

Mohicans Past & Present: a Study of Cultural Survival

Lucianne Lavin, Ph.D.



Mrs. Phoebe Ann Quinney

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Lucianne Lavin, Ph.D.

*Institute for American Indian Studies
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Abstract

Study of artifacts collected from Stockbridge Mohicans living in Wisconsin between 1929 and 1937 and associated documents show that although they had been Christianized, victimized and precariously depopulated through European diseases, poverty and warfare over the past 300 years, the Mohicans remained a tribal community throughout the historical period. They achieved this through adherence to core cultural and spiritual traditions and strong leadership that focused tribal members on several key survival strategies, which allowed the Mohican people to remain together physically and politically. Their story is one of courage and persistence in the face of seemingly unbeatable odds.

Introduction

This paper is a result of my research during the summer/fall of 2010 as the Scholar in Residence at the Stockbridge Mission House in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The program is funded by Mass Humanities, a state-based affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities, to advance “the interpretation and presentation of history by Massachusetts history organizations”.¹ The goal of this particular project was to broaden our understanding of the history of the indigenous community that inhabited Stockbridge and the surrounding region – eastern members of the Mohican tribal nation, whose political center traditionally was the mid-Hudson Valley.

The Mission House was built in 1737 for the Reverend John Sergeant, the first missionary to the indigenous Mohican peoples of the region, called the Stockbridge Indians by neighboring Europeans.² Originally located on Prospect Hill, it was transported to its present location at the corner of Main Street and Sergeant Street under the direction of Mabel Choate, the driving force behind its restoration and development into a successful museum (Figure 1). The house museum with outbuildings and grounds is presently owned by The Trustees of Reservations, a preservation group that has been protecting and maintaining properties of historic and ecological interest since 1891.

Tour guides and the current exhibit introduce visitors to the Stockbridge Mohicans and provide some information about their history – their ancient homelands in the greater Hudson Valley of New York and western New England, the forced removal of many tribal members northward and eastward to Stockbridge during the 17th century,³ their Christian community in Stockbridge, the

tribe's emigration to central New York in the 1780s, and ultimate settlement in Wisconsin. At nearby Monument Mountain, which is also owned by The Trustees of Reservations, visitors can hike traces of Mohican pathways that pass a reconstructed stone cairn marking the general location of an historically documented stone structure of Mohican origin.



Figure 1. Mabel Choate at the front entrance to the Stockbridge Mission House, early 1950s (Photograph by William H. Tague, courtesy of the Mission House, a property of The Trustees of Reservations).

Most of the artifacts in the Indian exhibit were collected in Wisconsin in the late 1920s and 1930s by Ruth Gaines, Librarian at the Museum of the American Indian and agent and consultant to Mabel Choate. They and the other available cultural resources -- the museum's manuscript collection and the historic Mohican landscape -- provided a unique opportunity to deepen our understanding of the Stockbridge Mohican historical experience.⁴ The artifacts furnish insight into 18th and 19th century Mohican culture and community adaptations and accommodations (not assimilation) to the growing Anglo-American presence at Stockbridge. The

collection of some 200 letters, telegrams, and other documents dating from 1929 to 1937, which describe the acquisition of these artifacts, also offer a fascinating window into the workings of the early 20th century Mohican community, their family inter-relationships and social institutions (such as their churches).

Monument Mountain in Great Barrington is part of the original Mohican homelands in western Massachusetts. It is relatively undisturbed by Anglo-American development and still retains remnants of Mohican pathways and a reconstructed stone cairn. These paths once connected Mohican communities to each other, important natural resources, sacred sites, and their non-Mohican indigenous neighbors. They are part of a socio-spiritual Mohican landscape laden with symbolism that continues to hold meaning for tribal members today.

As the Scholar's Statement in the grant application noted, as scientists and educators we have the responsibility to learn about, and honor, all those who have lived on this land before us.⁵ Our American heritage will only be enhanced by this fuller, and more accurate, understanding of the past. The linkage of artifacts, archives, and cultural resources in the landscape creates a multi-layered perspective of that heritage that should prove valuable to academics and educators alike. It was generated specifically as a tool to assist the Mission House staff in creating future exhibits for students and the general public, and museum docents in their interpretations of local Mohican history and lifeways.

The People of the Waters that are Never Still

The Muh-he-ka-ne-ok⁶, or “People of the Waters that are Never Still” as they refer to themselves, were a large and powerful tribe when first encountered by Henry Hudson during his exploration of the Hudson River in 1609. Their ancient homelands extended along the Mahicannituck (present Hudson River) from south of Pine Plains, New York and the Roelof Jansen Kill, south of the present Connecticut-Massachusetts border northward to Lake George and the upper portions of Lake Champlain, and from the Catskill and Helderberg mountains on the west eastward into the upper Housatonic River Valley and western New England.⁷ Robert Juet (AKA Jouet), one of Hudson’s officers, described them as friendly and generous.

“The people of the Countrey came aboard of us, making shew of love, and gave us Tobacco and Indian Wheat” (quoted in J. Franklin Jameson (ed.) 1990, pg. 20 in *Narratives of New Netherland*).⁸

Juet’s journal entries suggest the Mohicans were willing to engage in a trading relationship. They presented Hudson with food and tobacco, and traded beaver and otter pelts for beads and metal knives and hatchets.⁹

The Dutch referred to the tribe as Mahikanders and Mahikans, likely because they originally used Lenape and Munsee interpreters from coastal New Netherland (which became greater New York City), who referred to the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok as “Mauheekunee”, “Mahikanak” and other similar names.¹⁰ (The Lenape and Munsee were called Delaware by the English, because their original homelands were in the Delaware River drainage of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania and southern New York.) The Mohicans almost continuously maintained friendly relations with the Dutch and the English -- and with the United States after the American Revolution, despite numerous social and political setbacks to the tribe caused by European diseases, questionable land transactions, unscrupulous white traders, the decrees of Euro-American governments and the urging of other tribes to join them enacting war against the European enemy.¹¹

18th & 19th Century Tribal Community

In 1735 Mohican leadership agreed to allow a Christian mission under the direction of the Reverend John Sergeant in the midst of their eastern homelands in what is now western Massachusetts. Many Mohicans became Christians and by 1750 the Mohican mission village of Stockbridge was a successful farming community with its own Stockbridge Indian Church, school, mills, and a town government.¹² Mohican control and achievement began to fade as more and more whites joined the town, particularly after the death of their revered minister in 1749.

“By the end of the American Revolution, the Stockbridge Indians found themselves depleted in numbers, deprived of their lands, and unwanted in their village, where Whites had taken over the local government and endeavored to oust the Indians” (Ted J. Brasser 1974, pg. 38 in *Riding on the Frontier’s Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Culture Change*).

Indeed, on April 21, 1778, while many Mohican men were away fighting in the American Revolution, Stockbridge Englishmen voted not to allow Indians, blacks, or mulattos the right to vote in town affairs.¹³

“More than half the Stockbridge residents, whose lives, property and revolutionary political values were being defended by their Mohican neighbors – and by blacks and mulattoes as well – clearly were willing to deny their patriot neighbors the opportunity to partake in the system for which they were risking and losing their lives. And this in a town that was established to teach Indians New England moral and political principles” (Patrick Frazier 1992, pg. 226 in *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*).

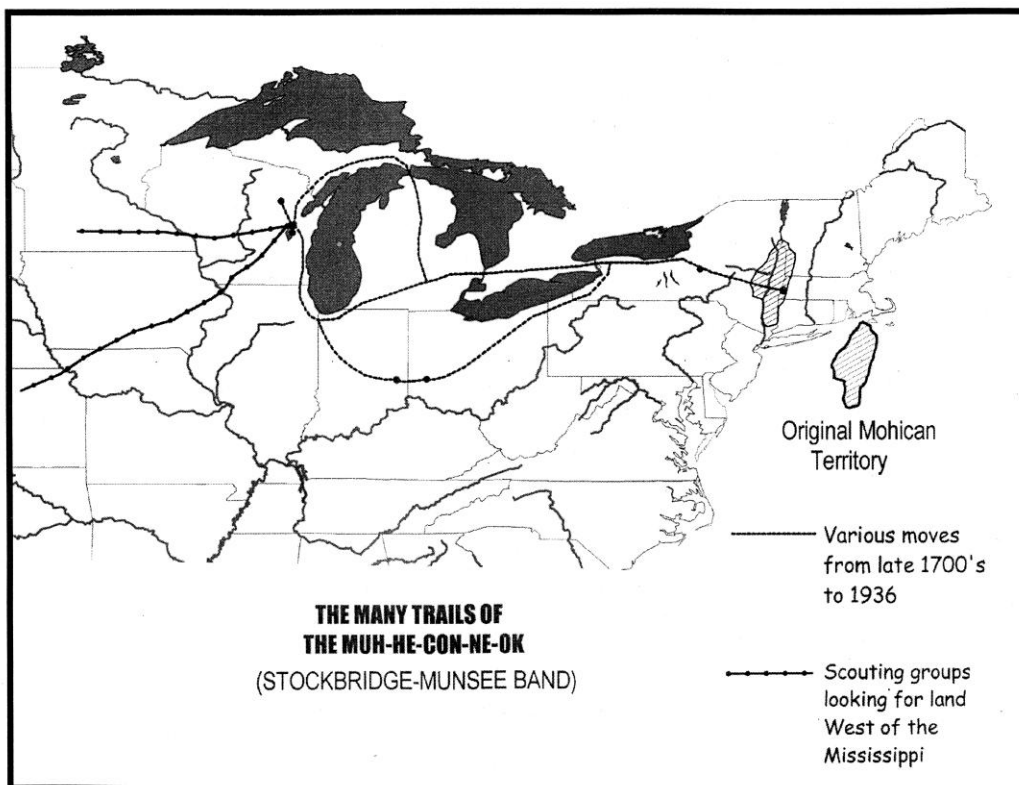


Figure 2. 18th and 19th century emigration routes of the Stockbridge Mohican community (from Dorothy Davids 2001. “A Brief History of the Mohican Nation Stockbridge-Munsee Band”) (Photograph by Lisa Piastuch-Temmen, Institute for American Indian Studies).

Emigrations Westward

Mohican leadership viewed the increasing land losses through white machinations, encroachment and outright fraud,¹⁴ deteriorating relationships between the tribe and their ministers (Jonathan Edwards in the 1750s followed by Stephen West in the late 1750s-1770s) and white neighbors¹⁵, and the disintegration of Sergeant’s arrangements for the education of Indian children as real threats to the existence of their tribal community.¹⁶ Shrinking resources and loss of a sympathetic white authority figure to keep anti-Indian whites at bay could result in poverty, illness, demoralization, and even death. Uneducated Indian children – the tribe’s future -

- meant an inability to read deeds, promissory notes, and English law that could promote land frauds, and fines and jail time for inadvertently breaking a law of which one had no knowledge. After 1765, fines could be paid through the sale of Indian land, and often this was the only option besides jail.¹⁷ This situation could, and often did, lead to spiraling indebtedness and poverty among the Mohican and other tribal peoples.

Consequently, in the 1780s the Mohicans left Stockbridge in a group to create the economically stable and successful community of New Stockbridge near Oneida Lake in western New York.¹⁸ With them also went their Stockbridge Indian Church. John Sergeant's son, John Sergeant the younger, became its minister. As the official web site of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of the Mohican Nation notes:

“It became apparent after the Revolutionary War, with their numbers greatly reduced and intruders (called "settlers") using unscrupulous means to gain title to the land, that the Stockbridge Mohican people were not welcome in their own Christian village any longer. The Oneida, who had also fought for the colonists in the war, offered them a portion of their rich farmland and forest. The Stockbridge Mohican accepted the invitation and moved to New Stockbridge, near Oneida Lake, in the mid-1780's. Again they cleared forests and built farms. A school, church, and sawmill were built. The tribe flourished under the leadership of Joseph Quinney and his counselors.”¹⁹

In just a few decades after this successful move, whites were once again pressuring the tribe to give up their improved lands for a pittance and remove farther west.

“As the second decade of the 19th century drew to a close, the white residents of central New York were again crowding in upon these peaceable [*sic*] aborigines, and again the Indians were becoming demoralized by the contact. It was freely charged that groups of whites were active in bringing about this degradation with the hope that the Stockbridges might become extinct or at least greatly enervated. Considerable pressure was used to induce them to dispose of their land – always at a fraction of its intrinsic value – and to seek a new habitation in some remote western region” (Senator William A. Titus, State Senator of Wisconsin from 1921-1928 and former president of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin ND: 8 in “Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History”).²⁰

In 1818 a group of Mohican and some New Jersey Delaware led by the Mohican leaders John Metoxen and Austin E. Quinney left for White River, Indiana²¹ to join their kin the Delaware who had migrated to the Midwest as early as the mid-18th century²², and the Miami. When they arrived in 1822 this group found that whites had forced the latter communities to sell their lands. Missionaries and government officials negotiated with the Menominee and Winnebago for a tract of land to relocate the Metoxen group and the remainder of the tribal community from New Stockbridge, and so the Stockbridges emigrated to Grand Cackalin (AKA Kaukauna, Statesburg) on the Fox River in Wisconsin.²³ Unfortunately, not long after their settlement on the Fox River, the Menominee and Winnebago complained about the validity of the land transaction.²⁴ By 1834 they were forced from these fertile lands to the east shore of Lake Winnebago, in present Calumet County where the third village of Stockbridge is now located. In 1837, the Mohicans were joined by some Moravian Munsee (AKA Delaware) from Canada²⁵. In 1856 the tribe was

forced to remove again to Red Springs and Bartelme in Shawano County, Wisconsin.²⁶ Figure 2 is a map by Mohican historian Dorothy Davids, showing the various 18th and 19th century moves of the Stockbridge community.

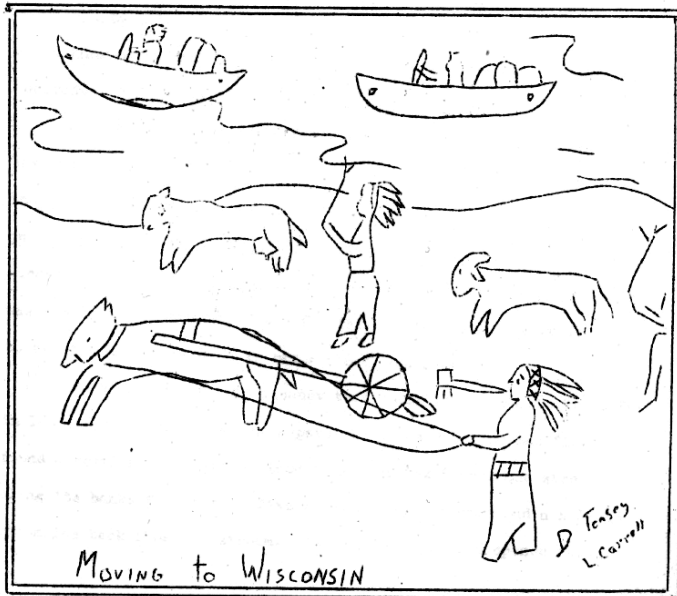


Figure 3. “Moving to Wisconsin”, a ca. 1946 sketch by Mohican Day School children (from Dee Wilson *et al.* ND) (Photograph by Lisa Piastuch-Temmen, Institute for American Indian Studies).

