are at least the chief Perpetrators of those Hostilities and ravages which the Frontiers of your Province and that of New York, have and are daily suffer-

ing" (JP 2:873-74). Although the Unami Delawares on the Susquehanna, led by their intelligent but flawed leader and spokesman, Teedyuscung, had stopped their raids and started seeking peace in 1756 (A.F.C. Wallace 1949:103-115), the Munsees from the upper Susquehanna continued their raids off and on for nearly three years, with much help from the pro-French western Senecas (PCM 7:764; JP 2:863). Munsee war parties were still in the field in August, 1758, even as their chiefs, their Seneca and Cayuga supervisors, and their spokesman, Teedyuscung, were meeting with the governors of Pennsylvania and New Jersey to arrange the peace conferences that were held at Easton, Pennsylvania, and Burlington, New Jersey, in October (PCM 8:148-223; Smith 1765:446-83). On concluding peace with the Munsees, New Jersey Governor Francis Bernard cautioned the Munsees from Assinisinck not to "go into those parts where they had lately committed hostilities till the people's passions were cooled" (PCM 8:211).

The outbreak of the Indian war in 1755 produced intense diplomatic activity seeking to put a stop to it. Those seeking peace were the government of Pennsylvania, which foolishly thought all had been well in its Indian relations; the new British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Sir William Johnson; and the grand council at Onondaga. In this tense time the Six Nations designated spokesmen, known as "kings," for the subsidiary nations on the Susquehanna (A.F.C. Wallace 1949:111; Fenton 1998:490). The Six Nations gave these "kings" authority to confer about peace—the business of men, not women (PCM 7:213).

OUTSTANDING MUNSEE LEADERS APPEAR

One of the "kings" was Teedyuscung (Thomson 1759:83-84), who had moved with his band to the Wyoming Valley in 1754 at the behest of the Six Nations. He relocated to the Chemung Valley in the spring of 1756. At conferences with the Pennsylvania government,

Teedyuscung presented himself as the spokesman for all the Susquehanna Indians, including the Munsees (NYCD 7:197; PCM 7:66; JP 2:824). Another "king" was a Munsee Delaware from Assinisinck. His name was Anandamoakin, in English "Long Coat," apparently from a fancy coat the French at Fort Niagara had given him (Hunter 1979 4:26). Anandamoakin was a strong adherent of the French, and he made visits to Niagara and Montreal. He negotiated with Sir William Johnson in the summer of 1756 (NYCD 7:118, 154, 175; PCM 7:187-89, 195) and with emissaries from Pennsylvania in 1758 (PA (1) 505). He accompanied Teedyuscung on a peace mission to the Ohio country in 1760 (Post 1999:82, 86, 88).³

Two other Munsee chiefs became prominent negotiators with the whites. One of them was Echgohund, a chief at Assinisinck, the new Munsee town on the Chemung River. Echgohund, who came from the Delaware Valley, appears to have been the chief named *Aggokan* who received and distributed payment for lands sold by the Cohecton Indians to Hardenbergh and Livingston in 1746 (NYLP 40:126). During the French and Indian War Echgohund went on sixteen raids and took seventeen prisoners (PCM 8:152-53, 158-59). He was the leader of the Munsee delegation that made peace with New Jersey in 1758, settling all outstanding Indian claims to the northern part of the province (PCM 8:175-76). Echgohund used the issue of white captives held by the Munsees to great advantage. He promised at conference after conference to return them, and finally handed over five captives to the Pennsylvania government in 1762 (PCM 8:750; PA (1) 4:100-101). The protracted negotiations over the captives enhanced his prestige, brought him and his people valuable gifts, and delayed the difficult moment when the captives had to be returned.

Another prominent Munsee chief and negotiator during the 1760s was Michtauk, an Esopus Indian. He was one of the Munsees who sold large tracts of land in the Delaware

Valley to the Connecticut settlers in 1754 and 1755 (Boyd and others 1930 1:196-200, 260-72). He later became the chief of the Munsee town of Chugnut on the upper Susquehanna (PCM 8:644). Michtauk was one of the Munsee chiefs who met twice in the fall of 1761 with the magistrates and militia officers of Ulster County. He called for peace and recalled the ancient treaty of peace in 1665 between the Esopus Indians and Richard Nicolls, first English governor of New York. That treaty was renewed every few years for more than a century (Scott and Baker 1953). The Ulster County officials called for return of the many prisoners the Munsees had captured under the shadow of the Catskill Mountains and taken to their towns on the Susquehanna and Chemung (Colden 1877:1:142-43; JP 3:566-69; AP 29:212).

While a final peace had not yet been concluded between the British government and the hostile Indian nations west of the Alleghenies, another Indian war loomed. The Senecas circulated war belts among the western Indian nations soon after the French had surrendered Canada in 1760 (JP 3:405, 10:578-79). All the Indians were incensed when the British commander Sir Jeffery Amherst severely limited trade in powder, lead, and guns, which hunting peoples needed to survive. The Indians were dismayed when the British forces did not evacuate the posts they had seized from the French; they rightly feared that colonial speculators and squatters would push rapidly into the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. In May and June of 1763 the second Indian war in ten years broke out. Ottawas led by chief Pontiac laid siege to Detroit. Other war parties captured all the other British posts west of Niagara and Pittsburgh.

The war quickly spread to the east. Sir William Johnson many years later (JP 8:75-78) reported that the hostilities had really started when two young men from the Seneca town of Canisteo, on a tributary of the Chemung River, murdered two New York traders at the north end of Seneca Lake in the fall of 1762 (JP 3:932-35, 10:563-64, 568-69; *N.Y. Mercury*, Dec. 2,

1762). However, the catalyst for the outbreak of war in the east was the death of Teedyuscung in a suspicious fire that consumed his house in the Wyoming Valley in April, 1763. His son, a warrior known as Captain Bull, decided to take revenge on the Connecticut settlers living there, whom he blamed for his father's death. In October, 1763, Captain Bull and the Munsee war leader known as "Squash Cutter" led ferocious raids on the new Connecticut settlements in the Wyoming Valley and the upper Delaware Valley. They also attacked farms in the Minisink region of New York and New Jersey (*N.Y. Mercury*, Oct. 24, 31, 1763; JP 4:215-16, 10:886, 894).

WAR IS A MISTAKE

For all their determination and courage, the Munsees on the Chemung badly miscalculated in going to war again. They were not united, as they had been in the Indian war of 1755-1758, except for the support of some neutral Munsees still living at Cohecton. The Munsees residing at Chugnut on the North Branch of the Susquehanna had previously gone to war against the English (PCM 7:171-72). But in the summer of 1763 the Munsees of Chugnut conferred with the leaders of the nearby Indian towns of Owego, Chenango, and Oquaga, after they learned that war had broken out in the west. The Indians living in these towns—Munsees, Mohicans, Nanticokes, Oneidas, Mohawks, and others—decided they would remain at peace with the English (PCM 9:44-47, 68-69). The Munsee chief of Chugnut, Michtauk, visited Johnson's headquarters at Johnson Hall on the Mohawk River twice, in December, 1763, and March, 1764, to confer with Sir William. Michtauk proposed that nearly two hundred Munsee warriors from Chugnut and Wyalusing take part in General Forbes's planned expedition against the Delawares and Shawnees in the Ohio country (JP 10:945, 11:59-67, 476).

Johnson had become disgusted with the hostile Munsees dwelling along the Chemung

River, and with their guardians and accomplices, the western Senecas. Both the Munsees and the Senecas were still holding white prisoners from the war nearly ten years before. Now they were again raiding the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York. The Senecas had recently ambushed a military detachment near the Niagara River gorge, at a place that came to be called the “Devil’s Hole,” killing many British soldiers (JP 10:867-68). Johnson at first considered sending a military force against the Senecas (JP 4:210). Then he decided to punish the Munsees as a warning to the larger, stronger nation.

The Indian superintendent recruited about two hundred Mohawk warriors, among them the young Joseph Brant, and a few Oneidas. Johnson placed them under the joint command of trusted officers, John Johnston and William Hare, and the French-Oneida interpreter and soldier of fortune, Andrew Montour. The orders were simple—search out and destroy the enemy towns along the Chemung River (JP 11:51-52). After slogging on snowshoes over two hundred miles through wet snow in the early spring of 1764, the Mohawks burned three large Indian towns and several smaller ones, totaling some two hundred houses. Most were well built of squared logs, and some of them had stone fireplaces. Captain Bull and a war party were surprised and captured at Oquaga (JP 4:344-45). Bull and several other warriors were jailed in New York City. Johnson proclaimed his triumph in letters to British commanders and colonial governors and to the newspapers in New York and Philadelphia (JP 4:323-24, 11:54).

The Munsees from the Chemung location abandoned their towns and took refuge with the Senecas and the Cayugas. Johnson demanded that the Munsees turn over their “king,” Anandamoakin, and their war captain, Jachcapus, or “Squash Cutter,” as hostages. After more than a year of delays, they finally did so. The eastern “Delawares,” mostly Munsees, signed a peace treaty at Johnson Hall in May, 1765 (NYCD 7:738). Johnson sent an agent into

the Seneca country to bring back all the civilian prisoners and military deserters he could find among both the Munsees and the Senecas. Once the prisoners were brought to Johnson Hall, the hostages, including Anandamoakin and Captain Bull, were released (JP 11:722-23, 768-69, 812-13). Squash Cutter, however, had died of smallpox while in captivity (JP 11:800, 817). Some of the Munsees who had been burned out of their homes now went west to the upper Allegheny River, about one hundred miles above Pittsburgh, where they established a new village named Goshgoshunk in the spring of 1765 (Deardorff 1946; Kent 1974:217-18). The rest of the Munsees who had taken refuge with the Senecas and Cayugas returned to the upper Susquehanna and built a new town at Chemung-Wilawana in the spring of 1767 (MA 131:5 Apr. 24, 29, 1768; Zeisberger 1912:10).

The Munsees on the Susquehanna asserted themselves militarily and diplomatically during the Indian wars of the 1750s and 1760s. The Munsees also expressed themselves culturally, in both traditional and non-traditional ways. Some of them tried to revive old customs and to reduce their dependence on European culture. Others were converted to Christianity by missionaries of the Moravian religion based in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Both movements—the “pagan” revival and Christian conversion—had a common origin in events at the Minisink Town on the Susquehanna River (near modern-day Scranton) in the 1740s and early 1750s. Congregational missionaries from New England and Moravian brethren from Bethlehem had made repeated visits to the Wyoming Valley. Rev. John Sergeant from Stockbridge visited the Shawnees and Delawares in 1741 (Frazier 1992:198-99). Count Zinzendorf, leader of the Moravians, came through with an entourage in 1742, and Moravian missionaries followed (Johnson 1902-03:126-35, 148). Rev. David Brainerd preached to the Susquehanna Indians in 1744 and 1745 (Edwards 1985:286-87, 294-95, 576). His brother, Rev. John Brainerd, visited on May 8, 1751 (MA 117:2).

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

Some Munsees decided to promote a different message. Possibly in response to Christian proselytizing, Munsee traditionalists were active in the Wyoming Valley in the 1750s, at Assinink in the 1760s, and on the upper Allegheny in the 1770s. They spoke about a Creator who had made three races of humankind, with a separate salvation for each. They denounced liquor and other European corruptions; they revived ancient ceremonies; and they proclaimed a message of reconciliation to native communities that were torn by factions (Heckewelder 1876:293-95; Hays 1954:74-75; Dowd 1992:27-33).

The Munsee cultural revival was not only a reaction to social disintegration, but also a positive, creative attempt to reestablish a system of social and spiritual values (A.F.C. Wallace 1956; Champagne 1988). The message of these traditionalist reformers had a persistent appeal among the non-Christian Munsees. Wangomend, who had lived at Assinink and later at Goshgoshunk, was an influential traditionalist (Zeisberger 1912:21-22, 27-28, 55, 59; Heckewelder 1876:293-95; Dowd 1992:37-38). Oniem, active as a "sorcerer" among the Susquehanna Munsees in the 1770s, preached the same traditionalist message at Muncey Town in Ontario over thirty years later (MA 131:3 Oct. 20, 1766; Gray 1956:207-208; Sabathy-Judd 1999:280, 375-76).

The cultural and religious ferment at the Minisink town on the Susquehanna during the 1750s also resulted in the formation of a separate, reformist and pacifist Munsee community that eventually became Christian. Papunhank was its leader. He had been a resident of the Minisink Town on the Susquehanna, and he undoubtedly heard the missionaries who visited the area. After the death of his father he had experienced a spiritual crisis, climaxed by a vision in the woods—a transforming experience that many Delaware males experienced as youths (Kraft 2001:335-36; Dowd 1992:31;

Gavaler 1994). Papunhank now established his own community at Wyalusing. There he and other Munsees tried to live in a spirit of brotherly love as the Creator had intended (Post 1999:116-20). Papunhank had visited Philadelphia, the "city of brotherly love," and was influenced by the Quakers as well as by the missionaries who visited the Wyoming Valley. In the spring of 1763 the Moravian missionary David Zeisberger accepted the Wyalusing Munsees' oft-repeated invitation to visit them. Convinced of his sinfulness, Papunhank was converted to Christianity, along with many of his people (MA 227:9:1 May 21, 1763; Zeisberger 1995:273-74 [obituary of John Papunhank]).

MUNSEES MOVE TO THE OHIO COUNTRY

Later in 1763, because of Pontiac's war, the Christian Munsees left Wyalusing and took refuge in Philadelphia. After suffering from disease and being threatened by a mob of vengeful whites, the Christian Munsees returned to Wyalusing in 1765 (Loskiel 1794:3:1-4). There a Moravian missionary and his wife lived with them and ministered to them. In June, 1772, Papunhank and his community moved west, at the invitation of the major Delaware chiefs in the Ohio country. Their move was prompted by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768 and the concurrent Six Nations' land sale to Pennsylvania. These agreements established an Indian boundary line which passed through Tioga Point and isolated the Moravian missions at Wyalusing and Sheshequin within white territory (Loskiel 1794:3:62-77).

The Six Nations vehemently opposed the decision of the Christian Indians to move to the Ohio, because the Susquehanna Indians helped form a buffer against encroaching white settlers. At a council held at Chemung-Wilawana in early 1772, a Cayuga chief addressed representatives of the Munsees and Delawares, from both the Christian and traditional factions, living in the upper Susquehanna

Valley. Presenting three large wampum belts, the Cayuga asked the Munsees and Delawares to forgive the Mohawks and Oneidas for taking up the hatchet in the recent war—that is, for burning the settlements along the Chemung River in 1764. He declared that there should be peace between the Munsees and Delawares and the Six Nations, and he directed all the Munsees and Delawares to move to the Chemung River to the site of Assinisink and to live in one town. There they could be better supervised.

The Munsee Chief John Papunhank rejected all three overtures. He responded that the Six Nations had sold all the lands below Tioga at Fort Stanwix in 1768, including the lands where the Wyalusing mission stood. The Christian Munsees had accepted the invitation to go to the Ohio, a good country. Addressing the Cayuga spokesman, Papunhank declared, “You come too late!” On hearing this the Cayuga chief hung his head (MA 131:9 Feb. 8, March 29, 30, 1772, 133:4, Apr. 3, 4, 1772; Loskiel 1794:3:75). Two years before, the Six Nations had sent two Spanish dollars to the mission at Wyalusing, that being their share of the proceeds of the land sale at Fort Stanwix. The chiefs had disdainfully returned the money (MA 131:7 June 18, 1770, 133:2 June 19, 1770).

EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The coming of the Revolutionary War found the Susquehanna munsees in a weakened position. The Christian Indians had gone west. White settlers swarmed up the Susquehanna Valley soon after the treaty of Fort Stanwix. Some squatters crossed the treaty line. Nevertheless, on the eve of the Revolution, the Munsees on the Chemung still numbered about one hundred fifty fighting men, nearly as many fighters as the Cayugas had (Jefferson 1954:104). However, two strong Munsee leaders had recently died. Echgohund, who had opposed the Christian mission and moved to a

new town opposite Tioga Point in 1768, is not mentioned in the Moravian mission diaries or any other dated document after 1771 (MA 131:8 May 2, 1771). Michtauk had recently become chief of the new Munsee town at Chemung-Wilawana. The place had frequent problems with rum traders, and in January, 1772, some drunken Indians killed Michtauk in a brawl. The Moravian missionary recording this sad event called Michtauk “an eminent man” (MA 131:8 Jan. 31, 1772, 133:4 Jan. 28, 1772).

The Munsees and other dependents of the Six Nations living on the upper Susquehanna had kept up some diplomatic contacts. Echgohund, Michtauk, and other Munsees visited Philadelphia twice in 1770, offering friendship to the governor of Pennsylvania, seeking provisions, and asking that a gunsmith and a trader be stationed at Chemung-Wilawana (PCM 9:648, 689; MA 131:7 Feb. 20, 1770; JP 7:1069-70). Diplomatic activity increased with the coming of conflict between the American colonies and the British government. In meetings held at various times and places between the spring of 1775 and the spring of 1777, the Munsees and other Susquehanna Indians informed the extra-legal Connecticut government in the Wyoming Valley, the Pennsylvania government, and the Continental Congress that they wanted peace (Harvey 1909:2:828, 888, 913; Meginness 1889:476). The revolutionary committee of Ulster County sent a peace message to Chief Michtauk of the Esopus Indians in early 1777, not knowing he had been dead for five years (NYRD 2:93).

The British at Fort Niagara were vigorously lobbying the Six Nations and the Susquehanna Indians, and won the allegiance of all of them except for most of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, and some of the Onondagas. In September, 1776, at Fort Niagara, Col. John Butler and other British officers persuaded chiefs of the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and the various nations of Susquehanna Indians, including the Delawares, to make war against the Americans (Flick 1929:57; A.F.C. Wallace

1970:131). In December Joseph Brant and Guy Johnson traveled overland from New York City to the upper Susquehanna Valley and won the support of the village chiefs in that region (Graymont 1972:108; Kelsay 1984:185).

During the Revolutionary War, Delawares (most of them Munsees), who lived along the Chemung and upper Susquehanna, took part in many raids on the American frontier settlements, usually joining Seneca or Cayuga war parties (HP 21,756:39, 21,765:91, etc.). Most of the three hundred Indian warriors who fought in the battle of Wyoming in July, 1778, were said to be Senecas and Delawares (McGinnis 1974-75:14).

Munsee war chiefs active during the war included Ben Shanks, a resident of the upper Delaware Valley (Quinlan 1873:317), and Hochhadunk, the leader of the local Delawares who fought at the battle of Newtown on the Chemung River in August, 1779 (Blacksnake 1989:108). General John Sullivan's expedition and the parallel expedition from Fort Pitt, led by Colonel Daniel Brodhead, destroyed all the Munsee towns on the Chemung, Susquehanna, and Allegany Rivers. The Munsees fled to sites on Cattaraugus Creek and Buffalo Creek in western New York (HP 21,767:7, 181). From those places most of the Munsees relocated to southern Ontario after the war ended in 1783. The chief of the Munsees of Chemung-Wilawana, named Loaghkas (HP 21,767:181), was the chief of a new Munsee town on the upper Thames River in Ontario. He died in a battle with the Americans during the War of 1812 (Sabathy-Judd 1999:10, 497).

A DISTINCTIVE HERITAGE

The Munsee Indians who migrated westward from the Hudson and Delaware Valleys were probably not a distinct ethnic group. Linguistic and genealogical evidence from the Munsee communities in Ontario, both Christian and traditional, suggests that they included some Mohicans and Unami Delawares (Speck 1945:7-9, 15, 21; cf. Becker 1993). The

Moravian mission at Wyalusing came to include some Mohicans and a few members from other tribes, as well as Munsees and Delawares (Schutt 1999). However, before they started to intermarry with other groups, the Munsees were a distinct people. The Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder, described the Munsees as "robust or strong-boned, broad faces, somewhat surly countenances, greater head of hair and this growing low down on their foreheads, short, round-like nose, thick lips, seldom closed . . . Their natural complexion is dark" (Heckewelder 1872:256). Linguists note that the Munsee language retains more elements of a proto-Algonquian tongue than do related, less conservative Algonquian languages (Goddard 1982:17).

The Munsees had a distinct history. During the eighteenth century most of them migrated to the interior of the colonies. There they resided in the shadows of powerful political entities, both European and Native American. Yet the Munsees were active agents in military and diplomatic affairs during the three great Indian wars of the 1750s, 1760s, and 1770s. They developed experiments in cultural regeneration—both traditional and Christian—that demonstrated their spiritual resilience. In recent years Munsee Delawares have been increasingly interested in their history and heritage (Miskokomon 1984; Oestricher 1991; Kraft 1994). The Munsees deserve to be recognized and remembered as a coherent group whose identity persisted long after their departure from the lower Hudson and upper Delaware Valleys.

END NOTES

- 1 The modern place name *Chemung* derives from Unami Delaware; the name *Wilawana*, a hamlet on the Chemung River in Bradford County, Pennsylvania, from Munsee Delaware. Both names evidently refer to the same settlement and mean "at the place of the horn." (Dr. Ives Goddard, pers. comm., Feb. 3, 1999; Zeisberger 1887:96).

- 2 By the 1750s and 1760s the Senecas also exerted influence over Nanticokes, Mohicans, and other Indians settled as far east as Chenango (NYCD 7:250, 252-53, 279; PCM 8:655, 659).
- 3 Paxinosa, the old leader of the Susquehanna Shawnees, was also referred to as a king, apparently meaning as chief of his people (JP 2:614, NYCD 7:244-45, PCM 725-26).

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ABBREVIATIONS

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- HP Papers of Sir Frederick Haldimand. British Library, London [microfilm].
- JP *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, eds. James A. Sullivan, Alexander C. Flick, and Milton W. Hamilton, 14 vols. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921-65.
- MA Moravian Archives, Records of the Moravian Mission Among the Indians of North America. Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pa. [microfilm].
- NYCD *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. Edmund B. O'Callaghan. 15 vols. Weed, Parsons and Company, 1853-1887, Albany.
- NYCP N.Y. (Colony). Council Papers ("Colonial Manuscripts"). Series A1894, New York State Archives, Albany [microfilm].
- NYLP N.Y. (Colony). Applications for Land Grants ("Land Papers"). Series A0272, New York State Archives, Albany [microfilm].
- NYRD *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts, Relating to the War of the Revolution, in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.*, ed. Edmund B. O'Callaghan, 2 vols. Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1868.
- PA (1) 3 *Pennsylvania Archives*, ed. Samuel Hazard (1st Ser.), Vol. 3: 1756-1760. Philadelphia: 1853.
- PCM Pa. (Colony). *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, Vols. 3-9 [1717-1771]. Philadelphia or Harrisburg: 1851-53.

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APPENDIX

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MUNSEE TOWNS

First compiled for the Mohican Seminar of March, 2001, and now revised, the following list includes Munsee settlements documented as having ten or more houses or those described as towns. Dates in brackets indicate the period of documented Munsee occupancy; although earlier and/or later occupancy is possible. When the site has a modern place name deriving from Munsee or Unami Delaware, that name is used. If a place name of Delaware origin is no longer in use, an eighteenth-century spelling of the name is used. (Variant spellings were numerous.) If there was an alternate place name in another native language, it is given in parentheses. If the Delaware name of a settlement inhabited by Munsee speakers is uncertain or unknown, an eighteenth-century place name is given in *italics*.

The map (see Figure 3.1.) shows the approximate locations of Munsee towns in New York and Pennsylvania, as well as Minisink on the Delaware River in New Jersey, and the Munsee community on the lower Grand River in Ontario. Available evidence indicates that houses were quite scattered, and that town locations occasionally shifted within a general locale. The map does not show the Munsee settlements (traditional or Christian) located in the Muskingum, Cuyahoga, and Huron Valleys of Ohio at various times between about 1770 and 1812. Nor does it show Muncey Town and Moravian Town on the Thames River of southwestern Ontario. Muncey Town was settled in the early 1780s by traditionalist Munsees. Moravian Town was settled in 1792 by Christian Indians (a mixture of Munsees, Mohicans, and others).

- Assinisink** (Iroquoian *Cohocton/Conhocton*) - Chemung River, Steuben County, N.Y. [1756?-1764]
- Big Island** - Susquehanna River, West Branch, Clinton County, Pa. [1767?-1776]
- Buffalo Creek Reservation** - Erie County, N.Y. [1780-post-1817]
- Cattaraugus Creek/Reservation** - Erie and Chautauqua Counties, N.Y. [1780+]
- Chemung** [Unami Delaware name for Wilawana, *q.v.*]
- Cobus Town** - Chemung River, Chemung County, N.Y. [1756?-1764]
- Cochecton** - Delaware River, Sullivan County, N.Y. [pre-1719-1761?]
- Cookhouse** - Delaware River, Broome and Delaware Counties, N.Y. [pre-1745-1778?]
- Cowanesque** - Tioga River, Steuben County, N.Y. [1756?-1764]
- Cowanshannock** - Allegheny River, Armstrong County, Pa. [1765?-1771]
- Ganiataragechiat** [Cayuga name; Munsee designation unknown] - Cayuga Lake Inlet, Tompkins County, N.Y. [1764-1779]
- Goshgoshunk [I]** - Canisteo River, Steuben County, N.Y. [1756?-1764]
- Goshgoshunk [II]** - Allegheny River, Forest County, Pa. [1765-1779, 1781?-1791]
- Grand River Reserve** - Ontario, Canada [1780+]
- Hallobank** (also *Chugnut*, said to be a Nanticoke place name) - Susquehanna River, Broome County, N.Y. [pre-1753-1779]
- Lackawanna** - Susquehanna River, Luzerne County, Pa. [pre-1728-1756]
- Minisink** - Delaware River, Sussex County, N.J. [region occupied prehistoric times - ca. 1745?]
- Montontowongo** - Susquehanna River, Tioga County, N.Y. [1760s]
- Mahoning** - Allegheny River, Armstrong County, Pa. [1765?-1771]
- Moravian Town** - Thames River, Ontario, Canada [1792+]
- Muncey Town** - Thames River, Ontario, Canada [early 1780s+]
- New Kittanning** - Susquehanna River, Bradford County, Pa. [1778-1779; briefly settled by Munsee and Mohican refugees from Allegheny River in southwestern Pa.]
- Oquaga** - Susquehanna River, Broome County, N.Y. [small Esopus settlement near the main Oneida-Tuscarora-Mohawk town, pre-1755-1778]
- Pakatakan** - Delaware River, East Branch, Delaware County, N.Y. [pre-1706-pre-1749]
- Papagonk** - Delaware River, East Branch, Delaware County, N.Y. [pre-1706?-pre-1749]
- Queen Esther's Town** - Susquehanna River, Bradford County, N.Y. [1768?-1778]
- Quilutimunk** - Susquehanna River, Luzerne or Wyoming County, Pa. [1720?-1751]
- Shehaken** - at junction of East and West Branches of Delaware River, Delaware County, N.Y. [pre-1743-pre-1769]
- Sheshequin** - Susquehanna River, Bradford County, Pa. [1763?-1778]
- Tioga** [Iroquoian name; Munsee designation unknown] - junction of Susquehanna River and Chemung River, Bradford County, Pa. [pre-1737-1756]
- Tunkhannock** - Susquehanna River, Wyoming County, Pa. [pre-1749-1755]
- Wechpikak** - Susquehanna River, probably Tioga County, N.Y. (exact location unknown) [1760s]
- Wilawana** [Munsee Delaware name; place was better known as Chemung] - Chemung River, Chemung County, N.Y. [pre-1750-1764, 1767-1779]
- Wyalusing** - Susquehanna River, Bradford County, Pa. [1758-1772]

THE MOHICAN PRESENCE ON THE SUSQUEHANNA RIVER IN NEW YORK

Shirley W. Dunn (2001)

In the eighteenth century, attracted by promises of land for new homes and by opportunities to be paid for fighting in wars against Canada, some Mohicans settled along the Susquehanna River in New York within the territory of their former enemies, the Iroquois. This chapter explores some of these locations and the willingness of the former enemies to associate with each other.

MOHICANS AND MOHAWKS ONCE ENEMIES

Before the arrival of Europeans, the Mohicans and their Iroquois neighbors to the west would not tolerate each other. When Henry Hudson came into Mohican territory in the Hudson Valley in 1609, the Mohicans and the Mohawks, the easternmost of the Iroquois, were at a standoff. The enmity between the Mohicans and the Mohawks was noted by early Dutch traders and news-gatherers. Many years later, eighteenth-century Mohicans told Moravian missionaries about the old ill-will between the two nations. In addition, Hendrick Aupaumut, a literate Mohican, in the 1790s recalled how at a time “near 200 years ago” the Mohicans rescued the Shawanese, fellow Algonquian-speaking Indians, from the Five Nations (Heckewelder

1876:60; Aupaumut 1827:77; Dunn 2000:290).

After the arrival of the Dutch, the hostility continued. However, an agreement was made between the Mohicans, the Dutch traders, and the Mohawks that the Mohawks could come across Mohican territory to trade with the Dutch. When the Mohawks took liberties with the permission to come for trade, war broke out between the two nations. The Mohicans erected a fort opposite Fort Orange. In 1626 Mohicans enlisted the Dutch commander of Fort Orange in a foray against the Mohawks, thinking Dutch guns were invincible, but the Mohawks overwhelmed the little force (Jameson 1967:84-85). After another defeat in 1628, the Mohicans capitulated in 1629. They lost some of their land to the Mohawks, were forced to pay annual tribute to them, and were called to fight beside them (Dunn 1994:79-82, 96-112). These defeats may have been, at least in part, a consequence of a dramatic reduction in the Mohican population, due not only to the wars with the Mohawks but also to diseases brought by Europeans.

