DAUGHTERS OF THE NATION: STOCKBRIDGE MOHICAN WOMEN, EDUCATION, AND CITIZENSHIP IN EARLY AMERICA, 1790-1840

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I. INTRODUCTION

"We have been Christianized and colonized and expect men to have the power," stated Stockbridge-Munsee tribal elder Dorothy Davids in a 2001 interview. The comment was made in the context of a discussion about the slow reemergence of women as recognized leaders within the nation, but it could equally apply to the whole of American history and much of American historiography. The following study began as an attempt to understand the historical experiences of women of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians. Known more commonly in scholarly literature as simply the "Stockbridge Indians," the nation has been the focus of numerous articles and books by scholars in the field of early American and Native American history. Their early alliance with the colonists in the American Revolution, and status as one of the few Native nations to cast their lot with the patriots, earned them a place of fascination and romanticization among non-Indians from the early Republic to the present.[1] Known primarily as a nation of diplomats and warriors, it is unsurprising that Mohican women are all but erased from scholarly treatments. Archival catalogues, too, are dominated by the names of sachems, male missionaries, and U.S. officials. After years of mining archives and seeking out a more ethnocentric source base, I find that the problem is not the evidence before us that keeps us from understanding the history of Stockbridge women, but assumptions about Native women's influence in larger historical processes.

Contrary to the messages implied from the existing literature, Stockbridge women played a central role in the development of strategic adaptations to colonization, both within and beyond the confines of their settlements. Far from passive victims caught unsuspected in the throes of colonization, they consciously sought new economic and educational opportunities that they

[1] For the first history of the Stockbridge Mohicans written by a westerner, see Electa Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present: Records of an Old Mission Station* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1854).

could harness for community self-determination. This strategy was born out of a failed colonial missionary experiment in Stockbridge, Massachusetts that left the Mohican, Housatonic, and Wappinger people who settled there landless and, particularly the women, ill-prepared to deal with the strategies of dispossession employed by the settler-state. After a painful removal to New York in the 1780s, the nation seized an opportunity to bring to life their own educational priorities through an alliance with the Society of Friends. That alliance was cultivated and sustained by Stockbridge women who also directed educational efforts for their community. Their work resulted in a period of relative prosperity in New York, but business interests and growing pro-removal attitudes in the United States resulted in their second removal in thirty-five years. The nation underwent two more removals before the formal passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Despite overwhelming pressure for the nation to jettison any semblance of their Native identity, from the 1780s until the 1830s, the Stockbridge managed to maintain their tribal governance and familiar forms of Mohican values, including the consultation of headwomen and elders in community decision-making. The 1830s, however, proved fractious as the nation was pressured by the federal government to undergo a fifth removal in fifty years.

The following study contributes to a growing body of work that aims to restore Native women to Native community histories and the American story. The actions and experiences of three generations of Stockbridge women are examined to understand the ways this particular group of Native women dealt with the challenges of colonization in the years when federal "civilization" programs began to give way to policies of removal. Most histories of the Stockbridge and other New England Native groups use the writings of those nations' most prolific writers to form their analyses. The writings of diplomats like Hendrick Aupaumut or ministers like Samson Occom are powerful sources that deserve a place of prominence in the

literature, but scholars' reliance on the words of exceptional Native men tell only part of the story. A focus on male leadership in these communities results in studies that are mostly engaged with more generalized developments in land dispossession and conflict between Native nations and colonial invaders. The intricacies of daily life, labor, and actions of the non-literate (or those with limited literacy) are obscured and rendered non-essential to the larger narrative. Indeed, to look through the secondary literature on the Stockbridge, which tends to emphasize their Christianization, one might assume that women ceased to be important players in their nation's history after their settlement at Stockbridge, Massachusetts.[2] Historians are correct that information about Indian women is harder to find in the archive, but it does exist in the margins, on receipts, and occasionally, their letters can be found in a stack of miscellaneous ephemera.[3] Analysis of these sources provide much evidence of female participation in community affairs.

Indigenous Responses to Colonization

Only in the last ten to fifteen years has the historiography of Native-European relations begun to move away from the resistance versus assimilation dichotomy. Prior to this shift, much scholarly discussion centered on the "clash of cultures" in the Americas.[4] Framing history this

[2] William Starna even states that there is no evidence that Mohican women played a formal role in Mohican governance prior to Christianization. A deeper examination of the source base proves otherwise. William Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 72-74. For a direct reference to Stockbridge women holding a prominent place in council in 1802, see William P. Farrand, ed. *The Evangelical Intelligencer for 1805*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: William P. Farrand and Co., 1806), 346.

[3] Theda Perdue discusses the difficulty in finding information about Indian women in "Native Women in the Early Republic: Old World Perceptions, New World Realities," in *Native American in the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: United States Capitol Historical Society by the University Press of Virginia, 1999), 85-86. One letter found from Stockbridge daughter Mary Peters was sitting in a miscellaneous folder within a family collection. It rested between nineteenth century political ribbons and lecture notes for a history class. Letter from Mary Peters to Hannah Jackson, September 9, 1803, Naomi and Rayner Kelsey papers (MC.950.130), Quaker & Special Collections, Haverford College (QSCHC), Haverford, PA.

[4] See James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

way places Indian people on either side of a stark divide and casts any cultural or economic adaptations of Native people as inherent losses. More recent scholarship has moved beyond an attempt to weigh the benefits and costs of adaptations and instead focuses on understanding the myriad ways in which Native communities creatively adapted to colonization, largely on their own terms. This more nuanced way to look at cultural encounters came out of scholars' embrace of more ethnocentric and ethnohistorical approaches that sought to privilege the Native voice over colonizers.[5] These approaches to understanding Native communities have been particularly popular in histories of borderlands communities and useful to understanding women's role in helping Native communities adapt to and resist colonization.[6]

Most scholarship on the Stockbridge Mohicans, however, has not made this transition and therefore, still exists outside of these more nuanced conversations about adaptations, especially as they relate to women and gender.[7] The continuation of the Stockbridge as historiographical outsiders is due to their close proximity to large Anglo settlements and historians' perceptions of the Stockbridge as thoroughly "Christianized" Indians. Recent ethnohistorical studies of Native communities tend to focus on those living in the borderlands and are mostly interested in understanding how those communities staved off the brunt of colonization for as long as they did. Having accepted a missionary in 1735 and lived in a community where they were vastly

[5] Linford Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[6] Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indigenous Prosperity and American Conquest: Indian Women of the Ohio River Valley, 1690-1792* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *Great Lakes Creoles: A French-Indian Community on the Northern Borderlands, Prairie du Chien, 1750-1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encournters in the Western Great Lakes* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001); Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, *Native Women's History in Eastern North America: A Guide to Research and Writing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); For a later period, see Jennifer Graber, *The Gods of Indian Country: Religion and the Struggle for the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[7] One noteworthy exception is Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). It deals primarily with the Mohican community that accepted Moravian missionaries rather than the Stockbridge, but Wheeler offers a nuanced understanding of Mohican conversion and syncretism that also considers the role of gender in these adaptations.

outnumbered by Anglo settlers before the outbreak of the American Revolution, the Stockbridge people do not appear to fit the mold of a community determined to resist colonization. Often lauded for their "civilized" nature by missionary and early federal reports, the Stockbridge seem to confirm the assumption that they wholly converted to Anglo ways. Even the most recent and sophisticated scholarship on the Stockbridge has relied heavily on these accounts and taken for granted the Stockbridge's desire to "cease to be distinguishable as a race."[8] The term "resistance" might indeed be inappropriate to describe their methods. In citing Ojibwe writer Gerald Vizenor, Brenda Child discusses the concept of *survivance*, which she describes as "the unique history of survival and resistance that sustained indigenous creativity within their communities, despite conditions of domination and colonialism."[9] For the Stockbridge people and other Native nations, their method of survival included some degree of adaptation. I argue that they did not actively *resist* Anglicization, but in shaping cultural and economic change to fit their needs and values, they *defied* colonial and federal programs designed to dissolve Indian communities.

