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hey were not even able to provide the Indians with sufficient number of missionaries, requested by several tribes. The Indian desire for instruction in the Christian religion appears to have resulted from the noticeable difference in social conditions between those in the old villages and those of their relatives in the French Jesuit mission locations. Besides, the chiefs feared that the decision of their people to the French would leave them powerless in their home territory.

In 1734 the first missionary arrived among the Indians on the upper Housatonic River. About 50 Housatonic and Mahican Indians were living there in four small settlements, under the leadership of two chiefs, Pophnehovot alias Konkapot, and Umpachenee. Colonial authorities considered Konkapot to be the most important chief, bestowing the title of captain on him, and that of lieutenant on Umpachenee. Tribal authorities seem to have felt unhappy at the White favoring of Konkapot over Umpachenee as the local representative of the nation and Dutch liquor traders stimulated the resentment of the tribal council against the missionaries.

In January 1735 a tribal meeting in Umpachenee's village, Skatekook,[†] was attended by nearly 200 Indians, including Corlair or Corslar, the Mahican chief sachem. A favorable agreement was reached enabling Rev. John Sergeant to establish a mission village, called Stockbridge. By 1738 all the Indians of the region had moved to this village, where the missionary opened a school, preached in the Mahican language, and translated several devotional works. His assistant in these translations was perhaps John Quinney (fl. 1735-1749), the founder of an important family in the history of the Stockbridge Indians. Among Sergeant's first converts were the local chiefs and their families. Some English families were attracted to act as examples of civilized behavior, and they instructed the Indians in agriculture and other crafts. An essentially English type of church committee and town council was introduced in which exemplary Indians (by the missionary's standards) filled most of the positions. At the request of the Indians the township had been surveyed and each family given an allotment of reasonable size.

Yet the Indians were still very attached to their old way of life. Hunting groups were frequently gone for a long time, and most of the men went off to help the white farmers in the harvest. Persuaded by the missionary the Indians left their children in his boarding school, where their time was "divided between study and labor as to make one the Diversion of the other" (Sergeant 1743:4).

The establishment of Stockbridge as a separate mission village was motivated by the missionary's desire to protect his people from the influences of both the non-

villages of Schaghticoke, N.Y. (in this chapter spelled Scaghticoke), Schaghticoke, Conn. (in this chapter Scaticook), and Skatekook, should be distinguished.



NCFA, Smithsonian.

Fig. 8. John W. Quinney (The Dish) (1797-1855), a Mahican Baptist preacher. Oil sketch by George Catlin, 1830.

Christian Indians and the not-too-Christian Whites. Although his acculturative influence was noticeable in many ways, the missionary focused primarily on the religious aspect, leaving the Indians to adjust or maintain their traditional lifeways to a large extent. The matrilineage survived for the regulation of descent and inheritance, but it lost its visual residential character; single families now inhabited neolocal log cabins and frame houses. The communal function of the chief's longhouse was taken over by the church. The chiefs accepted the new religion and its value system but maintained hereditary leadership within a small group of mutually related families, in which the old matrilineages are recognizable.

Although a substantial part of the population was of non-Mahican origin, the Mahican language was used in the church, the core group was Mahican, and so was the social and political organization. The missionary suppressed all visual expressions of the native religion and introduced his rather emotional type of "experimental" Christianity. Prestigious positions were created through the church committee and the township government, giving elite people the opportunity to maintain and strengthen their positions. Several references to sorcery, poison use, and suicide indicate the survival of certain traditional attitudes.

Hudson River Mahican and other Indians frequently visited the mission village and increasing numbers of

them moved in permanently. In 1740 the population had increased to 120 people, consisting of Mahican, Housatonic, Wappinger, Wyachtonok, and a sprinkling of other Connecticut tribes. A variety of splinter groups merged at Stockbridge, although the major element remained of Mahican origin. The Mahican chief sachem died about 1740 and the "fireplace of the Nation" moved from the Hudson River valley to Stockbridge. Government and mission failed in their endeavors to have Konkapot recognized as the most important chief. Tribal leadership was passed on according to traditional usage, and Umpachenee, married to a former chief sachem's daughter, became the Nation's leader.