“The Stockbridge Indians”, an unpublished manuscript written by Stockbridge day school students with the help of their teacher ca. 1946,

describes the machinations of whites and the government to take improved lands from the tribe, clear-cut the forests and leave tribal members landless and penniless (Figure 3). The Congressional Act of 1871, for example, allowed lumber barons to purchase 75% of the Red Springs Reservation lands and lumber off all the trees.²⁷ This was confirmed by former Wisconsin Senator William A. Titus:

“In the early 1870’s, perhaps as a reward for their patriotic military service, their timber was sold by the government to certain of Wisconsin’s lumber barons who had political influence at Washington. In the transaction, the Indians were not even consulted” (William A. Titus ND, pg. 9 in “Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History”).

Some lumber barons bought reservation lands for as little as 75 cents an acre.²⁸

“Since the Indians’ only assets for making a living had been destroyed and the timber was gone, the land had to be sold so that these people could find some way of buying food and clothing....Patents were given for land holdings, the timber was all slashed off and the land mortgaged and sold. In 1910 we find the tribe pennyless [*sic*], landless, homeless and disbanded....When the depression hit the United States in 1929.....there were no funds, no land, no homes, 90 percent on relief and no jobs” (Wilson *et al.* ND, page 13 in “The Stockbridge Indians”).

In 1930, the retired Presbyterian minister of the Red Bank (Stockbridge) Church, Rev. McGraham, reported to Ruth Gaines that there were 500 “Stockbridges” in Wisconsin, 200 of them living in Red Springs Township.²⁹

“The reservation land of the Stockbridge-Munsee was mostly covered with pine forest. Farming was attempted but the land was sandy and swampy and so forestry became the base of the economy. However, services promised in treaties were inadequate and of poor quality. Poverty prevailed for most people” (Dorothy Davids 2004, pp. 4,6 in *A Brief History of the Mohican Nation Stockbridge-Munsee Band*, Revised Edition; see also William Titus ND, pp. 9 & 10 in “Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History” on the marginality of the land).

19th Century Tribal Relations

That the 19th century Mohicans remained a tribe despite their forced wanderings, impoverishment, and political factions is most evident in their well-documented list of capable, well-educated leadership³⁰ and continuing observance of tribal traditions. The Stockbridge Mission House contains a number of 19th century Mohican items representative of long-established cultural traditions. One such item was a hickory bow with hunting arrows, “sent by the Stockbridge Indians of Wisconsin on the 100th anniversary of the building of the Congregational Church in Stockbridge, MA” (Stockbridge Mission House exhibit label). Massachusetts approved the first Mohican meeting house in 1736,³¹ which would date the bow and arrows to about 1836.

Woodsplint baskets and carved wooden bowls, ladles and other carved wooden items passed down and kept as heirlooms by 20th century Stockbridge members attest to the continuance of these craft traditions (Figures 4,5,6). Other traditional craft items in the Mission House collections are bead bands woven by “Stockbridge Indians” ca. 1829.³² The Museum of the State Historic Society of Wisconsin had a cloth bag decorated with glass beads that was made by a Stockbridge woman from Calumet Country in 1843.³³



Figure 4. Ca. early 19th century Stockbridge Mohican swabbed woodsplint comb case once belonging to the Pye family of Stockbridge Indians (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).



Figure 5. Carved wooden bowl from New Stockbridge, New York purchased from Mohican Marie (AKA Mary Butler) Tousey (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

Figure 6. Carved wooden Colonial-era salt cup once belonging to the Pye family (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).



Many of these traditional indigenous items were made for trade with their white neighbors and tourists. Their sale provided much a needed cash income to supplement regular economic activities of farming and logging. Copies of mid-19th century paintings of Mohican Chief Austin E. Quinney and his wife by A. Hamlin show them in traditional Indian clothing, or “regalia” (i.e., feathered headpieces, beaded leather moccasins, leggings, beaded garters, wampum chain, etc.), as does an 1836 oil painting of Austin E. Quinney and an 1830s sketch of an unidentified Stockbridge Mohican with feathered headdress by George Catlin entitled *The Mohegan Psalm Book in Hand*.³⁴ They indicate that Mohicans continued to preserve and wear traditional clothing and finery, at least for special occasions.

Continued Residence in the Sacred Homelands

It is important to note here that although the Mohicans traveled a circuitous route from Massachusetts to their present Wisconsin reservation as a tribal community, not all tribal members left their New York/Massachusetts homelands. In 1923, for example, Stockbridge tribal member Harriet Quinney told Alanson Skinner, curator of anthropology at the Public Museum of Milwaukee from 1920 to 1924, that she had been born in New York along the Hudson River about 1843.³⁵ Indeed, Mohicans were still living at one of their traditional village sites – Schotak (present Schodack) on the Hudson River in present Rensselaer County, in the mid-19th century.³⁶

In a 1936 letter to Ruth Gaines, Alice E. Smith, curator of manuscripts at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, discussed Stockbridge-related manuscripts housed at the Society. Smith mentioned a February 28, 1859 letter from Levi Konkapot, a Mohican living in Albany, New York to tribal member Electa [Quinney] Candy in Wisconsin.³⁷ This and another letter written on July 21, 1858 to Electa by her nephew Jeremiah show that written correspondence was one way Stockbridges living off-Reservation remained in tribal relations. Another way of keeping in touch was through the tribal “grapevine”, or word of mouth, a common way of communicating for 19th and early 20th century tribal peoples. For example, in his diary John W. Quinney reported

that he received information that Electa Quinney had moved to Cherokee from James King, resident of Missouri.³⁸ Additionally, Mohican people living in the “West” made pilgrimages back east to visit kin, the old homelands, and sacred places in its landscape (see section below entitled “Sacred Homelands”).

The Early 20th Century Tribe

In 1926 Mabel Choate began restoration of the Reverend John Sergeant house, which at that time was relocated from its original site on Prospect Hill in Stockbridge, Massachusetts just above the Choate summer estate *Naumkeag*, to 19 Main Street³⁹. Choate’s efforts led to the establishment of the Stockbridge Mission House museum, with a discrete “Indian museum”.⁴⁰ As noted above, Ms. Choate obtained many of the Mohican artifacts and photos from tribal members through paid intermediaries. Those artifacts and the associated correspondence during the years 1929 through 1937 clearly show that despite the numerous migrations and uprooting of the Mohican community, continual racism and discrimination, loss of men folk during World War I, and the life-threatening conditions created by their dire poverty during the Great Depression, the 20th century Mohicans encountered by Mabel Choate’s white agents continued to be a cohesive tribal community.

Letters to Choate from her agents and from Frederick G. Westfall, the Presbyterian minister of the John Sargeant Memorial Church in Red Springs, demonstrate that the Mohicans lived under harsh economic and social pressures. The physical landscape they occupied had been raped by white loggers who had been able to purchase reservation land through loop holes in the 1887 General Allotment Act.⁴¹ The only redeeming trait of the logging industry was that it had offered employment to Stockbridge men. In 1930 the logging industry ceased, and the subsequent unemployment of tribal members compounded the deteriorating economic situation.⁴² In a journal forwarded to Mabel Choate, Choate’s agent Ruth Gaines described her initial automobile ride into Gresham, Wisconsin, the home of many Mohicans at the time:

“...a country denuded of trees, untilled fields and unpainted chinked cabins or flimsy frame houses. Indians very poor; being defrauded of lands by borrowing on mortgage.... [Mohicans] Mrs Jordan and Mrs. Quinney to go to the poor-house this fall; Mrs. Englehard – at nearly sixty ---working at shucking corn. Her husband in poor house. Mrs. Avery Miller lost a son in the War” (Ruth Gaines, journal account dated November 12, 1929).

After visiting the area for four days, Gaines concluded that:

“There is no way to earn money for most of them [Mohicans]. Taxes are high; they are paid by designing whites until the mortgage is foreclosed, and the poorhouse is next....There is no medical help for these people. The nearest doctor is at Shawano, 14 miles away, and he will not come unless pay is guaranteed. Social disease is rife. There are no nurses either...While I was there, Mr. Westfall could not go with me as he wished because a man was dying. He (Mr. W.) sent for the doctor who refused to come” (Ruth Gaines, journal entry dated November 16, 1929).

Mohicans were willing to work, but America was in the midst of the Great Depression, and there were few jobs available in which to make a steady cash income.

“Able-bodied youths and girls can and do work when work is available – as do also most of the adults” (F.G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated Nov. 5, 1929).

The outcome was extreme poverty and illness including alcoholism, with some Mohicans losing their lands or moving off – younger ones seeking work to support themselves and their families, older ones to the poor house because they could no longer support themselves. Grim economic conditions continued throughout the Depression years.⁴³

“Today I doubt a single family owns its farm unencumbered. Since I came here less than four years ago, a full half-dozen have lost their farms – and either moved away or are hanging on by grace of the white owner. The old people die or go to the poor house. The young scatter here and there to find such work as they can. Those who can not move live in dire poverty...a few days after Christmas I buried one of them killed by drinking the whiteman’s moonshine” (Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated January 17, 1929).

In that same letter Westfall also referred to the racist treatment Stockbridges endured from local whites.⁴⁴ Several of Westfall’s letters request or thank the recipient for articles of clothing and blankets for Mohican members of his congregation,⁴⁵ as does Mohican Marie Tousey in a 1929 letter to Ruth Gaines.⁴⁶

“Only yesterday I was in Beaumont Bowman’s house – a Stockbridge – and baptized him a man of 60 – dying of diabetes – Seven children – and wife – house bare of everything – No food except such as we have been able to furnish, no fuel – etc. He has been sick for two years” (F.G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated Nov. 5, 1929; in a letter dated November 27-29, 1929 to Ruth Gaines, Westfall reported that they had buried Mr. Bowman that day).

“There is so much illness here and at White Lake that I am kept very busy” (Rev. Westfall, letter to Ruth Gaines dated Nov. 27-29, 1929)

In his letters to Mabel Choate, Reverend Westfall clearly described his negotiations for “relics” and other relationships with the “Indians” as a group, not with discrete individuals,⁴⁷ as also did Thomas Little, a trustee and the secretary of the John Sergeant Memorial Church. Indeed, they described to Mabel Choate how the “Indians” were functioning as a group. Some examples are:

“The Indians have advanced such cogent reasons for my remaining that I have promised to return to them in the fall” (F.G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated May 12, 1930).

“The Indians of the John Sergeant Memorial Church are making very good use of the money. They put \$700 in the Bank on interest...” (Thomas Little, letter to Mabel Choate dated June 2, 1930.).

In a December 1930 letter to Ms. Choate, Westfall described the Indians' wish to put half of the moneys they received in the sale of their Bible into a fund to provide for sickly and needy Stockbridges.⁴⁸ In another letter he referred to "the Stockbridge Indians" as a group, mentioning their "tribal interest".⁴⁹ In another letter he discussed "their cohesion" as a community.⁵⁰ Westfall and other white members of the Red Springs community obviously believed that the Mohicans they knew were functioning as a cohesive tribal community. In fact, they referred to the "Stockbridgers" as "a tribe" – the "Stockbridge Indian Tribe" and the "Stockbridge Tribe of Indians".⁵¹ Writing around 1946, local historian and Wisconsin State Senator William A. Titus concluded that

"The Stockbridges were still tribal Indians and, for the most part, have remained such to the present if nothing else..." (W.A. Titus ND, pg. 5 in "Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History").



Figure 7. Two swabbed woodsplint baskets purchased in Wisconsin by Mabel Choate for the Stockbridge Mission House Indian Museum (the orange curlicue decoration on the basket to the left suggests that it was made by an Oneida, likely Mrs Gardner, who was married to a Stockbridge Indian in 1929 (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

The Continuance of Mohican Cultural Traditions

The letters and other documents associated with the Stockbridge Mission House exhibit items provide additional lines of information that demonstrate tribal community. One of these is the persistence of deep-rooted Mohican traditions.

Stockbridge Mohicans continued to perform traditional arts and crafts such as woodsplint basket making and beadwork (Figures 7-8). Writing in 1931 to Mabel Choate's secretary Sally Walker about the upcoming "Indian Arts Exhibition" in New York City, Rev. Westfall proclaimed that the continuing production of Stockbridge artwork was worthy of public exhibition:

"Ever since I saw the first notice of this proposed display I have been wondering if it would be possible to have the Stockbridges included in it. There is some artistic talent

among them – and I believe a small assortment of the best could be made up and be acceptable to the officials of the exhibition” (Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Sally Walker dated April 17, 1931).

Mrs. Phoebe Ann (Doxtator) Quinney, the Oneida daughter-in-law of Chief John W. Quinney, and her daughter were still making corn husk dolls, an Oneida tradition, for the trade⁵² (Figure 9). The 70-year old Quinney was also a basketmaker, but unable to ply her trade since white loggers had denuded the Reservation landscape of all trees.⁵³ Another basket maker was the 90 year old Mrs. Gardiner (AKA Gardner), an Oneida woman married to a Stockbridger living in Red Springs. In one of his letters to Mabel Choate, Westfall noted that several Stockbridge women were still weaving the traditional woodsplint baskets.⁵⁴ In a later letter to Ruth Gaines, he confirmed that that weekend he would send her several baskets made by the Stockbridge women for sale in New York. One basket maker whose work Westfall particularly admired was Helen Aaron. That he did send baskets and that Gaines sought and found a market for them is documented in subsequent correspondence between Gaines and Westfall.^{55 56} Fred Westfall also sent Ruth Gaines beadwork made by a contemporary “young Stockbridge woman”.⁵⁷



Figure 8. Bead bands made by Stockbridge Mohican women and purchased by Mabel Choate ca. 1929-1930 for the Indian Museum at the Stockbridge Mission House in Stockbridge, Massachusetts (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).



Figure 9. Corn husk doll made by Phoebe Ann Quinney (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

Twentieth century Stockbridges continued to wear traditional clothing, often referred to as regalia, at special events. One example is the early 1930 newspaper photograph of Mohican leader Samuel Miller dressed in regalia for one of his public

lectures.⁵⁸ Another example is a formal 1929 photograph of Mrs. Phoebe Ann Quinney in her regalia (Figure 10). This tradition continues to the present, with Mohicans wearing regalia to powwows and other social gatherings.



Figure 10. Phoebe Ann (Doxtator) Quinney in her regalia, 1929 (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

Alanson Skinner reported that “the Mahikan at least preserve to this day an ancient variety of white corn which they brought with them from their eastern home”.⁵⁹ They likely continued to make traditional plant medicines and salves as well. The Pye family probably used the old Colonial-era iron salve kettle that Mohican entrepreneur Marie Tousey secured for Ms. Choate (Figure 11). In the following quotes, although she does not admit to traditional herbal healing, Mrs. Tousey shows she knew a good deal about which plants and trees could provide important medicines and how they were processed.

“This is the kettle they cooked herbs in. You know they gathered twigs, roots, etc., and tie them in bunches and steep them and drink the liquid for medicine, such as the burdock, mullen, thistle, hemlock boughs, etc. Wasn’t they wise”?

“They used tallow or rabbit grease or any kind of deer fat and cook it with berries and make healing salve” (Marie Tousey ND, cited on a Stockbridge Mission House labels).