The suppressed Mohican anger towards the Mohawks surfaced during a major Indian war of the 1660s, when the Mohicans joined New England Indians in attacks against Mohawk villages. After this war ended in 1671, the two sides remained wary, each

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resorting to accusations at Indian conferences. They occasionally were chided by Albany officials for minor incidents of violence (Dunn 1994:120-121). Following this stand-off, despite their pre-contact and seventeenth-century hostility, the Mohicans and Iroquois gradually achieved a mutual toleration as the two groups moved into the stressful eighteenth century. Occasional inter-marriages occurred as social contact increased. Some Mohicans dispersed into Iroquois territory. The circumstances which facilitated this mutual toleration included some of the following historic developments.

One of the earliest reasons for Mohican exploration outside their traditional territory was the need for furs with which to purchase the many European products, from guns and gunpowder to kettles, axes and blankets, on which Indians had come to depend. After the end of King Philip's war in New England in 1776, the Mohicans ranged far in search of beavers, which were in short supply in Mohican territory in the Hudson and Housatonic river valleys. In 1682 at an Albany conference the Mohicans were accused of joining Mohawks in a foray into Maryland and Virginia against the Piscatawa Indians, southerners with whom the Mohicans and Mohawks were competing for furs. Mohicans agreed at the conference not to travel there. They promised that when they went out beaver hunting in the future, they would "goe more westwards"(Leder 1956:67).

ACCOMMODATION BEGINS

The Maryland incident illustrates the desperate search for furs, but also shows that a few Mohicans had made some accommodations with their former Mohawk enemies and were willing to travel with them. In the search for fur sources, Mohicans went long distances. Some went to ancient friends, the Ottawas, near the western boundaries of present New York. In the 1680s, a large group of Mohicans, reported to be fifty men and sixty women and

children, lived for six years among the Ottawas near Niagara, where they hunted with "good Success of many Beavers" until they were forced home in 1690 by the English war with the French. In order to come home, safe passage through the Five Nations' territory was arranged for them. (Leisler 1690; NYCD 3:808). Here was an example of improving inter-tribal relations hastened by the threat of war by the French against the Iroquois. Moreover, the Mohawk need for warriors was made clear in 1687, when the Mohawks requested the Schaghticoques north of Albany to help them make up the numbers of fighters at their "castle" (a Dutch term for a palisaded village). (Leder 1956:130).

At the time, the Mohicans were ready, as soon as ordered, to "go out" against the French (Leisler 1690; Wraxall 1915:14). Thus Mohicans began to fight as paid soldiers beside Mohawk warriors before the end of the seventeenth century. Mohicans also enlisted for proposed early eighteenth-century English and Iroquois expeditions against the French of Canada, such as those mounted in 1709 and 1711. In 1710, an Indian delegation sent to visit Queen Anne in England included three Iroquois chiefs and the Mohican chief sachem, Etowaukaum (Bond 1974: 40-54; Dunn 2000:281).

The Mohawk chief, Hendrick, was the best-known of the four travelers. Hendrick, part Mohican himself, was friendly to Mohicans, and he may have suggested Etowaukaum, chief sachem of the Mohicans, for the trip. The two may have been related. The evidence usually cited is that Hendrick's father, who married a Mohawk woman, had lived at Westfield in Massachusetts (NYCD 1853-57,6:294). Whether Westfield was within Mohican territory is not certain. However, John Konkapot, Junior, a Mohican of Stockbridge, later asserted that Hendrick, the Mohawk warrior, was his grandfather (Aupaumut 1804:99-102; Dunn 2000:268).

Again in the 1740s and 1750s, Mohicans fought beside Mohawks: By 1747 Mohicans were at Fort Johnson on the Mohawk River

talking with William Johnson about joining the Five Nations in war against the French. That war ended in 1748. In 1752 Hendrick came with other Mohawks and some Oneidas to visit the Mohican mission village of Stockbridge in Massachusetts. There Mohawk and Oneida young people were to attend a boarding school taught by Gideon Hawley. They left Stockbridge soon, however, due to the impending French and Indian War and to unwelcome teacher substitutions. The association between Mohicans, Mohawks and Oneidas remained friendly, and Gideon Hawley went from Stockbridge to teach among the Oneidas at Oquaga, a village on the Susquehanna River.

INVITATIONS FROM MOHAWKS AND MORAVIANS

During the French and Indian War of the 1750s, the Mohicans, at meetings at Fort Johnson, received invitations to settle among Mohawks at Schoharie, among Oneidas at Oquaga on the Susquehanna River, among Mohawks at Otsiningo on the Chenango River not far from Oquaga, and among the Cayugas (JP 2:61-65, 9:693, 846-47, 850). Pay for fighting, guns, and supplies for families were offered by William Johnson to enhance these invitations.

Mohican moves were impelled by privation resulting from land loss as well as by the search for furs. The presence of European families, with their cultivated fields, fences and livestock, diminished hunting and farming success in Mohican territory in New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. It was now more difficult for Indians to obtain food, clothing and ammunition, especially as their dependence on European guns and other products became complete. As the Mohicans continued to sell Hudson Valley sites, and as locations inland along major tributaries such as the Roelof Jansen Kill and the Kinderhook Creek also were lost to colonial farmers and land barons, some villagers moved eastward to join fellow Mohicans in the Taconic hills and in the Housatonic Valley of Massachusetts.

The Mohican chief sachem remained at Schodack, on the Hudson, however, until the early 1740s (Hamilton 1910:710; Hopkins 1753:21). Relocated Hudson Valley Mohican families and resident Housatonic Valley Mohicans formed the initial population of the Stockbridge mission, begun in 1734.

Other Mohicans lived farther down the Housatonic, in the northwest corner of Connecticut. After 1740, Moravian missionaries gradually drew these Mohicans away from their homeland. While a trickle of converted Mohicans moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to be near Moravian teachers, resident Mohicans from the Mohican village of Shekomeko in present Dutchess County, New York, sent their children to be raised by the Moravians at Bethlehem.

The Moravian missionaries, after establishing effective missions at Shekomeko and at Wequadrach in northwestern Connecticut in the early 1740s, were forced to return to their Bethlehem headquarters by colonial governments as the war with Canada was fought. When the missionaries retreated to Pennsylvania, some Mohicans remained behind, but many Mohican converts followed to Pennsylvania. A village called *Gnadenhutten* was established in 1746 especially for Christian Mohicans. The location was at the mouth of the Mahoning Creek in the Lehigh Valley, not far from Bethlehem. While Mohicans arrived at Gnadenhutten from Shekomeko and Wequadrach, there were converts from other locations as well.

By 1749, there was a grist mill, a saw mill, a blacksmith shop, and a mission house and chapel at Gnadenhutten. The village was burned in November, 1755, by a Shawanese war party. Ten missionaries were massacred in the attack and one was killed afterwards while a prisoner. Former Mohican residents of the Shekomeko and Wequadrach missions were among Indian victims. About thirty-five Mohican survivors fled to Bethlehem, where they were taken in by the Moravians (Reichel 1870:34-35).

According to Moravian membership lists, before the massacre most Mohicans who survived a Pennsylvania smallpox epidemic went to Gnadenhutten. Individuals and families, however, often shifted to other Delaware Indian locations in Pennsylvania. After the Gnadenhutten massacre, some joined a Delaware settlement in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania (Frazier 1992:115). Abraham, also known as Shabash, the Mohican chief from Shekomeko, moved with followers from Gnadenhutten to Wyoming in April, 1754, to be with Teedyuscung, the Delaware leader (Weslager 1949:61).

IROQUOIS OFFER SANCTUARY

As many Mohicans removed from their Hudson Valley and Housatonic River homeland, they looked for locations to the west where colonial settlers had not penetrated. Such locations still existed in Iroquois territory. The Iroquois nations welcomed native additions to the population of their land. They hoped Indian settlements placed on the Susquehanna near the New York-Pennsylvania border might hold back white settlement and also provide them with warriors.

In central New York, Sir William Johnson, who in July, 1756, received a commission naming him the sole agent and superintendent of the affairs of the Six Nations, made himself a source of colonial aid to native communities in the northern district (NYCD 7:158). Also in 1756 he was made a Baronet of Great Britain; thereafter he was termed Sir William, and the abbreviation "Bart" for *Baronet* often was used after his name. He doled out clothes, ammunition and corn vital to Indians along the Susquehanna in the 1750s, in an effort to retain Indian allegiance to the English cause during the French and Indian War.

Although this war ended, Pontiac's rebellion fractured Indian alliances in Pennsylvania by 1763, forcing Mohicans near Bethlehem to disperse to new locations. Some moved into the New York section of the Susquehanna, but,

as a result of being uprooted, most were impoverished. For two years, until Pontiac's war ended, Sir William Johnson continued to support the Indians of the area, including the Mohicans, in order to retain their allegiance and to obtain soldiers.

The Mohawks in the eighteenth century were trying to retain control of territory which they had won from Pennsylvania's Indian tribes. In the Wyoming Valley a fraudulent deed had given possession of reserved Delaware lands to the Susquehanna Company, a group which claimed Connecticut had ancient rights to the land (Weslager 1949:61). This claim had already brought New England settlers to Pennsylvania.

Indian occupation along the Susquehanna River in New York was on a different pace from that downriver in Pennsylvania. A map of the Susquehanna River drawn in 1683 included no fortified Indian villages directly on the upper Susquehanna except for the "Susquehannas Castle" below the falls on the river (Leder 1956:70). A map of 1700 of the land of the Five Nations, done by Wolfgang Romer, a copy of which is at the Manuscripts and History Room of the New York State Library, also locates the existing Iroquois castles only on the Mohawk River and inland from it. As the Susquehanna River had negligible importance on the map and Romer did not show any Iroquois locations on the Susquehanna, it appears the substantial native locations near or above the New York border which later appeared on European maps came to prominence in the decades after 1700. This suggests they were deliberately enlarged by the Iroquois in an attempt to block white settlement.

MOHAWKS NEED POPULATION BOOST

In fact, when their early invitations to displaced groups began, the Susquehanna River was not the focus of Mohawk attempts to recoup their numbers. The Mohawk commu-

nity was anxious to augment its diminished population. In 1703, the Mohawks urged Indians at the Schaghticoke refuge, who were pressured by the colonial population in present Rensselaer County northeast of Albany, to join them. A number of Schaghticoke's Mohicans removed to the Mohawk country despite the objections of Albany officials, who did not want to lose their Indian buffer north of the city (Dunn 1994:158-159). The Schaghticoke Mohicans informed the officials that they were going to the place where their nation formerly lived. This was a reference to the eastern Mohawk Valley, once Mohican territory. (Leder 1956:188-191).

The Schaghticoke group's decision to live among the Mohawks benefited both groups. It augmented the population of the Mohawks and provided them with additional fighters, while the Mohicans from Schaghticoke, crowded out of their supposedly reserved town, received land on which to farm and permission to hunt in Iroquois territory. However, they would thereafter be subject to the influence which the Mohawks would exercise over all displaced groups (Venables 1996:8). As early as summer, 1713, there was a camp of Mohicans living on the bend of the Schoharie Creek opposite the Mohawk's lower castle. These Mohicans were very likely the group from Schaghticoke (Wallace 1945:25).

The Mohawk offer to the Schaghticoke to move west was an example of the early enticements the Iroquois made to Hudson Valley, New Jersey, and southeastern Indians. Notable early products of the Iroquois' open door policy were the Tuscaroras, an Iroquoian-speaking group. After the Tuscarora War of 1711-1713, a large group of Tuscaroras displaced from North Carolina took shelter among the Five Nations. In 1714, the Iroquois maintained that the Tuscaroras ". . . were of us and went from us long ago and are now returned" (NYCD 5:387). About 1723, the Iroquois adopted the New York Tuscaroras into the League of the Five Nations. The League thereafter was called the Six Nations (Trigger

1978:519,520; Leder 1956:239).

Before mid-century, at Oquaga, slightly north of the Pennsylvania line, Tuscaroras occupied locations near an Oneida village. Members of displaced groups, including Delawares, Mohicans, Shawanese and other tribes also came to live along the Susquehanna in the 1740s and 1750s (JP 9:682). In addition, in 1753 the Nanticokes moved from Pennsylvania to Otsiningo on the Chenango River of New York, a tributary of the Susquehanna (Figure 4.1.).

The Iroquois in the 1750s during the French War were heavily dependent on William Johnson for protection and leadership. He, in turn, worked persistently to obtain Indian fighters and to control the Six Nations and other Indians he could attract. One technique was to subsidize native groups, particularly those from whom he hoped to draw troops. The outlays for corn, clothing and supplies were carefully noted in his accounts (JP 9:639-658).

In August, 1757, Mohicans who lived around Schoharie and Catskill were camped across the Mohawk River from Fort Johnson, waiting to be called to fight. A decade later, Sir William armed and clothed for service some Mohicans similarly described as from Schoharie and from Catskill (Dunn 1994:158-59; JP 2:111; 9:470,682,833,843).

JOHNSON ATTRACTS DISPLACED MOHICANS

Johnson was particularly attentive to displaced groups during the French and Indian War, when it was vital to the English to retain Indian allies. He acted daily to keep Indian nations from being lured away by the French. He believed that the newcomers' presence also would increase the power and strength of the Six Nations (JP 9:693). As a result of Johnson's persuasion, Mohicans from several locations fought for the English army. It was largely through his efforts and at his expense that Mohicans came to live in towns on the



Figure 4.1. A detail from a map of 1768 shows the Indian communities of Onoghuquay (Oquaga), Otsiningo, Chughnut, Tohicon (Tioga) and Wioming (Wyoming) on or near the Susquehanna River. These communities harbored Mohicans and other native groups in the mid-eighteenth century. (O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, 1:1849, 587).

Susquehanna River. For example, he paid more than fifteen pounds to the account of Jacobus Clement, an interpreter, for bringing seventy-five "River Indians" from Albany (JP 2:611, 613).

After a conference in July, 1756, Sir William wrote a summary of events to the Lords of Trade in which he detailed how, in order to stop the French, he had obtained permission from the Six Nations to build a fort at Oswego and a road to it. He also explained how he had won back the allegiance of some wavering Delawares and Shawanese, who had begun to side with the French, and how he had drawn many Mohicans to settle among the Mohawks. Sir William also made an interesting reference to the traditional story that the Mohicans at an earlier time had broken away from the Delawares to settle in the Hudson Valley:

"That treaty [conference] was. . . adjourned to my house & those Indians with a Deputation of the Six Nations, came down to Fort Johnson where were present the said Six Nations Deputies, the King or chief of the Shawanese, the King or chief of the Delawares settled on the Susquehanna and its Branches, and a great number of the Mohikonders or River Indians whom I lately have drawn up from the Frontiers of this Province & New Jersey to settle near to, and under the protection of our faithful allies the Mohawks — These [Mohican] Indians were originally Delawares, and are still regarded as Bretheren by them"(NYCD 7:118).

MOHICANS JOIN SETTLEMENTS ON THE SUSQUEHANNA

While some Mohicans chose to relocate, some remained in the Hudson and Housatonic Valley backwaters of their homeland throughout the colonial period. Removal was not a new choice; individual Mohicans and families had traveled as far west as the Ohio

for many years. The close of the Moravian missions at Shekomeko and Wequadnach came as Mohican land was lost in Dutchess County, New York, and in neighboring Connecticut. Thereafter, sizable Mohican moves to Susquehanna River locations were motivated by Mohican connections to the Moravians. When King George's War of 1744-1748, which broke up the Moravian missions, forced the Moravians back to their headquarters at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, newly landless Mohicans from the mission areas followed to be with their Moravian teachers. Mohicans initially settled in locations outside of Bethlehem, the Moravian center, in order to have fields for corn and opportunities for hunting.

Shortly after, as noted above, came the effort of Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations to consolidate friendly Indians on the southern borders of Iroquois territory during the war with the French of Canada. As a result of this effort, Mohicans learned from the Six Nations to turn to Sir William Johnson for assistance when they had problems or were in need of protection, corn, clothing or ammunition. By April, 1757, Sir William Johnson noted that, although many Mohicans were scattered about the provinces of New York and New Jersey, the Mohicans in Iroquois territory already were numerous (JP 9:700).

In September, 1757, the Mohicans agreed with statements made by Sir William Johnson and the Iroquois that they had been "a dispersed and unsettled People" who had no land left on which to plant and no fixed habitation to live in, "by which means we are not capable of being of any Consequence as a People or Nation" (JP 9:698-701, 845-846). Describing themselves also as "a poor scattered people without any Inheritance" (JP 9:846), Mohican representatives asked Sir William to help them collect themselves and fix on "some determined place where we may live together with our Families, plant Corn for our maintenance and render ourselves useful to our

Bretheren the English" (JP 9:846). As a result of their request for land and Sir William's desire to bring the Mohicans into Iroquois territory, in the mid-eighteenth century Mohican villages were established beside Iroquois settlements along the Susquehanna River.

In the decades of the first half of the eighteenth century, then, the Mohicans and Mohawks had experienced a sea change in their relationship. They were no longer enemies. Some Mohicans would turn to Sir William and his Mohawk supporters for help and for places to establish villages and raise their corn. This change was not without price. The paternalistic thumb of the Mohawks influenced new Mohican choices, while the aid from William Johnson ensured that their young warriors would fight and die for the English colonies.

RESEARCH SOURCES

The locations of Mohican "towns," so called at the time, on the Susquehanna were recorded in journals by Moravian missionaries who passed up and down the river. The towns also were noted by other travelers and appeared on maps. The missionaries usually were traveling to Onondaga, south of present Syracuse, where the Six Nations met in conference. Moravians had reasons relating to their missions for visiting with the Six Nations at their headquarters. For example, in 1766, the missionaries were seeking permission of the Iroquois to settle Delawares and Mohicans in Pennsylvania territory controlled by the Iroquois. At a meeting at Onondaga the Cayugas granted these Moravian converts the use of land from "Friedenshuetten to near Oweke [Owego], above Tioaga" (Beauchamp 1916:228-229) (Figure 4.2.).

Mention of the Susquehanna towns and their occupants also is found in the manuscripts, letters and accounts of Sir William Johnson. Records of his Indian conferences note the Indian towns along the Susquehanna and sometimes identify their occupants and

the frequent movement of native people between locations. In addition, journals of the 1780s, derived from three Revolutionary War military expeditions made to punish the Iroquois, describe these towns, with their ample cornfields, gardens and livestock, even as the American troops prepared to destroy them. Broome County histories and an excellent book about one community, Oquaga, are also available. From these sources, glimpses of the Mohican presence at communities called Tioga, Oquaga, Otsiningo, and Chugnut emerge.

Their years in the Susquehanna towns comprise a seldom-recorded segment of Mohican history. In those years, their numbers helped Sir William Johnson anchor the central part of the New York Colony and contributed to the success of the English in the French War against Canada. The Mohican experience with each of the four communities is suggested by the following brief accounts:

TIOGA

Tioga, Tioaga, Tiyaogo, or Dioaga, also called Tioga Point, was located at present Athens, Pennsylvania, at the confluence of the Chemung River and the Susquehanna River. The entire Chemung River in the 1740s was known as the Tioaga River and the upper part is still identified by the name Tioga. In March, 1737, Palatine leader Conrad Weiser, following the Susquehanna north, crossed the branch of the river called Dia-ogon (Tioga). He found "many Indians living here, partly Gaiuckers [Cayugas], partly Mahikanders [Mohicans]." The Indians were short of food but shared some corn soup with the visitors; the hungry travelers were able to obtain five small corn loaves from an old Mohican woman (NYCD 7:110; Wallace 1945:84-85).

Several years later, in June, 1745, Moravian Bishop Joseph Spangenberg, in passing through the area, visited Mohicans living at Tioga. Spangenberg and his entourage were on their way to Iroquois headquarters at

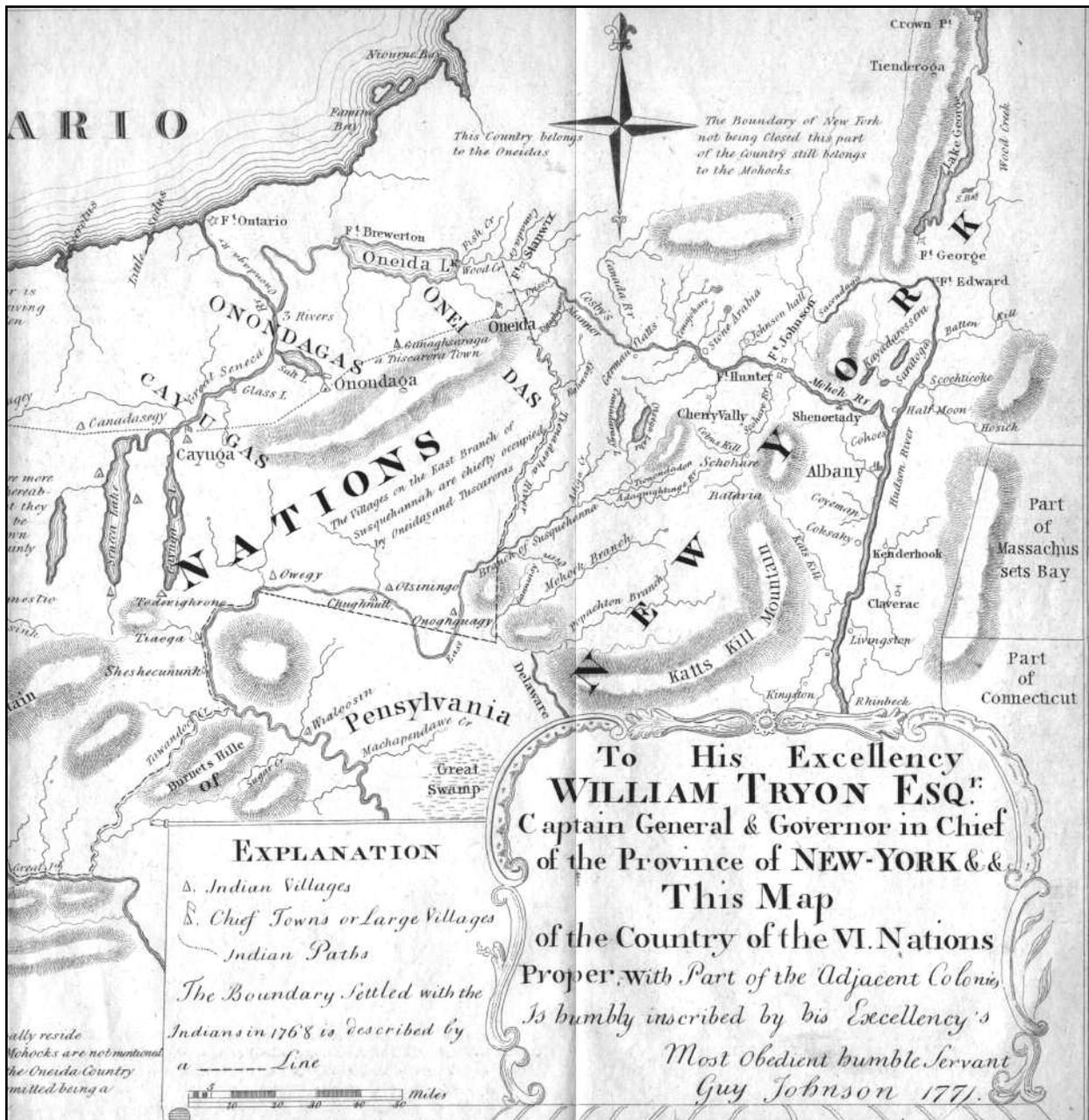


Figure 4.2. A detail of a map of 1771 of the country of the Six Nations locates Sir William Johnson's Fort Johnson and also shows the communities along the Susquehanna River where Mohicans lived before the American Revolution. (O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of New York*, 4:1851,1090).

Onondaga to ask permission to bring Mohicans from Shekomeko in New York to Wyoming and Friedenshutzen (Wyalusing) in Pennsylvania. Later, Tioga was best known as a Delaware town, the hotbed of a rebellion

against the English, who with good reason feared Delawares and Shawanese would join the French (P. A. W. Wallace 1958; Beauchamp 1945:11; NYCD 7:110, 156-157).

In 1745 the Mohicans at Tioga had been

very friendly to Spangenberg's Moravian group. Although the Bishop planned to pitch a tent outside the village, the Indians urged him to stay with them. They prepared a house and beds which the travelers gladly accepted. The incident suggests a previous acquaintance of some of the Mohicans with the Moravians. A few were possibly from Shekomeko, the Moravians' Mohican mission village in Dutchess County, New York, or from Wequadnach, the Mohican mission near present Sharon, Connecticut.

On Bishop Spangenberg's return journey on July 2, two canoes carrying Indian women from Tioga came up to his campsite in the evening to hunt for wild beans. The next day, at Tioga, the Indians supplied the Spangenberg party with some provisions, but, he wrote, they "had but little to spare" (Beauchamp 1945:14-15). Indian hunger was a recurrent theme along the Susquehanna.

At Tioga Spangenberg found some Delawares as well as Mohicans. In the 1750s, these Delawares had close connections with Oquaga and with Rev. Gideon Hawley, who was at Oquaga. Rev. Hawley formerly had taught at Stockbridge, Massachusetts (NYCD 7:48-49). In 1756, Delawares living at Tioga noted that the Six Nations had "fixt us at Tiaoga and lighted a Council Fire there...." At the same Indian conference, Delawares from Tioga expressed their pleasure when almost two hundred Mohicans arrived at Fort Johnson (NYCD 7:157).

Although some years later, in 1766, missionaries on a journey to the Cayugas near present Ithaca noted that no one lived at Tioga, the Tioga location was reoccupied by Iroquois Indians during the Revolution. In 1778, during the American Revolution, only a few hours after an Iroquois and Tory force had left the village, it was one of four Indian towns destroyed by Col. Thomas Hartley and Zebulon Butler, who were on a punitive expedition from Fort Muncy, ten miles east of present Williamsport, Pennsylvania (Hinman 1975:49-51).

After the Revolution, some Iroquois used the location again. Mohican leader Hendrick Aupaumut stopped at Tioga Point in May of 1791 on his mission to the western Indians. The people there told him that chiefs of the Senecas, Onondagas and Cayugas had just left (Aupaumut 1827:78).

OQUAGA

The Indian community known as Oquaga, also spelled Onoquaga, Aughquagey, Achwua-go, and other ways, consisted of four separate villages strung along the Susquehanna River in Broome County at present Windsor (east of Binghamton) and along the river northeast of Windsor. The four villages were considered as one locale. The community boasted wide cornfields beside the river; these fertile alluvial flats still produce corn today (Figure 4.3). Because it became a mission village, Oquaga was the best known of the Indian settlements along the Susquehanna River in Oneida territory.

The site was occupied by Tuscaroras and Oneidas before 1736 (Trigger 1978, 15:520). The Oneida town lay at a shallow river crossing; from this ford an Indian trail led northwest to Otsiningo (Chenango) and points beyond. In May, 1739, young William Johnson had requested Indian trade goods from his uncle and sponsor, Peter Warren, to stock a proposed trading post at Oquaga. There was a native population there sufficient to turn a profit, and, as he noted, "but few traders go there" (JP 1:7-8). Instead, Johnson made his headquarters on the Mohawk River and developed his trading post and fort there.

From 1753 to 1777, except when interrupted by war, Protestant missionaries maintained a mission at Oquaga supported by both the English "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" and the Scottish "Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge." The mission had a chapel and school; intermittent resident ministers were Rev. Gideon Hawley, 1753-1756; Rev. Ebenezer Moseley, 1765-1773;



Figure 4.3. Broad alluvial fields such as these cornfields near the Susquehanna River at present Windsor supported the large population of the mission community called Oquaga or Onoquaga in the mid-eighteenth century. Separate native villages once clustered at Oquaga were occupied by Oneidas, Delawares, Tuscaroras, and Mohicans. Photo by Shirley W. Dunn, 2002.

and Rev. Aaron Crosby, 1774-1777. Missionary service to the mission was interrupted during the wars of the 1750s but was resumed in 1765. Finally, financial support for the mission ended in 1779 because of the Revolution (Hinman 1975:7). Although religious services often were not well-attended and the Indians during wartime were poor, the later missionaries have been credited with helping turn the Oneida town at the center of Oquaga into a prosperous location prior to the Revolution.

Rev. Gideon Hawley, the Stockbridge teacher who was ordained as a minister in July, 1754, had followed his Oneida students and their families west from a Stockbridge, Massachusetts, boarding school for Indians, which closed. Because of the dangers at the Oquaga location during the Seven Years War, he left and moved east to serve a Massachusetts Indian

group, the Mashpees of Cape Cod (NYCD 7:49) During his three years on the Susquehanna, he often was present at Fort Johnson when Sir William Johnson held Indian conferences.