This study contributes to emerging scholarship on Native strategies of survivance in the early Republic. Both Alyssa Mt. Pleasant's work on Haudenosaunee people at Buffalo Creek and Dawn Peterson's work on antebellum Indian education and adoption challenge prevailing assumptions about the power of coercion possessed by the federal government and missionary societies.[10] Mt. Pleasant demonstrates how the community at Buffalo Creek incorporated Anglo farming and domestic education on their own terms for decades after the United States first tried

[8] David Silverman, *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 157.
[9] Brenda Child, *Holding Our Worlds Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community* (New York: Viking, 2012), xxvii.
[10] For arguments that emphasize the federal government's coercive power in this period, particularly with regard to Indian education, see Daniel Richter, *Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 239.

to gain a foothold on Haudenosaunee land in the 1780s. Peterson reveals the ways that Indian people who lived well within the boundaries of the United States used the nation's attempts at reeducating Indians and adopting them into the American "family" to suit their own personal or indigenous national interests.[11] My work builds on Peterson's conclusions that some Indian communities specifically requested opportunities for Anglo education and temporary adoption into white families for the purpose of strengthening Indian communities' claims to land and rights within the United States. The present project takes this analysis a step further and explores the specific ways Stockbridge women worked within this system and unintentionally shaped federal Indian policy.

Indigenous Women's History as Women's History

American women's history has come a long way from its foundations in the 1970s. The merging of women's and ethnohistorical approaches in particular resulted in an array of works that have deepened and complicated our understanding of women's experiences across race, class, and time. Indigenous women's history in particular has done much to subvert colonial narratives of declension and assumptions about the powerlessness of Native women. Brenda Child, Jean O'Brien, Theda Perdue, Lucy Murphy, and Susan Sleeper-Smith have made particularly important contributions to the history of Native women in the colonial and early national periods. Moving beyond simply how Native women were viewed by European observers, these historians and others have looked at the gendered mechanics of dispossession,

[11] Peterson profiles the Stockbridge in her work and also highlights the role women like Mary Peters played in this phenomenon. Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 66-67, 70-71,74. Fisher discusses this attempt to shape of Indian education among the Natives of southern New England in the eighteenth century. See Fisher, "Educating," in *The Indian Great Awakening*.

women's roles as keepers of traditions and knowledge, and their adaptive flexibility in borderland environments. The history of Stockbridge women in their era of removals fits neatly into several existing narratives of Native women while also contradicting some broader conclusions about Native women's status and strategies of uplift. Stockbridge women, like many other indigenous women, walked a careful and creative line between forging new paths to adjust to colonial realities and preserving indigenous traditions and knowledge for future generations.[12] The conclusions drawn here about the downward trajectory of Native women's status in colonial and early American society supports the assessments made by others, but contradicts a key part of this consensus. The case of Stockbridge Mohican women offers a counter to the assessment that the removal of women from agricultural production was the catalyst for their loss of power. This study also reveals Native women taking a more proactive approach to the adoption of new technologies like spinning and weaving and reform ideologies. Rather than resisting Anglo technologies and ideas outright, Stockbridge women embraced many of them when they seemed to fit Mohican values and serve the preservation of their community.

This work also aims to make a contribution to the more specific field of interracial and intercultural relationships among women. Within colonial and early America, Ann Little and Emily Clark provide rich historical treatments of European women, but also the ways in which these women navigated their relationships with women of other races, religions, and cultures.[13] Most relevant to the present discussion is Margaret Jacob's *White Mother to a Dark Race*, which illuminates the complicated and often abusive relationship between reform-minded white women

[12] This theme is developed in Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Brenda Child, *Holding Our World Together: Ojibwe Women and the Survival of Community* (New York: Viking, 2012).
[13] Ann M. Little, *The Many Captivities of Esther Wheelwright* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016); Emily Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727-1834* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).

and the indigenous mothers and daughters they claimed to help. Much of the story of Stockbridge women's success in New York stems from the relationship they developed with Quaker women. This relationship offers a backstory to *White Mother*. Quaker women's involvement with Stockbridge women marks the first time in American history that white women systematically engaged in Indian affairs. Their experiences with Stockbridge women and girls informed their approach to missionary and reform work with other Native women and helped lay the foundations for white women's maternalist impulse toward indigenous people. Therefore, we cannot fully understand the implications of white women's pursuit of suffrage without acknowledging the problematic roots of their claims to political legitimacy.

Sally Roesch Wagner's *Sisters In Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on Early American Feminists* is the only other work that looks specifically at the relationship between Quaker and Indian women.[14] In the book, Wagner argues that Seneca women inspired the modern women's movement through their interactions with the Quaker women who organized the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848 and continued to push for suffrage throughout the nineteenth century. The work could use deeper historical context and more critical analysis of Quaker women's role in the colonial project, but Wagner's argument seems to be dismissed in conversations among Americanists as far-fetched. This dismissal is as unfortunate as it is understandable. If scholars find preposterous the idea that Native women could have influenced a mass movement in American history, women's historians have much work to do. Indigenous women have been marginalized, but by no means were they invisible. In the case of the

[14] Sally Roesch Wagner, *Sisters in Spirit: Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Influence on Early American Feminists* (Summertown, TN: Native Voices, 2001). For works on Quaker women as only helpful allies, see Margaret Hope Bacon, *Mothers of Feminism: The Story of Quaker Women in America* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986), 79-80, 144-146, 213; Susan Hill Lindley, *"You Have Stept Out of Your Place": A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996), 32-38, 155-159, 160-165, 171-172.

Stockbridge, they traveled the early United States as diplomats in their own right. They walked the halls of the New York State Legislature and hand-delivered letters to the Lieutenant Governor. Stockbridge Mohican women shaped their community's interactions with outsiders and, as I will argue, helped shape the trajectory of Indian education in America.

Native Americans in American History

Reorienting the story of Native peoples in early America toward understanding Stockbridge women as key players in historical developments provides new perspectives on larger historiographical debates in American history. Through an examination of their efforts toward community stability through subsequent removals, their story defies the traditional periodization of Indian Removal. Focused primarily on southeastern tribes, discussions about Indian removal have revolved primarily around the Cherokee and the court cases that sealed their fate as domestic, dependent nations who, according to the United States, had no legal claim to their land. The present story shows how the systematic removal of Indian people was carried out on the local and state level long before the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Rather than ushering in a new era of Indian relations, the act was the culmination of a long experiment in how to physically manifest and ideologically justify the removal of Indian nations who possessed treaty rights.[15]

Beyond discussions of early contact and Indian removal, one of the only other times Native people come up in the larger narrative of American history is the "winning" or "losing" of the West and the simultaneous rise of Indian Boarding Schools. Some recent treatments of Indian

[15] For other studies that should be considered for changing the periodization of Indian removal, see O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees*; Lion Miles, "Red Man Dispossessed: The Williams Family and the Alienation of Indian Land in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1736-1818," *The New England Quarterly* vol. 67, no. 1 (March 1994): 46-76.

education in the United States have begun to fill in the gap between the first English colonial praying town in Natick, Massachusetts and the establishment of the Richard Henry Pratt's Carlisle Indian School in 1879.[16] Due to the lack of detailed accounts of Indian education in this period, the interregnum between two highly active periods in American Indian education remains impressionistic at best.[17] The larger narrative, then, supports a conversion, removal, reeducation trajectory that privileges the perspective of white settlers and limits conversation about Native experiences to only those Native people who lived along the always-advancing "frontier" of European colonization. Brenda Child's nuanced study of Indian experiences in early twentieth-century boarding schools flipped the narrative from one of wholesale domination and destruction of Native people to a story about Native agency, not only in their own lives, but in their successful reshaping of boarding schools to reflect Native priorities.[18] Where possible, more micro-studies of Indian educational experiences in early America need to be undertaken to test prevailing assumptions that Indian education was solely the purview of white politicians and missionaries, with Native peoples acting simply as passive recipients of white dictates.