Figure 11. Iron salve kettle for making medicines that once belonged to the Pye family (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

There was still an active belief in witchcraft and the “evil eye”.⁶⁰ At least one Mohican was documented as still fluent in the Mohican dialect of Eastern Algonquian, William Dick (Ruth Gaines, letter to Mabel Choate dated Nov. 23, 1929).

Heirlooms Symbolizing Mohican Community and Homelands

Another indicator of tribal cohesiveness is that the Mohicans continued to cherish material symbols of Mohican community and homelands. These included (1) family heirlooms from Old and New Stockbridge handed down through families; (2) items from the Stockbridge [Mohican] Indian Church of New England in Old Stockbridge; and (3) personal objects that once belonged to revered Mohican leaders.

Family Heirlooms

Heirlooms noted (and often purchased) by Choate agents included a woodsplint comb case “over 100 years old”⁶¹ and woodsplint baskets, such as those on display at the Stockbridge Mission House (Figure 5); a wooden bowl made from a burl from New Stockbridge (Figure 6); Stockbridge maple rope bed;⁶² strings of purple and white shell “wampum” beads;⁶³ a 50 year old beaded necklace called the “Huntington Chain”;⁶⁴ a colonial-era teakettle brought to Wisconsin from Stockbridge; an iron colonial-era Dutch oven also brought to Wisconsin (Figure 12); a hand-forged iron colonial-era candle snuffer belonging to the Mohican Bennett family (Figure 13); a colonial steelyard (i.e., a balance scale); a “sunglass” used to kindle fire;⁶⁵ an ancient shell corn husker belonging to the Bennett family,⁶⁶ which William C. Orchard of the Heye foundation for the American Indian thought might have been a conch shell ear ornament from the Southeast prior to its breakage⁶⁷; and four silver buckles that once belonged to the wife of J.W. Quinney, brought by the Quinney family from New Stockbridge, New York to Wisconsin ca. 1823; a three-legged copper colonial cooking pot from a Mrs. Gray⁶⁸.



Figure 13. Hand-forged iron Colonial-era candle snuffer once belonging to the Bennett family of Stockbridge Indians (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

Figure 12. Colonial-era iron 3-legged Dutch oven purchased from Mrs. Tousey (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).



Other items in the Stockbridge Mission House collection that were collected ca. 1929-1930s from Mohicans in Wisconsin may be heirlooms or may be items dating to the 20th century – made in the traditional Mohican way and being used in the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 1900s. They include a brass kettle; a maple wood ladle with a handle carved in the shape of a beaver;

butternut wood stirring paddles from the Quinney family; stone mortars and pestles;⁶⁹ and a wooden bowl belonging to the Wilbur family, “who came from Stockbridge, Mass”⁷⁰.

In one letter to Ruth Gaines, Marie Tousey acknowledges that Mohicans were still using some of their ancient items in much the same way they were used by their ancestors:

“A mortar at last and over 100 years old age stamped all over it and it was still in use” (Tousey letter, ND, ca November 1929 as these objects were also referred to by Gaines in her letters of November 1929).

Several “Stockbridge” powder horns obtained from Mohican families in Gresham and Red Springs, Wisconsin are housed at the Stockbridge Mission House (Figure 14). The Christian Indian village of Stockbridge and the Mohican homelands were the buffer and main defense for the British Colonies against French and Indian invasions along the “western frontier”. Many Stockbridgers joined British military units during the French and Indian Wars. They formed their own Stockbridge “Indian” company during the American Revolution, doing so much damage to enemy troops that the British planned and executed an ambush of the regiment at the Battle of White Plains in New York; 15 Indians were killed.⁷¹

Military service was one of several Mohican survival strategies. It demonstrated friendship and allegiance to the dominant white community, who were ever paranoiac of Indian attacks, and provided a much needed supplemental cash income in a traditional “warrior” manner. During the American Revolution indigenous peoples were hopeful of receiving land grants (possibly in their former homelands), as was being promised at one point to future enlistees.

“I am a true Native American...My grandfather, David Nau-nai-neek-nuk, was a warrior, and he assisted your fathers in their struggle for liberty” (John W. Quinney in his 1852 memorial to Congress on behalf of the Mohican people, from a label at the Stockbridge Mission House).



Figure 14. One of several Colonial powder horns that were purchased from Mohican families from the Gresham-Red Springs area of Wisconsin by Mabel Choate (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

As the correspondence between Choate and her agents noted, there were other collectors and dealers in Wisconsin about

the same time, taking advantage of the Mohicans' dire economic situation to procure precious tribal heirlooms at low prices. Alanson Skinner visited the "Stockbridge Indians" twice in the early 1920s, purchasing heirlooms. They included two carved wooden bowls of black ash that Mohican "tradition" stated were made "while the Mahikan were still residing in New York State on the Hudson River". Other items Skinner thought dated to the 18th or early 19th century were part of a wampum belt, a wampum string, two spoons or ladles, a third wooden bowl carved from local Wisconsin wood, several silver brooches "probably made by some Mahikan silversmith a hundred years ago", a woman's beaded broadcloth leggings, and deerskin moccasins.⁷²

Mohican Church Heirlooms

The original 2-volume Bible used by the Mohicans in their Church in Old Stockbridge, Massachusetts was printed in London in 1717 and presented to the Stockbridge Indian Congregation in 1745 by Dr. Francis Ascoug, "Clerk of the Closet to His Royal Highnys Frederick Prince of Wales"⁷³ and son of King George II (Figure 15). It was carried by the tribe throughout their migrations to their present location in Wisconsin and protected by Mohican leadership.⁷⁴

The Reverend Frederick Westfall confiscated the Bible, removing it from the house of Jamison (AKA Sote, Soat) Quinney, Elder, the recently deceased Mohican leader charged with its safekeeping, while his widow was away.⁷⁵ By "an act of the congregation" it and a Mohican communion service (Figure 16) were placed in the vault of the First National Bank of Shawano and Mohican leader Webb Miller, who was a member of the church, was elected custodian of the articles⁷⁶. The congregation sold the Bible and communion set to Mabel Choate in 1930.⁷⁷ The Bible's immeasurable spiritual and cultural value to the tribe is graphically illustrated in the writings of Mohican people.⁷⁸

"We always treasured those two volumes, the Holy Bible, and know they had been used often and reverently by Stockbridge leaders as they traveled to Wisconsin and later were used in their churches at Kaukana and Stockbridge. Also they were presented to our tribe and their descendants forever" (Thelma Putnam, letter to Mrs. P. Pierce dated December 28, 1977).

Tribal reverence is aptly revealed in the Biblical simile of Choate agent Virginia Baughman.⁷⁹

"My dear Miss Choate: I wonder if you know of the Bible which was given to the Stockbridge Indians by the Duke of Ascoug, I think, in 1734. It was in two large volumes suitably inscribed, and was carried by the Stockbridge Indians on their migrations like the Ark of the Covenant (M. Virginia Baughman, letter to Mabel Choate dated August 6, 1929, underlined emphasis added).

Indeed, the Mohicans originally had secured their Bibles in an Ark-like box of oak.⁸⁰ Author Calvin Colton, an Episcopal minister, viewed the Mohican Bibles and their container on the Stockbridge Reservation at Grand Kawkawlin, Wisconsin (i.e., present Statesburg on the Fox River) in 1830 and published the fact in 1833 in his book *Tour of the American Lakes and*

*Among the Indians of the North-West Territory in 1830: Disclosing the Character and Prospects of the Indian Race.*⁸¹

“I saw a Bible yesterday, safely kept in a sort of ark, at their [the Stockbridges] place of worship. Printed in Oxford, England 1717...it has been constantly used in public worship. But it has been carefully used, and carefully kept in the ark of the covenant!” (Calvin Colton, cited by Jeff Siemers, pg. 9 in “From Generation to Generation: The History of the Stockbridge Bible”, *The Book Collector* Vol. 56, No. 1, Spring, 2007)

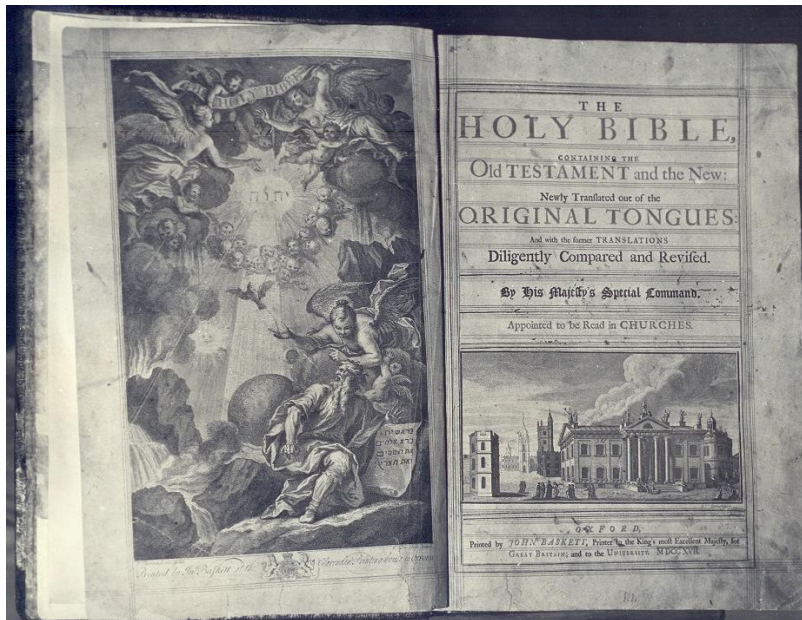


Figure 15. Photograph of the Stockbridge Mohican Bible presented to their Christian Congregation in 1745 (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

The brass bell from the Stockbridge Church was also transported from New York to Wisconsin.⁸² In one of her letters to Ruth Gaines, Marie Tousey reported that the bell was from the “Old” Stockbridge Church and that it had been presented to the Lutherans by Mohican Dave Morgan.⁸³ Later information shows that the Stockbridges had refused to sell the bell, a major symbol of tribal survival and communal courage. A manuscript written by Stockbridge students and their teacher reported that after many tribal families had moved back onto some of the recently acquired lands of their old Reservation in Bartelme, the bell was installed in the front hall of their new community/school building in the early 1940s.

“In the front hall over a door that you may see upon entering the building is a historical old bell. The old timers tell us the bell was carried her on the backs of the Indians all the way from New York. In all their moving the bell has always been carefully guarded and taken wherever the small band moved on to” (Wilson *et al.* ND, pg 14 in “The Stockbridge Indians”, unpublished manuscript, a copy of which is on file at the Stockbridge Mission House).

Those “old timers” were likely tribal elders, passing down tribal information to the youngest generation of tribal members – their children and grandchildren, who were the tribe’s future.



Figure 16. Stockbridge Indian pewter communion set (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

The pewter communion service, and a cupboard for it and the Bible's safekeeping, were presented to the "Stockbridge Indians" living in Stockbridge, Wisconsin by the Stockbridge Indian Association (Stockbridge Mission House label).⁸⁴ It consisted of a tankard/flagon

made by Thomas Danforth Boardman of Hartford circa 1825-1854; one goblet of the same date made by the latter and Sherman Boardman; a second goblet by an unknown maker circa 1820-1850; and a plate/charger possibly made by Joseph Danforth of Middletown circa 1758-1788.⁸⁵ In a letter concerning the Bible and communion set, Virginia Baughman commented on Mohican attitude towards these items, which were no longer used in their religious services:

"The devotion which the Stockbridge Indians show for these heirlooms is touching, and beautiful" (M. Virginia Baughman, letter to Mabel Choate dated September 23, 1929).

The Mohicans' reverence and love for these religious items was also reflected in their exceptional preservation:

"The Bibles show every evidence of wonderful care and protection through all these years" (Mabel Choate, letter to Frederick Westfall upon receiving the Mohican religious items, dated June 11, 1930.).



Figure 17. Andy Kendall giving the communion set to Lorraine Welch left, member of the Mohican repatriation committee and Sherry White, right, the Mohican Tribal Preservation Officer, in the Mission House doorway (Photograph courtesy of the Mission House).

The fact that these religious heirlooms were revered by the Mohicans, and Mohican leadership oversaw their continued preservation even

after they were no longer used during religious services, clearly shows that 20th century membership viewed these items as powerful symbols of Mohican community, history, and homelands. The fact that the Mohican community spent 31 years in the last quarter of the 20th century soliciting the return of the Bible and communion set to their Reservation in Wisconsin supports this interpretation (Figure 17).⁸⁶

The Continuance of Traditional Mohican Leadership

The traditional leadership roles of sachem (AKA chief) and tribal councilors continued through the 19th and 20th centuries. William A. Titus, who surely was familiar with the Stockbridge people in his roles as State Senator and local Wisconsin historian, wrote about their 19th and 20th century leaders in glowing terms.⁸⁷

“Several men emerged from the Stockbridge tribe, both in their former eastern home and in Wisconsin, who were outstanding characters, even when measured beside their white pioneer contemporaries” (W.A. Titus ND, pg. 5 in “Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History”).

Ruth Gaines mentioned a number of 19th and early 20th century Mohican leaders in her letters to Mabel Choate, several of whom she met and apparently respected: John W. Quinney; Austin Quinney; Ziebe Peters; Jefferson Chicks; Albert Miller; Avery Miller; Albert Miller’s nephews Sam Miller and Webb Miller.⁸⁸

“From here to Mr. Sam Miller.....He himself a fine-appearing man, of education, much interested in furthering the Lutheran Mission...Gave a history of the tribe and information as per opposite page. Is a brother of Webb Miller, the pillar of the Presbyterian Church” (Ruth Gaines, journal entry dated November 13, 1929).

Historians mention these and other tribal sachems, council members, military leaders and church leaders who wrote and signed petitions, memorials, land transactions, and treaties; negotiated and otherwise interacted with the white governments; and mediated inter- and intra-tribal conflicts on behalf of the Mohican community.⁸⁹

“Mohican leaders and thinkers were all people of their times, who responded to outside pressures with calculation and skill: John C. Adams, John W. Quinney, Sam Miller, Jeremiah Slingerland, Albert Miller, John P. Hendricks, Darius Charles, John N. Chicks, Miller, Robert Konkapot, Harry Chicks, Carl [and] Arvid Miller. Each worked to create a real sense of community and identity through their intratribal relationships and with other tribal groups and the federal government” (Patrick Dobson 2006).

The Stockbridge-Munsee community credited their survival to the tribe’s strong leadership.

“In the early years of the twentieth century, the Stockbridge Indians almost ceased to exist as a People but leaders emerged who reunited the families, secured submarginal land for settlement and developed programs. The People survived” (Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee 1980, pg viii).

The Mohicans also had women leaders, although they are rarely mentioned in the histories written by upper class white men whose own society strictly confined their women to narrow domestic roles and low socio-political statuses. One example mentioned on the Stockbridge-Munsee Community web site is Mary Peters Doxtater, a 19th century teacher, medical practitioner, and lawyer for the tribe. By 1815, her spinning school for girls

“had 60 girls operating twelve wheels producing 100 yards of cloth made from the tribe's own homegrown wool and flax. Mary later achieved great status among the Mohicans and neighboring tribes as a teacher and medical practitioner, acquired a large amount of property in New Stockbridge, and was appointed lawful attorney for the tribe in 1825 to transact their business in Albany” (Lion Miles ND, *Stockbridge Indians in New York: 1784 – 1829* on the official web site of the Stockbridge-Munsee band of Mohicans under Mohican History).