Request for a Trader

From time to time the Indians at Oquaga requested that a trader be sent to them, as they found it too difficult and dangerous in wartime to go cross-country to trade for the necessities of life at Fort Johnson (JP 9:807). Residents at Oquaga wanted gunpowder, lead for bullets, and clothing, and whatever other things the trader pleased. Alcohol brought by traders, however, was not welcome. Under the influence of Gideon Hawley, the Indians at Oquaga sent a letter by means of Timothy Woodbridge of Stockbridge, Hawley's

companion on the trip to Oquaga, announcing their community's decision that no trader should bring any rum to Oquaga. "You must not think, one man, or a few men, have done it, we all of us, both old & young, have done it," the letter announcing this prohibition said (O'Callaghan 1849, 2:627).

In 1755, according to a map made by Rev. Hawley, Oquaga extended several miles along the Susquehanna River and included four separate towns adjacent to each other. The Tuscaroras were at the north end of the community. Below them was the central Oneida town of Oquaga, which contained the chapel and school. The Oneida settlement lay on both sides of the river, with a cultivated island between the two sections. This was the fordway area. From here, an Indian trail led northwest to Otsiningo and beyond. Below the Oneida town was a Delaware town (at present Windsor), and below the Delawares was another Tuscarora settlement. Such aggregations of Indian towns were characteristic of displaced eastern Indians; instead of blending in, they carefully retained their tribal unit when they moved to a new location. Moreover, while individual groups might come and go, the umbrella community retained its name. The Oneida settlement also absorbed disaffected members of the Six Nations. Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, whose wife was an Oneida, had a home there. At Sir William's conferences, the chiefs and fighters from Oquaga often were called the Aughquageys, however, without distinction as to tribal affiliation.

In winter of 1755-1756, it was rumored that all the Indian nations on the banks of the Susquehanna as far east as Oquaga had joined the French. At a meeting with Sir William Johnson at Fort Johnson in February, 1756, the Aughquageys (Oquagas), Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Chugnuts, Mohicans and Shawanese assured him this was a false report. At the time, some Shawanese were on their way to Chugnuts, where they were to settle under the protection of the above groups and the Delawares. Many groups were on the move.

Fort at Oquaga

By December, 1756, soldiers had completed a new fort at Oquaga to protect local Indian families. The Indians noted that they had "good houses now" but could not safely go out hunting. They desired a trader with goods to come to Oquaga (JP 9:568-69, 682-83). The new Oquaga fort was to contain a small English garrison for protecting the native residents. The fort had been suggested by Gideon Hawley as a gesture to keep the Delawares allied with the English as well as for the Indians' protection (NYCD 7:49). After the war, the residents of Oquaga requested that this fort (and others) should be pulled down as promised, apparently to avoid a perpetual English presence in their midst.

At the April, 1757, meeting, Sir William Johnson admitted to the River Indians that a Mohican had been murdered between Albany and Schenectady: The Mohican man had been shot by a soldier who said the Indian had threatened him. The soldier was in jail and would be tried; meanwhile, Sir William offered blankets, strouds and stockings to ease Mohican grief. The Mohicans used the opportunity to mention a previous murder at Rhinebeck which had occurred nine years before, when a white man shot a young native. At the time, the Indians had been promised, "If this man's life is spared, and at any time hereafter an Indian should kill a white man, and you desire it, his life shall be also spared" (NYCD 7:250).

Now the Mohicans had an exchange in mind for these two murders of their tribesmen. They reminded Johnson that there were two Mohicans in jail at Albany, accused of killing a man. One was the respected elder Mohican named John Van Gilder. The two accused men had observed and had become involved in a Livingston Manor tenant controversy. Jonathan, the son of Abraham, sachem of Shekomeko, asked William Johnson to arrange for the two Mohican men to be released. That night, Sir William wrote urgent letters to the

commander of the King's forces, the Earl of Loudon, and to Sir Charles Hardy, the Governor, promoting the Mohican request to have the men discharged from the Albany jail. As the Mohicans were disturbed by the imprisonment, and as their allegiance was of great importance at this moment in the war, Johnson's recommendation was followed and the men soon were set free.

Mohicans at Oquaga

Mohicans came and went from Oquaga. Although a Mohican village was not listed on Hawley's 1755 map (Hinman 1975, 2-3), on May 1, 1757, Sir William Johnson arranged for twelve hoes and twelve hatchets to be made for the River Indians (Mohicans) recently settled at Oquaga. These twelve families made a group of perhaps fifty people. They were too poor to buy tools and were "in great want of them to cultivate the Land they had newly come on" (JP 9:712-713). Sir William ordered provisions from Schoharie for the Oquaga group and agreed to all their requests. Despite this assistance, in February, 1759, the chiefs with their families came to Sir William in a starving condition; they had no corn and no ammunition with which to hunt. Sir William gave them corn, clothes and supplies (JP 10:97).

In their various moves, the natives made clear their dependence on corn (maize). Although game was welcome, it was often hard to obtain along the Susquehanna, especially when the young men went off to scout or fight or when ammunition ran low. When Indians requested food from Sir William Johnson, he always gave out measures of the staple, corn.

New War in 1760s

A few years later, during Pontiac's War, Sir William continued to draw in Indians by offering pay for fighters. This not only obtained warriors for the English force, but helped prevent New York's Indians from joining the Indi-

an uprising to the west. Among the letters of Sir William Johnson is one dated March 12, 1764, from Benjamin Kokhkewenaunaut, Chief Sachem of the Mohicans. He had sent about twenty Stockbridge Mohicans to fight for Johnson. He reminded Johnson that it was "well-known of the Mohekunnucks how friendly they were" when the white people first came and how the Mohicans protected them then. These twenty young men were precious to the Stockbridge town. The chief begged Sir William to look after them as a father would (JP 11:99).

These Mohicans used the Oquaga site as their staging area before joining Johnson's forces during Pontiac's uprising. Captain Solomon Uhhaunauwaunmut, with some Stockbridge warriors, arrived at Fort Johnson from Oquaga in April, 1764 (JP 11:99). With members of other Indian nations, the Stockbridge men were to go out as scouts with Captain John Johnson, son of Sir William. At this dangerous time, some of the Delawares from Tioga had split off and had sided with the enemy. Therefore, Sir William took pains to welcome and honor the Mohican chiefs from Oquaga. When five Scaticoke Indians arrived at Fort Johnson ready for service, they apologized for some unexplained bad behavior by some of the Stockbridge Indians who had been at Oquaga (JP 11:180-81, 188-89). The Scaticokes were New England Indians from the village of Pachgatgoch (Scaticoke) on the Housatonic River near Kent, Connecticut, where a Moravian mission had been located. As a result of former mission connections, the Scaticokes and Mohicans were closely associated (Dunn 2000:261-263).

Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations rejoiced in 1766 when 160 Tuscaroras arrived from North Carolina. They were to settle at Oquaga or at a nearby location of their choice (JP 12:312-14). In 1769, the houses of Oquaga were characterized by the Smith and Wells expedition as "the general form throughout the Six Nations." The house layout was similar to that of a wigwam (longhouse), although

the gabled roof was of English derivation and the cooking fire was near the entrance. This was probably the form adopted by the Mohicans there as well. The expedition members reported:

"The Habitations here are placed straggling without any order on the Banks. They are composed of clumsy hewn Timbers & hewn Boards or Planks. You first enter an inclosed Shed or Portus which serves as a Wood house or Ketchin [kitchen] and then the Body of the Edifice. . . ." The houses had a center section on the ground about eight feet wide running from one end to the other, ". . . on each side wherof is a Row of Stalls or Births [berths] resembling those of Horse Stables, raised a foot from the Earth, 3 or 4 on either side according to the Size of the House, Floored and inclosed round, except the Front and covered on the Top. Each stall contains an entire Family so that 6 or more Families sometimes reside together, the Sisters with their Husbands and Children uniting while the Father provides them a Habitation; . . . The fire is made in the Middle of the Entry and a Hole is left in the Roof for the Smoke to escape for there is neither a chimney or window; consequently, the place looks dark and dismal. The House is open as a Barn, save the Top of the Stalls which serve to contain their lumber by way of a Garret [attic]. Beams are fixed lengthways across the house, and on one of these, over the Fire, they hang their wooden Pot Hooks & cook their Food. Furniture they have little; the Beds are dirty Blankets. The stalls are about 8 feet long & 5 deep and the whole House perhaps from 30 to 50 Feet in length by 20 wide. . . ." (quoted in Elliott 1977:93-105).

According to this account, most houses had a room at the end opposite the kitchen for provisions; there were no cellars. The pitched roofs were covered with sheets of bark fastened "crossways" and from inside.

After the difficult 1750s and early 1760s, by the 1770s, Oquaga's Oneida mission village of forty houses prospered. It was reported to be a

neat town on both sides of the river, featuring log houses with stone chimneys and glass windows. However, Mohawk leader Joseph Brant made his headquarters there as the American Revolution approached; he later led raids from the town. In addition, Tories assembled in the Indian town. As a result, the village was destroyed by American troops.

OTSININGO

Not far from Oquaga was Otsiningo, another well-known Indian location. The name was spelled Zeniinge, Tseniinge, Otsininky, and other ways, and eventually became "Chiningo" and "Chenango," as "ts" was given the sound of "ch." The community was situated on the small river of the same name, a tributary of the Susquehanna. The settlement extended from "The Forks" at the mouth of the Tioughnioga Creek, a tributary of the Chenango, south to the confluence of the Chenango with the Susquehanna at present Binghamton. In 1726 and again in 1737, some years before the arrival of Mohicans, Conrad Weiser had visited Otsiningo en route to Onondaga. On his return journey in 1737, after he canoed down the Chenango River, he reported Otsiningo was a half hour's fast canoe ride down the stream to the juncture with the Susquehanna (Wallace 1945:34, 86, 94).

The Otsiningo community, like Oquaga, included more than one Indian "town," with each native group occupying its own place. Twenty-eight canoes full of Nanticokes had settled at Otsiningo in spring, 1753, after leaving Wyoming, Pennsylvania. In 1756, the Mohicans were urged by the Iroquois and by Sir William Johnson to gather themselves at Otsiningo, where some of their people already lived, or at Oquaga. The histories of the two locations, Oquaga and Otsiningo, are closely intertwined.

Soon, Otsiningo held a large Mohican community, and, at least briefly, had the largest Mohican population on the upper Susquehanna River. At a peace council held at

Otsiningo in 1756, the community was described as having thirty cabins. (A "cabin," like a wigwam, held more than one family.) Later, in 1779, a diary of a soldier noted the "Chinango" town had about twenty houses (Elliott 1977:29, 96).

The events of the spring of 1756 which brought the Mohicans to the castles of the Mohawks and to Fort Johnson are worth retracing, in order to understand why many Mohicans assembled at Otsiningo.

After the Gnaddenhutten massacre of November 24, 1755, surviving Gnaddenhutten Mohicans had fled to Bethlehem and Philadelphia but some also went to Wyoming, including Abraham, the chief of Shekomeko. The Gnaddenhutten massacre had triggered frightened moves to safe havens for Pennsylvania's Mohicans. By March, 1756, there was an incident at Goshen, New York, near the New Jersey border, where an English party had assaulted a wigwam containing about fourteen Mohican men, women and children, on suspicion that some of these Indians had been involved in murders of neighbors. Whether the neighbors were colonial settlers or Indians is not stated. When the Indian group resisted the invasion of their home, some Indians were killed and some made their escape (NYCD 7:94, 96). Another forty or fifty River Indians went to Kingston that spring for protection, and "were supported by the people of that town." As a result of the influx of natives, some colonial residents of Kingston wrote to Sir William Johnson that "they would be glad to know what to do with them" (NYCD 7:94).

Invitation to Settle Near Mohawks

At a March 26, 1756, meeting with Sir William at Fort Johnson, after hearing of these events, Mohawks proposed to "go and bring those Indians living or left about that part of the Country to settle among us at the Mohawks." They also asked for Sir William to assist in "bringing them up" and to help support and clothe them until they were able to

raise their own crops (NYCD 7:96) In addition, the Mohawks asked for an interpreter to accompany them, "As we are unacquainted with their language and [are] strangers in that part of the Country." Sir William offered to send Jacobus Clements, "an interpreter who understands their language to attend you" (NYCD 7:96).

In March, 1756, Abraham and some followers responded to Sir William's invitation to move up the Susquehanna to Fort Johnson. By April 22, Sir William gave sundries to the Mohawks sent to invite the River Indians to come and live among them. Mohawk delegates sent to the Mohicans by Sir William reported "Our Nephews were extremely glad to see us and expressed their gratitude for our Invitation to them which they readily accepted of" and they promised that as soon as they could gather their people together, which would be in the next month, they would remove "hither," i.e., to live with the Mohawks or in a place they suggested. According to the Mohawk delegates, the River Indians had looked upon themselves "as a people abandoned and were extremely glad to find their Uncles the Mohawks had not wholly forsaken them. . ." (NYCD 7:99-100).

On May 13, he paid the interpreter for bringing up seventy-five River Indians from Albany "to the Mohawks where I settled them" (JP 2:611,613). Clements had gone to Schoharie and to the hamlet of Coxsackie, New York (south of Albany), as well as into Pennsylvania to find Mohicans. Clements also received thirty pounds from Johnson for "bringing up 196 Ind[ian]s to my house" (JP 2:615). On May 7, Johnson had purchased one hundred boards for houses for the River Indians (JP 2:613).

Sir William spoke to the River Indians who had come "to live with the Indians of the Lower Mohawk Castle" on May 22. He noted that they now had land allotted to them and assured them that he and the Mohawks would help them. "As I understand you are destitute of Provisions and cloathing [I] now give you

50 Skipple of Corn which I expect you will divide equally amongst you and make use of it with Frugality, I shall also give you a stock of Pipes and Tobacco." He promised clothing as soon as the goods he had ordered arrived. The River Indians apologized for their lack of wampum which prevented them from responding with gifts at that time (NYCD 7:113).

However, not all went well with this influx of hungry River Indians. By May 26, 1756, Sir William spoke to Seth, the chief of the Schoharie Mohawks. Sir William had been informed that the Indians "who are lately come from different parts to settle at your Castle, don't act brotherly by the People [colonial settlers] at Schoharee, but kill their cattle and hogs & behave in a disorderly manner." Sir William advised the Mohawks to exert their authority to prevent any further incidents (NYCD 7:116).

Johnson's expenses in this endeavor were heavy, according to his account books (JP 2:609-617). In June, 1756, Johnson took thirty Mohicans, outfitted and armed, to a conference at Onondaga, the Iroquois headquarters. He wanted to demonstrate to renegade Delawares, who were scheduled to be present, that none of the Mohicans had been made prisoners by the English, as had been rumored. This demonstration was part of an attempt to restore to the English interest the Delawares around Tioga who were tempted to join the French (NYCD 7:138-139). As not many Delawares were present at Onondaga, the conference was adjourned to Fort Johnson. A contingent of "196 Souls," referred to as Mohikander or River Indians, including women and children, arrived from the east while Sir William was at the poorly attended meeting at Onondaga (NYCD 7:152).

Mohicans and Delawares Choose a location

Within a few weeks, the Mohicans and Delawares arriving had increased to the point

where their numbers gave them considerable importance as allies and warriors. They were advised to unite and live together at one of the existing Iroquois communities, where there would be room for their cornfields. Both Sir William and the Mohawk chiefs urged Mohicans to choose one location, either Otsiningo or Oquaga, and make it their permanent home. Faced with this choice, the Mohicans were undecided about which location to elect. They requested time to take up the subject with the chief men of the nation, some of whom already lived at Otsiningo. Finally, most Mohicans in the area decided to settle at Otsiningo. One year later, the Nanticokes reported that the Mohicans "propose to gather all their scattered people and remain under our Wing" at Otsiningo (JP 9:712). There was subtle competition among the different locations to attract the Mohican contingent.

As a result of these various responses to his March and May appeals, at an extended July, 1756, meeting at Fort Johnson, in the presence of the assembled Six Nations, the Shawanese and Delaware sachems, and the Mohican families, Johnson gave arms, ammunition, body paint, and clothing to the Mohican men (NYCD 7:153). The next day he spoke to the group, first reading his speech in English for the Mohicans present, as many of them did not know the Iroquois language. With wives and children, there were nearly two hundred arrivals (NYCD 7:152-53).

At this conference Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations pressured the Delawares, who had committed depredations against the English, to resolve their differences and remain faithful to their friendship and agreements of past years. Although some among the Tioga group of Delawares had strayed from their English allegiance, the Delawares in attendance noted that they had settled at Tioga at the request of the Six Nations. They were now recalled to their old covenant with the English, they said, and agreed to call in their warriors. Meanwhile, the Mohicans remained firm in the English interest. The Mohican sachems and

warriors that night participated in a war dance with all the chiefs and warriors of the Indian nations present (NYCD 7:159-60).

Sir William was frank, however. He told the Mohicans that he would assist them with clothing and food until they could establish themselves and provide for their families, but he hoped they would do that quickly. Moreover, after reminding them that the English and French were at war, he made it clear that in exchange for his help, it was their duty to be ready at all times to send fighters to assist the English cause (NYCD 7:153). On July 19, sachems and warriors of the Mohicans accompanied Sir William Johnson and others to Albany. There they had an interview with Major General Abercrombie, newly arrived from England. With the Six Nations, the Mohicans declared their readiness to fight against the French (NYCD 7:160-61).

In the course of a year, a large number of Mohicans had settled at Otsiningo. At a Fort Johnson conference in April of 1757, Abraham, chief of the "Mohickanders" attended "with 147 of his nation"(NYCD 7:246) Jonathan, the son of Abraham, recalled, "last spring, with this belt [of wampum] the Nanticokes took us by the hand and bid us sit down by them. They said to us, `you Mohikanders and we Nanticokes will be one people and [we] take you by the hand as brethren, and fix you here at Otsiningo, where the Six Nations have lighted a council fire and the Senecas appointed lands for you to cultivate. Call all your dispersed brethren together and sit down here with them as their habitation. . . .'"(NYCD 7:253). At the same meeting, Jonathan stated, "Brother, We have forgot something; that is, to tell you where we now live. It is at Otsiningo. . .there you will always find us. At Otsiningo live three principal Nations, vizt the Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohickanders, who are all Brethren"(NYCD 7:250).

Sir William was able to speak to the group in English, as many Mohicans spoke English. Some, however, including Jonathan, spoke Dutch, so the speech was repeated to Jonathan

in Dutch, and then he repeated it in Mohican to those who needed to hear it in their own language (NYCD 7:246).

Some Delawares and Mohicans on the Ohio

At that April meeting, Sir William inquired sharply about a promise made the previous summer to invite the Shawanese who lived on the Ohio, and "all the Delawares or Mohicans who were scattered round about Fort Du Quesne [later Pittsburgh] and those parts," to come and declare their allegiance to England (NYCD 7:247, 249). They never came. Sir William warned that the French tried to stir up the Indians against each other, while, he said, the English were their friends and only wanted the Indians to peacefully unite. The next day the Shawanese, Nanticokes and Mohicans reported that they had given the belt and the message to Tediescunt (Teedyscung), "the Chief Man at Tiaogo [Tioga]." Teedyscung was a noted Delaware leader. What he had done about the invitation to the Ohio defectors the speakers said they did not know. However, they stated, their own intention was to keep the covenant chain with the English unbroken. They promised to send the message to the west this time by their own hands, adding that they would not fail to let Sir William know what effects it had, "and what nations you can depend on as Bretheren, and what are your enemies"(NYCD 7:247-50).

In June, 1757, Sir William Johnson noted in a letter that "The Senecas are drawing all the Indians they can to settle near them; most of the Mohickanders, or River Indians, who used to be dispersed thro' this and the Neighbouring Provinces are removed and removing to Otsaningo, on one of the West Branches of the Susquehannah River, near to where the Cayugas and Senecas live"(JP 9:786).

Despite the high hopes for a new home, in June, 1757, Abraham, "chief of the Mohikanders living at Otsiningo, his Son Jonathan their Speaker & Eight more of their People"

appeared at Fort Johnson to appeal for help. As the members of the group now were very poor, he asked for some support for their families until their corn grew to maturity, after which they hoped they would not be a burden. Sir William Johnson supplied them with fifty skips of Indian corn and other provisions on June 27, 1757 (JP 9:792).

Earlier in the year, "the Indians found that they were no longer suited to sustain themselves by hunting, and they asked the Stockbridges to take them in so they could better support themselves by making brooms and baskets" (Frazier 1992:116). These crafts had been learned from the Moravians at Shekomeko and Wequadnach. Although some Mohicans may have left for Stockbridge in 1757, many others remained at Otsiningo.

Sir William Johnson carefully ignored any defections. He was making every effort during a difficult year of war to keep as many Indian allegiances as he could. The presence of the large body of eastern Indians was essential. He again announced at a conference in September, 1757, that he had taken measures the previous year for the welfare of the Mohicans by meeting with Mohicans from New York and the neighboring provinces and with the Six Nations "about agreeing upon a proper place for their living together in a Body as a Nation ought to do. . . A great number of the Mohikan-der Indians. . . are now settled at Otsiningo" he reiterated (JP 9:850-51). His listeners were aware that support of the English and soldiering for the English cause were expected in exchange. In addition, warriors from Stockbridge occasionally arrived (for example, see JP 9:804, 810). In 1757 the Mohicans still were being urged by the Mohawks to gather their people and settle at Otsiningo for their own good (JP 9:847).

The community of Otsiningo survived the French War and some Mohicans continued to live there into the next decade. In August, 1761, a Seneca leader stated that he and the chiefs of the "Mohickons & Opies" lived at Chenango (Otsiningo). The "Opies" were

Wappingers, some of whom had lived at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Wappingers had come to the Susquehanna area with Mohicans.

In the fall of 1761, Nimham, identified as chief of the "Opies," and the Mohican leaders agreed to keep peace with the English and declared they now would remove and settle with Mohicans at Delaware towns in the Wyoming Valley (Minutes of the Provincial Council 1968, 8:667-69).

Mohicans at Otsiningo

Some Mohicans remained at Otsiningo, however. A few years later, in May of 1764, the Tuscaroras applied to Sir William Johnson on behalf of the Mohicans, asking that he would help bring all their people from Esopus and send them to the Mohican village at Otsiningo. The Mohicans at Esopus likely were a remnant of the Moravian converts who after the hostilities at Gnadenhutten and Wyoming had fled into New York.

For a few years in the 1760s, Mohicans lived at Otsiningo. Several miles above them, an Onondaga town was located at the Forks, later known as Chenango Forks, where a tributary, the Tioughnioga, joined the Chenango River (Beauchamp 1916:238; Elliott 1977:97). In 1766, Moravian missionaries David Zeisberger and Gottlob Senseman, on a journey to Iroquois headquarters at Onondaga, found a small Mohican village about one mile north of the Nanticoke village. Thus, the community of Otsiningo still contained the separate enclaves of three nations. Nanticokes, Mohicans, and Onondagas were arranged along the Chenango River extending north from the later city of Binghamton (Beauchamp 1916:226).

CHUGNUT

Near the mouth of the Choconot Creek, in present Vestal, Broome County, on the south side of the Susquehanna River, was the Indian community known as Chugnut (Chugnotts, Choconot, Tschochnot). Peter, the Oneida

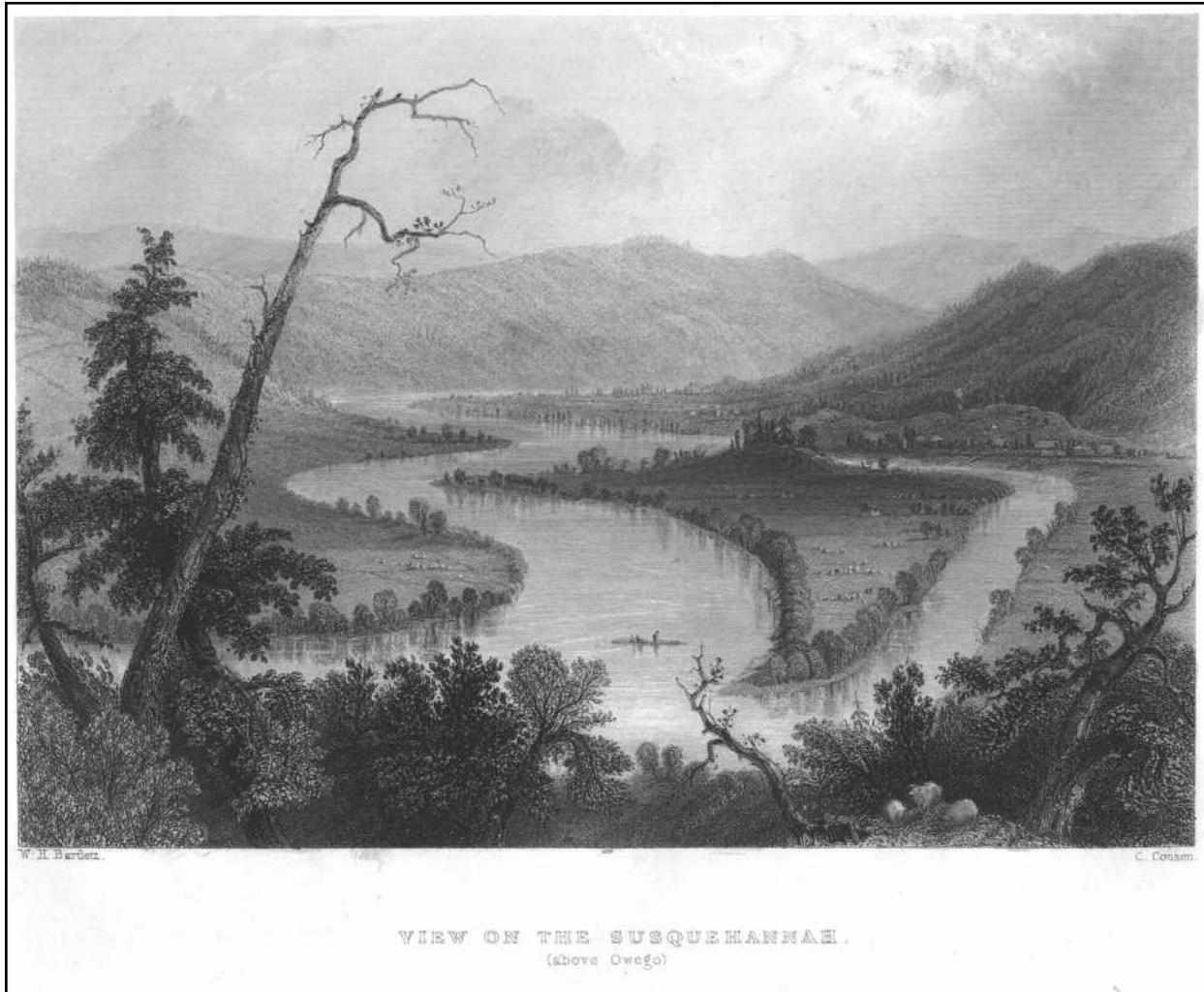


Figure 4.4. A Bartlett print of c.1839 shows a picturesque view of the meandering Susquehanna River. The island shown, with its broad farm fields, was a few miles west of Chugnut. Known as Big Island, it was later named Hiawatha Island in the 1870s (Sedore 1994; Bartlett print, courtesy Gerald E. Dunn).

leader who lived at Oquaga, afraid of losing his land to settlers “by dishonesty,” stated that the Oneidas’ lands extended “. . . from the Head of the Susquehannah River to Chugnuts” (JP 3:870-71) (Figure 4.4.).

In 1756, during the French and Indian War, some Shawanese moved to Chugnut, where they were to settle and live under the protection of the Indians already at Oquaga and Chugnut. The Indians making this arrangement, who met with Sir William Johnson, were identified as the Aughquageys (Oquagas),

Tuscaroras, Skaniadaradigroonas (Nanticokes), Chugnuts, Mihicanders (Mohicans) and Shawanese, with the Delawares from Tioga. All lived in the area. They promised a continued strong attachment to the English. This was important to the English because a segment of the Delawares had sided with the French, after an incident in which Delawares were accused of killing some Englishmen.

The group reported that as friends of the English they were “exposed to the merciless Power of the French and their Indians. . . .”

They requested a fort or small place of defense at Chugnut for their old men, women and children, as well as arms and ammunition with which to defend themselves. They were promised that a fort would be built immediately and that they would be supplied with arms and ammunition, as well as with aid from the Mohawks (NYCD 7:48-51).

A group of Mohicans moved to Chugnut in the 1760s during Pontiac's War. In December, 1763, Mightaham, identified as a Minisink chief, arrived from Chugnut with seven Mohicanders for an Indian Congress at Fort Johnson. After getting some provisions, they went to their encampment nearby (JP 10:945). In another entry from the same conference Mightaham was identified as a Mohican chief. In truth, he was the Munsee chief acting for a mixed group of Delawares and Mohicans. He stated that his people at Wialoosin (Wyalusing, in Pennsylvania about thirty-five miles below the New York border) would shortly join the Mohicans and Delawares at Chugnut and promised that the people at the Chugnut settlement would be firm friends of the English.

Mightaham appears to be the same man as the chief named Mightagh, who in 1761 at Kingston, New York, was part of a Delaware group that had agreed to live peacefully with the English and return some captives (JP 3:566-67). Mightagh thus is the same person as the Munsee chief, Michtauk, who is described as chief of the town of Chugnut about 1761 (for more about Michtauk, see Chapter 3). At the December, 1763, Indian Congress, Mightaham reported that at the commencement of hostilities, in response to the request of Sir William Johnson, "we removed to Chughnot where we now reside in order to be out of the way of your Enemies. . . ." (JP 10:948).