When historians shift their focus away from missionary strategies and U.S. political desires, a more complicated view of Indian people as individual actors in American history comes into focus. Too often, Indian people are still treated as a monolith and Anglo education as

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[16] There is much work yet to be done to compare British, French, and Spanish (and later, American, Canadian, and Mexican) attempts to convert or reeducate indigenous people. For just a few studies on Indian education and extirpation of Indigenous religions in colonial Latin America, see Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Richard Greenleaf, *The Mexican Inquisition of the Sixteenth Century* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth Century Mexico*(Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

[17] For an overview of Indian education in American, which includes information about schools and federal policy in the early national period, see Jon Reyner and Jeanne Eder, *American Indian Education, 2nd Edition: A History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017). For a more detailed treatment of a particular school, see John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Vintage, 2014).

[18] Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), v-viii.

something forced upon Indian people rather than something that some communities sought or actively shaped. Indian communities and individuals responded to the challenges of colonization in vastly different ways, all of which were authentically Indian responses not because they fit decisions that we expect Indians to make, but because the decisions were made by Indian people. Along those lines, historians should be careful in their assumptions about which elements of "civilization" programs were foisted upon Native communities and which were requested by them. Indian people, like all people, adapted to new realities. An Indian woman could reasonably ask for a spinning wheel, not because she no longer believed in her peoples' values or mode of governance, but because game was scarce and textiles expensive. To assume that spinning wheels were forced upon every Native woman without her consent is to assume that a spinning wheel did not have a logical place in the home of a clan mother whose job it was to care for her people. Just because the federal government also wanted a spinning wheel in her home does not mean that she and Thomas Jefferson had the same end goal in mind.[19]

Notes on Methodology and Terminology

This study aims to reveal some of the experience of Stockbridge Mohican women in early America. This work can only be undertaken with a highly critical reading of western sources alongside non-traditional approaches to the practice of history. I have drawn upon the extensive records left by missionary societies, most especially the Society of Friends, but ethnohistorical sources like oral histories from tribal elders, medicinal knowledge, conversations with tribal members, and material culture shape much of the following narrative. Where sources contradict

[19] Richter, *Trade, Land, Power*, 239. Reginald Horseman, "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire for Liberty'" in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, eds. Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1999), 37-61. For the propensity for non-Indians to see Indians as pre-modern, see Philip Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2004).

one another or secondary accounts contradict indigenous sources, I have privileged what I perceived to be the Stockbridge perspective as much as possible while accounting for those contradictions in the text or footnotes. In order to understand the familial and generational nature of this story, I have attempted to reconstruct some family trees from Stockbridge town records, missionary letters, and account books as well as tribal genealogical research found in the Arvid E. Miller archives. Some familial connections are more firmly understood than others. Where evidence of a connection is less assured, I have cited my reasons for making the connection in the notes. Texture given to the narrative comes strictly from the above sources in conjunction with archaeological and anthropological studies that allow for a better comprehension of Mohican women's physical world.

While the purpose of this work is to broaden our understanding of Native women's experiences, it too is largely limited to the experiences of Native headwomen rather than average Stockbridge Mohican women. Headwomen were much more likely to interact with Anglo outsiders and therefore, are more likely to appear in the written record. I have highlighted known and likely differences in the experiences and actions of the women profiled here and average women of the nation where possible. The documents that provide the best window into Stockbridge women's opinions and actions are their letters to their daughters who lived abroad and the Quakers who they became closely acquainted with around the turn of the nineteenth century. The letters are copies of originals, but I was able to locate two of the originals which attest to the fidelity with which the missionary copied the women's letters.[20] Their correspondence with Quaker women reveals their skills in utilizing rhetorical devices to make

[20] The letters are records in Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA (QSCHC). One original is Letter from Elizabeth Joseph to Henry Simmons, November 8, 1797, Box 1, Folder 3, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs (Ms. Coll. 1003), QSCHC.

connections with female Friends. Phrases like "your poor red sisters," when employed by Stockbridge women, should not be taken as evidence of Indian self-loathing that are often recorded in missionary tracts. Given their actions to sustain indigenous values and skills in diplomacy, I interpret their deployment of these rhetorical devices as their knowledge of how to relate to outsiders and gain allies.[21]

In the following text, I try to use the indigenous names for concepts and tribes where possible. Historians have debated whether to use "Mahican" or "Mohican" to refer to the Muh-he-con-nuck people. I chose "Mohican" because it conforms to the nation's accepted spelling of their name. In chapter one I explain the many groups who formed together to become the "Stockbridge Indians." Those individuals ultimately became one people collectively known as "Mohicans." I sometimes use the terms "Mohican" and "Stockbridge" interchangeably for textual variety, but the reader should note that in either case, I am referring to the Mohicans (and their component groups) of Stockbridge and not anyone among the Mohican community at Shekomeko who settled further down river from the Stockbridge Mohicans. Following contemporary style, I also use the terms "nation" and "tribe" interchangeably, recognizing that "nation" implies indigenous peoples' right to sovereignty.[22]

[21] For more literary analysis of female Indian letters in the colonial period, see Kristina Bross and Hilary Wyss, eds., *Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008). Self-deprecating language used by Indian people is common in missionary tracts and from the colonial and early national periods. While some confessions and feelings records may have been genuine, we cannot extrapolate these sources and assume that all Native people with lived in Christianized communities felt this way. For the most well-known example of Christian rhetorical strategies employed by Indians, see John Eliot, *Tears of Repentance Or A Further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians of New England* (London: P. Cole, 1653).

[22] Sovereignty itself is a contested term within indigenous scholarship. Here, I equate sovereignty with indigenous self-determination. For a discussion of "sovereignty" see Taiaiake Alfred, "Sovereignty," and Joann Barker, "For Whom Sovereignty Matters," in *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, Joanne Barker, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

I have used indigenous language names for individuals where possible. The names of each person discussed here change, sometimes radically, over the course of their lives. Mohican naming patterns changed throughout this period. By the 1790s, many Stockbridge Mohicans took a Christian-English first name and turned their Mohican names into last names. Subsequently, many Mohican last names were further Anglicized or families began to take their husbands or father's Christianized first names as last names. Women did not begin taking their husband's last name until sometime in the 1790s or early 1800s. For instance, Stockbridge headwoman Lydia Quinney first appears as a child in the record in 1762 as Lydia Quaunauquaunt. By the time she was an adult and married to chief sachem Hendrick Aupaumut, she was known as "Lydia Quinney." Later, she was referred to in the record as "Lydia Hendrick," "Lydia Aupaumut," and most often, "Mrs. Hendrick" or "Capt. Hendrick's wife." For sake of clarity and respect, I chose to use the name that was recorded first or most often in the written record, unless it did not include a woman's full actual name, in which case I use the most descriptive name available. In the above case, for instance, I refer to her as "Lydia Quinney" or "Quinney" throughout. I have preferred to keep with the custom of utilizing last names for subsequent references, but in the case where multiple people in the chapter have the same last name, I employ first names to help with clarity and ease of reading.

The periodization chosen for this study is reflective of the source base and my interest in understanding how the nation dealt with the challenges of strengthening their community in the face of removal. Quaker sources are far richer than other missionary accounts of the Stockbridge, particularly in their description of Stockbridge women.[23] The bulk of the story begins as the Stockbridge enter the Quaker records and ends as the relationship dissolves after their removal to

[23] The reason for this is discussed in chapters two and three.