After 1740 missionaries became active among New York Mahican groups too. In 1743 David Brainerd settled at Kaunaumuck, in present Columbia County. After his departure in 1744, the Kaunaumuck Mahican removed to Stockbridge. In 1740 Moravian missionaries contacted the Mahican and Wyachtonok living in Dutchess County, New York, and in neighboring Connecticut. Here again, the most influential chiefs were among the first converts. The Moravian Brethren rapidly won the confidence of the regional natives, attracting Indians even from Stockbridge. The Indians' abstinence from liquor and the prospects of Indian communities holding on to valuable land rapidly led to growing hostility among the local Whites. False accusations were spread about the Moravians, ultimately resulting in a governmental order to stop Moravian activities among the New York Indians. In 1746 the Indians started their exodus to the Moravian headquarters at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where they combined with Munsee Indian converts. Part of the Mahican and Wyachtonok returned again and merged with the Indians at Scaticook, Connecticut.

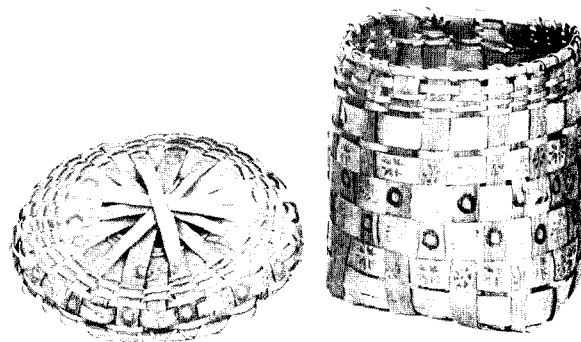
A series of mission villages marked the dramatic removal of the Moravian Indians through Pennsylvania to the Ohio during the French and Indian War (the Seven Years' War) and its aftermath of Pontiac's War. When the American Revolution broke out, they found themselves in the midst of frontier fighting, culminating in the massacre of 90 Moravian Mahican by American militia, at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, March 8, 1782. Another decade of wandering followed for the survivors, until they were allowed to settle on the Thames River, in Ontario, Canada. Their descendants live there at Moraviantown.

During the eighteenth century, acculturation in material culture was no longer confined to the acceptance of finished European products but included the acquisition of a range of new technological skills (figs. 9-10), some of which provided the Indians with extra income. Indian women roamed the countryside, selling splint baskets, brooms, wooden bowls, and moccasins, while men assisted the colonists in the annual harvest. Agriculture, however, was no success, as the preferred occupations of the men were hunting and war service. The deterioration



Mus. of the Amer. Ind., Heye Foundation, New York: 10/1330.

Fig. 9. European-style cup carved from applewood knot by Chief Siacus on the lower Housatonic River. Collected in 1740; height about 8.2 cm.



N.Y. State Mus., Albany: 39594.

Fig. 10. Basswood splint basket with stamped decorations, 19th century. Height about 24.1 cm.

of the traditional cycle of seasonal activities is indicated by the reported periods of famine in the late 1760s.

The Stockbridge Indians rendered loyal and continuous assistance to the colonies in their wars, first against the French, then against Pontiac's Indians, and finally against the British in the Revolution. In 1756 the Wappinger tribe enlisted in the army, after having removed their families to Stockbridge, 227 persons in total. During their absence their land was taken by New York landlords, and the greater part of the tribe merged with the Stockbridge Indians.

The wars proved disastrous for the Indians. Nearly half the men lost their lives along the northern borders, at Lexington, Bunker Hill, White Plains, Barren Hill, and several other skirmishes. Life at Stockbridge lost much of its original religious fervor during these turbulent years. Despite the incorporation of Wappinger and other Indians, the total population numbered only 300 in 1774. Perhaps another 100 Mahican Indians were still living in pauperized conditions at various places in the

Hudson River valley, and an unknown but certainly large number was living in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. In 1756-1757, another large body of Mahican and Wappinger had removed from the Hudson River to the Susquehanna River. These removed groups maintained continuous contacts with the Mahican Nation's political center at Stockbridge.