Identified as a "chief warrior," on March 5, 1764, Mightaman (Mightaham) promised Sir William Johnson that although there were only twelve warriors from Wyalusing present at the time, when they returned home there would be many more men who would join the group, and they would go out to fight. On the tenth,

Sir William gave clothing to all the Chugnuts and Wyalusings, and "fitted their Young men with all the necessaries for War" (JP 11:106,108-109). On March 12, the Chugnuts and the Wyalusings to the number of 185 left Johnson Hall. A number of Mohicans from Chugnut, including families, had been present.

MOHICAN AND MOHAWK PATHS DIVERGE WITH AMERICAN REVOLUTION

It is clear that after the mid-1760s numerous Mohicans on the Susquehanna River in New York finally found homes and the separation from white neighbors which they desired. However, this welcome situation was not to last much more than a decade.

A few Stockbridge Mohicans and some Scaticooks from near Kent, Connecticut, had sent a request to the Six Nations in the spring of 1765, asking to join their relatives on the Susquehanna, "because they were so hemmed in among the white people that they could hardly move any more" (Moravian Archives, quoted in Frazier 1992:176). This was an expression of the native dissatisfaction at Stockbridge. Nevertheless, the Stockbridge Indian community did not move to New York at that time.

The Mohican presence at the Iroquoian locations of Oquaga, Otsiningo, and Chugnut was dependent on the relationships which had evolved with the Iroquois tribes, particularly with the Oneidas and the Mohawks. However, with the outbreak of the American Revolution, a chasm arose between most Mohicans and the Mohawks. The Mohawks were faithful to their mentor, Sir William Johnson, who supported the English King. The Mohicans, except for the number allied with radical Delawares, chose to support the American rebels rather than the English.

Subsequently, the American Revolution brought destruction to the Susquehanna Indian towns. Joseph Brant, an educated Mohawk who had a productive farm and a house at Oquaga, and who found his first wife there,

made Oquaga his wartime headquarters. He fought against the Americans in the Revolutionary War partly because the colonial settlers would not respect the 1768 boundary line protecting Indian lands established at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The line passed east of Oquaga but was already being ignored by colonial settlers in the 1770s.

Some Oneida and Mohican residents of Oquaga of necessity scattered to other locations as the war escalated and the presence of Mohawks and Tories increased in the village. However, not all Mohicans returned to eastern haunts during the Revolution and not all sided with the Americans. A census on file at the Public Archives of Canada of the Six Nations and their confederates, by village (Indian Records, Vol. 15, pp. 71-72), reveals 114 Mohicans gathered in two villages near Fort Niagara in September, 1783, in addition to 126 "Auquagas" (Oquagas). Over 200 Delawares, as well as fewer numbers of Tuscaroras, Nanticokes, and Oneidas, all Mohican friends from the years on the Susquehanna, also were listed.

In response to raids on the frontier by Mohawk and Tory bands managed from Brant's headquarters at Oquaga, American forces under Col. William Butler marched from Schoharie to a hastily abandoned Oquaga in 1778. The soldiers destroyed some 2000 bushels of corn and burned the houses and mission buildings. A soldier's journal noted the presence of horses and poultry and about forty English-style houses (quoted in Bothwell 1983:19). Brant's forces took revenge for Butler's destruction of the homes at Oquaga with an attack on the Cherry Valley settlers.

In 1779, the joint Sullivan-Clinton Expedition, authorized by General Washington, again destroyed Iroquois settlements in the area. General James Clinton's soldiers camped at Oquaga and burned the few Indian dwellings there. On August 18, 1779, Otsiningo also was destroyed, and the troops marched fourteen miles to Chugnut, where they found an empty Indian town. The comfortable site had been abandoned during the summer; left behind

were vegetable gardens and about twenty houses, which were burned by the soldiers. The Indian towns along the Susquehanna which at times had harbored so many Mohicans were now extinguished and in the next few decades, colonial settlement enveloped the area (Hinman 1975:80).

REVOLUTION'S AFTERMATH

However, most Mohicans had chosen to side with the American rebels. Mohican society retained New York and Housatonic Valley locations and associations. Connections to Stockbridge's converted Mohican leaders, and, particularly through the Moravians, to Protestant ministers, tied even dispersed Mohicans to the American rebel cause. The decision not to support the English but to follow the American rebels' lead demonstrated that the Mohicans had retained their national identity and their ability to choose an independent course of action. They were neither submerged nor assimilated by their relationship with Sir William Johnson and the Iroquois. Mohicans from Stockbridge fought for the Americans in significant battles during the American Revolution (Frazier 1992: 212-218; Walling 2004).

The two Native American groups, Mohicans and Mohawks, now embarked on different paths leading to separate futures. The cooperative relationship which had evolved with the Mohawks was severed in most of the Mohican population. The Oneidas, although Iroquois, generally sided with the Americans and managed to keep a tract of land in central New York. Within a few years, this land would become important to the Mohicans as a new refuge.

The exchanges between the Mohicans in towns on the Susquehanna and their relatives and friends at Stockbridge, and the travels of the Stockbridge soldiers who fought in the Seven Years War and Pontiac's War, acquainted the group with central New York. Other Mohicans already had lived for many years near the Schoharie castle of the Mohawks. Not surpris-

ingly, the Mohicans saw Iroquois territory as a place to escape white domination.

Although the Susquehanna havens of Tioga, Oquaga, Otsiningo and Chugnut were no longer available, the idea of a refuge among the Iroquois had been planted among the Mohicans. Eighteenth-century invitations to Mohican leaders from the Mohawks, Oneidas and Cayugas, which had tempted the Stockbridge Indians between the 1750s and the 1780s, made it easier to choose to settle in New York on a parcel of land among the Oneidas when in 1783 and 1784 many Mohican residents of Stockbridge felt the time had come to leave Massachusetts.

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ORAL HISTORICAL INSIGHTS INTO ROGERS' RAID ON THE ST. FRANCIS ABENAKI VILLAGE IN 1759

Heriberto Dixon (2002)

On October 4, 1759, Robert Rogers' New Hampshire rangers struck deep into Abenaki country and burned the Canadian mission village of Odanak or Saint Francis on the Saint Francis River, a few miles south of the Saint Lawrence River (Calloway 1997:108-09) (Figure 5.1.). In the eighteenth century, Odanak /Saint Francis had become a center of Abenaki resistance to English expansion and thus earned the enduring enmity of the New England settlers (Calloway 1995:66). In agreeing to the raid, General Amherst, in charge of the British armies, endorsed the expedition which was explicitly for revenge, that is, without strategic significance beyond promoting Abenaki insecurity (Steele 1994:227-28).

Odanak or Saint Francis should not be confused with Saint François-de-Beauce, which had a native population for a period during the eighteenth century, nor with the Mission of Saint-François-de-Sales, which was located at the falls of the Chaudière River from about 1683 to 1706. Confusion is understandable because the Mission of Saint-François-de-Sales was relocated from the Chaudière River between 1705 and 1706 to its present site on the Saint Francis River (Day 1998:54) (Figure 5.2.).

The Abenaki village of Saint Francis was established on the Saint Francis River in Que-

bec sometime in the seventeenth century. Since 1916, the *Bureau de Poste* has recognized the village by its native name, *Odanak*, meaning "at the village." The community is located in Canada's Yamaska County, on the eastern bank of the Saint Francis River, about six miles below its confluence with the Saint Lawrence River. It is adjacent to the Canadian village of Pierreville. Early baptismal records at nearby Sorel attest to the Indian village's existence in 1676, and there is also a tradition that people were living near the present location of Odanak/Saint Francis prior to the settlement of the Seigneur, Jean Crevier, in the area in 1671. Still another tradition places twenty families living there in 1660 (Day 1998a:54).

The residents were known as the "Saint Francis Indians" (Calloway 1995:66). The Saint Francis Indians were, in fact, a tribe of mixed origins. To begin with, Saint Francis had received most of the Caniba (Norridgewock), Arosagunticook, Pigwacket, Cowasuck, Pocumtuck, Schaghticoke, and Missisquoi tribes, as well as individuals and fragments of bands broken by eighteenth-century wars in southern New England (see Day, 1998:270 for a chronology of arrivals). For instance, some of the Pocumtucks had remained in Schaghticoke, north of Albany, on the Hudson River

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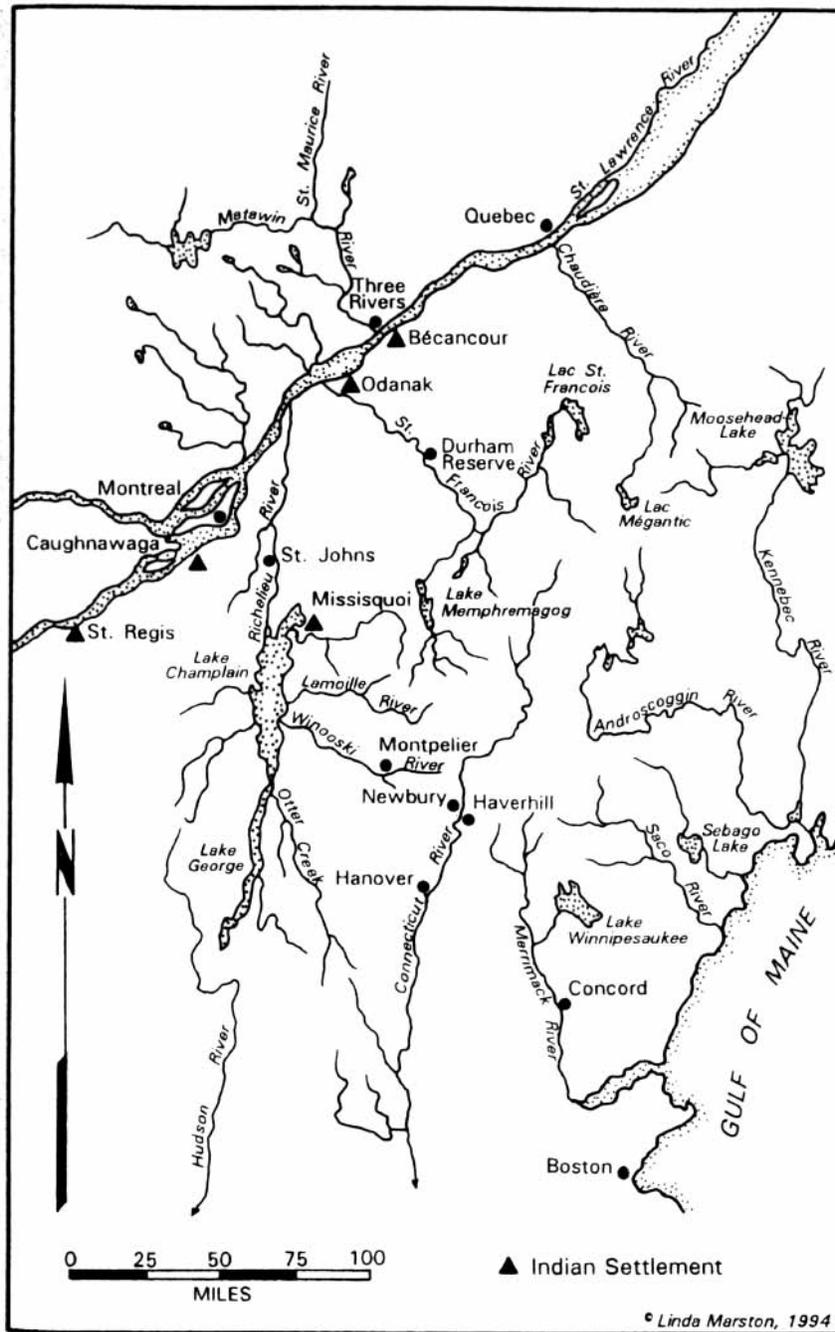


Figure 5.1. A modern map showing the St. Lawrence River locates the Abenaki communities of Odanak (St. Francis), Bécancour, and Missisquoi during the American Revolution. Map from Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1995:67. Used with permission.

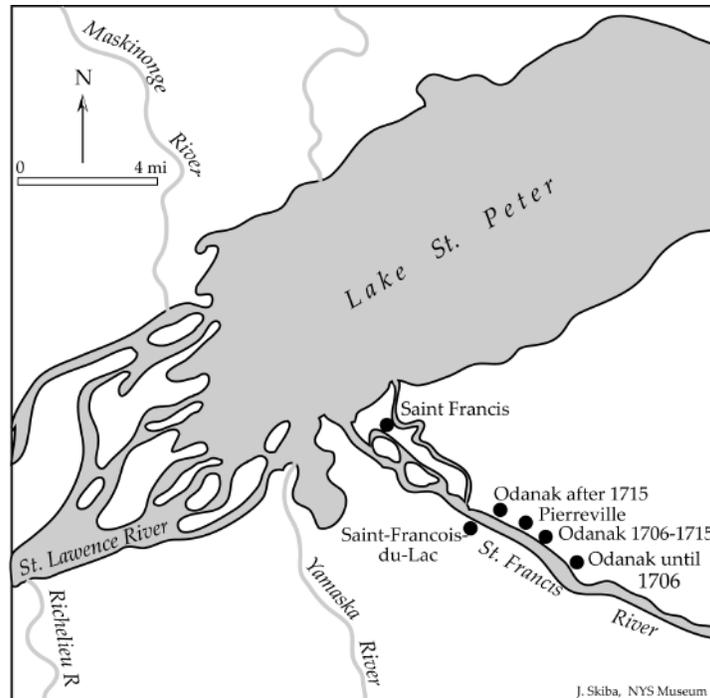


Figure 5.2. The shifting locations of Odanak (near Pierreville) are indicated on a modern map. The St. Francis shown is not the Odanak/St. Francis village discussed in this article, but a different community with a similar name. From *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays* by Gordon M. Day, edited by Michael K. Foster and William Cowan, University of Massachusetts Press, 1998: 265. Used with permission.

until they migrated to join the Indians in the French interest at Saint Francis (Kawashima 2001:148). By 1702, there were also some one thousand Penacooks who fled to the Hudson after Richard Waldron's seizure of two hundred of their people at Dover, New Hampshire (Calloway 1990:81). A large number settled among the mixed group at the refugee village of Schaghticoke, north of Albany. In 1754 the Schaghticoke community removed to Canada; of these, twelve families arrived in Saint Francis.

As previously mentioned, parish records document baptism of Native American children as early as 1676, and Saint Francis continued to receive migrants until 1780. The arrival of additional refugees was critical for the

survival of Saint Francis because of a smallpox epidemic in 1730 which decimated the original bands. Although the Saint Francis Indians were generally known as Abenaki, there were also Sokokis who made up one of the two important ethnic groups at Saint Francis. It appears that the Sokokis, a division of the Abenaki, originally settled at Saint Francis even before the arrival of the people more generally termed Abenakis. According to an oral tradition among men living in 1865, the village had been divided into two moieties, that is, Abenaki and Sokoki, for councils, ceremonies, and games (Day 1998:51).

Day reminds us that although the name Sokoki may seem almost forgotten today among the native peoples, "early French



Figure 5.3. A painting titled *A View of the Lines at Lake George, 1759* was made by Capt. Thomas Davies, an English soldier. In the detail shown, a man dressed in one of the blue-green uniforms of Rogers' Rangers talks with an unknown resting Indian warrior, possibly from Stockbridge. The Native American fighter has a blanket across his shoulders and wears a white shirt, Indian-style leggings with orange fringe and garters, and orange-trimmed moccasins. In his hair is a red-dyed feather, and his face is daubed with red coloring. Courtesy Fort Ticonderoga Museum.

writers applied it to the Indians from the Saco River to Lake Champlain, including those known to New Hampshire historians as Penacooks. The Jesuits had missions among these Indians too—at Pigwacket, Cowas, Otter Creek, Winooski and Missisquoi, but so little information has come to light about those missions that they may have been short-lived affairs" (Day 1998: 51).

It is interesting that Robert Rogers spent most of the French and Indian War leading "ranger" units that were to substitute for the Indian allies which the British lacked (Figure 5.3.). He tried mightily to perfect the rangers' skills in woodlands warfare, yet never quite

succeeded. Twice Rogers and his men suffered terribly (and he himself almost died) at the hands of French marines and enemy Indians whose woodlands' expertise was superior to his. However, whatever shortcomings Rogers may have had in forest tactics, he compensated for in the public mind by publishing his own version of his adventures.

With the 1765 publication of his *Journals* in London, Rogers sought to secure his place in history as a model frontier guerrilla leader (Anderson 2000:188). He went so far as to claim that the several excursions that he had made provided the key to "the most material circumstances of every campaign upon the

continent." As Slotkin points out, Rogers's *Journals* are part of the "trend in frontier literature . . . toward more self-conscious and egotistical models of the American hero" (Slotkin 1996:187).

There is a punch line in the film *Who Shot Liberty Valence?* which comes when the newspaper reporter learns the truth of the incident in question; he solemnly intones that "when legend and history conflict, forget about history and print the legend." This point was not lost on Kenneth Roberts, who wrote the novel *Northwest Passage*. In the fanciful film version of 1940, Spencer Tracy played Rogers (Day 1962:4, 5; Axtell 1997:17-18). The conventional version of Rogers' raid on Odanak is still being recounted by some contemporary historians in the following brief fashion:

Robert Rogers led 141 of his rangers, who were under regular army pay and discipline, in torching the entire village in a dawn raid in October, 1759. Estimates of Abenaki and ranger casualties vary enormously from 30 to 250, but it was evident to all that the village was entirely destroyed. Those who escaped were taken in by the new Iroquois mission village at Saint Regis, [established in] 1755, where they lived for several years (Steele 1994:227-28).

The wide variation in casualty estimates can be explained by Rogers having reported that his rangers had killed "at least two hundred Indians." He was a self-promoter; this estimate probably sought to please General Amherst. However, French documents consistently reported thirty Indians dead, twenty of whom were women and children (Day 1998:130). Following his raid, Rogers beat a rapid retreat with a full contingent of French marines and Indian allies dogging his trail, which again puts his figure of two hundred Indian casualties in extreme doubt.

Cuneo in Jennings observes that, "On the other hand, Rogers' own casualties were dreadful. An admiring romantic writer acknowledges that two hundred men marched out with Rogers, of whom forty-one were lost

in less than six days. Another forty-nine succumbed on the return from St. Francis amid sufferings so terrible that they cannibalized corpses" (Jennings 1988:200).

Calloway (1997:108-09) sums up Rogers' raid as a pyrrhic victory at best. Notwithstanding Rogers' claims of the complete destruction of Saint Francis, the Native American community survived and adjusted to the new military and political dominance of the British. A very different view of Rogers' raid emerges when someone like Gordon M. Day thought to consult the Saint Francis descendents.

ORAL TRADITION AT ST. FRANCIS

The key to a fuller understanding of Rogers' raid comes from Day's discovery of oral tradition at Saint Francis during his visits from 1959 to 1963. The first tradition that Day recorded came from an elderly woman, Olivine Obomsawin, who had learned it as a little girl from an elderly aunt who had raised her. This aunt, in turn, had also heard it as a little girl from her grandmother who herself had been a little girl at the time of Rogers's raid. Thus, in Day's calculations, this chain of transmission has preserved an eyewitness account in only two steps (Day 1998:131-32; Day 1962:10-11).

Day notes that the value of oral traditions has been discounted because supposedly they must be retold every generation—say every thirty years—with the consequent likelihood of errors of transmission. However, the Abenaki traditions and possibly, by extension, other eastern Algonquian traditions, appear to have been passed on deliberately and correctly by an elderly person who trained young children until some of them knew the old stories verbatim. The following is one of the Saint Francis traditions that Day preserved:

Elvine is speaking. When we lived with Aunt Mali, she told us the way of living at Odanak. Her grandmother at that time was little. And the Indians at that time in the fall

were dancing. Already the harvest was all gathered. . . . And they danced and sometimes celebrated late, dancing and sometimes going out because it was a nice cool night. They rested, some went to smoke and rest. And one, a young girl, a young woman, she did not immediately go in when the others went in. When they went into the council house to dance again that one, the young girl, the young woman, did not go in because it was cool and she stayed outside. She remained longer outside, and it was dark, and when she was ready to go in at the start of the dancing inside the house, when she was ready to go in, then someone stopped her. He said, "Don't be afraid." In Indian, you understand, he said, "Friend. I am your friend, and those enemies, those strange Iroquois, they are there in the little woods [planning] that when all [the Abenakis] leave for home they would kill them all, their husbands, and burn your village, and I come to warn you." And surely the young woman went into the council house, the dancing place, and she warned the other Indians what he told. She warned what she had been warned. And some did not believe her, because she was so young, because she was a child. Some of them stopped and went home to see about their children and get ready to run away. And some of them did not listen to that young girl, the young woman. Now my aunt, the one who raised us, . . . she was the one that tells us about her grandmother at the time of that fight. My aunt was about 60 years old [at the time of telling the story]. Her grandmother was young at the time of the fight. And some Indians at once hurried home. They stopped dancing and went home, and they went to see about their people, their children, in order to run away as soon as possible, so they could hide. And my aunt was the one who told us, who passed it on to us from her grandmother. Our aunt's grandfather gathered everyone—it was dark, of course—in the dark no one kindled a light. They gathered their children in the dark, you can be sure. And they left to hide somewhere where they [the enemy] could not find them.

Of course it was night at that time and they hid—in a big ravine where they could not find them. And that man, the old man, they counted their children to see if they were all there—there where it was deep. And one had been left! My aunt's grandmother was the one who was missing! And she did not know that she was alone in the house, but already she was awake, and she was sitting at the foot of the bed and she was looking out of the window leaning on the window sill. She was singing, she was calmly singing [to herself]. She did not even know that the others were gone. Suddenly then her father quickly entered in the dark, entering quickly, and he took her—he found her singing, this one.

Right away he took her and left as quickly as he possibly could to the ravine—the big ravine that is where Eli Nolet's house [now] is, that's where the ravine is. At the Pines, that's what they call it at Odanak, At the Pines. And there they hid, the Indians, the Abenakis. And my grandfather, the Great Obomsawin, the Great Simon, he crossed the river, just as the sun was rising. Just as the sun is seen first. He didn't arrive soon enough, and just at that time he is almost across the river when the sun showed. And his hat—something shone on his hat, something [bright] that he wore. And there he was shot down on the other side—he was the only one [to get across]. All that were with the houses—well, that was when they burned the village—the others, surely many were killed of the others, all that were with the houses (Day 1998:131-32).

WHO WARNED THE VILLAGE?

Who could the warner have been? Given the ill will which had arisen between the Abenakis and the Stockbridge Mohicans, each allied with a different colonial government, it seems hardly likely that a Stockbridge man would have risked detection by crossing the line to warn the Abenakis. Moreover, the Stockbridges had suffered at the hands of the

French and their Indian allies and were strongly committed to the English cause throughout the war. In fact, five of the Stockbridges had been captured or killed by the Abenakis a short time before the raid.

The following men very likely account for these five Stockbridges captured or killed:

1. *Captain Jacob Cheeksaunkun*, (war chief of the Stockbridge Mohicans), was captured on Lake George on July 5, 1759. During his escape in the winter of 1759–60, he lost his toes to frostbite.
2. *Captain Jacob Naunauphtaunk* (Stockbridge Mohican), son of Jacob Cheeksaunkun, was captured in August, 1759, by a hunting party of Saint Francis Indians. He was subsequently sold to the French who kept him in irons aboard a prison ship at Montreal. After a priest named Rouband obtained Jacob's release, he was sent to General Amherst at Fort Lewis on August 29, 1760. Amherst, in turn, sent Jacob to the Saint Francis tribe as a peace envoy.
3. *Second Lieutenant William Hendrick Phillips* (of Dutch and French Indian descent), was captured March 13, 1758, at Rogers's Rock and escaped the same year.
4. *Ensign Jonas Etowaukaum*, a Stockbridge Mohican, was killed and scalped by French Indians, July 28, 1759, at Ticonderoga (Jennings 1988:200).
5. *Abraham Wnaumpos* was captured with Captain N. (Naunauphtaunk) at Saint Francis mission, August 8, 1759, and exchanged November 8, 1759 (Loescher 1957:9, 13, 44-45, 76).

Consequently, the search for the possible warner probably excludes the resident Stockbridges. Then who else could it have been? Day points out that by taking into account the formerly Mohican village of Schaghticoke on the Hudson River just north of Albany, "everything falls into place." While Schaghticoke had been a Mohican settlement, after 1676 it became a village of New England refugees

from King Philip's War, containing mostly Connecticut River Indians (Day 1998:132-33).

Among Rogers' Rangers there was a Second Lieutenant Joseph Duquipe who is listed as a Mohegan Indian warrior from Connecticut (Loescher 1957:40). Others of the Connecticut River Indians were Sokokis. The Sokokis, it will be recalled, were among the founders of Saint Francis and had constituted one of the moieties of the so-called Saint Francis Abenakis. Early in the eighteenth century, groups of Sokokis began drifting northward from their Schaghticoke refuge, settling for a while at Lake Champlain and then mingling with the Abenakis at Missisquoi. Finally, in 1754, on the eve of the Seven Years' War, the remaining Sokokis suddenly left Schaghticoke under the cover of night, and in the process they left behind a few families who were out hunting at the time (Charland, quoted in Day 1998:133). Day speculates that with war on the horizon, unable to join their relatives, these stranded families probably had to join the neighboring Mohicans at Stockbridge. If so, then of necessity these Sokokis must have joined the Stockbridges in the war on the English side. If one or more of the Sokokis was traveling with Rogers' Rangers at Saint Francis, then it is possible that one of them took the opportunity to warn the village where his relatives and friends were. This would have been a very risky endeavor, given the degree of surveillance which the village would have been subjected to on the eve of the dawn attack. The precaution of remaining in the shadows would seem only prudent.

A SECOND ACCOUNT OF THE WARNER

A second tradition strengthens the likelihood that the warner was probably a man from Schaghticoke. This tradition comes from an elderly man, Théophile Panadis, who received it from his grandmother, who was born in 1830 and had heard it from people who had been alive at the time of the raid (Day

1998:133). What is remarkable in this tradition is that the exact words of the warner were recited. While the words as recorded are not in modern Abenaki, they are close enough to be understood, yet, at the same time, quite distinct from the Stockbridge tongue. Day reported, "Perhaps the oddness of the words helped to make them stick in memory. The warner said, 'My friends, I am telling you. *ndapsizak, kedodemokawleba* (Abenaki: *nidobak, kedodokawleba*). I would warn you. *kwawimleba* (Abenaki: *kwawimkawleba*). They are going to exterminate you. *kedatsowi wakwatahogaba* (Abenaki: same)'" (Day 1998:133).

Day also finds in the second tradition additional support for the likelihood of Schaghticoques serving among the Stockbridge Rangers. According to the account, on the day following the raid, the Abenaki Indians returned, looking for their friends, dead or living, and found a wounded Ranger:

"And here on Louis Paul Road, suddenly off to one side they saw something lying. They went; here was a stranger lying. They took the hatchet to finish him off, when he spoke, 'Don't kill me just yet. I want to be baptized. I am not baptized yet.'" They said, "That is not good. Then how are you called?" He said, "Samadagwis." They said, "You have no name?" [i.e., no Christian name for baptism]. "How then do you want to be called?" He said, "Sabadis" [i.e., Jean Baptiste]. They said, "Then to what people do you belong?" He said, "Mahigan." [i.e., Mohegan, not Mohican] They said, "That is good. Now your name will be Sabadis." And they dispatched him with the hatchet (Day 1998:133).

In Rogers' own account, he reported one Stockbridge killed in action as follows: "When I had paraded my detachment, I found I had Capt. Ogden badly wounded in his body, but not so as to hinder him from doing his duty. I had also six men slightly wounded and one Stockbridge Indian killed" (Day 1962:6) Day reasons that since both accounts—Rogers' and the oral tradition—agree on the death of a

Stockbridge man, the traditional account is apparently true.

Now that the name of the Indian, Samadagwis, and his location were known, what is significant was his request for baptism on the eve of his execution. This request, according to Day, suggests that Samadagwis was more than likely from Schaghticoke, for a group of Schaghticoques had visited Saint Francis five years earlier and had remarked that they were favorably disposed to the French prayer and ready to accept it. On the other hand, the Stockbridges were long-time disciples of Jonathan Edwards and his predecessor, John Sergeant. Therefore, the Stockbridges would be unlikely to ask for baptism in the hour of their death. The thought that continued to nag Day was that Samadagwis had been the warner of the night before. If so, he had been poorly rewarded for his risk and trouble on his friends' behalf (Day1998:134).

ORAL TRADITION AS A COMPLEMENT TO HISTORY

In Day's retelling of Rogers' raid on Saint Francis, he demonstrates in quite compelling fashion how oral tradition can and should be used as a reliable complement to written history. As Axtell ruefully notes, only the Abenakis knew the truth of Rogers' raid and no one—before Day—had even bothered to ask them for their side of the story for over two hundred years (Axtell 1997:17-18). Now, what remains is for the history books to be updated to accommodate a fuller story. Maybe a Native American writer will take notice of this story and write a dramatic novel which can then be made into a motion picture to challenge *Northwest Passage!*

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APPENDIX

STOCKBRIDGE-MOHICAN OFFICERS AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS IN ROGERS’ RANGERS

Except where another source is noted, information in this Appendix is from : Loescher, B. G. (2001). *The History of Roger’s Rangers*, Vol. III: *Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers*. (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, Inc.).