Wisconsin. Chapter one provides an overview of Stockbridge Mohican history from the seventeenth century through their first major removal into New York in the 1780s. The summary gives special attention to the way Mohican women experienced life in the mission town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts and their reasons for developing new strategies upon their arrival in New York. Chapter two looks at the ways in which Stockbridge and Quaker women developed a "sisterhood" that led to the Stockbridge's request to have their daughters educated in Pennsylvania Quaker homes. Chapter three takes a closer look at the education the girls received in Chester County, Pennsylvania and the complications that arose on the reservation while the girls were away. Chapter four examines Stockbridge women's strategies of community uplift and the role Quaker women played in supporting those initiatives. Chapter five considers how, despite Stockbridge women's best efforts to remain in New York, the tribe was compelled to undergo several failed removals to the Midwest. Threatened by the possibly of yet another removal west of the Mississippi River, the nation felt pressure to adhere more thoroughly to American legal and gender customs in order to justify their right to exist on their land as "civilized" people. These changes as well as their temporary status as U.S. citizens in the 1840s had far-reaching consequences for formal female leadership among the Stockbridge-Munsee.

II. DAUGHTERS OF A MOHICAN NATION

Mohican oral tradition tells of the tribe's original crossing of a large body of water where the land nearly touched. The people continued across the continent from the North and West, splintering into different groups as they faced famine and traveled toward the rising sun. Once they reached the end of the continent, some of them, the Lenape, settled along a river now known as the Delaware. Others continued North and found a river valley similar to the landscape from which they originated. The main river that gave life to the valley (the present-day Hudson River Valley) they named *Mahicannituck*, or the river with "waters that are never still." The people then called themselves the *Muhheconeok* (pronounced Muh-he-con-neok) or *Muheakenneew*, "the people of the waters that are never still." In the Mahicannituck valley, various Mohican communities formed a loose confederacy and maintained ties with their larger kinship network that extended from their neighboring Algonkian nations along the eastern seaboard to the Cherokee and Creek in the South and the Shawnee, Delaware, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo, among others, in the West.[24]

Like other indigenous people in the northeastern woodlands, daily life was mediated through a gendered division of labor. Considered the givers and sustainers of life, women were responsible for agriculture and processing animals to feed and clothe the community. Women also controlled much of life inside the village, particularly within the home. They cleared forests for farming and built wigwams as well as longhouses, often with the assistance of men. They gathered berries and nuts for food and grasses for constructing baskets, mats, and bedding.

[24] "Origin and Early History," Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians Community; Electa Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present: Records of an Old Mission Station* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1854), 16-18. For a overview of the ecological diversity of the Hudson River Valley around the time of Native-European contact, see William Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 3-17.

Children were thought to belong primarily to the mother rather than the father, usually staying with her or her family when a couple no longer lived together or the parents died. Men assisted with the harvest each year, but their primary responsibility centered around hunting, fishing, peacemaking, and warfare. Communities were governed by a group of headmen including a Chief Sachem and his *Wohweetquanpechee* (counsellors). The sachemship passed matrilineally and though there exists no evidence that women occupied the position of sachem or counsellor within Mohican communities. Women were consulted on tribal affairs, could be influential *powaws*, were keepers of oral tradition, and acted as *sunksquohs* and Clan Mothers of the beneath the Sachem or, like their Haudenosaunee neighbors, Clan Mothers of the Wolf, Turkey, Turtle, or Bear clans.[25]

Mohican life was lived seasonally. For women and girls, spring planting gave way to a summer of tending fields, cooking meals, and constructing clothing from skins and furs. Older women taught younger women skills in cooking, porcupine needlework, and medicinal remedies. The entire community took part in the harvest, but it was the women's job to dry food and preserve them in reed mats under the ground. In the winter, they moved their wigwams and dried stores into the surrounding mountains to be near winter hunting grounds. According to Mohican

[25] Much of historical scholarship rejects the notion that conclusions about one indigenous group can be drawn from sources from a different group, particularly if the groups are of different linguistic traditions. While historians must be careful about drawing from sources beyond the distinct group they are researching, some have taken this practice too far and rejected oral traditions of Native people on the basis that there is no archeological proof to reinforce indigenous knowledge. This arrests our development of greater understanding and further undermines rightful indigenous claims to their own history. In drawing the above conclusions, I have privileged oral traditions of Mohican people and evidence from material culture that suggests significant cultural sharing between the Mohicans and Haudenosaunee, and the Mohicans and Algonquian Indians. Rather than using the absence of archeological evidence to leave large gaps in our knowledge of Mohican societies, I use them as opportunities to utilize different sources that not only fill in gaps, but also often corroborate other sources in the historical and archaeological record. For evidence of cultural sharing among these groups, see Ann McMullen and Russell G. Handsman, eds., *A Key into the Language of Woodsplint Baskets* (Washington, CT: American Indian Archaeological Institute, 1987), 83, 121-123; Clan Mother: Healing the Community," Wisconsin Public Television Education. Accessed March 26, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O3hl7DAEkV0>; "Origin and Early History," Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians website, Accessed January 8, 2019, <https://www.mohican.com/origin-early-history/>.

tradition, the cold winter months were filled with lessons for younger generations. Tribal elders relayed the stories of their people and explained the origins of their customs. They also learned the importance of each member's place in the community and their nation's role within the larger kin network. Late in the winter, Mohican families set up sugar camps to extract and process maple syrup. Life began anew each spring with a return to the nutrient-rich banks of the Muh-hea-con-nuck River to sow the next year's crop. The years continued this way, highlighted by feasts, sacred holidays, and punctuated with occasional warfare, until European trade and colonization began to alter Mohican lifeways.[26]

Living along the lower Hudson River, Mohican communities were some of the first people the Dutch encountered and traded with at Fort Orange. Like other Native peoples, Mohicans incorporated European trade goods and their trading partners into their existing daily life and understandings of diplomacy and warfare. The expansion of the fur trade, however, began to disrupt regular labor patterns and increased competition for lucrative hunting grounds.[27] There exists some historiographical debate about whether or not the sustained warfare that broke out between the Mohawk and Mohicans in the seventeenth century was a result of competition in the fur trade or a continuation of older patterns of warfare. Regardless, by the 1660s, Mohicans retreated from the Hudson River after enduring significant losses in their war with the Mohawk. Some Mohican communities moved further east toward their winter hunting grounds along the Housatonic River, others moved further south and west nearer their Lenape kin.[28]

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[26] "Origin and Early History," Official Tribal Website of the Stockbridge-Munsee Community Band of Mohican Indians, <http://www.mohican.com/originearlyhistory/> (accessed 2-15-2018).

[27] For an overview of the effects of the fur trade on Indian nations and the ecology of New England, see William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), chapter 5.