Ruth Gaines’ and Rev. Westfall’s descriptions of Marie Tousey indicate that she, too, was a Mohican leader.⁹⁰ Tousey’s letters, in which she offered for sale a variety of Mohican items belonging to various families, identify her as a culture broker whose strong tribal connections allowed her to represent many community members in their dealings with Choate⁹¹ and with other dealers⁹².

Heirlooms representing Mohican Leadership

The presence of leaders is one major proof for the existence of a tribal community, with members to be led. Mohican peoples carried this concept even further by keeping and passing down through generations objects associated with – and thus symbolic of – revered leaders.

Heirlooms representative of tribal leadership in the Stockbridge Mission House collection include the tobacco pipe stem of horn and wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl belonging to Chief John W. Quinney;⁹³ the regalia of Chief J. W. Quinney;⁹⁴ meerschaum pipe with amber mouthpiece belonging to Chief Ziba T. Peters; meerschaum pipe bowl of Austin E. Quinney; buckskin leggings adorned with cotton fringe and brass sleigh bells dated to ca. 1830 and belonging to Chief J.W. Quinney; ebony sword/cane with ivory handle bearing the inscription “from Col. Hawkins Choctaw Chief 1850”, also belonging to Chief J.W. Quinney⁹⁵ (Figure 18).

Education and English Law as Survival Mechanisms

Mohican leaders were well-educated in English language, customs and law. They and the Mohican membership could read and write English fluently since the 1700s. In that century Mohican grand sachem Hendrick Aupaumut wrote the English version of the history of the Mohican people.⁹⁶ He and John Quinney translated the Presbyterian Catechism from English into the Mohican dialect of Algonquian.⁹⁷ John Metoxon served as an English interpreter at New Stockbridge.⁹⁸ Chief John W. Quinney was a well-known orator, giving speeches to whites in English.⁹⁹

“Reverend Cutting Marsh in his report for 1833 states that he has forty-three Stockbridges in his church congregation who can read English intelligently” (W.A. Titus, citing a 19th century missionary to the Stockbridge Indians in Wisconsin in his “Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History”).

Tribal Heirlooms of Leadership



Figure 18. Clothing and objects once owned by Mohican leaders and passed down through generations for safe-keeping (Photographs courtesy of the Mission House).

In fact, the first public school teacher in Wisconsin was the Mohican woman named Electa Quinney.¹⁰⁰ Mohican leaders were familiar with English law. The tribe had its own Mohican lawyers since at least the early 1800s (Re: Mary Peters Doxtator, discussed above). Ruth Gaines referred to Marie Tousey’s father “Charles” as a tribal leader¹⁰¹ and as an “attorney to the tribe” (although the 21st century tribe has no record of this)¹⁰². Mohican leadership deftly used their educational and legal abilities to negotiate legislation and lawsuits on behalf of the Stockbridge community.

“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” (James W. Oberly 2009, pg. 83 in *When Congress Acted: The Mohican Reservation and the Act of 1871*).

Preservation and Passing on of Tribal History

Mohican leaders kept and preserved documents relating to the tribe’s history.

“And yet our elders remembered fragments of the history of our People and related this to their children. Our elders recorded in letters, in journals and on school tablets the day-by-day events of the families or the movements of the People. Some of the records passed from generation to generation. Some were gathered by libraries, museums and private collectors (Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee 1980, pg. vii in *Catalog of Materials Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum*).

These documents also included tribal histories, religious writings including a catechism in the Mohican dialect, diaries, reports of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other books relating to the Mohican people, land transactions, petitions, and treaties. Gaines referred to them collectively as “Indian papers” and noted that some dated as early as 1818. Alice E. Smith, curator of manuscripts at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, concurred with Gaines on the variety and enormity of these documents in a 1936 letter to Gaines. In it she also mentioned the existence of the written *Proceedings of the Stockbridge National Council*.¹⁰³

In essence, the Mohican peoples visited by Choate’s agents exhibited a collective tribal consciousness that had been -- and was continuing to be – handed down through the generations. The Gaines letters demonstrate that tribal members clearly knew their history and that Mohican leaders were making strong attempts to preserve it in writing and orally (through the passing down of tribal information by word of mouth; tribal members often using Mohican material objects symbolic of that history as mnemonic devices) so that future generations of Mohicans would always remember from whence they came, their ancestors’ trials and sacrifices during their many forced emigrations from their beloved homeland, and how their endurance and willpower sustained the Mohican tribe. Their remembrance is evident in the following passage written 80 years later by Kimberly Vele, the present President of the Mohican Tribal Council:

“I....talked about the importance of remembering our ancestors and their forced removal from New York and my personal awakening as to how difficult this removal must have been. But as we all know, despite the hardships and injustice, we managed to not only endure, but also grow as a community....At the feast, I spoke of my trip to Albany and our message of survival and spiritual connection to our New York homeland that I hoped to convey....As Alexander Eastman once said, ‘...we live and will live, not only in the splendor of our past, the poetry of our legends and art, not only in the interfusion of our blood with others, and in our faithful adherence to the ideals of American citizenship, but in the living heart of the nation.’ I reminded those at the conference that if they listened carefully, they could hear the strong beat of it – even across the wide distance. *Muhheekunnee wonemwauconnun*. (Mohican people enduring forever) (Kimberly Vele 2010, “From the desk of President Kimberly Vele” pg. 2 in *Mohican News*, vol. XVIII, No. 9, May 1, 2010, underlined emphasis added).

The Sacred Homelands

From the above discussion on Mohican attachment to tribal heirlooms from Old Stockbridge and their cultural symbolisms, it becomes obvious that the Stockbridge Mohicans have always had a reverence for their ancient homelands in western New England. After the tribe's major exodus from Stockbridge in the late 18th century, some Mohican families still continued to live within or close to these homelands. The Schaghticoke on their reservation in Kent, Connecticut informed anthropologist Frank Speck that tribal member Lavinia Carter, who was born in 1805 and died in 1888 (Kent Town Hall, genealogical records, Kent, Connecticut), was known to visit Indian peoples in the Stockbridge area.¹⁰⁴ Alanson Skinner reported some Mohicans were still living in northwestern Connecticut near the Schaghticoke reservation – a major Indian refuge – in the 1920s.¹⁰⁵ Individual Mohican families and tribal delegations made historical pilgrimages from Wisconsin to their ancient homelands in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Documented visits date from the late 18th century to the present.¹⁰⁶ Timothy Woodbridge (1784-1862), the grandson of Jonathan Edwards, remembered groups of Stockbridge Mohicans regularly returning to the town each winter.¹⁰⁷

“When I was a boy, I had some familiarity with Indian life. The ancient nation of Indians, who had long inhabited the valley of Stockbridge, had emigrated to Oneida county, N.Y., before my birth; but they continued to cherish an affection for the land of their ancestors. Bands of thirty or forty Indians, men and women, were accustomed to come down to Stockbridge and spend the winter. They loved to rekindle the fire upon the old hearthstones, and linger about the ancient cemetery. They constructed wigwams on the slope of the mountains and occupied themselves in making baskets and brooms for a subsistence, as their hunting-grounds were spoiled by the axe of the woodman. They strolled about every day, more or less, in their wild Indian costume (which excited and impressed my boyish fancy), to peddle their fabrics among the families of the town” (Timothy Woodbridge 1856. *The Autobiography of a Blind Minister*, pg. 37).

Ten years ago, the tribe made an offer to purchase a house and lot in Leeds, New York, while visiting a pre-contact Mohican burial site there – one of the attractions of the home lot was it was only an hour's drive from Stockbridge.¹⁰⁸ Tribal Council member Sterling Schreiber described the drive from Leedsville to Stockbridge as

“...quite disturbing imagining the anguish that our ancestors must have felt when they were forced to leave their beautiful homeland. We will never get our land back, but we should never forget our history and where we came from. The purchase in Leeds is only a beginning to reestablishing a presence in the Hudson River Valley...I would encourage any and all tribal members to utilize the Tribe's property when visiting the Hudson River Valley...I view this possible purchase as a historical and cultural investment for the future generations of our Tribe” (Sterling Schreiber 2000 “Tribe viewing possible land purchase of ancestral lands” in *Mohican News* VIII, No. 4, pg. 2).

Unlike Anglo-Americans, to whom land is a commodity to buy and sell, a financial investment, indigenous peoples view their land as a spiritual entity.¹⁰⁹ It is a gift from the Creator, a place where tribal spirit beings dwell and where ancestors and revered leaders lived and died. It is a sacred landscape dotted with memories and mnemonic entities to sharpen those tribal memories.

One such entity is the Stockbridge Indian Burying Ground, which contains the remains of Stockbridge Mohicans from the period 1734-1785.¹¹⁰ Their continuing pilgrimages back to Stockbridge demonstrate that those memories are alive and still important to Stockbridge Mohican peoples, even today.

“It has always been my intent in my life to let people know that the Mohicans are alive. And also we are proud to learn of our past, no matter where it takes us. Some are content to study from our own library source, yet some care to go to the old lands and seek out a spiritual feeling from earth on which our ancestors stood. To be able to pray where others of our nation sought out some form of spiritual bliss helps to bring about a completeness” (Bruce Miller, Mohican, as cited by Jon Swan 2010, “The Pull of the Homeland”, pg. 2 in *New Marlborough 5 Village News*).

Monument Mountain and a Mohican Sacred Place

On Monument Mountain in Great Barrington, just south of present Stockbridge, are the reconstructed remains of a sacred Mohican stone monument (Figures 18-19). The original ceremonial stone and wood pile was severely vandalized sometime in the third decade of the 19th century¹¹¹ and rebuilt by two Great Barrington men in 1884.¹¹² In fact, Lion Miles provides evidence suggesting that the original monument was completely destroyed as early as 1762.¹¹³ The significant point here is that a well-documented *original* Mohican stone monument once stood near this spot amid the ancient trail system of the Mohican peoples. Present Route 7, which runs just east of the monument, was originally a major Indian trail known as the Old Berkshire Path. It connected Stockbridge with the village of Schaghticoke in Kent, Connecticut, and the more southerly villages of the Weantinock and Pootatuck tribes in the Lower Housatonic Valley right down to the Paugussett villages along Long Island Sound.¹¹⁴

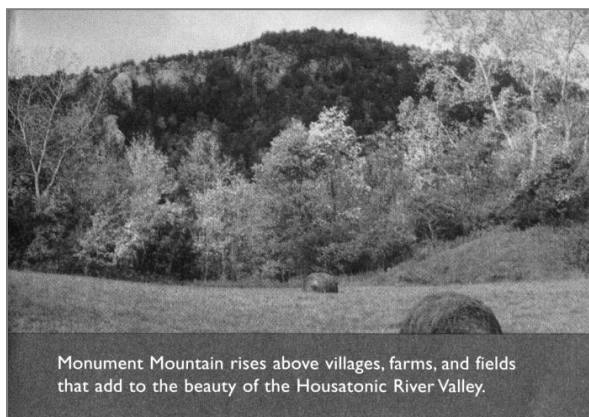
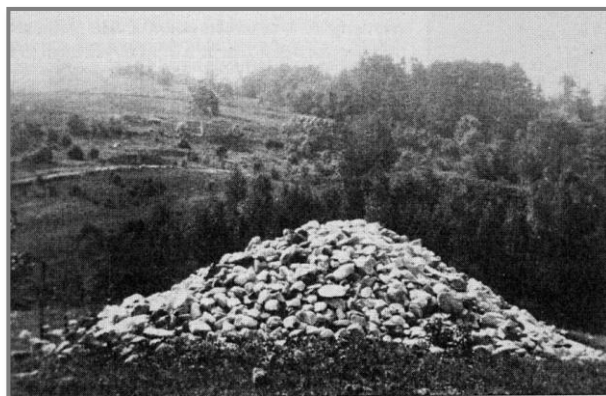


Figure 19. Monument Mountain just south of Stockbridge, called by the Mohicans Mas-wa-se-hi, “nest standing up”, according to Mohican leader Rev. Jeremiah Slingerland (from *History of Great Barrington* by Charles Taylor, 1884) (Photograph from Monument Mountain, Great Barrington, Massachusetts Trail Map and Guide, The Trustees of Reservations 2009).

Figure 20. Photograph of present stone pile on Monument Mountain (from Bernard A. Drew, *Faded Tracks on Monument Mountain*, 2009).



The earliest known record of the monument's existence is the November 3, 1734 journal entry of the Reverend John Sergeant. The stone pile was later seen and described by a number of 18th century Euro-Americans. Local Stockbridge historian Lion Miles published an excellent article summarizing the various written accounts of the stone monument in *The Advocate Weekly* four years ago.¹¹⁵ Because it is such a well-referenced and organized document, the following paragraphs cite Miles *verbatim* on the eyewitness accounts and their identification of the location of the stone monument.

“Sergeant wrote in his journal on November 3, 1734: ‘There is a LARGE Heap of Stones, I suppose TEN CART LOADS, on the Way to Wnahktukook, which the Indians have thrown together, as they pass’d by the Place; for it us’d to be their Custom, every Time any one pass’d by, to throw a Stone to it; But what was the End of it they cannot tell’ (Emphasis s mine). The Rev. Gideon Hawley wrote an account of a journey he made in 1753. Upon observing an Indian stone heap in New York State, he wrote: ‘The LARGEST heap I ever observed, is that LARGE collection of small stones on the mountain between Stockbridge and Great-Barrington.’ In 1761 David Ingersoll stated that ‘he saw a LARGE heap of stones on the east side of Westenhook or Housatonnock River so called on the southerly end of the Mountain called Monument Mountain.’ I emphasize the use of the adjective LARGE to describe the monument. It seems unlikely that a stone pile of only six or eight feet in diameter would be sufficient to fill the ten cart loads mentioned by Sergeant. The truth is that the stone heap was quite large and obvious. In the fall of 1761, Colonel John Van Rensselaer of Claverack, N.Y., employed a surveying party to establish the boundary line between the Van Rensselaer and Livingston Manors of Columbia County. He claimed ownership to the Housatonic River and charged his surveyors to run the line 24 miles east of the Hudson River, bringing it into the present bounds of Great Barrington. On November 25, 1761, Jacob Philip, one of his chain men, deposed in Albany county court and declared: ‘they Run about half a Mile west of a Heap of Stones Standing on the southerly End of a Mountain near the Road from Sheffield to Stockbridge ---that he and the Rest of the Chainbearers by the Surveyors Directions Measured the said Heap and found it Eighty two Links about the Bottom and seventeen Links high along the Slant of the Said Heap.” A link of the chain equaled 7.92 inches so the monument in Great Barrington measured slightly more than 54 feet at the base and stood over 11 feet high, the size of a small house.

Other residents of Berkshire and Albany Counties testified to having seen the large pile and that the bottom stones were sunk deep into the ground, suggesting great antiquity. There was no evidence of a burial beneath the monument although the results of the survey did show two heaps of stones along the line in Columbia County ‘Erected by the Indians in Memory of two of their Sachems buried in that place.’ The English settlers at this time were dismantling the numerous stone heaps to obtain building materials, especially for chimneys, and the Great Barrington heap suffered the same fate. It was "all removed" by August 1762 and there has been no trace of it since, despite the many later efforts to find it.