JACOB CHEEKSAUNKUN: Captain, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. War Chief of the Stockbridge Mohican Indians. Originally recruited by William Johnson to serve with him against Crown Point in 1755 in a Company of Stockbridges raised by Johnson’s henchman, Captain Staates [Staats]. Despite their arrival at Albany, Johnson did not include them in his army. However, they accompanied General Shirley to Oswego when he passed through and engaged their services. In December, 1755, Shirley commissioned Cheeksaunkun to raise a Company of Stockbridges for the 1756 campaign, and commissioned him Captain, May 27, 1756. Discharged November 11, 1756 by Loudoun. Re-commissioned Captain, January 27, 1758. Discharged by Abercrombie on September 11, 1758. Re-commissioned Captain by Amherst, evidently dated March 25, 1759, the date of his conference with Rogers at Albany; to reenter Rogers’ Rangers. Captured on Lake George July 5, 1759. Endeavoring to escape during winter of 1759–1760, he lost his toes when they froze. Released October 6, 1760 (Loescher 1957:9).

JACOB NAUNAUPHTAUNK: Captain, a Mohican of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Son of Jacob Cheeksaunkun. In 1748 he was elected to the respected office of “Hogreeve” of the town of Stockbridge—vesting him with the power to seize all

“wild swine” going without a keeper, or without yoke or tethering line or means of restraint (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 36, p. 273). Lieutenant of Jacob Cheeksaunken’s unit May 27 to November 11, 1756. Captain of a Company of Stockbridge Indian Rangers January 27, 1758. Discharged by Abercrombie September 11, 1758. Re-commissioned Captain by Amherst March 25, 1759, the date of his agreement with Rogers. Captured in August, 1759, by a hunting party of St. Francis Indians. Sold to the French who kept him in irons aboard a prison ship at Montreal. In 1760 his release was obtained by a priest named Roubaud and he was sent to General Amherst, arriving at Fort Lewis August 29. Amherst then sent Jacob as a peace envoy to the St. Francis tribe (Loescher 2001:13).

SOLOMON UHHAUNWAUMUT: Captain, a Mohican Indian warrior from Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Private in Jacob Cheeksaunkun’s company May 27–September 1, 1756. Ensign September 2–November 11, 1756. Lieutenant of Jacob Naunauphtaunk’s unit February 6, 1758. Captained the remnants of the two Jacobs’ companies from their capture in 1759 to their disbandment at end of campaign. Captain in 1760 of the Stockbridge Mohican Company raised then. Commissioned May 30, 1760. Discharged with the Company November 11, 1760. Solomon was the principal chief of the Stockbridges by the time of the Revolution. On September 1, 1775, he pledged the allegiance of the Stockbridges to the Americans (Loescher 2001: 22–23).

JOSEPH DUQUIPE: Second Lieutenant, a Mohegan Indian warrior from Connecticut. Recommended by Rogers for the Ensigny of Moses Brewer’s new Company on January 10–11, 1758. Commissioned January 14, 1758. Resigned at end of campaign. Re-entered Corps in May, 1760, as Lieutenant of Solomon’s company. Com-

manded a platoon of Indian Rangers in Rogers’ Detroit Expedition, served as the picket of the detachment (Loescher 2001:40).

WILLIAM HENDRICK PHILLIPS: Second Lieutenant, resided near Albany. Born about 1719, of Dutch-French-Indian origin. Entered Rogers’ Own as Private on June 1, 1756, Sergeant after October 24, 1756. Recommended by Rogers for an officer’s berth on December 11, 1756. For distinguished service at La Barbue Creek, January 21, 1757, he was promoted to the Ensigny of Hobbs’ (later Bulkeley’s) unit on February 27, 1757. Became second lieutenant of Lieutenant Bulkeley’s unit, August 8, 1757. Recommended by Rogers on January 10, 1758, for First Lieutenancy of Bulkeley’s unit. Captured March 13, 1758, at Rogers’ Rock. Escaped same year. Due to Abercrombie’s contract with Rogers, Phillips’ Lieutenancy had been filled and he served the 1759 campaign and winter of 1759–1760 as a volunteer in Rogers’ Own. Recommended by Rogers May 4, 1760, for Ensigny of Wait’s company. Received the Ensigny of J. Brewer’s company on May 24, 1760. Discharged with Company November 11th. After the war Phillips lived for some time in Rumford (Concord), where he married Miss Eleanor Eastman, daughter of Ebenezer, Jr., by whom he had a son. About 1784, his wife joined the Shakers at Canterbury, N.H. but Phillips would not join. Eleanor left Phillips and resumed her maiden name. She died of consumption, November 17, 1816, aged seventy years. After his wife left him, Phillips led a roving unsettled life—fishing, hunting and stealing, sometimes working as a blacksmith, at which he was experienced, and at times as a laborer. He lived awhile with his wife’s brother, Stilson Eastman, a fellow Ranger. At length he became a pauper and, according to the practice of the time, was “bid off” to be supported at the town

charge. He lived several years in the families of Richard Potter and Ebenezer Tenney on the Loudoun road. When he died in 1819, age 100, he was residing in Northfield, N.H. (Bouton 1856:44–45).

JONAS ETOWAUKAUM: Ensign, a Stockbridge warrior, grandson of Etowaukaum, former Mohican chief sachem. Private in Jacob Cheeksaunkun's company May 27–September 21, 1756. Ensign of Jacob Naunauphtaunk's company, February 6, 1758–September 11, 1758. Re-commissioned Ensign, March 25, 1759. Killed and scalped by French Indians, July 28, 1759, at Ticonderoga (Loescher 2001:49).

ISAAC ANDREW: Clerk of Jacob Naunauphtaunk's company, February 6, 1758, to end of campaign (Loescher 2001: 57).

JAMES DEWEY: Sergeant in Jacob Naunauphtaunk's company February 6, 1758, to close of campaign. Clerk in Solomon's unit in 1759 (Loescher 2001:57).

JOHN WAUWAUMPEQUUNAUNT: Clerk of Jacob Cheeksaunkun's Stockbridge Company, May 27, 1756 to an unknown date. Loudoun's Order, of November 14, 1756, states that Wauwaumpequunaunt had only been out on one scout during the campaign. When asked to attend for the settling of the accounts of his company, he did not show up. Loudoun ordered that he be struck off the company roll (Loescher 2001:58).

JOSEPH KOONEHAUNT: Stockbridge Sergeant. In Jacob C. and Solomon U.'s Companies from March to discharge October 28, 1759 (Loescher 2001:72).

HENDRICK WAUPUNKSCOT: In Jacob C.'s Company, from May 27–November 11, 1756 (Loescher 2001:76).

ABRAHAM WNAUMPOS: With Jacob N. from March, 1759. Captured with Capt. Jacob N. in St. Francis mission August 8, 1759. Exchanged November 8, 1759 (Loescher 2001:76).

WHEN CONGRESS ACTED: THE MOHICAN RESERVATION AND THE ACT OF 1871

James W. Oberly (2002)

INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth-century American literary world, thanks to James Fenimore Cooper, may have viewed the Mohicans as a vanished race, but the Congress, the Executive Branch, and the Judiciary of the United States Government knew differently. From the Washington Administration of the early Republic through the Nixon Administration in the twentieth century, the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans have almost continually pressed issues of government-to-government business with the United States. A tally of the laws of the United States, the *Statutes at Large*, shows that the Executive negotiated and the Senate ratified five treaties with the Stockbridge-Munsees between 1794 and 1856. That roster does not include the four other treaty negotiations conducted that resulted in signed treaties, to which the Senate refused its consent to the ratification. The same search of the *Statutes at Large* shows an additional ten Acts of Congress passed between 1843 and 1972 legislating on Stockbridge-Munsee business. And that list excludes three bills passed by both houses but vetoed by the President and not overturned by Congress. Finally, the Stockbridge-Munsees regularly have appeared as plaintiffs, defendants, or interested parties in lawsuits in the federal

courts. Four of those cases made their way to the U.S. Supreme Court for argument and decision.

This paper focuses on the most contentious of the legislation passed by Congress, the Act of January 25, 1871, when Congress made provision for the sale of three quarters of the land parcels within the Tribe's Shawano County reservation. That act still haunts the tribe 130 years later. The starting point for the history of the Act of 1871 is the Treaty of 1856 that established the Tribe's new homeland in Shawano County.

CONGRESS ESTABLISHES THE RESERVATION, 1856-1857. . . AND EMPOWERS THE CITIZENS PARTY IN TRIBAL AFFAIRS

The impetus for the February 5 and February 11, 1856, treaties began when the Tribe declined to remove to Minnesota, as contemplated by the Treaty of 1848. A renewed fight between the Indian Party and the Citizens Party broke out in 1853, and both factions inundated the Commissioner of Indian Affairs with requests for action. The Tribe's leaders acknowledged the plenary power of Congress to legislate on tribal affairs, but, at the same

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time, preferred to deal with the United States on a nation-to-nation basis via the negotiated treaty. A petition from the Citizens Party in 1854 noted, "Congress has asserted the power (whether rightfully or not) to legislate for us at pleasure. It has given us civil and political privileges, and again deprived us of them without our consent, and in no instance of late years, by so doing, has it conferred favors upon us" (Chicks 1854).

The Pierce Administration's Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George Manypenny, wrote in his 1854 and 1855 annual reports about the need to find a new Wisconsin location for the Stockbridge-Munsees away from their old Calumet County, Wisconsin, settlement. On January 7, 1856, Commissioner Manypenny wrote a letter to Milwaukee-based Northern Superintendent of Indian Affairs Francis Huebschman with instructions for conducting a new treaty. The January seventh letter is a key document for understanding the Treaty of February 5, 1856. The Commissioner reviewed the problems with land and title at the Calumet County reservation and concluded that the tribe would have to make a permanent move. He issued Huebschman the following directive:

Arrangements ought therefore be made at once to provide them with a home, to which they could be induced to remove. The true interest and the happiness of the Indians will be promoted by a cheerful and ready acquiescence, and in the acceptance of such home wherever provided, and it should be a home alike for the Stockbridges, whether known as "citizens" or "Indians," and the Munsees, parties to the Treaty of September 8th, 1839, wherever they may now be. . .you are authorized to arrange with the Menominees for a portion of their reservation for a home for the Stockbridge and Munsees. . .(Manypenny a 1856).

Huebschman was also instructed to include in the anticipated treaty a provision to allow tribal members to sever relations and obtain individual landholdings at Stockbridge,

Wisconsin, that is, at the Calumet County site.

The treaty signed on February 5, 1856, carried out the Commissioner's instructions. The treaty made provision to gather all the scattered Stockbridges and Munsees at a new unspecified site, required a roll to be taken of Stockbridges and Munsees, and provided for them future allotments in trust. The last article, Number Sixteen, provided for the severance of those who wished to remain at Stockbridge, Wisconsin. After signing the treaty at Stockbridge, Wisconsin, on February fifth, Superintendent Huebschman wrote a report of his actions to Commissioner Manypenny on the twenty-third of the month. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs gave his approval to the treaty on May 3 and sent it to the Senate for its advice and consent. That body approved the treaty, with two amendments on April 18 (Huebschman a1856).

After learning of the April 18 Senate approval, with amendments, the Tribal Council met again to ratify the amended treaty. They did so at the end of July, 1856. By that time, tribal members had learned about Superintendent Huebschman's plans for locating them in Shawano County. In June, Jeremiah Slingerland and other tribal members accompanied Huebschman to the Menominee Reservation and inspected the lands that Huebschman had in mind for the tribe. In September, 1856, Slingerland wrote to Commissioner Manypenny about what he wanted in the way of reserved lands for the tribe:

The land purchased from the Menominees, I helped explore in June last, and found it rather doubtful of its meeting the agreement in the treaty of its being 'one half arable land . . .' The whole of Township 28 Range 14, with the one directly north of it, deducting from the north end of the northern township the width of one section east and west, to be made up by six sections from the Southwest Corner of Township 29 & Range 15, so that our Tract might come up to Wolf River. This latter strip the Supt. Said we could have. . . [but the Menominees

refused] (Slingerland 1856).

Slingerland's comments indicate that the location of the new Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation had not been definitely set in the February 11, 1856, treaty, for he made it clear that the tribe wanted what is now the Town of Red Springs and the township to the north that includes the present settlement of Neopit, as well as a one-mile strip running east within T29N R15E to the Wolf River. His comments do show that the tribe certainly thought it was going to receive a full two townships of land.

POOR LAND CHOSEN

In addition to receiving complaints from Rev. Slingerland that fall, Commissioner Manypenny also received a complaint from others who noted that the land in the Menominee Reservation was ill-suited for agriculture (Quinney 1856). Nonetheless, Superintendent Huebschman would not budge on his siting of the new Reservation. He insisted that selections under the treaty be limited to the South Half of T28N R14E and to the "two southern tiers of Sections west of Wolf River in T28 & R14E" (Huebschman b 1856).

That autumn of 1856, Commissioner Manypenny turned his attention to the problems of the boundaries of the new Stockbridge-Munsee Indian Reservation. In a letter to Huebschman of October 7, 1856, Manypenny wrote:

I apprehend the Menomonees [sic] will not consent that the Stockbridge and Munsees shall have the land designated by Mr. Slingerland. They should, however, have an outlet to the Wolf River, say a section or a section and a half wide along the south line of Township 29 – if he has correctly designated it – and whole of township 28 of range 14, and a sufficient quantity of the township in the rear of 28 to make up with the smaller outlet in 29, two townships of land. With these general views, I submit the subject to you, hoping that arrangements may be made . . ." (Manypenny b 1856).

The next month, the Commissioner included in his annual report a short statement that the Stockbridge-Munsees were to receive a tract of land at the "western edge of the Menominee reservation" (ARCIA 1856).

That same fall, Superintendent Huebschman was kept busy fending off charges of fraud and corruption made against him by Slingerland and other Stockbridge-Munsees (Manypenny c 1856). In 1857, Commissioner Manypenny appointed a new OIA (Office of Indian Affairs) official, Amos Layman, to visit the old Calumet County reservation and sort out the details of the Article Fifteen provisions that allowed tribal members to leave the tribe and take up patents in the Town of Stockbridge. Not until 1857 did the OIA, by now under a new commissioner, return to the problem of determining the exact whereabouts of the new Stockbridge-Munsee Indian Reservation.

In retrospect, Huebschman chose poorly on the siting of the Reservation for settling an agricultural people, since there was detailed information about the quality of the land in question. The two townships that became the Stockbridge-Munsee Reservation had been surveyed by the Interior Department's General Land Office in 1852 and 1853, that is, before the 1854 Menominee treaty established that tribe's reservation boundaries and well before Huebschman negotiated the 1856 treaty with the Stockbridge-Munsees. The surveyors first traced the exterior boundaries of the townships in 1852 and then returned the next year to fix the interior section lines. The field notes recorded by the General Land Office surveying party were transmitted to the Surveyor-General in Dubuque, who prepared plat maps for public inspection. The surveyors reported separately about the two townships. Although the two townships consisted mainly of second and third-rate soil and were thought marginal for farming, the surveyors did note that the townships contained a considerable timber reserve for its owners (Field Notes n.d.). The history of that timber-holding became central

to the politics and economy of the Stockbridge-Munsee Indian Reservation in the years after 1856.

THE ACT OF 1865

The early years of the Stockbridge-Munsees on the new Shawano County reservation were marked by poverty and hardship. Congress first attempted to resolve the problem of poverty on the Stockbridge-Munsee Indian Reservation in 1865, during the busy Thirty-eighth Congress, when, as part of the appropriations bill for the Office of Indian Affairs, it passed a law permitting members to make land selections on the public domain under the provisions of the 1862 Homestead Act. Stockbridge-Munsee members could select a quarter section (160 acres) on the public domain and receive patents from the General Land Office, and then become citizens of the United States (Act of March 3, 1865). Congress considered this a genuine boon to tribal members since it was offering them the benefit of the public land laws before they actually were U.S. citizens. There was no congressional hearing on the bill, no congressional report, and no discussion in the *Congressional Globe* on the bill. There is no evidence that the Act of 1865 was an expression of congressional intent to end the Stockbridge-Munsee Indian Reservation or to terminate federal supervision over the tribe. The results, however, of the Act of 1865, disappointed federal policymakers, since few, if any, tribal members sought for themselves a citizen's life off the reservation on a new homestead.

THE UNRATIFIED TREATY OF 1867

The next federal effort to alleviate poverty and dissension among the Stockbridge-Munsees was the Treaty of February 15, 1867, negotiated by the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Lewis Bogy, in Washington. The treaty's text compelled the tribe to "cede and

relinquish" its ownership of the two-township Reservation. The Citizens Party was to separate permanently from the tribe, and the Indian party was to be removed to an unspecified location. In return for ceding and relinquishing the Reservation, the Citizens Party was to receive a specific sum of \$32,829, along with another \$10,259 for the roads and public buildings existing on the reservation. The Indian party was to have its debts repaid, up to \$15,000, and to receive up to \$30,000 in moving expenses. The amount was based on a figure of one dollar fifty cents per acre for the 46,060-acre reservation. Under the Treaty of February 15, 1867, the U.S. Government assumed the risk and reward of selling the two townships and reaping whatever it could at auction.

The Treaty of February 15, 1867, moved quickly through the Executive Branch, receiving endorsements from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on the nineteenth of that month, the Secretary of the Interior on the twenty-fifth, and the President on March 13. The proposed treaty was read for the first time to the Senate the next day and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. That committee also gave its approval; however the full Senate did not give its consent in executive session on April 13 and returned the treaty to the Committee (Charles 1867). As with several other treaties negotiated in 1867, the Stockbridge-Munsee one was held up by wrangling between the Senate and the House over Indian treaty-making. Senate consideration of the treaty was definitively ended in March of 1869 when the Senate passed Resolution S30 which suspended treaty-making between the United States and Indian nations (Prucha 1994).

A March 16, 1870, letter from Jeremiah Slingerland and Darius Charles to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs stated that the cause of the failure of the 1867 treaty was that the Oneida Indians refused to cede and relinquish a portion of their reservation in Brown and Outagamie counties to accommodate the Stockbridge-

Munsees. An additional reason for the failure of the treaty to gain Senate ratification was that the United States would have to bear some of the expenses of moving the tribe (Slingerland and Charles 1870).

THE ACT OF 1871

The problems of poverty, disease and unrest on the Reservation were part of the background Congress understood when it passed the Act of 1871. However, the timing of the legislation mostly had to do with the increasing public recognition of the value of the tribe's timber holdings. The economic relationship between the Stockbridge-Munsee people and their white neighbors in Shawano County and downstream on the Wolf River is crucial to explaining the passage of the Act of 1871.

The Reservation sat astride important tributaries of the Wolf River. The Wolf River watershed was just one of the river networks stretching north into the pineries that enterprising Wisconsinites exploited in the Civil War era. Starting in the 1850s, Oshkosh emerged as the sawmilling capital of the Wolf River watershed and the lumbermen of that city understandably took the measure of the pine resources upstream. Lumber prices surged during the Civil War years and stayed high even after the war years with good stumpage consistently bringing five dollars per thousand feet. Throughout the 1850s and into the 1860s, the Oshkosh market absorbed the cut pine of the Wolf. An 1870 publication, *Advantages and Productions of the Counties of Brown, Door, Oconto and Shawano*, proclaimed that Shawano County lumbermen were cutting eighty to 125 million board feet of pine per year, at prices of eight to ten dollars per thousand board feet. By the late 1860s, the lumbermen had logged up to the lands of the Stockbridge-Munsee and Menominee Reservations (*Advantages and Productions*. . . 1870).

The Oshkosh lumbermen were represented in Congress by one of their own, Philetus

Sawyer, proprietor of P. Sawyer & Sons Lumber Mills, president of the First National Bank of Oshkosh, and partner in numerous other businesses. According to his biographer, Congressman Sawyer and the Oshkosh lumbermen wanted to get at the twelve townships filled with white pine that constituted the Stockbridge-Munsee and Menominee Reservations, particularly the Menominee one, which contemporaries estimated held as much as two billion board feet of pine (Current 1950).

During the fall of 1867, Morgan Martin of Green Bay and the OIA in Washington began to receive complaints about tribal member Jesse Wybro's logging operations in the north half of T28N R14E. The complainant, lumberman James Jenkins, protested at Christmas-time of that year that Stockbridge-Munsee Indians such as Wybro had no right to cut their own timber because they had signed it away in the February, 1867, treaty. Jenkins also remonstrated with the OIA against Wybro's logging operations because of the likely damage Wybro's logs would do to the wing dams and other navigation improvements on the West Branch of the Wolf River (Jenkins 1867).

One estimate of the timber holdings of the Stockbridge-Munsee's two-township reservation came in December, 1870, from tribal members. The House Committee on Indian Affairs, and its Senate counterpart, received a petition from "Members of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes of Indians" opposing Senate Bill 610, the proposed legislation that eventually passed Congress in the Act of 1871. Seventy-three men and women signed a document that read, in part:

. . . that the said two townships of land now have upon them, One hundred and fifty million feet of pine timber merchantable, and worth some five dollars per thousand feet as it now stands, and were the right given us to cut, and take the said timber to the Oshkosh market in said state of Wisconsin, under the Superintendence of a proper man, we would realize after

paying expenses, double the above named sum per thousand for said timber, and this would give employment to a large class of the said Indians for a number of seasons (Petition 1870).

The advent of the Grant Administration in 1869 gave a new and better opportunity for the Indian Party and the Pine Ring to accomplish their goals. New leadership in the OIA (including a new Green Bay agent) and the Interior Department meant that there was a better chance that a new initiative would win approval. The new Green Bay agent, J. A. Manly, had one idea about how to take the best advantage of the Reservation's timber, namely, to allow more logging in areas of the Reservation, including by Indian loggers like Jesse Wybro. However, he was opposed by Congressman Sawyer. The key document for understanding the policy implementation of the Act of February 6, 1871, is the letter that Congressman Sawyer wrote to the OIA Commissioner in October, 1869:

I understand that Mr. Manly, the Indian agt at Green Bay Wis has recommended that the Pine Timber on the Indian Reservation be sold (or part of it) under the pretense that it has been burned and is going to waste. The facts are these – there is little timber that is injured by fire. . . and if there is cutting allowed it will make more fuel & dry stuff and next year when the fire runs the woods (as it will) it will injure ten times as much as is now injured. The Indians had better suffer a small loss than a large one as they will if cutting is allowed. We have a few men that are very anxious to get a permit to cut burned & down pine and then cut the best timber when they please. I hope the Department will not allow any one to have this privilege. I shall be in Washington the first of December and then I will explain more fully. I have been on the Reservation and examined it myself and know that it is not injured one tenth as much as reported. If the pine is to be cut I do not know of but one way to do it and at the same time do the Indians justice – and it is this

as I wrote you a few days since. Have the land subdivided and appraised (to prevent a combination at the sale) and sell in forties to the highest bidder upon giving full notice of sale not to be sold for less than the appraisal and invest the money in Government Bonds and pay the Indians the interest in this way the pine will bring all that it is worth and it is very valuable. Mr. Manley is deceived by the amount of the damage done the timber by fire. You may think that I am meddling with that which does not belong to me, but I should not feel that I had done my duty to see that fine Forest slaughtered without entering my protest against it (Sawyer 1869).

Sawyer's 1869 letter to the Commissioner helps make clear why merely selling Stockbridge-Munsee stumpage and leaving title to the tribe was not considered a viable policy option. His view was that loggers would continue to abuse the terms of their contracts and commit extensive depredations on the stumpage. As Sawyer wrote, "If the pine is to be cut I do not know of but one way to do it and at the same time do the Indians justice" and that involved selling the land itself, and not just the stumpage rights. Of course, it was literally unthinkable for Sawyer to consider that the pine stay uncut on the Reservation.

TRIBAL LOGGING OPPOSED

The pine represented needed raw materials to keep his and other Oshkosh mills running. It simply had to be cut. Sawyer could only see one way to realize the pine's value, namely, to sell it to men like himself, and, indeed, as events transpired in 1871-1872, men in league with himself. He could not envision a proposal to begin a tribal logging and lumber operation, nor could he support the December, 1870, petition by tribal members to complete the allotment of the Reservation under the 1856 treaty so that tribal members could log their own allotments. The white pine on the Menominee and Stockbridge-Munsee reservations was simply too tempting to Wolf River lumbermen.

The tribe was in turmoil throughout 1869 with rival election slates and tribal government paralyzed. The January, 1870, election clarified the lines of authority, with Darius Charles and Jeremiah Slingerland now fully in charge. Sachem Charles promptly wrote to Morgan Martin, offering him a retainer to go to Washington and secure congressional passage of a bill that would once and for all terminate the Citizens Party:

... and now I want you should help me please then to throw those old Citizens of 1843 out of the tribe. I would rather pay you Two Thousand Dollars than to fail [...] if we Should Succeed in our business we will pay you About that or maby more Just what you think would be write [sic] (Charles a 1870).

On March 2, 1870, Senator Timothy Howe of Wisconsin introduced two bills, S610 concerning the Stockbridge-Munsees and S849 concerning the Menominees. The legislative bill files of the Senate show that Morgan L. Martin was the author of each bill. The earliest copy of S849 from March of 1870 was penned in Martin's handwriting. And, a letter from the Indian Party leaders dated March 16, 1870, claims authorship of S610. Martin had accompanied the Indian Party leaders Darius Charles and Jeremiah Slingerland to Washington that winter of 1870, and he was subsequently paid a lobbying fee of \$1,600 by the Indian Party for securing ultimate passage of S610.

CITIZENS PARTY LOSES PROTECTION

The Secretary of the Interior, J. D. Cox, wrote Senator Howe on March 1, 1870, and reversed his 1868 predecessor's view about maintaining tribal protection for the Citizens Party, this time giving the Department's approval:

I have the honor to return herewith the draft of a Bill relating to the Stockbridge Indians, and to say that I see no reason why the passage of the same would not be satisfactory to this

Department & in accordance with the interests of that tribe. Their progress in civilization is sufficient in the judgment of the Comm of Indian Affairs & myself, to make such action proper (Secretary of the Interior 1870).

Also on March 1, Senator Howe received a copy of the bill with a cover letter signed by Sachem Charles and Councilor Slingerland, asking "if the Senator will introduce the accompanying Bill as early as practicable." On March 16, Charles and Slingerland sent a memorial to the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs asking approval of Senate Bill 610, sponsored by Sen. Howe. Charles and Slingerland signed their memorial as "Delegates" of the Stockbridge-Munsee Nation, and both were in Washington at the time. Their memorial informed the Committee that S610 would accomplish the sale of the Stockbridge-Munsee pinelands. Delegates Charles and Slingerland wrote that on their Reservation, "Much the larger portion of these lands are unfit for cultivation, and are only valuable for the pine timber growing thereon. None of them can be called first rate farming lands." The two delegates pledged that the monies received would be fairly distributed. They also called for the termination of tribal status for those who wanted to become citizens and promised a "final settlement of our affairs and that too without any charge to the government." The delegates also asked Congress to approve payment of up to \$11,000 "to pay the just debts contracted by the Sachem and Counselors on behalf of the Tribe" (Petitions to the Senate Committee 1870).

Bill S610 was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. A feature of the very first (March 2) draft of S610 is that there was a blank space left for the amount of tribal debt that the Indian party asked in reimbursement. When the draft was reworked in committee, three amendments were attached: The first was to put in the figure of \$11,000 for the tribal debts per the March 16, 1870, request from Darius Charles and Jeremiah Slingerland. The

second was to limit the Indian Party's ability to adopt persons not of Indian descent. The third was to clarify how the rolls of the two parties were to be drawn.

Over on the House side of the Capitol, Congressman Sawyer introduced two parallel bills of his own. Item HR 1457, "A Bill for the Relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes. . .," was introduced on March 7, 1870, and HR 1547, "A Bill to Authorize the Sale of Certain Lands Reserved for Use of the Menominee Tribe of Indians," was introduced ten days later on March 17. Bill S610 was brought out of the Indian Affairs Committee with a positive vote and soon passed the full Senate, but when it went over to the House side, it died in June, before the end of the session. The Menominee bill, S849, had the same fate—passage in the Senate, but failure in the House.

News about the possible opportunity to buy Stockbridge-Munsee timber spread quickly to the lumbermen of the district. For example, in late March, 1870, a lumberman named S. E. Gilbert, operating out of Keshena, wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs: "I see by the papers that there has been a bill Introduced to sell the pine timber on this Reserve and I understand that the Stockbridge Indians wish to sell their pine Timber on their Reserve" (Gilbert 1870).

Gilbert offered \$2.20 per thousand board feet for the exclusive right to Indian stumpage. It is significant that a prominent lumberman at the time S610 and S849 were introduced in 1870 understood the intent of both bills was to make possible the sale of pine timber and not the diminishment of either reservation.