[28] There exists some debate about whether or not the Mohican-Mohawk wars were part of the Beaver Wars or if they were part of larger patterns of warfare that predated European arrival. William A. Starna and Jose Antonio Brandao. "From the Mohawk--Mahican War to the Beaver Wars: Questioning the Pattern." *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 4 (2004):

The Mohicans of Stockbridge

Mohicans, like all Native people, adapted their culture and traditions to meet new realities long before they encountered Europeans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dislocation and hardship after the Mohican-Mohawk wars of the sixteenth century caused Mohican people to look for new avenues to sustain their communities. Their decision to accept a missionary into their community and establish a permanent settlement in the 1730s was simply one more way Mohicans chose to deal with the new challenges of colonization. Around 1650, missionary John Eliot began the first English "praying town" at Natick, Massachusetts. Native people who joined Eliot there did so as their communities faced pressure from the rapid expansion of Puritan settlements and the spread of diseases from which they possessed no immunity. Some went along with Eliot's program because they thought it was the best way to preserve their community and secure land, others lost faith in their medicine when it could not remedy foreign illnesses. Those individuals believed Christian practice must be more powerful than their own . In the seventeenth century, more than a dozen praying towns were established across southern New England. The English missionaries who established these towns hoped to transform Indians into English, a task most Puritans thought impossible. Missionaries intended to isolate Indians from Anglo settlers and other Indian people in order to strip them of their traditional religion, gender roles, and political organization and "reduce" them to civility through Christianization and the adoption of male plow agriculture. Life for indigenous people in these towns was unfortunately no better than the villages they left. At Natick in particular, Eliot enforced harsh punishments against those who engaged with or utilized any indigenous practices,

725-750. https://muse.jhu.edu/ (accessed March 7, 2019). For an overview of this period of Mohican history, see Starna, *From Homeland to New Land*, especially chapter 4.

even those with practical applications (like using bear or goose grease as insect repellent).[29] English settlers managed to muscle their way into these praying communities as well, ultimately dispossessing Indians through their accumulation of debts.[30] Interest in Native conversion among the English was short-lived. Not until the Great Awakening in the next century did some Englishmen feel a renewed zeal to proselytize to Indian people. Their approach, while rooted in the same goal to completely transform Indians into "civilized" Christians, tended to advocate leniency more than their predecessors.[31]

Mohican and Mohawk women played an important role in binding the two nations together after the long war. Marriages solidified alliances as communities sought new ways to adapt to the expanded presence of European settlers on Indian land. A marriage between a prominent Mohawk woman and a Mohican sachem resulted in the birth of a boy who became a venerable Mohawk sachem known as "Chief Hendrick." A generation after the union that produced Chief Hendrick, a daughter of Mohican sachem, Etowaukaum, married Housatonic sachem Umpachenee, thereby solidifying the kinship alliance between the Mohicans and their brethren to the north. These kin networks were reaffirmed at a time of great uncertainty when these various groups felt compounded pressure to survive amidst a scarcity of game and

[29] One could receive a fine or time at the whipping post for infractions of "idleness" or walking around bare-chested. Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 139-41; Dane Morrison, *A Praying People: Massachusett Acculturation and the Failure of the Puritan Mission, 1600-1690* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), 72.

[30] For a detailed study of Indian dispossession at Natick, see Jean O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003).

[31] Missionaries took a more lenient approach in the eighteenth century because most English and Indian people say Natick as a failure. The Stockbridge and others were hesitant to accept a missionary because of the poor reputation of Natick among Indians. Leniency on the part of eighteenth-century missionaries likely accounts for the stronger retention of Native customs even after a group's move to a New England praying town (though some Native culture continued at Natick as well, despite Eliot's attempts to root it out). Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 15-16; Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 139-41. This attitude prevailed into the national period. Missionary to the Oneida, Samuel Kirkland believed that "some of their manners must be indulged and even cherished" so as not to "depress their spirits" and keep them from accepting spiritual and temporal reforms. Kirkland journal, 20 May 1791, MHS.

famine.[32] Alliances unfortunately could not stave off the need of some Native communities to sell land to Europeans to prevent starvation during harsh winters and crop failures.[33]

In 1734, Mohican sachem Konkapot and Umpachenee were approached by two English missionaries about the prospect of receiving a missionary to teach their people Christianity and English literacy.[34] After much debate between counsellors, headwomen, and elders, some members of the Mohican and Housatonic communities decided to accept the missionaries' offer. In 1735, a small number of families settled in the Housatonic River Valley near the Mohicans' ancestral hunting and burial ground. In this new town known as "Stockbridge," the families agreed to receive training in English literacy and protection of their land in exchange for their conversion to Christianity and an agreement to begin adopting the trappings of a "civilized" life.[35]

The settlement began with only a handful of Native people, their missionary, and one other English family. The Native population reached about 120 in just five years as surrounding Mohican, Housatonic, and Wappinger people decided to cast their lot with the Stockbridge.[36]

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[32] Perhaps the most profound effect deforestation and English land use had on Christian Indians resulted in the loss of hunting. As white settlements moved closer to the interior and cleared more land, the animal population correspondingly dwindled. Over hunting in these areas may have also contributed to the decline of the deer and moose populations. After King Philip's War ended in 1676, the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth both adopted a ban on Indian-style field burning as a method of clearing land. With the phasing out of land burning, Natives could no longer use the technique to attract game to the resulting fields of new growth. The ban was put in place because colonists adopted this practice and burned down timber at an alarming rate. While the Stockbridge Indians maintained limited hunting practices into mid-century, most other praying towns lost their ability to hunt by 1740. Silverman, "Bounded," 522, 540-541; Ronda and Ronda, "As They Were Faithful," 44.

[33] Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 11.

[34] Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 16-19.

[35] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 14-5; James Ronda and Jeanne Ronda. "'As They Were Faithful': Chief Hendrick Aupaumut and the Struggle of Stockbridge Survival, 1757 – 1830," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 3, no.3 (1979), 44. The first order of business after establishing a praying town was for the missionaries to distribute English agricultural tools among the Natives. Metal hoes, plows, and axes were donated by the missionary societies in order to encourage "proper" land use. Sarah Cabot Sedgwick and Christine Sedgwick Marquand, *Stockbridge, 1739-1939*, Reprint Edition (Pittsfield, MA: Berkshire Family History Association, 1995), 27.

[36] Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 52.

Like their predecessors in seventeenth-century praying towns and their indigenous contemporaries elsewhere in New England, these families now known as "Stockbridge Indians" believed that the preservation of their people was best served by accepting missionaries into their communities and settling mission towns.[37] The changes required of them, primarily around religion and gender relations, were significant and met with sustained resistance throughout the experiment at Stockbridge. The most significant reorganization of life centered on the replacement of female agricultural labor with men, plows, and oxen.

Despite encouragement to have more "civilized" gender norms, much of pre-Stockbridge Mohican life continued in the first ten to twenty years and beyond. In the first several years of the mission, women continued to perform most of the work in the fields.[38] Much to their missionary John Sergeant's consternation, some families left the town for several weeks or months at a time to set up hunting camps far outside the valley. Men and boys hunted and trapped wild deer, turkey, pigeons, moose, and occasionally, bear.[39] Not only were these animals used as a supplemental food sources, but the Stockbridge Indians continued to use the skins for clothing, bedding, and wall coverings inside wigwams.[40] Closer to home, both men and women (including children) in Stockbridge left the village for about six weeks every February or March

[37] Many factors played into Mohican desires to establish the praying town. One of which was a long-standing conflict with the Mohawk and dislocations from trade and land sales to the Dutch. Some Mohicans chose to move south and accepted Moravian missionaries into their community. See William A. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land: A History of the Mahican Indians, 1600-1830* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013), 170-181. For a comparative look at the two communities' relationship with missionaries, see Rachel Wheeler, *To Live Upon Hope: Mohicans and Missionaries in the Eighteenth-Century Northeast* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013). For a broader look at New England Indian communities' engagement with mission towns and Christianity in this period, see Linford Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[38] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 94.
[39] Ted J. Brasser, *Riding on the Frontier's Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Cultural Change* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974), 5, 31, 33; Willoughby, "Houses and Gardens," 119; H.E. Warfel, "Notes of Some Mammals of Western Massachusetts," *Journal of Mammalogy* 18, no. 1 (February 1937): 83-4.
[40] Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 17; Brasser, *Mahican Culture*, 5; Dennis Connole, *The Indians of the Nipmuck Country in Southern New England* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2001), 17; Willoughby, "Houses and Gardens," 116.