Most contemporary accounts state that the monument was "near" the road (not "on" it) at the southern end of Monument Mountain, and none indicates that it was visible from the road. The earliest map of Stockbridge is a surveyor's plat dated October 15, 1736. On it at the northwest corner of Sheffield (now Great Barrington) is written the bearing of east nine degrees south, 932 perch (rods), "to the monument of stones," and another notation that the monument was north of Moses King's property, 60 perch. This stone heap was located on

top of the mountain at the midpoint of the boundary between Great Barrington and Stockbridge and served as a marker between the two towns. It was not the large monument erected by the Indians. The best evidence for the location of the Indian stone heap comes from the court depositions of those settlers who actually saw it before it was removed. Captain Johannis Hogeboom of Claverack testified in 1762 that it stood "some rod[s] over the Westenhook [Housatonic] River under a Mountain." The half-blood Indian, Joseph Van Gelder, testified in 1768 that it was "on the East side of Westenhook River has been close to it often it is about a Mile from the River." Timothy Woodbridge of Stockbridge deposed that it was "in the Monument Mountain Made of Wood and Stones ... It lies in Great [Barrington] 3 Miles south of Stockbridge." John Philip, the chain man, ran his survey line along the Housatonic "about half a Mile west" of the heap. These distances give us an approximate location of the monument somewhere east of the river at the foot of the mountain and south of Risingdale, far from the traditionally-accepted spot but close to the site of the Indian hunting camp excavated in 1991(Lion G. Miles 2006, pg. 4 in *The Mystery of the Monument Mountain Stone Heap*).

The Rev. Ezra Stiles, a minister and educator who later became president of Yale University, also wrote of the stone pile at the base of Monument Mountain in his *Itineraries*. Apparently writing in 1762, he located the stone monument two miles south of the Stockbridge meeting house, just south of the Stockbridge town line and on the trail from Stockbridge to Great Barrington three miles southwest of the Rev. Mr. West's house. He included a hand-drawn map of its location as well as a profile drawing of the stone monument itself (Figure 20).

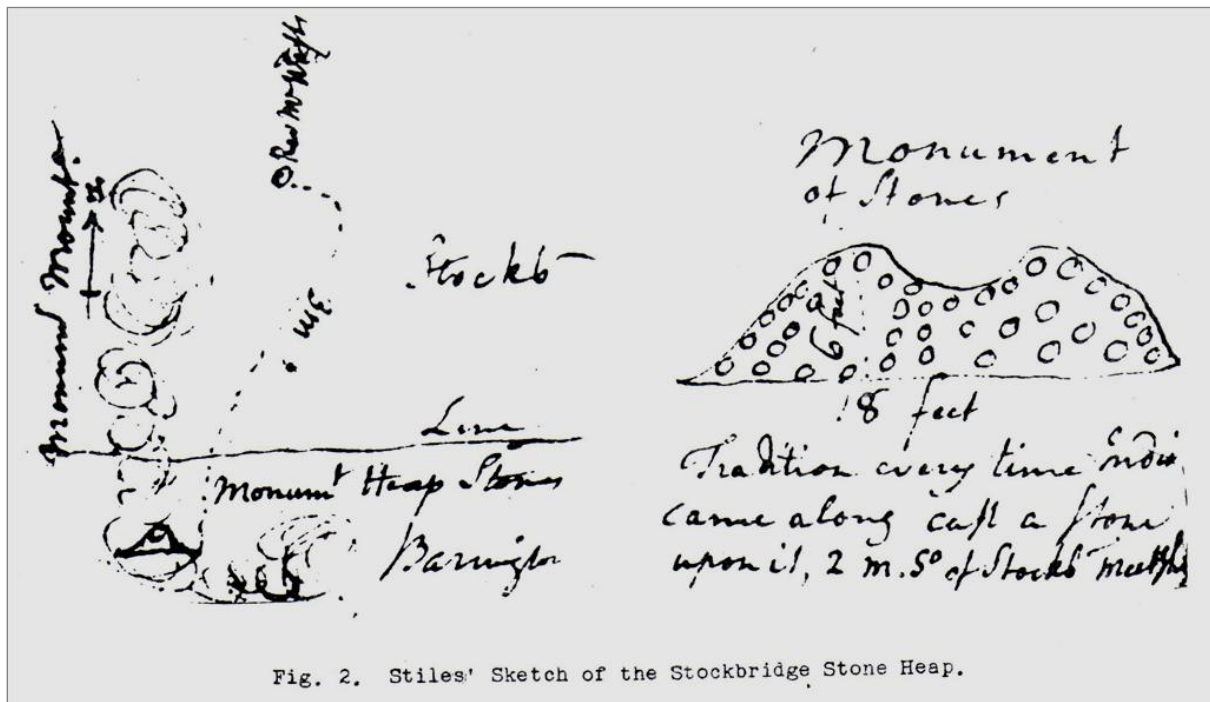


Fig. 2. Stiles' Sketch of the Stockbridge Stone Heap.

Figure 21. Stiles map and drawing of the Monument Mountain stone monument (from Eva L. Butler 1946. *The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England*, p. 3) (Photograph by Lisa Piastuch-Temmen, Institute for American Indian Studies, courtesy of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut).

The drawing shows an 18-foot long stone pile with two six-foot high peaks separated by a concavity (likely the result of vandals digging through the top of the mound).¹¹⁶ The size is smaller than that noted a year earlier by Jacob Philip, suggesting that someone had been tampering with the stones, possibly “borrowing” them for building as Miles reported above. Philip’s description suggests that he measured the circumference of the base of the mound, however, while Stiles’ drawing suggests he measured one side. Still, the great difference in their height measurements does suggest evidence of stone borrowing.

By all accounts, the stone heap bore the Mohican name "Wawanaquasick," a lovely word that might have graced the new schools at Monument Mountain instead of the unimaginative names selected last year. It meant "offering place" and was applied to other Indian stone heaps in our area. Jehoiakim Van Valkenburgh, a Dutch settler who spoke the Mohican language, declared in 1768 that the Indians "added Stones to it and when they did so they said 'Grand father I recover you.' The monument had a practical function as well. Chief Yocum explained in 1754 that there were two such heaps in Great Barrington, the one we are discussing here and the other where the Green River meets the Housatonic. They served as boundary markers between Stockbridge Indian chieftaincies and the Weatogue Indians of Salisbury, Conn" (Lion G. Miles 2006, pg. 4 in *The Mystery of the Monument Mountain Stone Heap*).

According to an 1866 newspaper article, John Konkapot reported that the stone pile originally marked the burial of an early sachem, but that it later served as a boundary marker. Supposedly his explanation was that after the war with the Mohawks the latter allowed the Mohicans to have all of the hunting grounds within one day’s journey in every direction from the stone pile, which makes no sense since the Mohawks historically never had control of Mohican lands on the east side of the Hudson River.¹¹⁷ Ebenezer (AKA Poo-poo-nuck), John Sergeant’s Indian interpreter, told Sergeant that he supposed the stone monument was a gesture of gratitude to the Creator, “that he had preserved them [the Stockbridge tribal members who added a stone to the structure when passing] to see the place again”.¹¹⁸

Other Indigenous Sacred Sites

Similar stone and “brush” monuments are located throughout New York and southern New England.¹¹⁹ Like the sacred structure at the foot of Monument Mountain, many were historically documented by 17th and 18th century Euro-Americans as having been created by the local indigenous peoples, and most were located along Indian trails. In most cases, the Native Americans were loathed to explain their significance to the whites. Explanations were infrequently provided. They included (1) that the pile marked the grave of a sachem or (2) the location of an important tribal event; (3) that it was a boundary marker; (4) that a stone was placed on the pile to bring prosperity or good fortune or success in hunting (and if the ritual were not performed, then the opposite would occur – misfortune, failure, etc.); or (5) that the stone was a symbol of thanksgiving to the Creator or some other deity.

The Mohican homelands surrounding Monument Mountain -- Great Barrington, Sheffield, New Marlborough, and adjacent areas -- include a number of pre-European contact archaeology sites dating from just prior to contact (Late Woodland cultural period, beginning about AD 1000) back thousands of years into the Archaic cultural periods.¹²⁰ The landscape also includes loci

with artificially constructed stone piles, sometimes referred to as “cairns,” and mounds. Concentrations of dozens of these small stone piles have been identified in Sheffield and in New Marlborough.¹²¹ None of these stone piles have historical or archaeological documentation, however, and so there is no definitive proof yet that they were indeed created by indigenous peoples.

This is also true for all but possibly one of the several mound features located in Sheffield, New Marlborough, and Great Barrington. As with the stone piles, none are recorded in the state archaeological site files housed at the Massachusetts Historical Commission with the exception of the large, flat-topped mound overlooking the Housatonic River in Great Barrington. The dating of the site to the Middle to Late Archaic cultural periods (circa 8,000 to 4,000 years ago) was apparently based on an amateur collection of artifacts from the mound. The mound may or may not have been known to the Stockbridge Mohicans as the “Great Wigwam”, mentioned in local histories.¹²²

Artificial mounds, some with stonework, have been excavated by professional archaeologists and dated to the Middle and Late Archaic cultural periods in northern New England and eastern Canada.¹²³ Even closer to Stockbridge is the Morrill Point Mound site in Salisbury, Massachusetts, a two meter high and 56 meter wide circular burial mound whose cremation burials provided an average radiocarbon date of 5215 B.C. Ground stone tools recovered from the mound characteristic of the Middle Archaic period support the dates. A “three-sided dry-laid masonry wall of upright rocks enclosed part of the mound”.¹²⁴

Native American oral traditions also mention sacred places in caves, near large boulders and other rock formations, and on hilltops.¹²⁵ Native American carvings on boulders and rock outcrops are found throughout New England.¹²⁶ They likely represent indigenous ritual, as do the rock art of more western tribes.¹²⁷ One famous carving is the Molly Fisher Rock, located on a hilltop overlooking the Housatonic River Valley in Kent across from the present Schaghticoke Reservation, with incised characters that have yet to be identified.¹²⁸ Several years ago I was shown a bedrock outcrop with similar carvings, located less than a mile from the Molly Fisher Rock.

Potentially sacred localities such as caves, large boulders, hilltops and other rock formations all occur on Monument Mountain, which also contains some rock carvings that may or may not be of indigenous origin.¹²⁹ As with the “cairns” mentioned previously, above-ground cultural features are notoriously difficult if not impossible to date, and there are as yet no early historic records documenting them as Native American. However, as one noted Massachusetts archaeologist quipped regarding the lack of archaeological information, “the absence of evidence is not evidence of absence”.¹³⁰ This is also true for the absence of historical documentation. It is possible that some of the cultural features discussed above were once part of the Mohican sacred landscape.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The Stockbridge Mohicans underwent a number of economic, social and political setbacks, from which many contemporary tribes never recovered, the tribes eventually becoming extinct as

political entities. Yet this never happened to the Mohicans. Even during one of the greatest economic disasters in American history – the Great Depression – tribal cohesion endured. Study of the artifacts and documents from this and earlier historical periods clearly showed the reasons for tribal continuance: well-educated, determined leadership and an enduring tribal consciousness of Mohican history and cultural traditions kept alive by the preservation and passing down of tribal heirlooms and documents that were metaphors for the Mohican homeland, tribal culture and shared past that inform on who the Mohican Nation Stockbridge Munsee Band was and is today.

The goal of the Scholar in Residence project was to facilitate more informed staff decision making at the Stockbridge Mission House that takes into account both significant cultural resources and 21st century needs. The information engendered by this research on Mohican survival strategies, community continuity through adaptation (not assimilation) to their rapidly changing social and physical landscapes, and the preservation and passing down of tribal history and symbolic heirlooms to strengthen and continue tribal consciousness and cohesion should aid museum docents in their interpretations of Mohican history and lifeways and help staff at The Mission House in their planned reinstallation of the Indian Museum.

Specifically, the exhibit should be people rather than object-oriented. It should emphasize the Mohican Nation -- its continuance as a tribal entity from the early 18th century to the present, and the community's unbroken historical and spiritual connections to the greater Stockbridge area since emigrating in the 1780s. This may be accomplished by

- (1) Stressing the importance of the well-educated Mohican leadership and their accomplishments for survival of the Mohican community;
- (2) Accentuating the multi-layered meanings of the artifacts on display, from their original 18th and early 19th century economic, religious, and aesthetic functions to their 20th and 21st century use as socio-political symbols;
- (3) Highlighting the continual importance of the Mohican ancient homelands as an historic and spiritual landscape inextricably entwined with Mohican culture and community;
- (4) Using historical information about the original stone monument on Monument Mountain and the Mohican Burying Ground in Stockbridge as examples of two Mohican sacred sites; and
- (5) Using quotations from local 19th century histories and from 20th and 21st century tribal members on Mohican pilgrimages back to the Stockbridge area. In fact, the liberal use of quotes from Mohican leadership and membership in general to highlight its various portions will enliven the exhibit and impress upon visitors the tribal cohesiveness of the Stockbridge Mohican community through time.
- (6) Sprinkling the exhibit with copies of paintings and photographs of 18th-21st century Mohican leaders and members, which will further emphasize people rather than things, and also impress upon the public that the Mohican tribe did not disappear but still exists.

These suggestions should produce a more interesting, accurate, and dynamic exhibit that will increase visitation to The Mission House and create discussion and academic interest in a number of its themes.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Trustees of Reservations and the staff at the Stockbridge Mission House, particularly Cultural Resources Manager Will Garrison, for inviting me to undertake this most interesting project. Funding for the project was provided by Mass Humanities under their Scholar in Residence program. Edward L. Bell, senior archaeologist at the Massachusetts Historical Commission, generously provided copies of site forms and other pertinent archaeological information from the study area. The following persons kindly reviewed earlier drafts of this paper: Stephen K. Comer, Mohican tribal member and Ph.D. candidate in Anthropology at the State University of New York in Albany; Dorothy Davids, Mohican elder and chair of the Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee; Elizabeth McCormick, executive director of the Institute for American Indian Studies in Washington, Connecticut; Lion G. Miles, local Stockbridge historian; Leah Miller, Mohican tribal member and Library/Museum Specialist at the Arvid E. Miller Library/Museum; Jo Ann Schedler, Mohican tribal member and Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee member; and Sherry White, Mohican tribal member and Tribal Historic Preservation Officer. Their comments and suggestions have improved its content, and I thank them for their time and thoughtful input.

End Notes

¹ Quote from the official Mass Humanities web site, <http://www.masshumanities.org/?p=sir>, accessed January 26, 2011.

² Lion G. Miles 2009, pg. 23 in *A Life of John Konkapot*, New Marlborough: New Marlborough Historical Society, citing Samuel Hopkins' 1753 *Historical Memoirs, Relating to the Housatunnuk Indians* (Boston), pp. 58, 65.

³ Robert S. Grumet, 1995, pg. 165, *Historic Contact*, Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.

⁴ As scholar in residence I studied some 35 artifacts in the Mission House's Indian Museum; reviewed their existing catalog information and the over 200 pieces of correspondence dating between 1929 and 1937 associated with their collection from Mohican families in Wisconsin; reviewed all other published and unpublished documents relating to John Sergeant and the Stockbridge Mohicans on file at the Mission House as well as related documents on file at other repositories and in my rather extensive personal library; reviewed documents relating to Monument Mountain and its stone cairn; provided linkage to recent archaeological and ethno-historical research of Mohican communities in New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, and of indigenous sacred sites in other parts of New England.