That spring of 1870 the Reservation was in turmoil over logging issues, tribal governance, and OIA personnel. Jesse Wybro went on trial for illegal lumbering in federal court in Green Bay on May 2. Specifically, Wybro was charged with logging in the west half of the northeast quarter of Section 15, Township 28 North Range 14 East. The prosecution called its principal witness, Green Bay Indian Agent Manly, who testified that he observed Wybro running

a logging camp with fourteen other Indians and two white teamsters.

In February of 1870 Congressman Sawyer managed to get the OIA to sack its Green Bay agent, J. A. Manly. He was replaced by W. R. Bourne (*Shawano Journal* 1870). Agent Bourne almost immediately encountered problems in trying to help the tribe with its business. In April, 1870, Darius Charles wrote Morgan Martin in protest over the agent's inquiry into the tribal split:

. . . [Agent Bourne] would not let any of the old Indian party say anything only me and he tried to pump me to tell everything what we had done at Washington. I toald him that he would know this summer. . .he wanted to know how much we paid you to go with us. . .he wanted to call for a new Election to have new head men. I toald him I wanted to see his authority that coold him down but he toald them that he would send for authority and then he would have a new election and have just the head men he wanted [sic] (Charles b1870).

PINE RING IMPATIENT

In the autumn of 1870, the Pine Ring of Sawyer, Howe and others apparently got too impatient to wait for further congressional action. Congressman Sawyer exerted pressure on the Interior Department in two separate ways. First, at Sawyer's insistence, the OIA dismissed the new OIA agent, Lt. Bourne, from his post. The editor of the *Oshkosh Times*, a Democratic paper opposed to Sawyer, wrote on October 12, 1870, that: "It is now apparent why Lieut. Bourne was dismissed from the Indian agency, to make place for an Ohio man, in the interest of the pine land ring, which has its center in the Interior office at Washington. Of course, P. SAWYER didn't know anything about it. Of course not; he's so innocent pine pitch won't stick to his fingers" (*Oshkosh Times* 1870).

The second action by the Interior Department in the fall of 1870 was shocking in its audacity. On September 27, the Department placed an advertisement in a Chicago news-

paper for the sale of the Menominee pine lands in lots of township size, by sealed bid, at Washington, D.C. The news soon reached Wisconsin, in the midst of Sawyer's re-election campaign. The reaction was so unfavorable to such an open land grab by Sawyer and his associates that the congressman and Senator Howe had to repudiate the sale plan and ask for its reversal. The story put out by Sawyer and Howe was that a clerk in the Interior Department devised the plan on his own, without the knowledge of the Secretary or anyone in Congress. The Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Cox, was forced to resign because of the scandal and the sale was canceled. The Democratic press of Wisconsin held up the attempted pine grab as emblematic of the set of scandals that had emerged from the "Big Barbecue" Republican Grant administration. The *Marquette Express* editorialized on October 22, 1870:

*Now then, if Mr. Sawyer has not convicted himself of being instrumental in setting up that fraud, and expecting himself to attend the sale at Washington, and gobble the whole tract, then we have no sensible idea of what a man means by what he says. A clerk ordered the sale of those pine lands unbeknown to the Sec'y. How absurd! . . . Mr. Sawyer and this pine land swindle has about as much to do with the resignation of Mr. Cox as they had to do with getting Napoleon off the throne of France. Esq. Sawyer stands convicted (*Marquette Express* 1870).*

After the November elections, with Congressman Sawyer safely returned to the House, the Pine Ring returned to the task of passing S610 and S849. The Indian Party was confident that any opposition by the Citizens Party would be overcome by Congressman Sawyer and that S610 would get passed. Councilor Jeremiah Slingerland attributed partisan reasons for the antagonism between the Citizens Party and Sawyer:

[We] have been assured by Mr. Sawyer that he will do all he can for the passage of our Bill at an early hour – So we have all settled down into quiet, excepting the Citizen Party, who feel

chafed & are occasionally trying to kick in the harness. They have old Gaumann of Shawano to their help and we understand that they mean to send a remonstrance, which will knock the whole thing over. But during the late election they voted against Sawyer & he knows it & has promised that nothing from them shall meet with any attention by him at Washington (Slingerland 1870).

Slingerland's letter about Sawyer's intransigence puts a new face on the subsequent history of the Citizens Party petition against S610, received by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs on January 5, 1871. Senator James Harlan, the chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee, worked with Howe and Sawyer to get the bill through as quickly as possible, and without regard for the objections of the Citizens Party.

At the start of the Third Session of the Forty-first Congress, Senator Howe re-introduced Senate Bill 610 on December 30, 1870, "for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribe of Indians." This time, the bill easily passed the Senate. However, in the House of Representatives, there was considerable debate on the floor of the House. Senate Bill 610 came to the House on January 13, 1871, and was referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. The committee chair, Representative William Armstrong (R-PA) moved the bill through committee, despite the opposition voiced in the petition from the Citizens Party, and returned the bill with the Committee's approval back to the full House. On January 18, the bill came up for a final reading in the House. The floor debate showed that there was some opposition to S610. The House amended the bill so that land sales would be conducted at a land office within the Green Bay agency. In practice, this was the Menasha Land Office.

The full house debate on S610 showed a congressional interest in three particulars of the legislation: 1) the consent of the Stockbridge-Munsee Tribe to the proposal; 2) the

role of Congress in selling land outside the public domain; and 3) the manner in which the land was to be sold. The discussion on the floor by representatives who questioned the legislation, and by its backers, is most helpful today in establishing the intent of the House in passing the bill. Congressman Halbert Paine (R-WI) began the floor debate with a simple question: "if this bill is in accordance with the wishes of this tribe of Indians?" Congressman Armstrong answered, "It is; at least so the committee is informed," omitting mention of the Citizens Party opposition. He continued:

They own a small body of land, two townships, of forty-six thousand and eighty acres. Of this they desire to have sold some one and a half townships, of thirty-one thousand five hundred and twenty acres. They cannot make this sale without the aid of an act of Congress. The reasons for the sale are those which I stated. Depredations are being made on the land; some injury has been caused by fire. It is in the interest of the Indians that the lands shall be sold, and they very much desire it (Congressional Globe 1871, p. 587).

This statement on the floor of the House furnished members of Congress with the rationale for the bill: to sell pine lands.

Bill S610 passed the House on January 18, 1871. The Senate concurred the next day in the House amendment to hold land sales at the Menasha Land Office. The bill was enrolled by both houses on the twenty-fourth and then went to the White House for the president's consideration. The next day, President Grant's executive secretary queried the Secretary of the Interior for his opinion about the bill. Four days later, Secretary Delano responded in an equivocal way: "I have the honor to return herewith, Senate Bill No. 610. . . While I cannot advise that the Executive approval be withheld from the Bill, some of its provisions do not fully accord with the views of the Department." President Grant did not sign S610, instead allowing ten days to elapse after its receipt. His inaction allowed the bill to become

law on February 6, 1871 (*Congressional Globe* 1871, pp. 599, 615, 689, 988).

CITIZENS PARTY TO BE EXPELLED

News of the passage of S610 in both houses quickly reached the Indian Party leaders in Shawano County. On January 24, the Sachem and Councilors wrote Congressman Sawyer about the "pleasing news . . . that the Stockbridge Indian Bill has passed and become a law." The balance of the letter was a plea to Sawyer to have Morgan L. Martin appointed "as the one whom we wish to be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior to make the two Rolls of Indians and Citizens as contemplated in Section Six of said Bill (Sachem to Sawyer (1871). This letter is significant because it indicates how the Indian Party understood S610 and what it considered most important in the prospective law. What counted to Sachem Charles, Councilor Slingerland, and the others was a prompt enrollment of the two factions and a speedy expulsion of the Citizens Party from the tribe.

The rest of Shawano County, including the Citizens Party, soon learned about the passage of Senate Bill S610 from their local newspaper, the *Shawano Journal*. The paper's editor, Myron McCord, covered the story in his January 26, 1871, issue as a triumph for Congressman Sawyer and vindication against Democratic Party charges that the congressman was leading a "Pine Ring" theft of Indian timber:

Mr. Armstrong also reported back the Senate bill for the relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians, in Wisconsin. . . The bills referred to are the ones introduced by Senator Howe in the last session, and were passed by that body, for the sale of the pine timber belonging to the Stockbridge and Menominee tribes of Indians residing in this county. The timber (not the land) will now be offered for sale in accordance with the terms of the law, and sold to the highest bidder in 80 acre lots, after being duly appraised and advertised three months in the leading papers in the district. This is all the

great howl raised by Hyer and other unscrupulous blatherskites, gotten up on the eve of election to defeat Hon. Philetus Sawye, amounted to (Shawano Journal 1871).

McCord was closely allied with Congressman Sawyer and it is significant that he, too, understood S610 as a timber stumpage sale bill, not even a land sale bill, never mind one that diminished the Reservation. The Green Bay Agent for the OIA, W. T. Richardson, was operating without the knowledge of the passage of S610, nor had he known of Sachem Charles and Councilor Slingerland's lobbying trips to Washington. In mid-February, Richardson wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs asking for a copy of the Act. It is significant that Agent Richardson asked for a "copy of the bill recently passed by Congress in reference to the sale of pine land belonging to the Stockbridge and Munsee and Menominee reservations" (Richardson 1871).

Although not written into the statute, the next step in the process was for the Stockbridge-Munsees to express their positive consent to the legislation affecting their tribe. Congressman Sawyer explained this to Councilor Slingerland in a February 16, 1871, letter:

I have been waiting for the land bill to be printed to send you a copy. It has come today from the printers, and I send you some copies herewith. It was delayed at the Presidents, I suppose for further consideration, and as you will see has become a law without his signature, but it goes into force and operation all the same, being now a law of the U. S. I have seen the Secretary of the Interior, about this law and he says it will now be necessary for you to call a council of the tribes and lay this bill or Act before them, and have them sanction it in every part, and when they have done so, have it signed by the head men and appended to one of the copies of the law I now send, and then mail it to me and I will lay it before the Secretary of the Interior, who cannot take any steps in regard to it until he gets the sanction of the tribes (Sawyer 1871).

The "sanction of the tribes" proved a controversial matter. The bitterness of the dispute between the Indian Party and the Citizens Party intensified amidst the fight over the passage of S610. The tribe's constitution called for annual elections on New Year's Day, but in the 1871 contest, the two factions called rival elections at separate polling places. Sachem Charles and the Indian party designated the Sachem's own private house as the polling place, a decision hardly calculated to increase opposition voter turnout.

REASONS FOR TIMBER SALE

The correspondence of the Indian party leaders showed that their motivation was primarily to expel their Citizens Party rivals from the tribe, and secondarily to collect on past claims against the United States. By contrast, when the Citizens Party learned of the passage of S610, its leaders protested their imminent separation from the tribe and the loss of tribal lands. The Sachem and Councilors of the Tribe (Citizens Party Branch) wrote to President Grant at the end of March protesting the Act of 1871 and proposing an alternative solution to the tribe's problems:

The lands we occupy were obtained by the Treaty of 1856 guaranteed by the U.S. to each individual Members of the Tribe and an ultimate title to the Land . . . Now therefore we the Members of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe of Indians having examined the Bill [do] Object to the Bill, as it does not provide that those who withdraw from the tribe may retain their homes or the Lands on the Reserve, on the whole it is distasteful. We would rather for our portion retain the North Half of town twenty eight Range 14, and receive a Patent for same, in one Patent together with our proportion of the Six Thousand dollars set apart by the treaty of 1839 as we are averse to leave the State of Wisconsin . . . Now our only hope is that our Great Father the President of the U.S. raise a helping hand in defense of the

Oppressed in order that no unjust laws be enforced upon us . . . (Hendricks 1871).

The United States was soon enough presented with rival claims to constitutional legitimacy and also with rival actions taken on S610. Agent W. T. Richardson duly forwarded the matter to H. R. McClure, the Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Members of each party resorted to the local newspapers to air their grievances. An unsigned letter from a member of the Citizens Party (likely Jesse Wybro), appearing in the April 26, 1871, *Oshkosh Times*, wrote this summary of the power play that led to the Act of 1871:

. . .the Indian Party got up a power of attorney to send two delegates to Washington, to dispose of the whole of our interest. This instrument being distasteful, many (more than one half) would not sign their names to the same. The delegates went anyway, with a friend, or so we have lately learned, employed a resident of Green Bay, taking the sum of \$750 and with the cooperation of the Member of Congress of this district. But when the delegates returned, in 1870, they would not report what they had done, keeping silent and making no public report whatever to the whole tribe. Of course, we who opposed their going to Washington did not know what bill they consented to, in the Senate in 1870, until lately. . .The law as passed will throw out more than one half of the tribe. . .This is done by those who are willing to throw away our whole pine timber for a mere song – timber which we claim to be worth at least \$5 per M stumpage (Oshkosh Times 1871).

In return, the Indian Party had a correspondent answer the *Times* letter in the rival, Republican *Oshkosh Northwestern* a week later. The unnamed author provided a lengthy history of the Acts of 1843 and 1846, and the Treaty of 1856, which he considered a swindle by the Citizens Party in league with Superintendent Huebschman:

As to the contemptible fling of this capitalist about our Member of Congress, I have only to say that whatever else Mr. Sawyer may have

done he has certainly done his whole duty by the Indians in keeping trespassers off the Indian lands (both Stockbridge and Menominee) and aided them to get just and fair laws passed to enable them to sell their timber (Oshkosh Northwestern 1871).

Even newspaper editors sympathetic to Congressman Sawyer understood the Act of 1871 as a way to sell pine timber, not to diminish the reservation or open it to white settlement.

VOTING FRAUD IGNORED

On April 18, 1871, Acting Commissioner McClure brought some of this information to the attention of the Secretary of the Interior:

I have the honor to submit herewith for your information and consideration, a letter filed by Hon. Philetus Sawyer, from Rev. Jeremiah Slingerland, enclosing a paper containing the signatures of sixty members of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes of Indians, indicating their concurrence in, and approval of the provisions of an Act of Congress passed at the last session thereof, entitled 'An Act for the Relief of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes of Indians in the State of Wisconsin.' I also submit in the same connection a petition bearing date the 29th ultimo [March] filed in this office by U. S. Agent Richardson signed by fifty-four members of said tribes protesting against the execution of the provisions of the Act in question. It is proper to state that several of the names signed to this petition also appear upon the first named document, but it is stated in the petition that they were placed there without authority (Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1871).

In a remarkable ten-day period late in April and early May, 1871, the Acting Commissioner intervened decisively on the side of the Indian Party, despite receiving the disturbing information about possible fraud in the tribal sanction to the Act of 1871. First, on April 24, McClure decided to recognize Darius Charles and the Indian Party as the legitimately elected govern-

ment of the Stockbridge-Munsees. Then, on May 4, the Acting Commissioner appointed the *Shawano Journal* editor, Myron McCord, to head a three-man team to oversee the appraisal and sale of the fifty-four sections of land of the Reservation (Commissioner to Green Bay Agent 1871). The appointment of McCord to begin the appraisal of tribal pinelands effectively ended any inquiry into the dispute over the “sanction of the tribes” to the Act of 1871.

When leaders of the Citizens Party complained about the impending appraisal and sale of tribal pinelands in March to Wisconsin Congressman Jeremiah Rusk, they learned a lesson in congressional privilege: “Yours of March 21st in regard to lands situated in Shawano County is received. I stated the case to Mr. Sawyer, he said he had the law passed and it was right and it being wholly within his district I could not interfere in the matter “(Rusk 1871).

There was no follow-up investigation to the matter of the “sanction of the tribes,” not by either house of Congress, or by the OIA. Moreover, S.B.610 included a phrase defining tribal membership. This regulation let the Indian Party remove many members from the rolls.

The memory of the Act of 1871 lived on for tribal members in intriguing ways. In the early 1930s, the Tribal Business Committee Chairman, Carl Miller, left some handwritten note fragments about the Act of 1871:

In 1871 through the efforts and manipulation of Timothy O. Howe and Phil. Sawyer who had great influence with the dep. at Washington a majority of the members of the Tribe were stricken from the rolls and shovd thro out where by the largest and most valuable portion of our reservation was sold to this same Ph. Sawyer and his Lumbering Interest for the sum of \$169,000. We claim treaty violation. 1st Because the Fed. Gov. allowed a portion of the tribe to sell what belonged to the whole tribe. 2nd They allowed a small portion of the tribe to sell what belonged to the rising generation (Carl Miller Papers ca. 1934).

This note fragment written some sixty years after the Act of 1871 is not a primary source about the making of the Act of 1871. Instead, it is important because it casts light on an elusive topic, how the tribe interpreted and transmitted its own history over the generations. Several points stand out from Carl Miller’s notes. Although Miller was himself descended from members of the Indian Party, he recalled the Act of 1871 as unjust because it terminated the Citizens Party members, who were “stricken from the rools.” Miller was taught by his elders that the legislation was a swindle, even a “treaty violation.” Chairman Miller clearly had heard stories of the influence of Sawyer, Howe, and the lumbermen’s presumed influence with the OIA. Even so, Miller’s language about the Act of 1871 connects him with Sawyer’s language about the “land bill,” since Miller characterized a “portion” of the Reservation that was “sold.” Most telling is the precise echo of the language in the Treaty of 1856 about the “rising generation” that Chairman Miller also claimed as a treaty violation. By 1934, Carl Miller’s note makes clear that the tribe remembered the Act of 1871 as an outright injustice.

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MOHICAN MUSIC, PAST AND PRESENT

David P. McAllester

Editor's note: A CD including this talk and its music is included in an envelope at the back of this book.

Mohican music is alive and well today in a multitude of forms that we are familiar with all across the continent. The descendents of Stockbridge's Mohicans are scattered far and wide and participate in the music of their neighbors wherever they are. I would like to look at two of these genres in which the composer/performers are famous Mohicans, and then look back, in an exercise in musical archaeology, and make some guesses as to what Mohican music may have sounded like in the aboriginal past.

Brent Michael Davids is a contemporary Mohican composer of avant-garde music. He has won awards in this country, Europe, and Asia for his imaginative and unique modalities and musical ideas. Three of his works appear on the recording, *Ni-tcang* (My Girl), published in 1992. The title piece is intended to evoke forest sounds and also suggest a lullaby; much of the instrumentation employs toy instruments. It was commissioned by the wind quartet, "Quintessence." The second piece, entitled *Peni'pimakat-kisox* (Leaf-shedding Moon), was commissioned by the famed Joffrey Ballet of New York City and also was composed in 1992. In Davids' own words, the composition "shows the deep connection of Mohicans with Animal and Bird People.

Animals and Birds ARE People. The World is alive and filled with many other kinds of People. This is why Native Americans want balance with the World instead of dominance over it. The World is filled with others and has many dimensions. The World is old and must be respected as an elder."

The piece is composed for crystal soprano and bass flutes, skin drum, clay flutes, and synthesizer. It is in four movements, Broken Big Houses, My Grandfather Smoke, Fire Hunting, and Wind and Water. The music consists of widely spaced evocations of a variety of woodland sounds. The work concludes with an old man's gentle voice telling, in Mohican, of his respectful relations with the Owl, a Mohican elder.

The third piece on the recording is "Elixir (Pure Since c1987)." It suggests "the vapors floating from the bottles of early medicinal tonics. The work itself is a love song that entices the ears as a reminder of the relations we all depend upon with nature, with human others, and with non-human others" (Davids 1992) (Figure 7.1).

These three pieces show us a Mohican composer fully at home in the avant-garde idiom of art music and widely recognized as a significant voice with an important message to

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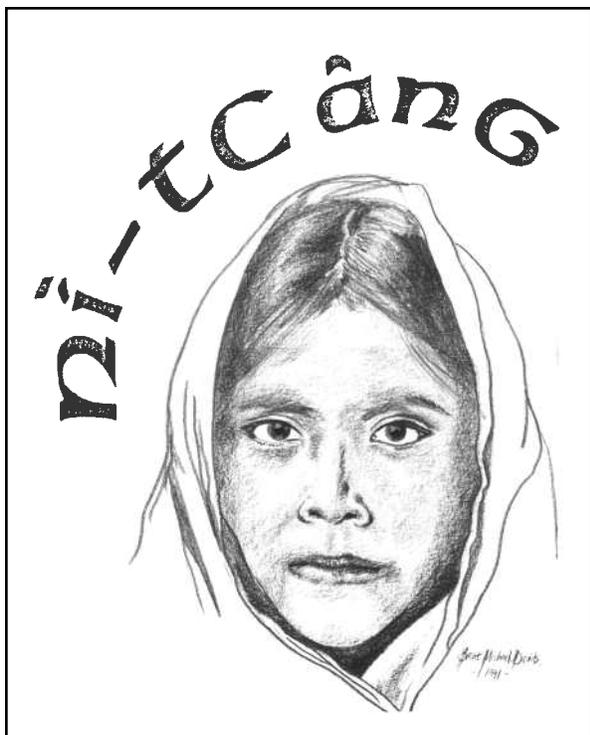


Figure 7.1. Cover for *Ni-Tcang*, by Brent Michael Davids, Mohican composer. Reproduced with permission.

convey. In all three, there are musical references to Native American ideas, and the liner notes are “Indian” in their philosophical and religious content.

Bill Miller is a Mohican representative of a large segment of contemporary Native American music sometimes termed “cross-over.” There are several hundred groups of Indian musicians who record such genres as “New Age,” “Gospel,” “Country/Western,” “Rap,” and “Rock.” Much of this music is strongly “Indian” in its subject matter, often indicated by the titles, as in the Davids pieces noted above. The use of drums, rattles, and flutes may mix Indian sound with the musical sound of the non-Indian aspects of American popular culture.

Most of Bill Miller’s recording could be by any American Rock band. But in one piece the Rock style has something added to it. “Eagle Song” begins with an overblown flute sug-

gesting the call of an eagle and continues with eighteen measures of Indian drumming before the vocal begins. The lyrics contain nature imagery of mountains, wind, and rain, and the song addresses the eagle. The song ends with a male chorus and an Indian yell.

In the notes, Miller dedicates this song “To the Stockbridge-Munsee Tribe of which I am a proud member and to all Native Americans of this land. In all my dreams there is the hope that mankind will be able to reach out to each other, shed the false faces of today’s society and live together in harmony. I hope that my music not only conveys an Indian message but a universal one” (Miller 1983).

We now have mentioned two interesting examples of present-day Mohican music, but what can we find out about Mohican music of the past? We know Mohicans were singing hymns as far back as the mid-eighteenth century and that John Sergeant, their first missionary, described percussion sticks accompanying pre-Christian singing. There were no drums. There the descriptive record seems to end, as far as we now know. The next recourse would be to look for clues in the records of related New England tribes, making the reasonable, but by no means certain, assumption that they may have had a similar sound. By great good luck there is a “forgotten” record of early Algonquian singing which was made many years ago. It happens to be the earliest sound recording of Native American music.

FINDING A RARE RECORDING

After Thomas Alva Edison made a playback of his own voice reciting “Mary Had a Little Lamb” in 1877, recording sounds caught on in scientific circles. By 1890, J. Walter Fewkes, a Harvard anthropologist, was preparing to use one of the early Edison machines among the Zuni Indians of Arizona. The sounds were to be preserved on wax cylinders. The machine was spring-wound and portable. Fewkes had obtained one to take on the Hemenway Archeological Expedition,

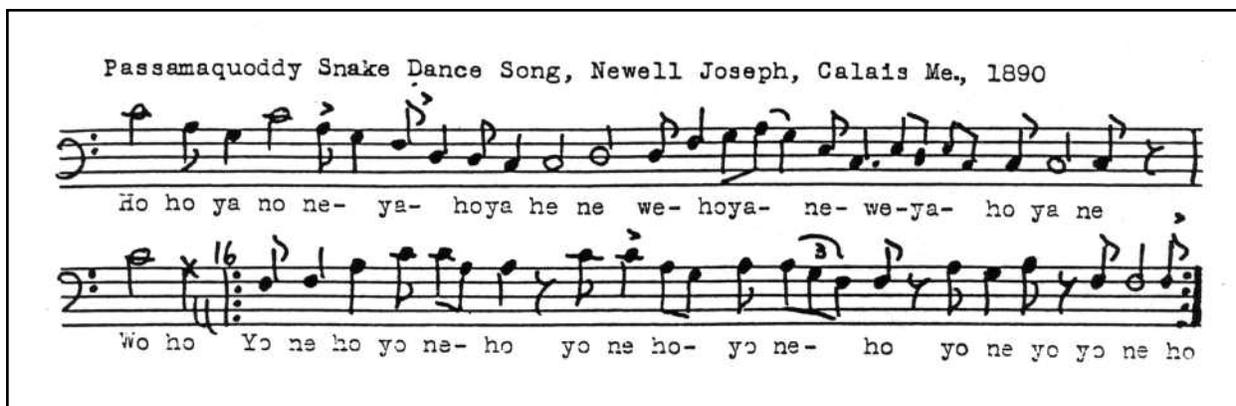


Figure 7.2. "Passamaquoddy Snake Dance Song," sung by Newell Joseph, Calais, ME, 1890. (Library of Congress).

funded by Mary Hemenway of Boston.

Fortunately, in April of that year, Fewkes experimented with the machine among the Passamaquoddy Indians in Calais, Maine, before going to Arizona. He recorded songs, stories, word lists and conversations and published an article, "A Contribution to Passamaquoddy Folklore" in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (Fewkes 1890). He foresaw the impact Edison's machine would have on anthropology and on the comparative study of music, worldwide. In the article, he transcribed a Passamaquoddy song which he had recorded (Figure 7.2.).

Now archaeology in an unusual sense comes into the story. Fewkes' wax cylinders then dropped out of sight. Without the cylinders, the actual *sound* of the Snake Dance Song was not available to the reader of Fewkes' article. As Fewkes pointed out, no written transcription can convey the minutiae of performance style essential for the description and identification of language, songs, and story telling.

Once Fewkes had made the transcriptions for his article, the cylinders were stored in a box in the attic of Harvard's Peabody Museum, and, eventually, forgotten. It was not until 1950, when I was looking there for some African masks, that I noticed a box. There was no identification with it except for a scrap of paper with the initials J.W.F.

That was enough, however, since I knew about Fewkes' work. Some wax recordings were in the box. When we found a playback machine, Fewkes' voice, speaking from sixty years before, identified himself and the contents of the recordings. The rare cylinders are now safely preserved in the Library of Congress as part of our national heritage.

Now that the sound has been recovered, what does it tell us? One significant thing is that the vocal timbre is similar to what we hear in New England among Native American singers today, over a hundred years later. The voices are plain, robust, unornamented, without the tense quavers, pulsations, sharp attacks, swoops, and falsetto yodels that are so striking in Plains Indians' powwow singing. The recording suggests that Northeastern native singing has kept the same style for generations, but we should also remember the fact of massive exposure to similar European church and folk singing for over three hundred years.

My sense that the unornamented style was old was corroborated by Nanapashemet, the Wampanoag scholar and performer who was, for years, the consultant on Algonquian culture at Plimoth Plantation, in Plymouth, Massachusetts. I met him at the first Nipmuck powwow in 1950, and in our discussion he said he felt sure that early Algonquian vocal style, and song structure as well, was much

like the traditional music preserved today among the Iroquois.

SENECA QUIVER DANCE SONG

For a note on song structure, here is a transcription of a Seneca Quiver Dance song recorded by William Fenton in Canada in 1941 at the Six Nations Reserve. The singers were Joshua Buck and Simeon Gibson (Fenton 1941).

The words:

Tgana hona'ohswegen	Filled is Ohswegen
Dedjodinyaakon'on	With divorced women
Wegah hano hiiyo	Filled with good-looking ones
Wihono no hiiyo	Wiho-, good-looking ones

As in the Passamaquoddy Snake Dance, the performers follow the leader in single file. In the introductory part they all just walk, singing responses as the leader invents melodic variations and nonsense syllables. At "A" (see Figure 7.3.) the singing becomes more

sharply rhythmical and the dancers begin stomping, imitating any twists and turns the leader shows them; he sings joking phrases alternating with the nonsense (vocable) responses of the chorus. As one repeat follows another, the dancers get a restful walk during the introductions, then resume the fast energetic stomping.

SONG STRUCTURE

In addition to the similar style of voice production, the two songs support the idea of a general Eastern Woodlands musical style with their similarities in rhythm and melody. They do not sound European, and one can identify the reasons why:

1. They have a bipartite overall structure. Both songs begin with a rhythmically free meter and then change into a second section with a more regular beat. Fewkes observed that the Passamaquoddy Snake Dance song was in two distinct sections.

Ga'dáshot (Quiver) Dance Song or Warriors' Stomp Dance, Seneca

Introd. leader chorus leader chorus

Yowehi ye ye yowehi ye ye yowehi ye ye yowehi ye ye etc. (many repeats with variations)

ld. ch. Bld. ch.

Tgana hona-swe-ge yowehi ye ye dijodi ya kon yowehi ye ye

rettle: ch. hiyo ch.

wega hano hi yo yowehi yeye wega hono hi yo yowehi ye ye

wihono hi yo (go back to start: AB AB CC, end with "hui, hui!")

hui, hui!

Figure 7.3. "Ga'dashot (Quiver) Dance Song or Warriors' Stomp Dance," Seneca, as recorded by William Fenton in 1941.

In her essay, "Stylistic Similarities in Cherokee and Iroquois Music," the Cherokee ethnomusicologist, Charlotte Heth, discusses these alternations as one of the identifying characteristics in both music samples (Heth 1979, pp. 128-134).