to go sugaring.[41] Women erected small wigwams for the group to reside in while they harvested sap from maple trees. While in camp, women boiled the sap and stored the product in birch boxes before returning to the village.[42] Sugar, brooms, baskets, wooden cups, and beadwork became important sources of income for Stockbridge families, the production of which was controlled entirely by women. Stockbridge women and men were chastised for continuing these customs, but other indigenous traditions were tolerated because they did not conflict with English notions of proper Christian womanhood. Stockbridge women, though increasingly left out of large-scale agricultural production, continued to maintain gardens near their wigwam or frame house (if they were among the most prominent families). Their gardens contained legumes and herbs for food consumption and medicinal purposes.[43]

English missionaries expected the newly dubbed "Stockbridge Indians" to reorient their family relations along European gender norms and adopt Congregational-style local governance, complete with attempts toward church-sanction social control. The community's town council included selectmen, a moderator or clerk, tithing men, fence viewers, surveyor for highways, constable, and hog reeves. Positions changed occupants from year to year, but the clerkship and moderator positions were always held by an Englishman and many positions held by Indians

[41] Brasser, *Mahican Culture*, 33; Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 62; Sedgwick and Marquand, *Stockbridge*, 14.
[42] A.F. Chamberlain, "The Maple Amongst the Algonkian Tribes," *American Anthropologist* 4, no. 1 (January 1891): 40.
[43] Willoughby, "Houses and Gardens," 129; Carolyn Merchant, *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 169; Hawley, manuscript letter to James Freeman, 19 May 1796, Gideon Hawley Letters Collection, Ms. N-1379, MHS. The keeping of gardens by Christian Indian women was common across New England and missionaries tended to commend Indian women for their skill in gardening. Mohican burial customs also continued to be practiced at least until the 1750s. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 105. Stockbridge land records show that the men who owned homes on their property were some of the Mohican sachems. John Konkapot and Umpachenee were the two most influential leaders in the early years, and they appear frequently in the land records. See Wilcox Deed Research Collection, volume 1, Stockbridge Town Library and Archives, Stockbridge, MA; Bragdon, "Gender as a Social Category in Native Southern New England," 75-77, 86.

were jointly held by both English and Indian occupants.[44] As in all other New England towns, women were not allowed to sit on councils. Stockbridge women, however, continued to have some degree of voice in tribal councils that endured alongside Anglo-style town councils.[45] Stockbridge women held deeds to land at a higher rate than their Anglo counterparts. It was unusual for unmarried, non-widowed women to hold land in colonial New England and Anglo women's names rarely even appeared on their husband's deeds. Conversely, at least sixty-seven Stockbridge women were designated as sole or joint-owners of land in the years the nation remained in their Massachusetts town. This is a significant number considering the Indian population at Stockbridge never exceeded much more than 200.[46]

Within the traditional context of female authority in Puritan towns, Stockbridge Indian women also seized the opportunity to become formal members of the church, and did so, like their Anglo counterparts, in much larger numbers than their men. With this move, they secured a degree of authority and respect within an English context. Along with new roles, Mohican women continued as carriers of oral tradition, language, and medicinal and crafting knowledge.[47]

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[44] Town records from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1735-1832, microfilm, 1 reel, 35mm,238330 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1961).

[45] Town council meetings were held in the local meetinghouse while tribal council meetings were held elsewhere, likely in the home of one of the headmen or headwomen, as they were in the later period in New York. There exists strong physical evidence and community knowledge that meetings among Native leaders were held in a framed house that still stands in Stockbridge, MA. Clarence Fanto, "Daylong festival 'Revisiting Indiantown' in Stockbridge on Saturday," May 3, 2018, *The Berkshire Eagle*, Accessed March 2, 2019, <https://www.berkshireeagle.com/stories/daylong-festival-revisiting-indiantown-in-stockbridge-on-saturday,538748>. For the continuation of tribal governance, see Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 105.

[46] From the 250 deeds evaluated so far, only two of the sixty-seven Stockbridge female land owners were designated as widows and thirteen held land jointly with their husbands. Of the English grantees, only three were women. "Lots of the Original Indian Proprietors and Disposition of the Same," Stockbridge Indian Collection and Wilcox Deed Research Collection, volume 1 and 2, Stockbridge Town Library and Archives, Stockbridge, MA. The reader should note that a comprehensive examination of all deeds of sale in Stockbridge is still underway, so precise numbers and percentages of female land ownership may change. Many thanks to Rick Wilcox for the transcription of these deeds. For an overview of the Stockbridge, MA population, see Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 238.

[47] For Indian women's church membership see Stockbridge, MA, see Typescript of Congregational Church records, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1759-1865, microfilm, reel 1, Family History Library (Salt Lake City, Utah: the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1961).

Within a Mohican context, women's status did not significantly change. Institutional records, however, demonstrate the beginnings of the erosion of female power within a community that was compelled to adopt the outward trappings of Euro-patriarchal authority. The prohibition of women from town governance started a new custom that normalized women's exclusion from community decision-making, at least when that community also included English people. As legal dealings with Anglo-Puritan settlers became more contentious and central to Mohican existence in Stockbridge, the written record gives the impression that community affairs were dominated by Native men. The records of Mohican women's indigenous names, a window into their personality and Mohican culture, slowly declined. When their names did appear in the record, Christian names predominated, sometimes alongside an Anglicized version of a Mohican name. As the decades progressed, Stockbridge Mohican women's names were often completely erased by the Anglo tendency to refer to women by their husbands' names.[48]

Indian Schools at Stockbridge

The school at Stockbridge was the centerpiece of Sergeant's experiment in Indian reeducation. He and past missionaries bemoaned the difficulty they faced in "rooting out" the habits of Native adults. Children's minds, they believed, offered more fertile ground in which to plant the ideas of English "civilization." Ideally, once educated, the children would then convert their parents and other Native people. With this plan in mind, Sergeant and the schoolmaster,

[48] There is strong evidence to suggest that, even though women's and men's names change in written record, they preserved Mohican-language names through at least the early nineteenth century. For naming trends in Stockbridge, MA, see Typescript of Congregational Church records, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1759-1865, microfilm, reel 1, Family History Library (Salt Lake City, Utah: the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1961). Evidence that Mohicans retained traditional names at least into the nineteenth century, see Henry Simmons Letterbook, vol. 1 (Ms. Coll. 975.02.019), QSCHC; Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800 (Ms. Coll. 975.01.072), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

Timothy Woodbridge, taught Indian boys reading and writing in the English and Mohican languages as well as farming techniques. Though literacy was a component of Sergeant's curriculum, he and other eighteenth-century missionaries adopted a more labor-centric approach to Indian education. To cultivate Indian minds and souls, missionaries believed they must first cultivate and subdue their bodies. Sergeant wished to "root out their vicious habits" through new forms of work and land use, from which piety and virtue would follow. The boys who attended Woodbridge's school worked a 200 acre plot of land and tended farm animals.[49]

Attendance at the school posed a problem. Stockbridge Mohicans continued to live their lives seasonally. Unsatisfied with the boys' progress, Sergeant sought funding to board the boys with English families so as not to be influenced by their parents' "wicked" habits. With the help of benefactors, Sergeant managed to clothe, feed, and board twelve boys in his quarters and neighboring English homes for a year or so. Boarding in English homes rarely produced satisfactory results and contributed more toward declining morale among the school children than their educational advancement. In the 1740s, twelve Stockbridge boys were sent to Newington, Connecticut to live with Martin Kellogg, an elderly farmer and former army captain who had experience interpreting Indian languages for the English. Over the years, Kellogg earned a bad reputation among the Stockbridge for abusing the boys, though Sergeant and Woodbridge continued to utilize his services as an instructor.[50] To remedy the problems that resulted from boarding Indian children in English homes, In 1749 Sergeant secured enough

[49] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 108. For a similar argument laid out here, see Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 162-3.
[50] Axtell, "The Rise and Fall of the Stockbridge Indian Schools," in *The Massachusetts Review*, vol. 27, no. 2 (summer 1986), 372.

money to finish construction of a "Charity House" that he believed would offer better arrangements for the boys while they attended Woodbridge's school.[51]

After Sergeant's death, however, the school became a pawn in a fight over control of the town between Woodbridge and a revolving door of missionaries on the one side and Sergeant's in-laws, the Williams, on the other. Throughout the 1750s, 60s, and 70s, the school educated Indian boys with a modicum of success. Some boys from more prominent Stockbridge Mohican families were sent to other Indian schools in New England. Eight boys, including future headmen John Konkapot and Peter Pohquannoppeet lived for a time in Lebanon, Connecticut to attend Eleazar Wheelock's Moor's Charity School.