⁵ Will Garrison, Cultural Resources Manager at the Stockbridge Mission House, kindly helped with the initial writing of the Scholar's Statement. Although I totally agree, this sentence and the gist of the following two sentences (if not the actual wording) were his contribution.

⁶ The Mohican Nation, Stockbridge Munsee Band, as the descendants of the "Stockbridge Indians" now call themselves (Jo Ann Schedler, personal communication February 2011), were once part of the Eastern Algonkian-speaking Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, which translates into "people of the continually flowing waters" or "people of the waters that are never still". The singular of this proper name is Muh-he-ka-neew. It has many other 17th and 18th century spellings. In 1818 their minister John Sergeant the younger spelled it Muh-he-ka-nuk. The Stockbridge Indian leadership spelled it other ways at different times: Muh-he-con-nuk (which strictly speaking denoted the tribe's place of residence, or Homelands); Muh-hea-ken-nuk; Muh-hea-kenn-nuk; Muh-hea-kun-nuk; and Muh-he-cun-nuk. The Colonial Dutch called them Mahikans or Mahikanders (Electa Jones 1854. *Stockbridge Past and Present, or, Records of an Old Mission Station*, pg. 14. Springfield: Samuel Bowles & Co.; Dorothy W. Davids 2004. *A Brief History of the Mohican Nation Stockbridge-Munsee Band*, Revised Edition, pg. 1. Bowler, WI: Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee, Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library Museum.). This variety of spellings was true of the written word in America in general prior to the publication of *An American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828 by Noah Webster (Isabel Proudfit 1966. *Noah Webster Father of the Dictionary*. New York: Julian Messner). Because the tribe now refers to themselves as "Mohicans" I use the latter spelling throughout this paper.

⁷ Ted J. Brassler 1974. "Riding on the Frontier's Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Culture Change", *National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Ethnology Division, Paper No. 15*, pp. 2,9-30; Stephen K. Comer, Mohican tribal

member and Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology, State University of New York in Albany, personal communication dated February 4, 2011; Davids *op. cit.*, pg 2 ;Shirley Dunn 1994, *The Mohicans and Their Land 1609-1730*, Fleischmanns, New York: Purple Mountain Pres; Robert S. Grumet, *op.cit.*, pg. 164.

⁸ Cited in Lion G. Miles *op. cit.*, pg. 7.

⁹Hudson-Fulton-Champlain Quadricentennial, Newbergh Beacon Bay Celebration 2009, web site <http://www.cityofnewburgh-ny.gov/HFC/Hudson-2.htm>; accessed February 13, 2011, citing *Collections of the New-York City Historical Society*, Second Series, Vol. 1, New York: H. Ludwig, 1841.

¹⁰ Brasser, *op. cit.* pg. 1.

¹¹ Brasser *op. cit.* pp. 10-41; Davids, *op. cit.*, pg 2-4; Patrick Frazier 1992. *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press; James W. Oberly 2005. *A Nation of Statesmen, The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1972*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

¹² Brasser *op. cit.* pp. 32-35.

¹³ Frazier, *op. cit.* pg. 226.

¹⁴ Brasser, *op. cit.* pg. 37; Patrick Frazier, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-159, 172-192,232-240; Miles, Lion G. 1994. "The Red Man Dispossessed: The Williams Family and the alienation of Indian Land in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1736-1818", *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. LXVII, no. 1, pp. 46-76; Miles 2009, *op. cit.* pp. 31-32,38-39, 40-41, 51.

¹⁵ Jonathan Edwards was no John Sergeant. He was already an old man and he refused to learn the Mohican language, a dialect of Eastern Algonkian. John Sergeant's widow and in-laws, the Williams family, had opposed Edwards' appointment with these and other reasons, including they did not believe he would continue to teach the Indians. They and Edwards, who blamed the Williams for the mission and town problems, continually attempted to undermine one another in Stockbridge mission affairs (Rachel Wheeler 2008, *To Live Upon Hope*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University press, pp. 207-220;Wyllis E. Wright 1970, *Colonel Ephraim Williams: A Documentary Life*. Pittsfield: Berkshire Historical Society, pp.61-68). However, Miles (*op. cit.* pp. 33-36) documents instances where Edwards showed care and kindness towards his Indian congregation, and discusses a 1755 Stockbridge Mohican petition delivered to Governor Shirley in Boston and investigated by a committee from the House of Representatives, who wrote that the three-man Mohican delegation (which included leader John Konkapot) professed that they "loved their minister [Jonathan Edwards]". Patrick Frazier (*op. cit.*, pp. 138,188-190) described how the Stockbridges' subsequent minister, Reverend Stephen West, had little sympathy or love for his Indian congregation, whom he considered "extremely barbarous and dissolute in their manners", so much so that in his 15 years as their minister he admitted "only 22 Indians to full communion with the church" (pg. 188).

¹⁶ After Sergeant's death and before Jonathan Edwards' installation as minister, the Moravian minister Joachim Sensemann visited Stockbridge in 1751 and reported that Indian parents had withdrawn their children from the boarding school because the mission staff had provided them with insufficient food and clothing (Wheeler *op. cit.* 178, 209; in a personal communication dated February 7, 2011 Lion Miles reported that these were not Mohican children but 12 Mohawk children assigned to the boarding school). John Sergeant's educational plan for indigenous children included a "double" education: "normal teaching", and instruction in agriculture for the boys and in domestic arts for the girls. A boarding school for non-Stockbridge Indian children was also proposed. Edwards changed all this, including the practical curriculum. For example, he initiated "teaching ancient history by showing how the history of the Four Great Monarchies fulfilled biblical prophecy and geography by showing the direction of Padam-Aram from Jerusalem" (Wyllis E. Wright *op. cit.* :57)! Additionally, original staff members were fired and one of the new trustees of mission affairs, Abigail Sergeant's new husband Joseph Dwight, was prone to disrupting classes (Wheeler *op. cit.* pp. 210-211); in one incident he physically punished an indigenous schoolboy. "Indians did not use physical chastisement as a means of discipline in rearing their children and were greatly incensed" (Wright, *op. cit.*, pg. 65). The burning of the boys' boarding school under suspicious circumstances in February 1753 hastened the departure of many non-Stockbridge Indian school children (*Ibid*: 68).

¹⁷ Miles, 1994, *op. cit.*; personal communication dated February 7, 2011.

¹⁸ Brasser, *op. cit.* pp. 41-42.

¹⁹ Excerpted from the section entitled "Origin & Early Mohican History" under "Mohican History" on the official Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Nation web site http://mohican-nsn.gov/Departments/Library-Museum/Mohican_History/origin-and-early.htm, accessed January 23, 2011.

²⁰ William A. Titus ND, pg. 8. Chapter XXXIV, "Historic Spots in Wisconsin, Stockbridge III, A Brief Account of an Interesting People with a History". Typewritten manuscript, copy on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA .At the top of the title page is a typewritten note that it was "Received in Wisconsin by Dr. Charles H. Kimberly, August, 1946". As reported by Mohican Library Museum Specialist Leah J. Miller of the Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library-Museum (personal communication dated February 22, 2011), a later version of

the manuscript entitled *A Brief Account of the Stockbridges* was published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* in June, 1947, vol. 30, no. 4, pp. 423-432.

²¹ Titus, *op. cit.*, pg. 6.

²² James D. Folts 2009, pg. 31 in “The Westward Migration of the Munsee Indians in the Eighteenth Century”, pp. 31-47 in *Mohican Seminar 2, The Challenge—An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*, Shirley W. Dunn (ed.), New York State Bulletin 506. Albany: University of the State of New York, New York State Education Department.

²³ Brasser, *op. cit.* pg. 43; Dorothy W. Davids *op. cit.* pg 4. William A. Titus, *op. cit.* pp. 3-8.

²⁴ William A. Titus, *op. cit.* pg. 4.

²⁵ Brasser, *op. cit.* pg. 43; “The Stockbridge Indians”, an unpublished and undated manuscript written by the 4th-7th grades of the Stockbridge Indian Day School and their teacher Dee Wilson, pp. 9-11. At the top of the title page is a typewritten note that it was “Received in Wisconsin by Dr. Charles H. Kimberly, August, 1946”, suggesting the manuscript was written about that time. On file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

²⁶ Brasser, *op. cit.* pg. 45; Davids, *op. cit.*; Jones, *op. cit.*; Titus, *op. cit.*

²⁷ Brasser, *op. cit.* 46. For a lengthy discussion of events leading up to the Act’s passage, see James W. Oberly 2009, “When Congress Acted: The Mohican Reservation and the Act of 1871”, pp. 83-96, in *Mohican Seminar 2, The Challenge—An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*, Shirley W. Dunn (ed.), New York State Bulletin 506. Albany: University of the State of New York, New York State Education Department.

²⁸ Wilson *et al. op. cit.*, pp. 9-14.

²⁹ According to Mohican tribal member Thelma Putnam, most Mohicans did not belong to the Presbyterian Church (Thelma Putnam 1977. Letter to Polly Pierce, curator of the historical room at the Stockbridge Library in MA, dated December 28, 1977, pg. 14 in “The Stockbridge Bible, Documents relating to its Recovery by the Stockbridge Indians” compiled by the Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee, on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA). Tribal members belonged to other Protestant denominations as well as the Catholic Church (e.g., see Ruth Gaines, journal entry dated November 13, 1929; Richard H. Taylor, Secretary of the Historical Commission, United Church of Christ, letter to The Trustees of Reservations dated October 27, 1975; Davis Cherington, memorandum to Frederic Winthrop jr. dated July 21, 1989; Dorothy W. Davids 1981. *Brief History of the Stockbridge Bibles A Stockbridge-Munsee Perspective*, pg. 3 and Richard H. Taylor 1977, letter to Mrs. William Ellery Sedgewick dated December 8, 1977, pp. 16-19, both in “The Stockbridge Bible, Documents relating to its Recovery by the Stockbridge Indians” compiled by the Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee, on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA.).

³⁰ Brasser *op. cit.*; Electa Jones, *op. cit.*; James W. Oberly 2005. *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815-1972*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman; Lion G. Miles 2009, *op. cit.*, pg. 46; Lion Miles ND, *Stockbridge Indians in New York: 1784 – 1829* on the official web site of the Stockbridge-Munsee band of Mohicans, under Mohican History. http://mohican-nsn.gov/Departments/Library-Museum/Mohican_History/index.htm, accessed December 30, 2010. Hendrick Aupaumut (1757-1830) was an eminent grand sachem who helped lead the tribe to New Stockbridge. A distinguished diplomat, he often acted as liaison between the Anglo-American government and western tribes. He served as peace ambassador for the United States in 1791, 1792, 1793, and 1808. He wrote the history of the Muhheakunnuk people.³⁰ Another renowned Mohican sachem – or “chief” as they were called by the 19th century – was John W. Quinney (1797-1855). Quinney, whose Mohican name was Waunnawkon (“The Dish”, a symbolic term for the Mohican homelands along the Housatonic River), led the Mohican people from New York to Wisconsin, created a constitution in 1833 upon which Mohican tribal government was subsequently based, and spent years in Washington, D.C. “trying to secure justice for his people from the [United States] government” up to his death in 1855 (Stockbridge Mission House label). George Catlin painted his portrait in 1830. Two other well-known 19th century Mohican leaders were John Metoxon (1770-1858) and Austin Quinney (1791-1865), cousin of John W. Quinney, who led the Mohicans to Indiana and thence to Wisconsin. Chief Austin Quinney’s portrait was painted by Catlin and by Hamlin. His Indian name Ikutauam means “on both sides of the river”, likely symbolic of the ancient Mohican homelands in the Northeast, which were located on both sides of the upper Hudson River drainage. Metoxon was also a religious leader, as was the Mohican Reverend Jeremiah Slingerland. During the 19th century the Mohicans had two major political parties. John W. Quinney belonged to the Indian Party. Ziba Peters, the Mohican leader who became chief after Quinney’s death, belonged to the Citizen’s Party. Later leadership continued this quest for tribal justice from the federal government. Other 19th century political leaders – councilors to these chiefs – can be identified by their signatures on the many treaties, land transactions, and petitions of the Stockbridge Mohican tribe.

³¹ *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, Province Laws*. Volume XII, Chapter 161, pp. 332-333. Copy on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

³² Stockbridge Mission House label. The Mission house collection includes examples of Mohican woodsplint baskets and carved wooden items as well purchased by Ruth Gaines in the 1920s and 1940s from Wisconsin Mohicans that supposedly date to the 19th century and possibly earlier.

³³ Alanson Skinner, *op. cit.*, pg. 101.

³⁴ Plates 3 and 4 in Brasser, *op. cit.* show A. Hamlin's 1849 paintings of Austin Quinney and his wife and daughter; Catlin's 1836 oil painting of Austin E. Quinney is online at the web site of the Smithsonian American Art Museum (<http://americanart.si.edu/collections/search/artwork/?id=3934>), although the site incorrectly identifies him as "Ee-tów-o-kaum/ Both Sides of the River"; Katharine M. Abbott shows the 1830 sketch of an unidentified Stockbridge Mohican by George Catlin in her book *Old Paths and Legends of New England*, 1907, pg. 227, New York & London: G.P. Putnam's Sons.

³⁵ According to Leah J. Miller, Mohican Librarian Museum Specialist at the Arvid E. Miller Memorial Library-Museum on the present Stockbridge-Munsee reservation, tribal records list Harriet Quinney as being born in Stockbridge, Wisconsin, "although she possibly may have [been] born on a trip back east" (Leah Miller, personal communication dated February 11, 2011).

³⁶ Brasser, *op. cit.* pg. 19.

³⁷ Alice E. Smith, letter to Ruth Gaines dated October 2, 1936. All of the letters cited in this paper dating between 1929 and 1937 are on file at the Stockbridge Mission House in Stockbridge. Dorothy W. Davids, 2004 *op. cit.* pg. 4, reported that Electa Quinney was a Stockbridge woman and the first public school teacher in Wisconsin.

³⁸ Alice E. Smith, *ibid.* In my interviews with Schaghticoke tribal members, who have a reservation in Kent, adjacent to the southern boundary of Mohican tribal lands in Sharon, Connecticut, tribal members reported that after the telephone became common leaders telephoned heads of families, who spread the information to other family members (Lucianne Lavin 1997, "Anthropological Report Supplementing the Petition of the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation of Kent, Connecticut for Federal Acknowledgment". Unpublished report prepared for the Schaghticoke Tribal Nation of Kent, Connecticut). Mohican tribal member and Librarian Museum Specialist Leah J. Miller reported that Mohican "tribal members in the early 20th century very much kept in contact through letter and postcard writing and face-to-face 'visiting'. I don't believe they had telephones at all." (Leah J. Miller, personal communication dated February 11, 2011).

³⁹ Mabel Choate, letter to Rev. Westfall, ND, ca. 1929.

⁴⁰ Mabel Choate, letter to Ruth Gaines dated October 19, 1936.

⁴¹ Dorothy W. Davids, 2004 *op. cit.* pg. 6. In 1887 the General Allotment Act was passed by the United States Congress, and reservation lands were divided up and the portions allotted to individual tribal members. "The policy proved to be a very successful way of removing land from tribes by making it possible to deal with individuals who had little experience with private ownership. Some people who needed money sold their allotments to business dealers who wanted to forest for lumbering...some elements were built into the Act of 1887 allowing lumber barons to secure unallotted lands. This happened on the Stockbridge Reservation. The lumbering companies cut down the trees and moved out, leaving land with little economic value....Some families sold lakeshore property in order to make their mortgage payments...Other Indian individuals lost their allotments because they were unable to meet tax or loan payments...Hard times continued and grew even worse during the Great Depression in the 1930s".