2. The songs are both restricted in melodic range.
3. The melodic development is simple and repetitive. This is music for a group to participate in and enjoy. It is easily learned.
4. The dance form that goes with the music is also alternating. In both cases there is a leader as well as a group of dancers to respond to his direction.

It seems, then, that the long lost Passamaquoddy Snake Dance is in a widespread Eastern Woodlands' musical style shared by the Iroquois and Cherokees. It is very likely that the music of the early Mohicans also shared that style.

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NEW YORK STATE'S MOHICANS IN LITERATURE

Warren F. Broderick (2002-2003)

The treatment of New York State's Native Americans in fiction, poetry, and drama, for the most part, follows dual stereotypes found in these literary genres across the United States. The two stereotypes are found in a wide range of American literature and in American popular thought in general from the beginning of American settlement (Broderick 1987).

Native American characters depicted in these works could be classified as either brutish savages or as their honorable, sagacious "noble savage" counterparts. The majority of Native Americans are depicted as bloodthirsty, ignorant, or evil. Events in American history, especially King Philip's War, the Colonial Wars between Great Britain and France, and the American Revolution, demonstrated that America's natives (as well as their colonial opponents) were capable of unspeakable cruelty. Well-publicized incidents of Indian violence, such as the killing of Jane McCrea and the Cherry Valley "massacre," however isolated they were from a larger historical perspective, nonetheless justified the Indian portrayal in the minds of many European Americans.

The "noble savage" was not invented by James Fenimore Cooper, author of *The Last of the Mohicans*, as some believe, but was present in American literature along with its ignoble counterpart from the first Colonial works. Many literary works included at least one

noble native character. Literature, after all, reflected historical events, and American readers were aware of certain truly noble Native Americans such as Pocahontas, Massasoit, and Squanto.

The "noble savage," considered an exception to the norm, served as a convenient foil to the "ignoble savages" who constituted a majority in literary themes and plots. Noble savages were distinguished by their sagacity, even temperament, generosity, and other virtues said to be lacking in most of their brethren. And more importantly, noble Indians were deemed to be intelligent and thoughtful enough to recognize that their race was doomed to extinction, a concept which justified the onrush of expanding white settlement across the nation and the seizure of Native American lands. Despite possessing these "ennobling" qualities, even the noblest of natives is often depicted as somehow inferior to his white counterparts.

SOME "WOODEN INDIANS"

The majority of Native American literary characters seem unreal to the modern reader. In fact, the "wooden Indians" of literature for many years provided American readers no factual information on the lives of any real Indians, being for the most part repetitions of

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these dual stereotypes. The first literary work dealing with New York State's Native Americans was not written until 1779. By that time, for the most part, armed conflicts between settlers and their Indian neighbors had ceased following the conclusion of the Sullivan-Clinton campaign, and few post-Revolution colonial authors possessed first-hand knowledge of the tribes depicted in their works. Thus ignorance as well as racial bias perpetuated the stereotypes.

The treatment of New York State's Native Americans in literature differs somewhat from the overall portrayal of Indian inhabitants across the country, their presentation here being more realistic than that in American literature as a whole. The vast majority of literary works dealing with New York State's Native Americans are works of fiction, both short and long. The far fewer works of poetry and drama generally present Native Americans in the same dual stereotypes, but tend to be more universally sentimental and melodramatic than the fictional works. Short sentimental poems about Indians abound and often are so unspecific that no geographic setting or historical time frame can be recognized.

Very few works dealing with New York State's native inhabitants could be considered great literature. They are often highly melodramatic, verbose, and sometimes confusing, filled with rhetoric and stilted dialogue. Actual speech by Indians, and by frontiersmen and African American characters as well, is contrived as well as reflecting the biases of the era. Nonetheless, certain works, particularly a few novels and short stories, possess considerable merit in their portrayals of Native American character and merit special attention. In addition, New York State's authors strove, often at great lengths, to present detailed if not always accurate historical background material, including information on Indian history and lore.

Some stereotypic portrayals of New York's Native Americans continued into the twentieth century, possibly reflecting a lingering

racial bias. On the other hand, beginning in the middle of the twentieth century, a number of authors began to present more sympathetic, if not realistic, portrayals of Native American characters. Most poetry and prose dealing with Native Americans in New York State featured only the Iroquois, in part because of the fame of the Six Nations and their Confederacy and of certain renowned individual Iroquois leaders such as Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket) and Ganiodieu (Cornplanter.) The Mohicans, Munsees, Wappingers, and other Algonquian nations were often shown as more peace-loving than other tribes as well as more civilized. Mohicans have appeared in twenty-some works, and they have played significant roles in some of these short stories, novels, poems and dramatic works published between 1825 and 2002.

COOPER HELPS POPULARIZE HISTORICAL FICTION

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) closely adhered to the dual stereotypes of Native American portrayals found in earlier literature and in the popular culture of his time. Cooper borrowed extensively from first-hand accounts, and especially from John Heckewelder's 1819 work, *Account of the History, Manner, and Customs of the Indian Nations* (Heckewelder 1971). Despite this basis, a number of literary critics and biographers have noticed how artificial or stereotypically wooden Cooper's Indian characters appear in his works. Cooper's most significant literary contributions were the development of the memorable character of the frontiersman and the popularization of historical fiction, in particular with American Colonial, Revolutionary or frontier themes. Cooper's five "Leatherstocking Tales" form a chronological series, but they were not published in order.

The first in print was *The Deerslayer; or, the First Warpath* (1841), in which he introduced the now-famous young frontiersman, Nathaniel "Natty" Bumppo, in a 1740s adventure set

along the upper Susquehanna River. In this novel Cooper also introduced one of his best-known “noble savage” characters, Chingachgook, the great Delaware chief. Cooper presented Chingachgook’s son, Uncas, in the next Leatherstocking novel, *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), as a Mohican. The real Uncas, rather than the fictional one, was not a Mohican as Cooper indicated, nor a Delaware, but rather an Indian of Mohegan ancestry, descended from Uncas, a historical seventeenth-century Mohegan-Pequot chief.

Cooper, unlike Heckewelder, saw the Mohicans, Delawares, Leni-Lenape, and all the Algonquian tribes from New England as more or less factions of one large Native American race. In the preface to the first edition of *The Last of the Mohicans*, as part of a complicated and largely unsuccessful attempt to explain these related tribes, Cooper incorrectly stated that “Mohegan” is merely an anglicized corruption of “Mohican.” In his Preface to the 1831 edition, Cooper simplified matters by referring to these tribes as “the same people, or tribes of the same stock.” For his purposes, tribal distinctions were irrelevant. Thus the noble Chingachgook and his son were “Mohicans” of sorts in the context of Cooper’s confused concept of Native American history. In the third chapter Chingachgook declares that his people “parted with their land” in the Hudson Valley after the “Dutch landed, and gave my people the fire-water.”

The French author, George Sand, was the first to recognize that Chingachgook was a “great imaginary figure . . . an ally of the whites and a sort of convert to Christianity” who allowed Cooper, “without too great an affront to the pride of his country, to plead the cause of the Indians” (Dekker 1973). The Indians who were the objects of Cooper’s sincere concern were western, for he believed that eastern Indians were virtually extinct. Not only had the Mohicans and Delawares seemingly vanished, but so had the Iroquois, with the exception of “a few half-civilized beings of the Oneidas, on the reservations of their

people in New York.” At the conclusion of *The Last of the Mohicans*, Tamenund, the wise Delaware elder, is resigned that “the pale-faces are the masters of the earth, and the time of the red-men has not yet come again. . . . I have lived to see the last warrior of the wise race of the Mohicans.” While Cooper may have held out hope that western Indians might see better days, he was no advocate for the Indians of the northeast, who, he sincerely believed, had already disappeared as early as the 1820s.

SHORT STORIES APPEAR

Four short stories featuring “Mohicans” appeared in print between 1825 and 1884. An intriguing legend of the lower Hudson Valley formed the basis of Francis Herbert’s “The Cascade of Melsingah” (1828). The tribes involved were Wappingers (and possibly Nochpeems), referred to by the author as “Mohegans” (inferring in error they were Mohicans). These tribes, while closely related Algonquian peoples, were not really Mohicans, thus this story is not covered here.

The anonymous story titled “Ben Pie, or The Indian Murderer: A Tale Founded on Facts” (Anonymous, 1825) features the name of a real Indian. The man was Benjamin Pye, a Mohican originally from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and later from Stockbridge, Wisconsin. The story is set on an island, Papscaene Island in Rensselaer County, which, it alleges, formerly contained a Mohican fortress of great antiquity. The plot relates how an American officer, Colonel Philip Staats, saves Ben from Indian avengers, in return for Ben having saved the Colonel’s life during the Revolutionary War. The story, although superficially fictionalized, contains factual information from histories of both the Mohicans and Iroquois, and from the life of Philip Staats, and it uses local Rensselaer county scenery. The plot recalls sympathetic interrelationships between Native Americans and white settlers in the late eighteenth century in New York State not found in the majority of works of American

literature (Broderick 2004:113-129).

Some years later, Mary Maria Chase, from East Chatham, New York, published a fictional account of a visit to the site of a former Mohican village in the hamlet of Brainard in the Town of Nassau in southern Rensselaer County. Her story, titled "Kaunameek," published in 1847, supposedly recalls her visit there when she was a young woman and describes the local scenery in great detail (Chase 1847). Information she gleaned about the Indian settlement came not only from the published writings of the missionary, David Brainerd, but also from local residents. She remembered from childhood, she says, "a half dozen dwarfish, ugly, dark-browed people" who "paid occasional visits to our part of the country, and who . . . were the last poor remnants of the Housatonic Indians."

These "poor enfeebled Housatonics," if they existed, may have suggested to Chase the "legend" of nearby Rattlesnake Mountain that is related in her story. The tale involves an elderly Indian woman who lived on top of the mountain and who overcame her fear and loathing of serpents to spare the "king of the rattlesnakes" when he visited her cabin. When she spared the old snake and welcomed him into her cabin, a sweet melody arose from out of nowhere and the "old crone" realized that she had pleased her Indian gods.

MOHICAN TALES IN INDIAN FOLKLORE

Nathaniel B. Sylvester, a well-known folklorist and author of county histories, included four "Indian tales" in his 1884 work *Indian Legends of Saratoga and the Upper Hudson Valley*. Sylvester, like Charles Fenno Hoffman before him, spent much time in the Adirondacks and other rural areas of upstate eastern New York State, collecting interesting folklore on Native Americans and early settlers (Sylvester 1884). Two of Sylvester's Indian tales are significant because the Native Americans involved are Mohicans, who are found in only a few works

of literature. The first of these two tales, essentially unaltered, was retold by Joseph Bruchac in his 1992 work, *Turtle Meat and Other Stories* (Bruchac 1992).

In the story, "The Spirit Bride of the Tsa-sawas-sa," a band of Mohicans from the present Town of Nassau in Rensselaer County, where the Tsatsawassa Creek flows, settled near the present Yaddo estate in Saratoga Springs (Sylvester 1884). According to the tale, at that time the Mohicans and Mohawks were still at war, and the Saratoga area was disputed territory. In a sudden attack, the Mohawks "like ravenous wolves . . . scalped and tomahawked" the defenseless Mohican women "without mercy." A beautiful young Mohican woman named A-wo-nunsk fled by canoe across a lake pursued by a Mohawk warrior. Before her Mohican husband, We-qua-gan, could raise his bow to kill the Mohawk warrior, the pursuer killed A-wo-nunsk. As a result, the Mohican gods placed a curse on the lake, and the sun never shone there, and no Indian, Mohican or Mohawk, dared visit the lake except We-qua-gan. For years thereafter, even as an old man, We-qua-gan returned to lament on the shore where his young wife had been murdered. On his final pilgrimage We-qua-gan saw his wife's spirit before he fell dead upon the lake's edge. Light shone again on the lake and the curse was forever broken.

The second story, "The Legend of Diamond Rock," which also appeared in his volume, had previously been published in another of Sylvester's works in 1877. This tale was set in Lansingburgh, New York, at a prominent rock outcropping which still exists, whose surface formerly was covered with shining quartz crystals (Sylvester 1877). According to Sylvester, he first heard this legend from an aged Indian he met in the Adirondacks in 1858. While the story's characters were said to be the ancestors of the Mohawks, from before the great Iroquois Confederacy was formed, they may have been Mohicans, as the Mohican villages of Unuwat and Monemin (according to a 1632 map) were

both located in sight of Diamond Rock.

In the story, Mo-ne-ta, the wife of the venerated sachem, Ho-ha-do-ra, kept a vigil fire for “five hundred moons” atop the rock while one of her sons, Ta-en-da-ra, searched for his brother, O-nas-qua, who had been taken captive by a rival nation. When Ta-en-da-ra finally returned carrying his brother’s bones, he celebrated at the rock with Mo-ne-ta, but the Great Spirit did not approve of their jubilation. After they were struck dead by a bolt of lightning, Diamond Rock gleamed from “Mo-ne-ta’s tears.” Sylvester collected such folklore with very serious interest, and the basis of this and the previous Indian tale may be genuine Native American legends. Regardless of its authenticity, his presentation of this material in short fiction is noteworthy.

STEPHENS EMPHASIZES WOMEN IN DIME NOVELS

Ann Sophia Stephens (1813-1886), a well known author of popular fiction as well as a magazine editor, penned five nineteenth-century novels, which now are significant in large part because of their Native American women protagonists. Three of these novels were published as Dime Novels. Two others, while later reissued as Dime Novels, were first published in serial format in literary magazines in the 1830s. Her second novel, *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*, appeared in serial form in *The Ladies Companion* between February and April of 1839. This novel is best known today because Irwin P. Beadle selected it for issuance as his first Dime Novel in 1860. But, more significantly, the novel is important because its heroine is a Native American woman, the Mohican, Malaeska. This novel is also significant because it deals, at such an early date, with the controversial subject of interracial marriage between whites and Indians.

When this novel begins, Malaeska, a young Mohican woman living just west of Catskill, is secretly married to a white hunter named William Danforth, and she is rearing

their child. One day, probably in the early 1660s, her husband is killed in a dispute with a member of her tribe, forcing the Mohican band to remove to Iroquois territory in the interior of New York State. Fearing the dangers the Mohicans might face from the Iroquois, before he dies William urges Malaeska to take their son to New York City to be raised by his family. When the initial shock of having a mixed-blood grandchild is past, his family agrees to raise the boy as if he were white, and, while allowing Malaeska to remain with him as a nanny, forbids her to ever tell the boy she is his Indian mother. Later, she attempts to return her son to former Mohican territory, but she is not successful, and she is forced to flee the city alone. Malaeska finally locates her tribe in central New York State, but her execution is ordered by the tribal elders, on the grounds she deserted the Mohicans to live with white people in a time of peril.

Her life is spared by a Mohican warrior who holds strong feelings for Malaeska and recognizes the hardships she has endured. Malaeska returns to Catskill and lives in a hut on the site of the former Mohican village. In the meantime her son, now known as Arthur Jones, has moved to Catskill village and is engaged to marry a young white woman. They occasionally visit Malaeska, not knowing her real identity. Finally, the Indian woman is compelled to tell her son about his ancestry and birth. But Arthur cannot accept his mixed-blood heritage and leaps to his death in a lake in fit of agony. Malaeska struggles to rescue her son’s body, but she dies from the exertion. When their bodies are discovered by the residents of Catskill, there is clearly no happiness to be found. Tragedy has befallen all those involved, the victims of an “unnatural marriage.” *Malaeska* is a highly sentimental, melodramatic novel, and while perhaps not great literature, its story poses a truly remarkable American tragedy. Few nineteenth-century authors of American fiction would again address such a controversial subject or do it so openly (Figure 8.1.).



Figure 8.1. *Maeleska: the Indian Wife of the White Hunter* was one of three dime novels authored by Victorian writer Ann Sophia Stephens. Tragedy struck all the characters before the story's end.

MURDOCH PENS CATSKILLS ADVENTURE

One of the more popular of the longer works of the "Dime Novel" era (from 1860 to roughly 1910-1915) was David Murdoch's *The Dutch Dominie of the Catskills; or, the Times of the Bloody Brandt* (1861). This lengthy romantic adventure novel is set in the years 1777 and

1778 in the Catskill-Kingston area and includes ample information on local scenery and Hudson Valley Dutch folklore. Indians are depicted as savages who "descended upon the peaceable" settlers "like a hungry . . . wolf on the fold." While Joseph Brant is recognized as sometimes having spared his white settler friends, for the most part he is depicted as cun-

ning and bloodthirsty, a man who leads his tribe in the attack and burning of Esopus. Even more cruel are Kiskataam and Shandaagen, two local Indians (understood to be Mohawks of Mohican descent) who kidnap young Margaret Clinton, who is believed to be the daughter of the British Colonial Governor, and Elsie Schuyler, daughter of the local Dutch dominie. The women are rescued from their captors by Brant and his army, who do not wish harm to come to any Loyalists. In the end Brant and his party are driven back to central New York State, and peace is restored to the Hudson Valley.

In one chapter entitled "The Last Indian Battle of the Hudson," an elderly Dutchman recalls at length a battle between Mohawks and Mohicans which supposedly took place on a nearby island in the Hudson River (on Wanton Island or Rogers Island) in 1760. However, the crucial military conflict between these two tribes took place over a century before that date in 1628 (Dunn 1994:99), and other details furnished in this novel no doubt are erroneous as well. Nonetheless, the inclusion of this chapter demonstrates Murdoch's deep interest in the Native American as well as the Dutch legacy of the area, probably the most significant feature of this novel.

Thomas C. Harbaugh's *The Hidden Lodge; or, The Little Hunter of the Adirondacks* (1878), a little-known dime novel, is a wildly ridiculous adventure story set in the Adirondacks in the early 1800s. The hero, Paul Burleigh (known as "Piney Paul"), is a seventeen-year-old woodsman who lives in a rugged, inaccessible area along with Nokomis, the "last of his race" (the Upas) and a few Mohicans. A villain named Cecil Crane leads an expedition to locate a sixteen-year-old girl named Cicely, who was kidnapped by Indians in New York City as a baby

His real plan is to kill the girl for fear she will receive an inheritance. He is joined by two crusty hunters, Tarsus Nightwell and Simon Oldfoot, and by Red Loon, said to be one of the last of the Mohicans. Nokomis and Red Loon speak with many "Ughs" and are depicted as

noble savages with "brawny chests" who possess superhuman strength as well as sagacity and woodcraft. In the mixture appear two other Mohicans, Ocotoc, known as the "Ogre," shown as "old, misshapen and dwarfish" with the "skin of a mummy" and his "Amazon-like" teenage daughter, Pelosee, who is depicted as a witch-like siren. She develops a crush on Piney Paul; later she helps him survive the "pit of wolves." Cicely, the white girl, known as Little Arrow, has been under the care of a young Mohican warrior named Red Eagle, "a veritable Indian Apollo": "His form was symmetrical, his clothes close fitting; and, after the backwoods manner, fashionable; his scalp-lock oiled, like the hair of the dandy. In face he was, for one of his race, remarkably handsome; his eyes were large, lustrous, and full of expression" (Harbaugh 1878).

A few subsequent pages contain a series of wild adventures that can barely be followed, and in the end the villains (including another band of Mohicans who pursue Nokomis) are all killed and Piney Paul marries Little Arrow. "The wild mountains lost their little hunter, and Right, triumphing in the wilderness, thrived in the city," where she presumably received her inheritance, "to the delight of honest people."

WORKS MODELED ON COOPER APPEAR

Hawkeye: A Sequel to the Deerslayer of James Fenimore Cooper by Nancy Huston Banks (1897) is a sentimental, melodramatic adventure novel modeled closely after Cooper's 1841 classic and set in the years immediately following his book's ending, to supply a "missing link" in the Cooper chronology. The author's treatment of Native Americans closely mimics Cooper's, and because the book is far less well written, the stereotypes are more readily apparent. Hawkeye speaks in unbelievable "frontierese" and along with his faithful companion, Chingachgook, participates in a series of hair-raising adventures involving captures,



Figure 8.2. Two of the main characters observe Niagara Falls in *Hawkeye: A Sequel to the Deerslayer of James Fenimore Cooper*, by Nancy Huston Banks, published in 1897.

escapes, and rescues of innocent young white folks from evil Mingos (Mohawks) and Hurons. The action takes place across upstate New York and the heroes even find the time to pay a visit to Niagara Falls. Hawkeye is portrayed as a “remarkable,” almost Godlike person. One of the young women he rescues comments that “he combines. . .wisdom with his humble capacity” and “his words are simple and ungrammatical but his thoughts are lofty and uplifting” (Figure 8.2.).

Likewise Chingachgook behaves as any noble savage might be expected to do; he has a “true heart” and “is the equal of any redskin

alive.” There is, however, a conflict of values. While the white captives feel uneasy about Chingachgook’s desire to collect the scalps of his enemies, Hawkeye insists this is not a fault of his, merely the “red man’s way.” In fact the entire population of the Delawares is said to be “an upright nation.” “Though a much scandalized people, they stand by every promise made to a frind [sic].” The most ignoble natives are the Hurons aligned with the French, who are equated with wild animals. The French are evil for inciting the Indians’ “bloody instincts and fierce passions” along the frontier into “all sorts of deviltries.” Hawkeye and his partner possess no less hatred for the Iroquois, whom they call “Mingos,” long-time enemies of the Delawares. In their eyes, the shaky allegiance of the Iroquois to the British cannot be trusted.

Hawkeye did not become an Indian hater like character Hurry Harry and some other frontiersmen, and while he killed many Hurons and Mingos, “there was not a vengeful feeling against his foes.” His “wonderful sense of justice . . . recognized the naturalness . . . of their passionate expressions” as part of their “red natur [sic].” The author discusses the supposed issue of “red gifts versus white” a number of times in the work. Hawkeye once tells Chingachgook: “I don’t find fault with red natur because you have taken . . . scalps. Your gifts are that way.” Later he informs the fair young white captive women that Wish-ta-Wish (Chingachgook’s wife) will value “the horrid lookin’ things [scalps] more than she would all the jewels in the settlemints” because “it’s red natur, gals, and we can’t go agin it. They look on a scalp as a mark of victory and a badge or honor.”

MOHICANS APPEAR IN NOVELS BY ROBERT CHAMBERS

Mohicans do not appear in another literary work until 1914. Robert Chambers (1865-1933) was one of the most prolific American novel-

ists of the period, producing eighty-seven novels between 1894 and 1931. Long dismissed by critics, Chambers' work is now attracting serious interest, in particular his supernatural fiction, such as *The King In Yellow* of 1895. Chambers belonged to an affluent family, the members of which resided both in New York City and at their estate at Broadalbin, in Fulton County. Much of his time was devoted to studying both the supernatural and the early history of New York State, with which he became quite conversant. Six of his novels dealt with New York State's Revolutionary history and contained Native American characters. These novels included his successful "Cardigan" series. His books tended to be lengthy, wordy and melodramatic romantic adventure stories. Indians aligned with the British were generally depicted as ignoble savages, while the Oneidas, Mohicans and other nations aligned with the Americans were depicted as noble savages.

The Hidden Children (Chambers 1914) is particularly interesting because of its lengthy portrayal of a heroic Mohican protagonist. Chambers proclaims that the Mohicans were "the noblest" of all the noble Algonquian tribes. This is borne out in his portrayal of Mayaro, a Mohican of partial Siwanoy ancestry, who joins American forces in the lower Hudson Valley as a scout. He leads the forces safely through dangerous country to take part in the Sullivan-Clinton expedition in the Southern Tier. He becomes very friendly with a white scout, Euan Loskiel, and as a result Loskiel learns more and more about the proud heritage of the Mohicans and other tribes that sided with the American cause. Mayaro continues to impress the Americans in his trust with his bravery, his fortitude, and his remarkable knowledge. Soon the American soldiers learn to trust him without fear. Later an American major proclaims that Mayaro, "is a great chief among his people—great in war, wise in council and debate . . . [and] is welcome in this army at the headquarters of this regiment. He

is now one of us." Other Native Americans in the party include Stockbridge Indians, Oneidas and a Wyandotte. The party survives many perilous situations, not without loss of life, but eventually joins the main American force and participates in the capture of Catherine's Town.

The Hidden Children is a work of some six hundred pages, with complicated plots and subplots of romance and intrigue, but nonetheless the detailed portrayal of the Mohican sagamore and his Indian companions stands out as memorable in literature dealing with New York State's Native Americans. The character, Mayaro, believes strongly that the Mohicans are still a free nation, even if they had suffered defeats and been to some degree assimilated by the Mohawks during the previous century. Mayaro remains faithful to his heritage and has no use for any of the Iroquois who have aligned themselves with the British. Once, in a lengthy encampment scene, Mayaro and his Indian brethren discuss at some length the similarities and differences of their religion, dress and customs. Regardless of how accurately Chambers provides the details, this scene is virtually without equal in New York State's fiction up to that date and is not seen again until Mohican characters appear in a few recent novels. Painted for battle in the Mohican tradition, Mayaro is not portrayed as hideous, as many previous authors would have done, but as majestic and elegant. At the novel's conclusion Mayaro rides proudly into Albany with the victorious forces, and, the author says, he "truly presented a superb figure" in the entourage. Chambers provides no indication that Mayaro will fade out of existence like other noble savages before him, or that he represents the last of his race.

KENNETH ROBERTS' NOVELS INCLUDE MOHICAN FIGHTERS

Kenneth Roberts penned in the twentieth century some of the best novels about the colo-

nial and Revolutionary eras. New York State's Native Americans appear in two of these works, and while these Indians are not major characters, their portrayal is noteworthy. Roberts abandoned the dated stereotypes and depicted Indians as individuals with distinct personalities.

In *Northwest Passage* (Roberts 1937), the novel first deals with Robert Rogers' expedition to destroy the St. Francis Indian village in Canada. The principal Native American characters, two Mohicans from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, are John Konkapot, Jr. (a son or grandson of John of Stockbridge) and Jacob Nawawampeteoonk (known as "Captain Jacobs"). The two serve the rangers as guides and spies. Initially, Konkapot appears as a pathetic figure in a state of intoxication, but as the book progresses his value to Rogers becomes more and more apparent. Because of the manner in which he is painted for battle, Captain Jacobs first appears nightmarish to the book's narrator, who is present. He is surprised to see Rogers treat the Indian as formally as he would treat any British officer. Rogers has great respect for intelligence information received from the Mohicans, and these Indians are said to be as brave and faithful in combat as "civilized people."

The Mohawks who assist Rogers, on the other hand, "are accustomed to do as they will . . . [and] disobey orders if they find those orders displeasing." They therefore require close supervision by Sir William Johnson. Captain Jacobs is also very helpful in dealing with the Mohawks, with whom he has good relations. When the party arrives at the St. Francis Indian village, which has been well scouted in advance by the Mohicans, in a fanciful departure from historic reports, Rogers and his men spare all the elderly, children and women from death. Shrewdly he has Captain Jacobs instruct the prisoners, prior to their release, to inform the rest of their tribe that barbaric raids on white settlements, which their men had conducted for many years, would no longer be tolerated.

IN STORY, MOHICAN CHIEF WARNS MOHAWKS

Don Cameron Shafer's *Smokefires in Schoharie*, from 1938, is a story about the early Palatine Lutheran settlers in the Schoharie Valley, from their arrival in the 1740s through the American Revolution, as seen through the eyes of one of the author's ancestors (Shafer 1938). The Mohawks and the early settlers live on reasonably friendly terms, with most of the tension between them arising from their marked cultural differences. The Lutheran minister, for example, finds it difficult to understand the Indians' sexual and marriage practices. Once each learns the others' language and customs, however, the whites and Indians become friends. The Mohawks laugh at the peculiarities of the habits of Germans as often as the settlers are amused by "strange" Indian ways. The Mohawks have no objection to the settlement of a restricted area of their territory so long as the numbers of settlers are relatively small. The elderly Mohican sachem, Etowankaun (sic), a frequent visitor from Stockbridge, warns the Mohawks that the whites will take more and more of their land. He reveals how the whites seized almost all of the traditional Mohican territory even though the Mohicans were always friendly and accommodating. In the end, not long after Etowankaun's death, his prophecy comes true. His own grave is symbolically plowed over by a white farmer and the Mohawks realize they were "fools" to sell so much land to the settlers.

While the author's treatment of the pre-Revolutionary period is noteworthy in his depiction of the interaction between white and Indian neighbors, his portrayal of the Iroquois changes as these former friends turn against the settlers and side with the British and Tories. The reader is reminded that "it must not be forgotten that they were wild men . . . not wholly to be trusted." The cruelties once reserved for their traditional Indians enemies such as the Hurons are now turned against

their former white neighbors. Except for a few of the elderly who are too old or weak to care, the rest of the “Schoharie Indians” are forced to side with the forces of Brant and Walter Butler. The accounts of the raids on Cobleskill and Cherry Valley are not unlike those in most other literary works, and the author more or less justifies the destruction of Indian villages committed by American forces in the Sullivan-Clinton campaign.