The Indians gathering on the Pennsylvania frontiers were far less willing to oblige the colonial officials at Albany and Philadelphia. Many of these Indians sided first with the French and later with Pontiac. During the American Revolution, 60 western Mahicans joined the English-oriented Iroquois and invaded the Mohawk River valley. As a result of Gen. John Sullivan's campaign in 1779, the Indian villages on the Susquehanna River were abandoned, and about 100 Mahican joined the perhaps 5,000 refugee Indians gathering under English protection at Fort Niagara. In 1783 a mixed group of Munsee and Mahican moved on to Canada; their descendants live at Ohsweken, Brant County, Ontario.

By the end of the American Revolution, the Stockbridge Indians found themselves depleted in numbers, enticed to sell their lands, and unwanted in their village, where Whites had taken over the local government and endeavored to oust the Indians. Accepting an invitation from the Oneida, the dispirited remnants of the Mahican Nation, 420 in all, removed to a tract on Oneida Creek in New York. The removal started in 1783, and the population numbers suggest the involvement of other Mahican remnants from the Hudson River area. Scattered throughout their old territory, a number of families stayed behind, generating several mestizo groups, such as the Van Guilders, Bushwackers, and Jukes.

On the Move

By 1786 most of the Indians had settled at New Stockbridge in Oneida country. Prospects seemed bright to many of them, who appear to have felt that complete adjustment to White lifeways would prepare them to survive the future incorporation by the advancing American society. They set out to establish farms. The women spun the wool of their sheep, wove cloth, and made splint baskets for sale. Through the treaty of Canandaigua (1794), the Stockbridges obtained \$4,500 annually, which they spent in the purchase of clothing, cattle, farm tools, and the building of a sawmill. These progressive Indians were able to speak and write English, and most Stockbridges were devoted adherents of the mission church. Chief sachem Joseph Quinney and his three councilors were mission-trained, and some of them had received an education at Dartmouth College. By 1800 the Stockbridge Indians had effected a stable community, modeled after a White rural American village.

The past experiences, however, had left their traces in the opposing attitudes of many Stockbridges, producing

several instances of factionalism throughout the nineteenth century. One portion of the tribe favored the leasing of lands to White farmers, with the Indian owners living off the rentals. The White-oriented faction preferred to do the farming themselves, indicating their rejection of the old division of labor by sex. The White-oriented faction, supported by missionary and government, held the power, and the excessive use of liquor among the traditional or Indian-oriented people indicates their frustrated aspirations. As usual, some White profiteers exploited this social maladjustment. In general, the Indian-oriented Stockbridges maintained their Indian dress and used only their own language. Since hunting was no longer profitable, they depended mainly upon the gardens and craftwork of the women for a living.

Reportedly the neighboring Oneida ridiculed the Stockbridge men who had taken up farming. When the Oneida introduced Handsome Lake, the Iroquois prophet, to the Stockbridges, they rejected his teachings (E.F. Jones 1854:91-94).

The speaker for the Stockbridge tribe in this affair was its new chief sachem, Hendrick Aupaumut, who played an important role in intertribal politics. As early as 1791, he felt the need of another removal, because of the undesirable influences of the Oneida and frontier Whites. Remembering the old covenant with the Miami Indians, who had permanently reserved a part of their territory for the members of the former River Indian Confederacy, Aupaumut started his explorations in the Midwest, where the Munsee and Delaware Indians had settled already. The Stockbridge removal was postponed because of the efforts of the Shawnee chief Tecumseh to organize the midwestern Indian tribes in an anti-White confederacy. During these turbulent years, the prestige of the Mahican enabled their chief sachem to play the role of broker between the American government and the midwestern tribes.

Tecumseh's fight for Indian freedom came to a bitter end during the War of 1812, after which the Stockbridges prepared to move once more. In 1818 about 75 Stockbridges, led by John Metoxen, departed for Indiana. Upon their arrival on the White River, they learned that the Delawares and Miamis had been forced to sell their land. Commissioned by the War Department, some missionaries now purchased land from the Menominee and Winnebago in Wisconsin for the New York Indians. In 1828 a band of Indians from New Stockbridge, led by John W. Quinney, moved to this tract and settled on the Fox River. Metoxen and his wandering Stockbridges soon joined them and other bands followed, the last Indians leaving New Stockbridge in 1829. Old Hendrick Aupaumut died in 1830, after all his people had arrived in their new home. With about 100 Delaware Indians, 225 Stockbridges were living on the Fox River in 1831; their chief sachem was John Metoxen.