⁴² Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated April 28, 1930.

⁴³ Dorothy Davids, 2004 *op. cit.*—see endnote 41 above. In a November 23, 1936 letter to Ruth Gaines, Gertrude Vint, the Secretary for Specific Work for the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., wrote that the Stockbridge Indian members of the John Sergeant Memorial Church in Red Springs "are very poor and all but two families in the Sergeant Memorial Church are on relief". A November 27, 1936 letter from Louis J. Albert, the minister of that church, to the members of the Congregational Church of Meriden, New Hampshire confirmed that "Practically all of the Stockbridge Indians affiliated with our mission church here are more or less in need of help...They are always in need of clothing and footwear." But the opening of "a new Stockbridge reservation", as noted by Albert's wife Alice Albert in a December 11, 1936 letter to Ruth Gaines, foretold of the coming of better times. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 reported at that time that the tribe had 15,000 acres of reservation land in Bartelme. Davids (2004 *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8) reported that much of this acreage had been clear-cut and of little economic value but the tribe now at least "had a land base on which to rebuild homes for the people". Strong tribal leadership with the backing of the pro-indigenous Indian Reorganization Act, allowed the Mohicans to survive and thrive as a tribal community. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act allowed tribes to incorporate and borrow money from the federal government at 1% interest; President Roosevelt's WPA and CCC-ID put tribal people to work, building their own tribal housing and community buildings and reservation roads and bridges (Wilson *et al. op. cit.* pp. 14-15). In their corporate charter the tribe is called the "Stockbridge Munsee Community

of Wisconsin” (United States Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs 1938. *Corporate Charter of the Stockbridge Munsee Community of Wisconsin*, ratified May 21, 1938. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.)

⁴⁴ Even the wife of one of the Stockbridges’ own clergymen was not above making a racist comment. In a December 23, 1936 letter Alice Albert, the wife of the Presbyterian minister of the John Sergeant Memorial Church, wrote Ruth Gaines that “I can’t say I like to see a white girl with an Indian baby” (underlined emphasis included in letter).

⁴⁵ Frederick G. Westfall, letters to Mabel Choate dated Nov. 5 and December 5, 1929; letters to Ruth Gaines dated November 27-29, 1929, February 11, 1930

⁴⁶ Marie Tousey, letter to Ruth Gaines, no date, ca. Nov. 1929.

⁴⁷ Fred G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated January 15, 1930; F.G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated May 12, 1930; Frederick G. Westfall, letters to Mabel Choate dated June 3, 1930 and June 15, 1930;

⁴⁸ Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated December 14, 1930.

⁴⁹ F.G. Westfall, letter to Ruth Gaines dated February 25, 1930.

⁵⁰ Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated January 17, 1929.

⁵¹ F.G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated May 12, 1930; Agreement voted by the congregation and signed by elders and trustees of the John Sergeant Memorial Church May 4, 1930.

⁵² Phoebe Quinney was identified as an Oneida by Leah J. Miller, Mohican Librarian Museum Specialist, who also noted that corn husk doll making was an Oneida craft, and not Mohican (Leah J. Miller, personal communication dated February 16, 2011).

⁵³ Ruth Gaines journal entry dated Nov. 16, 1929.

⁵⁴ Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated March 18, 1930. In Westfall’s correspondence Gardner’s name is spelled as “Gardiner”.

⁵⁵ Ruth Gaines, letters to Frederick Westfall dated April 8 and April 17, 1930; F. G. Westfall letters to Ruth Gaines dated March 19 and April 24, 1930.

⁵⁶ In his 1947 publication on block-stamp basket decoration, Frank G. Speck noted that the Stockbridge Mohicans were still making baskets (“Eastern Algonkian block-stamp decoration: a New World original or an acculturated art”, addendum by Eva Butler, *Archaeological Society of New Jersey Research Series*, pg. 12).

⁵⁷ F.G. Westfall, letter to Ruth Gaines dated January 31, 1929.

⁵⁸ Alanson Skinner, *op. cit.*, plates XXIII-XXIV, showed 1849 portraits of Chief Austin Quinney, his wife, and six year old daughter Harriet in traditional dress, and a 1923 photograph of 80-year-old Harriet Quinney wearing an ancient wampum necklace. A 1929 photograph on display at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum shows Phoebe Ann Quinney in regalia. A photograph of Samuel Miller in regalia was published on pg. 18 in the November 19, 1930 edition of *The Berkshire County Eagle* in the article “Chief Uhm-Pa-Tuth, Last Sachem of Mohicans, pays visit to his Ancestors’ Home” and reprinted in the May 19, 2004 issue of *The Country Today* in the article “Samuel Miller: ‘Chief Uhm-Pa-Tuth’,” both of which are online in Jeff Siemers’ Algonkian Church History Blog (“<http://algonkianchurchhistory.blogspot.com/search/label/Stockbridge%20Bible>”).

⁵⁹ Alanson Skinner, *op. cit.*, pg. 97.

⁶⁰ Ruth Gaines, journal entry dated Nov. 12, 1929.

⁶¹ Marie Tousey, letter to Ruth Gaines, no date but likely ca Nov. 1929.

⁶² Ruth Gaines, telegram to Mabel Choate dated Nov. 14, 1929.

⁶³ Frederick G. Westfall, letters to Ruth Gaines dated Nov. 27—29, 1929 and April 14, 1930)

⁶⁴ Ruth Gaines, letter to Miss Walker dated May 28, 1930.

⁶⁵ Stockbridge Mission House labels.

⁶⁶ Stockbridge Mission House label.

⁶⁷ W.C. Orchard, letter to Ruth Gaines dated September 1, 1936.

⁶⁸ Ruth Gaine's journal entry dated Nov. 16, 1929.

⁶⁹ Ruth Gaines, letter to Mabel Choate dated Nov. 22, 1929.

⁷⁰ Receipt dated Nov. 15, 1929 and signed by Mrs. Dan Tousey.

⁷¹ T.J. Brassler 1978, pg. 208, “Mahican”. In the *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15, Northeast*. Bruce B. Trigger, editor, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution; Patrick Frazier *op. cit.*, pp.111-143,193-233;Lion G. Miles 1999, “The Stockbridge Indian Massacre Continued”, *Journal of the Native American Institute*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 1-7; Miles 2009 *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52; Titus, *op. cit.* pp 5-6.

⁷² Alanson Skinner, *op. cit.* pp. 93-96.

⁷³ Inscribed on the flyleaf of volume I of the Bible by Thomas Coram, the captain of the ship that brought the Bible from England (Ben Betts 1954."The Stockbridge Indians' Bible, American Printer, June 1954, pp. 22-23). The Clerk of the Closet is usually a bishop; he is charged with overseeing the chaplains in the Royal Household.

⁷⁴ Dorothy W. Davids 1981 *op. cit.* pp. 2, 4, 5. Davids cites a letter from Viola Jacobs Knight to Bernice Miller (the Mohican tribal historian) dated January 1, 1978 in which Knight notes seeing the Bibles in the home of Sote Quinney, who had made a special stand for them. See Jeff Siemers 2007. "From Generation to Generation: The Story of the Stockbridge Bible", *The Book Collector*, vol. 56, no.1 for a detailed account of the Stockbridges acquisition, loss, and retention of their two-volume Bible.

⁷⁵ F.G. Westfall, letter to Ruth Gaines dated January 31, 1929. Jamieson Quinney was also known as Sote or Soat Quinney (Thelma Putnam *et al.* 1980. *Christian Religion among the Stockbridge Munsee Band of Mohican Indians*, Muh-he-con-neew Press, p. 72. Cited in "The Stockbridge Bible, Documents relating to its Recovery by the Stockbridge Indians," pp. 108-109, compiled by the Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee, on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA.).

⁷⁶ Rev. Fred G. Westfall, letter to M. Virginia Baughman dated Oct. 22, 1929 and letter to Mabel Choate Nov. 7, 1929.

⁷⁷ Agreement by the Congregation of the John Sergeant Memorial Church dated May 4, 1930 to sell the 2-volume 18th century Bible and communion set to Mabel Choate for \$1,000; Frederick G. Westfall, letter to Mabel Choate dated June 2, 1930, acknowledging receipt of \$1000 for "the Indian relics".

⁷⁸ Thelma Putnam 1977, *op. cit.* pp. 14- 15.

⁷⁹ Their great cultural significance to the Stockbridge Munsee Community is also illustrated in leadership's persistent efforts to reclaim and return the Bibles to the tribal Reservation in Wisconsin (e.g., Leonard E. Miller Jr, Chairman Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council, letters to The Trustees of Reservation dated August 27, 1975 and August 5, 1986; Leonard E. Miller Jr, Chairman Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council, and Dorothy W. Davids, Chairperson Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee, letters dated May 28, 1981, November 30, 1981, April 8, 1982; Dorothy W. Davids, letter to The Trustees of Reservations dated March 12, 1982). The efforts included continual correspondence between tribal leaders and the Trustees of Reservations, retention of legal aid (John M. Wiley, letter to Leonard. E. Miller Jr. dated November 11, 1975; Leonard E. Miller, letter to The Trustees of Reservations dated May 14, 1982), a tribal petition and a non-tribal petition from residents of Stockbridge, MA (Leonard E. Miller Jr, Chairman Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council, and Leah Miller Heath, paralegal and Bible recovery committee liaison, letter to The Trustees of Reservation dated August 27, 1982), telephone conversations and face-to-face meetings with Trustees of Reservations (Davis Cherington, memorandum to Frederic Winthrop Jr. dated July 21, 1989). In one letter the Tribal Council chided the Trustees for attempting to circumvent the authority of the Stockbridge Munsee Tribal Council by corresponding with their lawyer concerning Council matters (Leonard E. Miller Jr, Chairman Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council, letter to the Trustees of Reservations dated May14,1982). The Tribal Council and Historical Committee also initiated a letter-writing campaign among non-Indian friends and associates, sending them a document entitled "The Stockbridge Bible, Documents relating to its Recovery by the Stockbridge Indians" along with a cover letter urging them to write the Trustees of Reservations in the tribe's behalf (Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council and Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee 1981. Cover letter to "Dear Friends". Copy of letter and manuscript compiled by the Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Committee, on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA.

⁸⁰ Thelma Putnam *et al.* 1980. *op. cit.*, page 10.

⁸¹ Betts *op. cit.* pg. 23; Jeff Siemers 2007, pp. 8- 9. "From Generation to Generation: The History of the Stockbridge Bible". *The Book Collector* Vol. 56, No. 1, Spring, 2007; Calvin Colton's book *Tour of the American Lakes and Among the Indians of the North-West Territory in 1830:Disclosing the Character and Prospects of the Indian Race* was Reprinted in 1972 at Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press.

⁸² Ruth Gaines, journal entry dated November 14, 1929.

⁸³ Mrs. Dan Tousey, letter to Ruth Gaines dated October 19, 1930.

⁸⁴ Ruth Gaines, journal entry dated November 12,1929.

⁸⁵ Mabel Choate, letter to Ruth Gaines dated June 24, 1930; Department of the Interior, National Parks Service 2006. "Notice of Intent to Repatriate a Cultural Item: The Trustees of Reservations, Beverly MA". *Federal Register* Vol. 71, No. 35, February 22, 2006/Notices.

⁸⁶ The Trustees of Reservations returned the two-volume Bible to the Stockbridge-Munsee Community in 1991. The four-piece pewter communion set was returned in 2006 (Department of the Interior, National Parks Service 2006, *op. cit.*; *The Berkshire Eagle* 1991. "Indians get 1745 Bible Back", news clipping dated March 12, 1991, on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum).

⁸⁷ Ted Brassler, *op. cit.* pg. 38, described post-New Stockbridge Mohican leadership as "...a core of highly westernized tribal leaders...who managed to maintain to a surprising degree their traditional authority over far-off tribal members, and their prestigious role in intertribal politics." The portrait of a well-educated, politically savvy, socially sophisticated and very capable Mohican leadership is echoed by James W. Oberly, 2005 *op. cit.* and W.A. Titus, pp. 5-8. *op. cit.*

⁸⁸ Ruth Gaines, journal entries dated November 12-14, 1929; letters to Miss Walker dated Nov. 23 and Dec. 11, 1929.

⁸⁹ Electa Jones *op. cit.*; James W. Oberly 2005, *op. cit.* Patrick Dobson in his online column "Reflecting History" in the regional monthly publication *Discover Mid-America*, dated January 2006 and accessed December 30, 2010, the title of which was "Mohicans survive because of their experience in the past", in which he reviewed Oberly's book.

⁹⁰ e.g., Ruth Gaines, journal entries dated November 14-16, 1929.

⁹¹ Tousey letters to Ruth Gaines ND and dated November 20 and 27, 1929.

⁹² Ruth Gaines, journal entries dated November 14-16, 1929.

⁹³ Ruth Gaines, undated letter circa November 1929.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ Exhibit labels at the Stockbridge Mission House.

⁹⁶ Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee 1980, pg vii. *Catalog of Materials Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum*. Muh-he-con-neew Press, Wisconsin.

⁹⁷ John Quinney and Hendrick Aupaumut, trans. 1795. *The Assembly's Shorter Catechism*, listed in Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee *op. cit.* pp. 21-22.

⁹⁸ Titus, *op. cit.* pg 6.

⁹⁹ John. W. Quinney 1906. *Speech of John W. Quinney*. Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Years 1857 and 1858, Vol. IV, pp. 313-320. Reprint of 1859 original cited in Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee *op. cit.* pg 5. Quinney delivered the speech at a July 4, 1854 celebration in Reidsville, New York.

¹⁰⁰ Davids 2004, *op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ Ruth Gaines, letter to Mabel Choate dated 11/12/1929. Mohican Librarian Museum Specialist Leah J. Miller reported that Marie Tousey is known to the tribe as Mary Butler, who married Dan Tousey. Her father was Charles Butler (Leah J. Miller, personal communication dated February 16, 2011).

¹⁰² Ruth Gaines, letter to Mabel Choate, ND but ca. Nov. 1929; journal entry dated November 15, 1929. According to Leah Miller, the Mohicans have no record of "Charles Butler being involved in tribal legal matters or being a leader" (Leah J. Miller, personal communication dated February 22, 2011).

¹⁰³ Ruth Gaines, journal entries dated November 12-16/1929; Ruth Gaines, letter to Miss Walker dated December 4, 1929; Frederick G. Westfall's letters of November 27-29 and December 5, 1929 regarding the Avery Miller collection of Mohican-related documents. Alice E. Smith's letter of Oct. 2, 1936 to Ruth Gaines described the varied Mohican letters, deeds, bills of sale, accounts and receipts "dating from about 1825 to 1875" acquired from tribal members in Wisconsin by Paul Warner of Chicago in 1929. Smith also mentions the John C. Adams collection that was housed at the Langlade County Historical Society; Adams was the "official representative and agent for the tribe for many years" and his manuscripts included his diaries, two of J.W. Quinney's diaries, a volume of the *Proceedings of the Stockbridge National Council 1849-1858*, and about 2,000 documents "dated from about 1800 to 1900 consisting of correspondence, bills, receipts, petitions, reports, and other sorts of papers". Ruth Gaines and Marie Tousey both mentioned in their letters of 1929/1930 that dealers were buying up Mohican memorabilia, likely because the Depression had created even more dire poverty and illness among members, who would be more apt to part with their treasures than previously. That many leaders' records stayed within the Mohican community is evident from the listing of their "Papers" on file at the tribe's library museum, which includes those of John C. Adams, Anna Besaw, Elmer L. Davids Sr., Arvid E. Miller Sr., Carlton Leo Miller, Dolla Butler LaRoy Peterson Miller, Bernice Miller Pigeon, Beryl Schwab, and Mrs. Walter Taylor (Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee *op. cit.* pp. 37-40.).