FICTION FOR YOUNG PEOPLE APPEARS

Alenna Champlin Best issued two novels for young people under the pseudonym “Erick Berry” that are set in Dutch New Netherlands and that include Native American characters. *Hudson Frontier* is set in Fort Orange in 1690 (Best 1942). The local Mohicans are said to be “peaceful and friendly,” as are the Mohawks living in the immediate area with whom the white settlers are engaged in the fur trade. One of these Mohawks, Antlered Deer, is a strong ally of the settlers. Antlered Deer assists the book’s hero in locating a lost companion in the woods east of Albany. The two find out that a corrupt Albany official has been conducting illegal trade with the Caughnawaga or “Praying Mohawks.” Described as barbaric “dogs” who serve the French “in their cruelest raids on Iroquois territory,” they would not hesitate to kill Antlered Deer on sight.

A. C. Best’s *Seven Beaver Skins* from the 1940s is a novel set in the Albany area in 1660, involving the adventures of Kasper de Selle, a young Dutch fur trader (Best 1948). The author, in her *Foreword*, provides some historical background, including distinguishing between the Mohawks, commonly known as the “Maguas,” and the Mohicans, who are mistakenly referred to as the “Mohegans.” Because this work is set in a period when the Mohicans are still flourishing in the Hudson River valley, they figure prominently in the story. One of the Dutch settlers notes that since the Maguas have acquired more guns in trade,

they have begun to drive the Mohicans out of the area. The Maguas strike the hero as “rougher” and more “fierce looking” than the Mohicans, and are “cannibals too from all accounts.” Fortunately the Dutch traders are on good terms with both Indian nations.

As Kasper journeys west up the Mohawk Valley, he has the opportunity to visit several Mohawk villages, which impress him greatly. The author not only provides a detailed description of a village and its longhouses, but also describes Mohawk customs, games and trading practices. A noble elderly Mohawk sachem, Aquinachoo, ensures their alliance with the Dutch. The sachem leads a delegation of the Mohawks down the river to a peace council with the Mohicans, held at an island in the Hudson near a Mohican village. Great tension prevails at the council, and both the Mohawks and their Dutch friends are rightfully apprehensive about the intentions of the Mohicans.

The Mohicans, in apparent retaliation for previous Mohawk hostilities, ambush and murder most of the returning Mohawk peace delegation in a significant August 18, 1669, battle along the Mohawk River between the present Amsterdam and Schenectady, while the Dutch traders barely escape unharmed. (This scene is apparently inspired by a historic battle. See Thwaites, 1959).

With escalating conflict between these two Indian nations, the story continues, the peaceful times experienced by the Dutch are in jeopardy. Despite the serious inaccuracy of many details, *Seven Beaver Skins* is nonetheless worthy for being one of the few literary works dealing with Mohican-Mohawk relations.

POEMS DESCRIBE INDIAN LIFE

Alfred B. Street’s poem “The Indian Mound Near Albany” recalls the Mohican Indians who inhabited the valley long ago (Street 1846). Street, who would soon become the Director of the New York State Library, was living in Albany when this poem was first

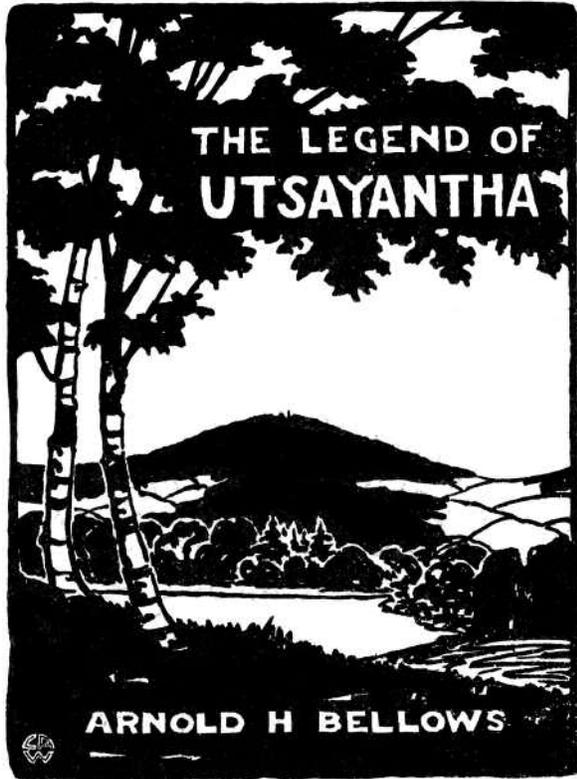


Figure 8.3. The carefully researched *Legend of Utsayantha*, containing both folklore and fact in verse, was recommended for use in schools in 1945. Both Mohican and Esopus Indians appear in the stories.

published and apparently saw the Indian mound first hand. It is not clear whether the mound which “towered up before” him was on the east or west side of the Hudson River, nor can the “narrow creek” and “green island channels” nearby be identified with certainty. However, the site may very well have been along Papscanee Creek. The Indians his discovery evokes are clearly meant to have been Mohicans:

*Now, as along a reach the vessel glides,
 Within some narrow creek the bark canoe
 Quick vanishes; as points the prow in shore
 The Indian hunter, with half-shrinking form,
 Stands gazing, holding idly his long bow;
 And as the yacht around some headland turns,*

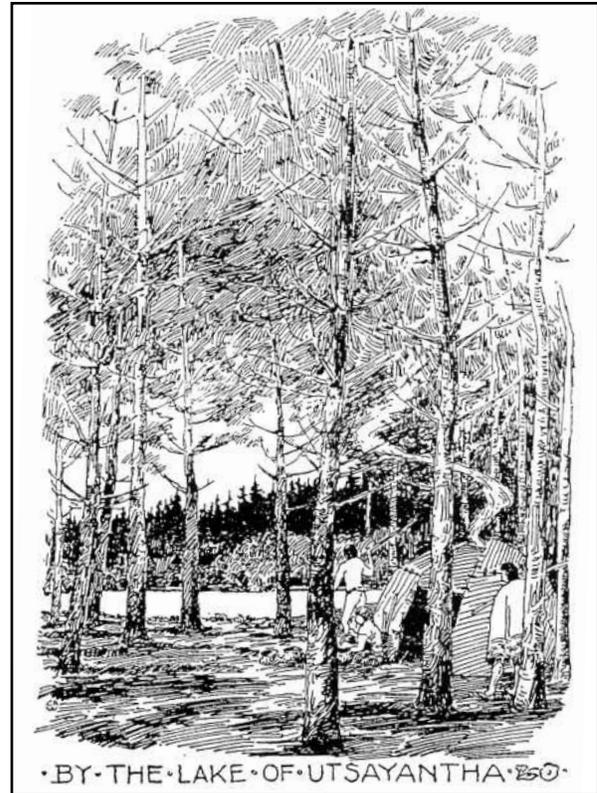


Figure 8.4. An illustration by Lamont A. Warner

*Midst the low rounded wigwams near the brink
 Are movements of tumultuous tawny life.*

(Street 1846)

The Indians have long since disappeared from the area, he believes, and Street, in fact, comments in other poetic works of this era that Indians in New York State, even the Iroquois, were essentially extinct by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Arnold Hill Bellows' *The Legend of Utsayantha, and Other Folk-lore of the Catskills* (1945) (Figure 8.3.) is an attractively illustrated small volume containing a number of interesting poems dealing with folklore concerning the Mohicans who had resided in this part of the Catskills. Utsayantha, in his story,

is a “legendary” Mohican princess who lives beside the lake near Stamford now bearing her name (Figure 8.4.). Bellows’ small work contains a glossary of Native American names and ample historical footnotes, the result of the author’s in-depth research into Native American history and lore. In a footnote to his poem “Teunis, Last of the Mohicans,” Bellows clearly makes the distinction between the Mohicans and the Mohegans of New England, and he attempts to correct the error perpetuated by Cooper and numerous other authors. The poem concludes in this manner:

*On the stormy nights of winter,
When the wild winds shook the forest,
And the snowflakes whirled and sifted
Round Mahican wigwams, flitting
Like the silent ghosts at midnight,
In their lodges safely sheltered,
Round the blazing firebrands gathered
All the children as they listened
To this Indian tradition,
To this tale of Utsayantha,
Full of fact and fancy woven,
Full of noble deeds and daring,
Full of savage wiles and cunning,
Full of cherished dreams and shattered.*

(Bellows 1945)

In what he calls “a judicious combination of myth and history” in his foreword, the author presents a commendably accurate rendering of Native American folklore accomplished by few other authors. Both the author and a local school principal, in his introduction, advocate the use of this work in schools, “as worthwhile literary material for English classes and as valuable background material for social studies classes” (Bellows 1945:IV) (Figure 8.5.).

MOHICANS IN STORIES ABOUT KATERI TEKAKWITHA

A variety of works, both biographical and fanciful, have dealt with the bravery and self-sacrifice of the Mohawk maiden, Kateri



Figure 8.5. One of the villains of *The Legend of Utsayantha* dies before his pursuers can reach him.

(Catherine) Tekakwitha (1656-1680). Kateri was a young Mohawk woman living at the Mohawk Valley village of Ganadawage, who, despite poor health resulting from contracting smallpox, became renowned for her piety and devotion to Christianity. She lived during the era when a number of the Mohawks, including their famous Chief, Kryn, were converted by the “Black Robes” and relocated to Canada. In 1980 Kateri was the first Native American to be beatified by the Roman Catholic Church. Her life has been the subject of a number of biographical and literary works. The works of fiction and non-fiction are sometimes very similar to each other, and her life as it is reported consists of a puzzling mixture of fact and folklore.

The fictional and other literary works on Kateri have tended to be highly moralistic in

tone, praising her for her devotion to Christianity in an era when most Indians followed their own religion. The first of these works is the play by Edward La More, *The Lily of the Mohawks (Kateri Tekakwitha): An Historical Romance Drama of the American Indian* (La More 1932). Other works on Kateri include Robert Holland's poem *Song of Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks* (1942) and at least five novels. These are Marie Cecilia Buehrle's *Kateri of the Mohawks* (1954), Frances Taylor Patterson's *White Wampum: The Story of Kateri Tekakwitha* (1934, reissued 1958), Harold William Sandberg's *Drums of Destiny: Kateri Tekakwitha, 1656 to 1680* (1950), Francis McDonald's *Star of the Mohawk: Kateri Tekakwitha* (1958), and Evelyn M. Brown's *Kateri Tekakwitha: Indian Maid* (1958). A substantially better work on the subject is Jack Casey's 1984 novel, *Lily of the Mohawks*.

Even though Kateri is persecuted by some of her tribe for her celibacy and her conversion to Christianity, the pagan Mohawks in these works are portrayed as far nobler than either the Hurons, Mohicans or other Algonquian nations who are their enemies. In La More's play Kateri offends her tribe by refusing the romantic advances of the mighty Mohican chief, Occuna, thus preventing a truce between these warring nations that might have been achieved by their marriage. This proposed marriage is purely fictional. LaMore states that "Indian character" is not "necessarily and irretrievably bad" once the "crust of savagery" is removed by Christianity. Despite her frail health and disfigurement, Lamore depicts Kateri as a "beautiful princess" who is courted by a number of young Indian braves (La More 1932).

In Lamore's play, Mohicans are depicted as treacherous and barbaric, feared enemies of the proud Mohawks. One suspects that this portrayal of the Mohicans is not based on historical interpretation, but rather on the need to present opposition to the Mohawks in a highly moralistic story. Most of the works about Kateri provide some account of the August 18,

1669, battle along the Mohawk River east of present Amsterdam, between the Mohawks and a force composed mainly of New England Indians and a few less than enthusiastic Mohicans. Such a battle actually occurred. While there was no clear winner, the battle ended armed conflict between the Mohawks and the eastern Indian nations. In the Kateri literature, however, the Mohawks are portrayed as the battle's decisive victors.

STOCKBRIDGE MISSION FEATURED

Mohicans do not appear again in American literature until they are featured in historical novels of the twentieth century. Elizabeth (George) Speare's *The Prospering* (1967) is one of the few novels dealing with Mohicans at length, and it is quite possibly the best one. While most of the story is set in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where many New York State Mohicans lived between the 1730s and the 1780s, a few scenes are set in Kaunaameek, a small Mohican village located near the present hamlet of Brainard in the Town of Nassau in Rensselaer County. In one of these episodes the author describes in detail a moving native ceremony which greatly impresses young Elizabeth Williams, the novel's narrator. Elizabeth is one of the children of Ephraim Williams Sr., who, in the novel (but not in fact) established the settlement of Stockbridge, where friendly Mohicans and white settlers lived side by side in peace, admittedly uneasily, through a period of social upheaval and military conflict. In the story, Elizabeth becomes very friendly with an Indian girl named Catherine (the daughter of John Konkapot) and comes to understand the problems faced by the Mohicans, and by this method the problems are presented to the reader.

During the French and Indian War the Canadian allies of the French were feared by the Mohicans and settlers alike, but the Mohawks, and especially their sachem, Hendrick, who was purportedly of Mohican birth

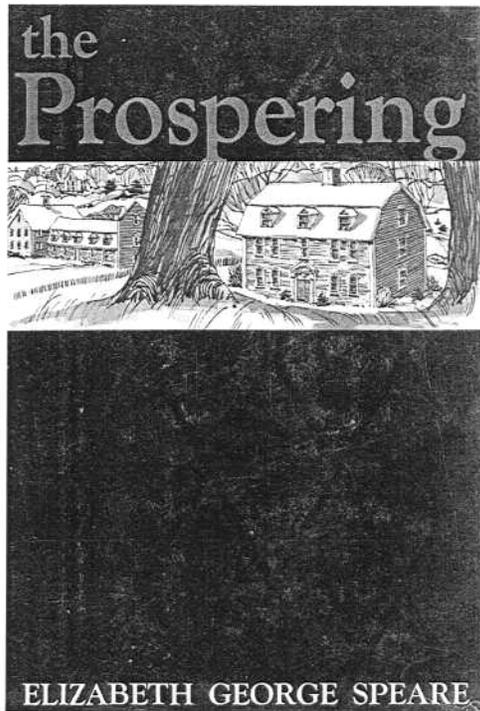


Figure 8.6. *The Prospering* is a carefully researched novel of 1967 which presents a sympathetic account of the Mohicans in Stockbridge and their relations with white neighbors.

or ancestry, were on good terms with the Mohicans. During the American Revolution the Mohicans were “persuaded to again take the warpath in a struggle from which they had nothing to gain” against the British and Mohawks who had once been their allies. Despite fighting bravely along side the Rebels, the Mohicans not only suffered many losses but lost their landholdings in western Massachusetts and then soon thereafter their village and lands in central New York State. Overall, *The Prospering* presents both a fact-based and deeply personal account of the Mohicans in Stockbridge and their white neighbors (Figure 8.6.).

OLD STEREOTYPES SURFACE AGAIN

In contrast, Paul Bernard, in his *Genesee Castle*, presents Native Americans by using

virtually the identical stereotypes found in the previous century (Bernard 1970). The hero, Philip Cochrane, participates in General Sullivan’s campaign and engages in the destruction of Iroquois villages without any reservations. Few recent authors approve of Sullivan’s “scorched earth” policy as does Bernard. The Iroquois are generally shown to be barbarous enemies of the American soldiers and settlers. There are references to their atrocities committed at Wyoming the previous year, directed by the “furious Indian squaw,” Queen Esther, while recent victims of hideous torture and dismemberment are greeted by the invading army with “profound grief and heavily moist eyes.” Even the Cayugas’ late plea for mercy and peace with the Americans is ignored, because their nation must “suffer” like the Senecas for their past actions. The only “noble savages” in the novel are the faithful Stockbridge Mohican scout, Jehoiakim, and the good, but subservient, Oneidas who “offered their help in any way” the American army wished to utilize them.

UNUSUAL PLOT PROVIDES A STORY OF SPIRITS

Terry Elton’s somewhat confusing *The Journey*, published in 2002, not only tells the story of Thomas Bradford, a wealthy New York City merchant and Catharine Webster, his servant (and later bride) in the 1750s and 1760s, but also of Brian Pearson and Nancy Donovan, two modern New Yorkers inhabited by the spirits of the colonial couple (Elton 2002). The spirits take the action back in time to punish those responsible for Thomas and Catherine’s untimely deaths. The Indian characters in the novel are Mohicans who remain in the upper Hudson Valley in a small village somewhere near Albany. The author asserts that the Mohicans were part of the Iroquois confederacy and also that most Mohicans were living with the Oneidas at this early date. Neither of these claims is correct, so the reader can assume that this novel does not contain any

important information on Mohicans of the eighteenth century.

In the guise of Thomas and Catherine, the modern couple capture their murderers (who also had killed the father of Thomas and attempted to steal his inheritance) and have them brought up the Hudson River Valley by Soaring Eagle, a young and noble Mohican chief. While Soaring Eagle is clearly depicted as admirable in his actions and intelligence (he is admired by the Indians and whites alike), he is also capable of a degree of savagery, and sees that "Mohican justice is done" by torturing and killing the criminals. This retribution is exacted in part as a favor for Thomas, whom Soaring Eagle regards as his blood brother.

One of the more interesting chapters in the book (although chronologically out of place) recalls an episode in 1757 when Thomas Bradford and his father meet Soaring Eagle and his band while trading in upstate New York. In a well-written scene near the book's conclusion, Soaring Eagle and some of his tribe are called to testify in New York at a trial of white swindlers. While some New Yorkers object to these "savages" giving testimony at a judicial proceeding, as Thomas accurately proclaims, the Mohicans "speak on the truth. It is their way. Lies and deceit are not acceptable in their world." The author does relate one historical fact correctly when Soaring Eagle recalls at the trial that a member of his nation (Etowaukaum) was one of the "four chiefs" who had been invited to visit British royalty back in 1710. *The Journey* is at times a confusing novel, but it is nonetheless interesting because of its unusual plot.

MODERN ADVENTURE IMITATES COOPER'S CLASSIC

Paul Block's *Song of the Mohicans: A Sequel to James Fenimore Cooper's The Last of the Mohicans* (1995) is a lively adventure story which purportedly begins immediately after Cooper's novel ends. The protagonists are Hawkeye and Chingachgook, carried over from Cooper,

and a new character, the young and dauntless Astra Van Rensselaer. She is the beautiful daughter of Hendrick Van Rensselaer, portrayed as a crusty and bigoted member of the Patroon's family who lives just outside Albany. The action begins in the Lake George region and continues into the Mohawk Valley. Astra is determined to locate (alive or deceased) her missing brother, Peter, who has disappeared following the battle of Fort William Henry. Hawkeye and his partner are on a mission to meet with a mystical Oneida named Onowara to persuade the Oneidas not to form an alliance with the French. In an unexpected plot twist, Onowara turns out to be a long-lost older son of Chingachgook. The complicated plot and multiple adventures involving the characters render this modern story more confusing and therefore less satisfactory than the memorable work it seeks to extend.

Block's treatment of Native Americans follows Cooper's model. The Iroquois are noble yet fierce ("a trustworthy and peaceable lot"), and range from the wise chief Skenandoa to young Oneidas who attempt to burn the heroes at the stake. For the most part the French-aligned Canadian Indians are depicted as barbaric. Only in a brief Abenaki camp scene early in the novel, where Chingachgook relates well to some older Abenakis (who share his Algonquian ancestry), is the reader led to believe otherwise. The scenes in the Oneida camp, where various factions of that nation debate the French-English conflict, are presented with sensitivity (Figure 8.7.).

While Cooper's Mohican characters, supposedly the last remnant of that nation from the Hudson Valley, really were based on two men of Connecticut Mohegan ancestry descended from the great seventeenth-century Mohegan chief, Uncas, Block presents them instead as true Mohicans. Chingachgook recalls, for example, how his tribe had once been powerful in the Hudson Valley, and how they had been named after the great river that had been central to their culture, the "Muhheconnuk." However, in his foreword, Block

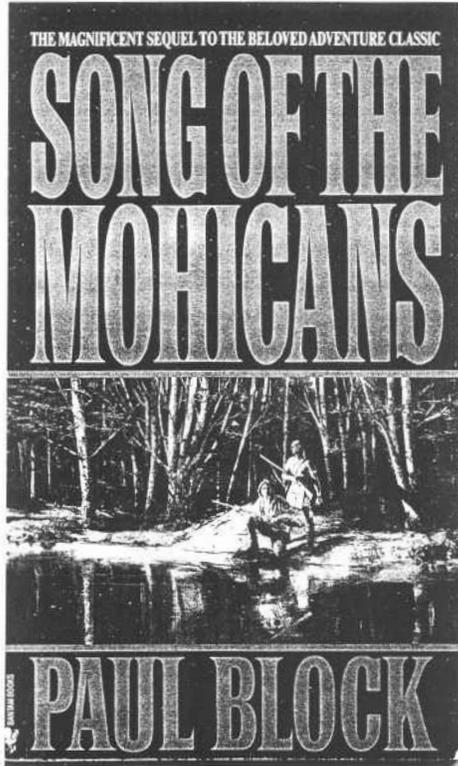


Figure 8.7. *Song of the Mohicans* (1995) is another novel which follows James Fenimore Cooper's model. Written as a sequel, the author calls one of his "noble" characters *Chingachgook*.

properly notes that the Mohicans were not extinct, as Cooper had indicated, but had lived in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in Madison County, New York, and now "live on a reservation in Shawano County, Wisconsin, where they go by their official name: the Stockbridge Indians." This may only be a single reference in a little-known but quite meritorious adventure novel, but it does represent the author's attempt to correct Cooper's all-too-famous error.

NOVELS BY MOSS BASED ON HISTORY

Robert Moss has authored a trilogy of recent novels set in the heyday of Sir William

Johnson and prominently featuring Native Americans. These novels are meticulously researched with extensive notes, including references to specific sources, accompanying each chapter. *The FireKeeper: A Narrative of the Eastern Frontier*, published in 1995, is a rather complicated novel centered around Johnson's life after his arrival in America, culminating with the Battle of Lake George in 1755 (Moss 1995). Fortunately, this lengthy novel includes a glossary and a list of Mohawk names and their English equivalents. Moss devotes considerable space to dreams, shamanism and psychic healing, as well as to Native American ceremonies, folklore and daily village life. The book is also useful because of the in-depth portrayals of Johnson's first wife, Catherine Weiserberg, and of the great Mohawk sachem, Hendrick "Forked Paths." Hendrick was purportedly born a Mohican, and the subjugation of the Mohicans by the Mohawks in the seventeenth century is noted. In the novel, Hendrick recalls how early white settlers had abused the peace-loving Mohicans, but he correctly states that later a number of Mohicans came to live with and fight beside the fiercer Mohawks.

Another Moss novel, *The Interpreter*, is set in the period 1709-1741 and introduces young Conrad Weiser, who would become the famous Pennsylvania Indian agent (Moss 1997). Hendrick "Forked Paths" plays a major role in this book, as well. Much of the text is devoted to the importance of dreams and spirituality, making the plot sometimes difficult to follow. The work brings out the many tensions during a period when the French and British were competing for Iroquois allegiance. This novel also covers the famous 1710 visit of the sachems known as the "Four Kings" to London. At this early date the Indians are already questioning the way that their sales of land to the Europeans were being conducted. Moss writes, "One would have thought that the depossession of the New England tribes—some of them already reduced to the condition of vaguing drunks and sellers of brooms—would have been an object lesson for the

Mohawks" (Moss 1997).

Moss devotes some space to developing the characters of Sayenqueragtha or "Vanishing Smoke" and Nicholas Etowankaun, Mohicans by birth who in the story became Mohawk sachems. Nicholas, who had led a "wandering life, confused by the bottle" is very knowledgeable about New England. In a highly imaginary chapter, he accompanies Conrad Weiser on a secret mission to the New England coast to search for Captain Kidd's lost treasure. Weiser had seen what he believed to be the treasure cave in one of his dreams. In fact, Weiser's development in learning Native American ways, particularly relating to dreaming and shamanism, is one of the central themes of this work.

TRILOGY ABOUT EARLY SETTLERS

Sara Donati has also produced a trilogy about early settlers and their Native American neighbors, in this case in the upper reaches of the West Branch of the Sacandaga River in the southern Adirondacks. An Englishwoman, twenty-nine-year-old Elizabeth Middleton, settles there with her father and brother in 1792. The Native American neighbors include the mixed-blood Bonner family (Daniel, aged 70 and Nathaniel, his handsome frontiersman son) and a small band of Mohawk and Mohican descendants. In the first of these novels, *Into the Wilderness*, dating to 1998, the author is primarily concerned with Elizabeth's attraction to Nathaniel and her father's efforts to marry her off to Richard Todd, a local physician, in part to relieve the family's financial problems (Donati 1998). The area where they settle, in a small settlement called "Paradise," is part of lands forfeited by Loyalists, and Dr. Todd's principal interest seem to be the acquisition of as much land as possible, including that occupied by the Bonners and the Indians.

The Indians are generally viewed as harmless by their white neighbors, or, as Nathaniel bluntly states, they are a few of the remaining Indians that have not been "beaten into the

dust" by the American Revolution. They are considered to be "good people" for neighbors but "not suitable company for a young unmarried woman of good family" like Elizabeth. The heroine, however, spends a great deal of time with the assorted band of Indians (who refer to themselves as the "Kahnnyen'kettaka,"), in part because of her attraction to Nathaniel, and in part because of her genuine admiration of the natives.

Those who impress her the most are "Chingachgook" (an elderly Mohican sachem with a name once again borrowed from Cooper), Falling Day (the Mohawk mother of Nathaniel's deceased wife), and her daughter and son, Many-Doves and Otter. The Indians regularly visit Barktown, a small Mohawk village downriver. Life at this village is described in impressive detail; events include a winter festival and a spring strawberry ceremony. According to the story, Barktown had been rebuilt after having been destroyed by General Clinton in 1779. Although the author presents life on the frontier in great detail, including Indian life, the book's nearly seven hundred-page length and complicated scenes of action and intrigue are sometimes overwhelming. In the end the matter of land ownership is settled and both whites and Indians resume normal lives as neighbors (Donati 1998).

NOVELS FOR YOUNG ADULTS

Lynda Durrant has written two excellent novels for young adults which are significant because Mohicans are their principal characters. These novels are well researched and each contains a glossary of names, a bibliography, and historical background material. *Echohawk* (Durrant 1995) tells the story of Jonathan Spence, a colonial boy who is captured and adopted into a Mohican family at an early age in 1738 in the Hudson River valley. Using his new name, Echohawk, he is assimilated into Mohican culture as the reader learns about the Mohicans' daily life, folklore, religion and spirituality. The relationship between the Mohicans

and other Indian nations is also developed. For example, connections are complicated with the powerful Mohawks who, a century before, superseded the Mohicans as the dominant nation in eastern New York. Once he becomes a Mohican in spirit if not in blood, Echohawk visits the now strange-appearing cities of Albany and Saratoga Springs. In spite of his non-Indian birth and the circumstances that the Mohicans had been subjugated a century before and decimated by disease, Echohawk believes that the Hudson Valley is still Mohican country. His father, Glickihagan, wants Echohawk and his younger Mohican brother, Bamiamneo, to attend school. Glickihagan believes that Indians should learn English and become better acquainted with the white society with which they must learn to associate.

Life at the Warner's school Echohawk attends is filled with tension because the students boarding together include non-Indian boys as well as Indians who come from tribes that have at some time hated each other. The well-meaning but misguided Warners fail to understand that Echohawk no longer sees himself as an English boy, and they believe he could become a great missionary to "bring these wretched savages out of the darkness." When school is finished, Glickihagan decides to move west to Ohio with his boys. He reminisces about important places in his life, especially Schodack, where he was born, and he recites how Henry Hudson first met the Mohicans, then a strong and populous tribe: "Who would have thought . . .?"

In Durant's subsequent novel, *Turtle Clan Journey* (1999) Glickihagan faces the loss of Echohawk to bounty hunters who can receive a ransom for returning whites from Indian "captivity," even against their will. Echohawk is returned to Albany to live with a well-meaning but misguided aunt who attempts to render him "civilized" again, but he manages to escape. The family proceeds westward to the Ohio territory along with some Munsees and other Delawares (two Indian groups which appear in few works of New York State

literature). Echohawk becomes an especially good friend of a young Munsee named Red Fox. On one occasion they are captured by Onondagas, not to be tortured or killed, but rather to be adopted by the Iroquois against their own will. The captives wonder if the Iroquois still practice torture and cannibalism and find such practices abhorrent by Mohican standards. They manage to escape and reach Ohio as the book concludes. The author notes that Glickihagan and Bamiamneo are named for actual Mohicans by those names whose father was in fact a Mohican killed in 1782 in Ohio in an attack by American forces.

CONCLUSION

This exhaustive survey of New York State's Mohicans in Literature has looked at more than two centuries of writing. Over time, the racial prejudices of the nineteenth century, as expressed in stories and poems, have gradually disappeared, and twentieth century characters, if not plots, are more often based on historical research than on romance. Interestingly, Mohicans often have been treated rather sympathetically, if not more realistically, than other Native Americans in literature. There seems to be a popular respect for the Mohicans. In addition, works in which Mohican characters appear generally have possessed greater literary merit than the typical novels, short stories, and poems representing Native Americans overall. Five of these works, all dating to the twentieth century—*Northwest Passage* (1937), *The Legend of Utsayantha, and Other Folklore of the Catskills* (1945), *The Prospering* (1967), *The Firekeeper: A Narrative of the Eastern Frontier* (1995), and *The Interpreter* (1997)—are particularly satisfactory literary works.

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