The education of Indians girls at Stockbridge, as in the rest of the colonial Northeast, remained an afterthought. Sergeant's early plans for Indian education at Stockbridge included training Indian girls in domestic skills and English literacy. He believed this to be a promising endeavor because, "the Care for the Souls of Children and Families . . . lies chiefly upon the Mothers." His proposals were met with mixed responses. One wealthy benefactor enthusiastically replied that "if there open any Door for teaching some Girls in Womens Work, as was before proposed, inform me of it, and draw upon me before the Year is out, for *Fifty*, or even a *Hundred Pounds* more." Another patron agreed to donate, but stated: "I would have none but *Boys* educated for me; but it may be well if a Number of *Girls* could be educated on the Account of some others."[52]

In the 1740s, only a small percentage of the funds received for Indian girls' schooling at Stockbridge were used for their intended purpose. Of the £100 Sergeant received for Indian girls'

[51] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 35, 82, 94; Axtell, "The Rise and Fall of the Stockbridge Indian Schools," 367-372.
[52] Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs*, 71, 114-115.

domestic education, only £5 were spent on the short-lived education of two Stockbridge girls, one of whom was the daughter of Stockbridge headman Captain Konkapot. Konkapot's daughter was placed in the home of a local English family, but according to Sergeant, her education failed because of her own "childish fondness for home."[53] After Sergeant's death, the idea of educating Indian girls was resurrected when several Stockbridge families, along with Mohawk families who temporarily moved to Stockbridge in order for their children to attend school, requested to have their daughters educated. Sergeant's widow, Abigail, took it upon herself to raise funds for the girls' instruction. Never fond of her husband's work, it is perhaps unsurprising that the ventured failed under Abigail's direction. She was given £150 from the Massachusetts General Court and £40.10s from the New England Company to build a separate school to house and educate between ten and twelve Mohican and Mohawk girls. The school and its head mistress received a reputation for abuse and mismanagement. Abigail, now remarried and going by the name "Abigail Dwight," used the funds to update her stately home for use as a school house while the boarding school was being built. After the new building was erected, Dwight moved her whole family in and blurred the lines between students and servants. Many Stockbridge families refused to send their daughters to Dwight and the school mysteriously burned down just over a year later.[54]

In Stockbridge and elsewhere in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Indian girls who boarded with English families to receive an "education" were much more likely to become servants or slaves in white households rather than return to their communities enriched with skills to help defend their nation's sovereignty.[55] The example of

[53] Axtell, "The Rise and Fall of the Indians Schools at Stockbridge," 370.
[54] Axtell, "The Rise and Fall of the Indians Schools at Stockbridge," 373-375.
[55] For the enslavement and servitude of Indians, especially girls, in New England, see Margaret Ellen Newell, "The Changing Nature of Indian Slavery in New England, 1670-1720," and Ruth Wallis Harndon and Ella Wilcox

Wheelock's Moor's Charity School stands as an excellent example. His goal in educating Native girls was simply to provide wives for the Indian boys who became ministers and missionaries. Wheelock believed that if his Indian scholars-turned-missionaries had the support of a "civilized" Indian woman, they would be less likely to revert back to their "savage" ways while abroad on a mission.[56] Given the poor treatment Native children often received in these homes and in boarding schools like Moor's, Indian communities were reluctant to send their children away, particularly their girls.[57] Native peoples' consent to take these risks speaks to the desperate situation in which Native nations found themselves and their acknowledgement of the need to achieve literacy in European languages and customs in order to survive and thrive in a colonized world. Some Native communities who wished to educate all of their girls specifically requested that missionaries send women – specifically Native women – to teach their daughters.[58] Despite the demand for this kind of work, missionaries did not bother to tutor young Indian women to become school teachers.

Without any reliable Anglo educational opportunities, most Native women and girls remained unskilled in English literacy and were taught few if any skills of industry beyond basic

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Sekatau, "Colonizing the Children: Indian Youngsters in Servitude in Early Rhode Island," in *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience* eds. Colin G. Calloway and Neal and Neal Salisbury (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2009).

[56] Margaret Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607-1783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 223.

[57] On desire to provide wives for graduates and complaints by Native parents about the treatment of their children in Wheelock's school, see James D. McCallum, ed., *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), reprint (Whitefish Kessinger, 2008), 16, 65, 276-78, 288. For mistreatment of Indians in English homes from the beginning of the practice in the seventeenth century, see Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts: Or Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard* (London, 1727), reprint (Whitefish Kessinger, 2005), 194, 220. For differences in the ways Indian boys and girls were educated, see Hilary Wyss, "Writing Back to Wheelock," in Kristina Bross and Hilary E. Wyss, eds., *Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 97.

[58] Linford Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 51. In 1757, The Lantern Hill Pequots specifically requested that their children be taught by an Indian woman because a majority of their children were girls. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 136-63.

housekeeping and sewing. As a result, women earned money through basketmaking, broom making, medicinal services, and housekeeping in Anglo homes.[59] Prior to their removal to New York, the Stockbridge finally acquired a Native school teacher. After attending Moor's Charity School in the early 1770s, Peter Pohquanoppeet graduated from Dartmouth College and became Deacon of the church and schoolmaster of the school at Stockbridge. The extent to which Pohquanoppeet taught Stockbridge girls is unclear. The writing abilities of Stockbridge headwomen in the 1790s, however, speaks to the likelihood that Pohquanoppeet and other men taught their sisters and wives how to read and write in English. Now that education was firmly in their hands, they had the ability to spread it however they chose. After fifty years, it seemed the Stockbridge might be on their way to fulfilling their mission in receiving and English education: to give their children the skills to navigate colonization and keep the community intact.

[59] On the desire to provide wives for graduates and complaints by Native parents about the treatment of their children in Wheelock's school, see James D. McCallum, ed., *The Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932), reprint (Whitefish Kessinger, 2008), 16, 65, 276-78, 288. For mistreatment of Indians in English homes from the beginning of the practice in the seventeenth century, see Experience Mayhew, *Indian Converts: Or Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a Considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard* (London, 1727), reprint (Whitefish Kessinger, 2005), 194, 220. For differences in the ways Indian boys and girls were educated, see Hilary Wyss, "Writing Back to Wheelock," in Kristina Bross and Hilary E. Wyss, eds*., Early Native Literacies in New England: A Documentary and Critical Anthology*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), 97. In 1757, The Lantern Hill Pequots specifically requested that their children be taught by an Indian woman because a majority of their children were girls. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 51, 136-163. For the account of the schools at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, see James Axtell, "The Rise and Fall of the Stockbridge Indian Schools," *The Massachusetts Review* 27, no. 2 (Summer, 1986), 367-378. At least one Indian woman could spin by the 1770s, but whether or not she could weave is unknown. See Berkshire County, Massachusetts, Berkshire Middle Registry of Deeds, Book 25, pp. 144, Mary Manutockkaumon and Mallatiah Hatch, March 14, 1774, transcription from Wilcox Deed Research Collection, volume 2, Stockbridge Town Library and Archives, Stockbridge, MA. For oral tradition of medicinal knowledge form the Stockbridge-Munsee, see Misty Cook Davids, *Medicine Generations* (Misty Cook Davids, M.S., 2013).