¹⁰⁴ Frank G. Speck 1909, pg. 199. "Notes on the Mohegan and Niantic Indians". *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* Vol. III.

¹⁰⁵ Alanson Skinner, *op. cit.* pg. 91. Historically, the Schaghticoke (AKA Scaticook) tribe was closely connected with the Mohicans. The tribe's first known sachem Mawehue (Christianized Gideon Mauwee) was a kinsman of the Mohican grand sachem Aaron Umpachenee; one of his wives was Mohican and other Schaghticoke were married to Mohicans. The Moravian documents note a number of socio-political meetings between tribal leaders, and that Schaghticoke men were being recruited by the Stockbridges to fight in the French and Indian Wars. In 1767 the

Schaghticoke petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly to be allowed to sell their lands so that the tribe could move to Stockbridge. At least one Schaghticoke family moved with the Mohicans to New Stockbridge (Lucianne Lavin 2009. "Mohican Connections: The documentary and Material Evidence from Northwestern Connecticut", paper presented at the April 4, 2009 Mohican Seminar at the New York State Museum in Albany, NY).

¹⁰⁶ Anonymous 1930, pg. 18 in "Chief Uhm-Pa-Tuth, Last Sachem of Mohicans, Pays Visit to his Ancestors' Home", *The Berkshire County Eagle*, November 19, 1930; John W.P. Mooney 1975, pg. 10. "The Stockbridge Indians' Return was a Bitter, Melancholy Event". *The Berkshire Sampler*, August 3, 1975; Thelma Putnam 1977, pg. 14, *op. cit.*; Stockbridge-Munsee Historical Library Museum Committee *op.cit.*, pg viii-ix; Derek Gentile 1988. "A Stockbridge Indian visits ancestral home". *Berkshire Eagle*, news clipping labeled "Fall 1988" on file at the Stockbridge Mission House Museum, Stockbridge, MA; Thelma Putnam *et al.* 1980. *op. cit.* pp. 11-12; Jon Swan 2010. "The Pull of the Homeland", *New Marlborough 5 Village News*, Vol. 11 (8):1-2, December 2010. Most of the documented pilgrimages date from the mid 1900s to the present. Yet, "for years" after the tribe removed to New Stockbridge in the 1780s, "thirty or forty Indians would come back to the Stockbridge area for the winter, build wigwams and make brooms and baskets to sell, rekindle fires on their old hearthstones, and visit the graves of their ancestors" (Patrick Frazier, *op. cit.*, pg 244, citing Timothy Woodbridge, the grandson of Jonathan Edwards, second minister to the Stockbridge Indians). Local historian Charles J. Taylor (1884, *History of Great Barrington, Berkshire County, Massachusetts* Great Barrington: C. W. Bryan & Co, pg 41) recounted an early 19th century visit by two Mohicans "who had recently come to this part of the country from their homes in the far West, to visit the graves and hunting grounds of their ancestors....After standing for some time thoughtfully and in silence about the pile, each cast a stone upon it and turned away." Since the Stockbridge moved to the "Far West" of Wisconsin in 1822, the visit had to have occurred after that date. Taylor claims the visit occurred before the stone pile had been dismantled, which according to Rev. Burt was a little before 1829 – and according to Lion Miles it was by 1762 -- unless there was more than one dismantling and rebuilding (see footnote 111 below)...or perhaps when the stone pile had been vandalized prior to 1829 it had not been fully dismantled.

¹⁰⁷ Timothy Woodbridge 1856. *The Autobiography of a Blind Minister*. Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, Cleveland: Jewett, Proctor, and Worthington, New York: Sheldon, Blakeman and Company.

¹⁰⁸ Sterling Schreiber 2000, pp. 1-2 in "Tribe viewing possible land purchase of ancestral lands" in *Mohican News* VIII, No. 4.

¹⁰⁹ For example, in a recent presentation the President of the Tribal Council of the Stockbridge Munsee Band of Mohicans emphasized the spiritual connection of contemporary Mohicans to their ancient homeland in the Northeast (Kimberly Vele 2010, "Family Circles," presented at the 10th Mohican/Algonquian Peoples Seminar held at the NYS Museum in Albany April 17, 2010; see also President Vele's comments on the "spiritual connection" of the Mohicans to their Eastern homeland in her article in the Mohican tribal newspaper, "From the desk of President Kimberly Vele" pg. 2 in *Mohican News*, vol. XVIII, No. 9, May 1, 2010).

¹¹⁰The Stockbridge Burying Ground was located west of the original Town square. In 1809, the tribe sold the tract containing their burying ground to their friend Dr. Oliver Partridge. That the Mohicans considered the site to be sacred is demonstrated by the language of the deed, which entrusted Partridge to "fence the same that he may in every way prevent the soil from being removed, that the bones of our Ancestors may there lie undisturbed...And We do hereby empower him as fully in his own right to Sue for & recover as if held the premises by deed of Warrantee for any Strip waste or damage committed in any ways on the said premises" (cited in Lion Miles 2004, "The Stockbridge Indian Burial Ground", pg. 9 in *The Meeting House, Newsletter for the Native American Institute of the Hudson River Valley*, Spring 2004).

¹¹¹ Sometime between June 1826 and April 1829 when the history book containing his paper was proposed and printed, the Reverend Sylvester Burt reported that the Native American stone pile at the southeastern end of Monument Mountain "unhappily, a few years since, was thrown down by persons unknown, and the stones were scattered". Sylvester Burt 1829, pg. 224. "A History of the Town of Great Barrington", pp. 222-234 in *A History of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts*, edited by David d. Field, Pittsfield: Samuel W. Bush. Yet Ezra Stiles produced a ca. 1762 sketch of a fairly intact mound whose profile shows a decided concavity in its center, suggesting prior "pot-hunting" in the center of the structure for Indian relics. Stiles shows it to be 18 feet across the base on one side and located at the southern foot of Monument Mountain just west of the road to Stockbridge (1760-1794. *Itineraries*, Manuscript and microfilm on file at Yale University Sterling Library, New Haven, vol. 4, pg. 103 as cited by Eva Butler on pg. 3 of her article "The Brush or Stone Memorial Heaps of Southern New England", *Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Connecticut* vol.19, pp. 2-12, and also by David Wagner and David Ostrowski, 1997, pp. 3-4 in "The Stone Mounds of the Eastern Woodland People", typed manuscript in the possession of the author dated January 1997).

¹¹² Bernard A. Drew 2009, pg 43, *Faded Tracks on Monument Mountain*, Great Barrington: Attic Revivals Press. Drew notes that an annotation in the 1928 reprint of Charles J. Taylor's *History of Great Barrington, Berkshire County, Massachusetts* (Great Barrington: C. W. Bryan & Co) noted that "At the suggestion of Mr.[Ralph] Taylor, on the 2nd of December 1884, Mr. Frank A. Hosmer and Charles F. Painter replaced a large part of the stones on the site of the original monument"; Ralph was Charles' father.

¹¹³ Lion Miles (personal communication dated February 7, 2011) cited a deposition of Capt. Johannis Hogeboom on August 25, 1762: "That he was with Collo. Renselaer about three weeks ago in company with one Winchel and three Brothers of the Ferrys[Freese?] at a rock some rod over the Westhook river under a Mountain where the said Winchel & the Ferris's swore that there had been there a Monument or pile of Stones which were all removed". If the mountain in question is indeed Monument Mountain, then its stone pile may have been rebuilt by persons unknown prior to its being vandalized by persons unknown in the early 19th century – see endnote 109 above.

¹¹⁴ Hayden L. Griswold and Matthias Spiess 1930, *Map of Connecticut, Circa 1625, Indian Trails, Villages, Sachemdoms*, compiled by Mathias Spiess and drawn by Hayden L. Griswold, C.E. and published by the Colonial Dames of America Connecticut Society.

¹¹⁵ Lion Miles 2006. "The Mystery of the Monument Mountain Stone Heap", *The Advocate Weekly*, April 6, 2006, pg. 4.

¹¹⁶ Ezra Stiles, ca. 1762, in the original manuscript of his *Itineraries*, as cited in Butler 1946, *op. cit.* Ezra Stiles' drawing of the mound shows a large mound 18 feet long and six feet high with a distinctive concavity where the top of the cone should have been, suggesting that vandals had already been digging into the mound for "treasures". Drew reported that in an 1878 letter to the *Amenia Times*, an N. Reed noted that he had visited the stone pile on Monument Mountain in 1820 and in 1856, and that when he returned in 1877 it was "gone". This story contradicts that of Reverend Burt, who claimed it had been vandalized a few years prior to 1829. Perhaps the stone pile had been rebuilt more than once? In 1878 a *Berkshire Courier* reporter visited the site and noted the center of the stone pile had been excavated to several feet below the ground surface and the rocks scattered (Drew, *op. cit.*)

¹¹⁷ "Sunday in Great Barrington, 131 years ago", *Berkshire Courier*, November 15, 1866, as cited in Bernard A. Drew 2009, pg .42, *op. cit.* If Konkapot actually reported these functions for the stone monument, he would never have explained its later use as a boundary marker set by Mohawks, since the Mohawks only dwelt on the west side of the Hudson River.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 41.

¹¹⁹ Other stone and brush (wood) piles were found throughout Connecticut and eastern New England (For example, see Eva Butler 1946, *op. cit.*; Constance A. Crosby 1991, "The Algonkin Spiritual Landscape", pp. 35-41 in *Algonkians of New England Past and Present*, Peter Benes (ed.), Amherst: Boston University; Patricia E. Rubertone 2001, pp. 166-167 in *Grave Undertakings: An Archaeology of Roger Williams and the Narragansett Indians*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press; William S. Simmons 1986, pp. 252-254 in *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620-1984*, Hanover, NH: University press of New England; Ezra Stiles 1916, *Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755-1794, with a selection from his correspondence*, Franklin B. Baxter (ed.), New Haven: Yale University Press) as well as the Stiles ms. on microfilm at Yale University. A stone monument once overlooked the Housatonic River in the area of New Milford, Connecticut (Butler *op. cit.* pg. 5). It supposedly marked the grave of the eminent Weantinock sachem, Waramaug, who died in 1722. In the early 1800s it was vandalized by whites; the scattered stones supposedly were used to build a nearby mansion. Frank Speck reported that the 17th century Mohegans of southeastern Connecticut built a stone pile above the road leading from Norwich to Hartford as a boundary marker for the northern extent of their tribal lands; like the Stockbridge Mohicans did at the Monument Mountain stone pile, Mohegan members would add a stone to the pile each time they passed. He also reported a stone pile several feet high on the Schaghticoke Reservation in Kent, on which early 20th century Schaghticoke still added a stone as they passed to pay respects to the ghost of a murdered Schaghticoke whom they thought haunted the area (Frank G. Speck 1945, pp.19, 22 in "The Memorial Brush Heaps in Delaware and Elsewhere, Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Delaware, Vol. 4, No. 2). Stone piles were also found in New York (Butler 1946, *op. cit.* pp. 7-8; Dunn 1994:32-33; Miles 2006 *op. cit.*; David R. Wagner and David Ostrowski 1997, *op. cit.*).

¹²⁰ As shown within individual site forms on file at the Massachusetts Historical Commission in Boston.

¹²¹ Lion G. Miles (personal communications to Lucianne Lavin 2010) has visited such a cairn concentration in Sheffield, centered about a rock shelter, or overhang, and a second cairn concentration in New Marlborough. The author has also visited the latter locality, where cairns are both concentrated and dispersed over a wide area. They are much smaller versions of the original Monument Mountain stone pile, with a number of small stones mounded on top of a flat boulder or bedrock outcrop.

¹²² Massachusetts Historical Commission site survey form, MHC No. 13-BK-126; the form was submitted by a member of the Berkshire County Regional Planning Commission. See also Anonymous 2007, pg. 57 in *Great Barrington Open Space and Recreation Plan*, November 2006, Revised July 2007. Photocopy on file at the Stockbridge Mission House, Stockbridge, MA. The mound is 202 by 200 feet along its base and 14 feet high. The anonymous author(s) of the *Great Barrington Open Space and Recreation Plan* suggested that the mound was the locus of the “Great Wigwam”. Stockbridge historian Lion Miles, however, believes that the historical evidence puts the Great Wigwam near the base of Vossburg Hill (Lion Miles, personal communication dated February 7, 2011).

¹²³ Dr. Frederick Matthew Wiseman described the Middle Archaic L’Anse Amour burial mound in Labrador, a one meter high and eight meter wide circular tumulus, and the Middle Archaic Tumulus II, a nine meter wide burial mound at the Bradon site in Quebec, pp. 109-110 in his 2005 book *Reclaiming the Ancestors, Decolonizing a Taken Prehistory of the Far Northeast*, Toronto: University Press of New England. He also discussed the Late Archaic Ketcham’s Island Site mound in western Vermont, a low earthen mound that was built over the remains of a five meter wide circular dwelling and a red ochre burial (pg. 146).

¹²⁴ Wiseman, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106. Wiseman cites B.S. Robinson, J.P. Petersen, and A.K. Robinson (eds) 1992, *Early Holocene Occupation in Northern New England*, Occasional Publications of Maine Archaeology vol. 9, Augusta: Maine Historic Preservation Commission. See also Brian S. Robinson 1996, “Archaic Period Burial Patterning in Northeastern North America”, pp. 33-44 in Special Issue of *The Review of Archaeology: Contributions to the Archaeology of Northeastern North America*, B.S. Robinson (ed.), Volume 17, no. 1.

¹²⁵ For example, see Melissa J. Fawcett 1995, pp. 48-53 in *The Lasting of the Mohegans, Part 1, The Story of the Wolf People*. Uncasville, CT: The Mohegan Tribe.

¹²⁶ Edward Lenik 2002, *Picture Rocks: American Indian Rock Art in the Northeast Woodlands*, Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England.

¹²⁷ Among the Shoshone, for example, the creation of rock art is still a part of tribal puberty rites.

¹²⁸ Spooner, Clifford C. 1930. *The Story of Molly Fisher and the Molly Fisher Rock*. Reprinted from *Kent Tales* on <http://www.skyweb.net/~channy/SpoonerMF.html>.

¹²⁹ Bernard A. Drew, *op. cit.*

¹³⁰ Peter Thornbahn, 1988, discussing the lack of archaeological evidence for village sites in southern New England, cited by Timothy Binzen 2009, pg. 10 in “The River beyond the Mountains: Native American Settlements of the Upper Housatonic During the Woodland Period, pp.7-17 in *Mohican Seminar 2, The Challenge—An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*, Shirley W. Dunn (ed.), New York State Bulletin 506. Albany: University of the State of New York, New York State Education Department.