Stockbridge Women and Colonial Wars

Broader geopolitical trends in colonial history also disrupted the lives of Stockbridge Indian women. As allies to the English colonists with whom they lived, Stockbridge men participated in King George's War, the French and Indian War, and the American Revolution as scouts and in separate Indian units in battle. The practice of Mohican women travelling with men as part of war parties was common prior to the establishment of Stockbridge, and it continued throughout the colonial period.[60] Increased pressure on Indian land at Stockbridge as well as changing attitudes and economic hardship likely contributed to the discontinuation of the practice part way through the Revolutionary War. Hardship during the Revolution also placed the disadvantaged status of Stockbridge women and girls in high relief. As most of the nation's English-literate members went off to war, women struggled to fight back against land encroachment and they petitioned for their men's compensation as soldiers for the Continental Army.[61]

Despite English perceptions that Native men quickly seized any chance to go to war, the Stockbridge opted to serve in each conflict only after careful consideration and consultation with their kin.[62] Choosing to fight against fellow Natives often meant breaking kinship ties that were not easily mended.[63] This reluctance to choose sides stemmed from Christian Indians' precarious existence in both Indian and European worlds. They were hesitant to make enemies of other Native nations, but the more immediate danger existed within their own communities. New

[60] When war required extensive travel away from Native villages, women often went with the men to help set up camp and prepare meals. Women were in charge of constructing temporary wigwams, gathering food, and helping to prepare game. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 96-97; Dunn, *Mohicans and Their Land*, 120.
[61] Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 100-102.
[62] Bragdon, *Native Peoples*, 225.
[63] Dunn, *The Mohican World*, 203. In 1777, a contingent of British-allied Iroquois warriors laid waste to an Oneida village because of the Oneida's decision to ally with the colonists. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 218.

England colonists who lived near Native communities threatened violence against Native people if they chose not to help their Anglo neighbors.[64] Western Massachusetts was a hotbed for Patriot activity, which likely influenced the Stockbridge Indians' decision to fight alongside the colonists. Stockbridge Native men volunteered as minutemen even before Lexington and Concord and responded to the call for help at those battles.[65] Leading up to the American Revolution, however, Stockbridge headmen stated that they "had no immediate business with it."[66] Prior to officially allying themselves with the colonists they consulted the Mohawk. After several days of speeches – and Mohawk attempts to convince the Stockbridge to remain neutral – the Mohawk ultimately extended their blessing.[67] After consultations with their kin and within their own community, Solomon Uhhaunauwaunmut, a counsellor of the nation, delivered a speech that affirmed the Stockbridge Mohican commitment to the Patriot cause. He agreed to raise a unit of men and fight on the condition that, ". . . if you send for me to fight, that you will let me fight in my own Indian way. I am not used to fight English fashion, therefore you must not expect I can train like your men. Only point out to me where you enemies keep, and that is all I shall want to know."[68]

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[64] David J. Silverman, *Red Brethren: The Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians and the Problem of Race in Early America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010, 110-11. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 76-8.
[65] Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 194.
[66] As quoted in Frazier and Calloway. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 195.
[67] Thomas Allen , manuscript letter to General Seth Pomeroy, 9 May 1775, Ch. E.7.32, Boston Public Library (BPL), Boston, MA. Thomas Allen was under the impression that the Mohawk would also join the colonists and was unaware that the Mohawk discouraged the Stockbridges from joining a side. See Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian country: crisis and diversity in Native American communities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 94.
[68] As quoted in Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 198. Missionaries did not typically support their Native converts' participation in warfare because, as John Sergeant, Jr. stated, it would "amazingly corrupt their morals." Not only did they feel that war induced an undesirable effect on Native people, but the ramifications of warfare also led to a depreciation in funding for missionary efforts. Benefactors often cut off funding for schools and missionaries because the boards believed that as soon as war broke out, Natives would abandon their villages and praying towns. However, in the early years at Stockbridge, The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge made sure to send small gifts to the Stockbridge Indians during King George's War to ensure their alliance with the British. During the revolution, however, the British-owned New England Company made no such efforts to sway Stockbridge Indians onto the British side. Once the war broke out, they cut their funding for the

Early in the war, fighting the "Indian way" for the Stockbridge meant taking women, and even some small children along with them to support their camps. During the siege of Boston, between thirty-five and sixty "Christian Indians" served under the command of Captain William Goodrich's company at Cambridge in April 1775. The number likely included several men from southern New England Christian Indian communities whose families tried to emigrate to Oneida territory in New York, but were prevented from doing so by the outbreak of war. Those families remained in Stockbridge for the duration of the war.[69] While these Native companies were placed under the command of Colonel John Paterson and General Israel Putnum, they camped separately from the rest of the Continental Army.[70] William Emerson, a chaplain for Paterson's troops, recorded his encounter with the Native encampment:

> Last Saturday visited ye Camp or rather Wigwaums of ye Indians . . . They are permitted to live by themselves in a very thick woods, that belongs to *InmanFarm*. They have some of them got their Squaws & Papooses with them. I had ye Pleasure of sitting down with 'em at a fine Mess of Clams cooked and eat in ye true genuine Indian Taste. I wish you had been there to see how generously they put their Fingers into ye Dish, and picked out some of ye largest Clams to give to me . . . Be sure it is the greatest Diversion I have had since I have been in ye camp.[71]

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missionary work at Stockbridge and throughout New England. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 215; Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians*, 1753; reprinted in *Magazine of History*, extra no. 17 (1911), 122; Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 98-99, 205.

[69] Many of the Connecticut Indians who attempted to remove to New York in 1775 ended up taking refuge in Stockbridge for the remainder of the war. Many of those men ultimately served alongside the Stockbridge Indians in the war. The number of "Stockbridge" men (which likely included some Connecticut Indians) is roughly estimated between thirty-five and sixty. Oneida warriors likely numbered closer to 100. Of those Connecticut Indians who did not leave their towns, their enlistment numbers are unknown. Calloway, *American Revolution*, 92; Frazier, *Mohicans*, 198; Joseph Glatthaar, *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 192.

[70] As quoted in Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 198.

[71] Some scholars have doubted whether or not these Native were really Stockbridge Indians, despite Emerson's identification of them as "Stockbridge" Indians. One scholar doubts Emerson's labelling, claiming that claiming only common among the coastal New England Indians. Clamming was, however, common among Mohican people, and freshwater clams were part of the Hudson and Housatonic River fauna in New York and Massachusetts. Amelia Forbes Emerson, ed. *Diaries and letters of William Emerson, 1743-1776, Minister of the Church in Concord, Chaplain in the Revolutionary Army* (Boston: Thomas Todd Company, 1972), 80.

The Stockbridge encampment at Cambridge offers the only archival evidence of Stockbridge women engaging in pre-Christian Mohican warfare customs during the Revolutionary War. According to the Stockbridge-Munsee nation, however, at least one Stockbridge Mohican mother, Moshuebee, followed the men (two of whom were her sons) on their journeys throughout the war to cook, sew garments, and otherwise tend to camp.[72] After the Stockbridge returned from Cambridge in July or August 1775, Solomon Uhhuannaunmut delivered a speech to the Commissioners for Transacting Indian Affairs where he requested the services of an additional missionary to tend to the concerns of Stockbridge women while the men were away at war.[73] Uhhuannaunmut did not give a specific reason why the women needed extra care, and no one mentioned that women would no longer accompany men on expeditions. Missionaries likely pressured women to stay because they believed that warfare corrupted the Indians' morals and hindered progress toward "civilization." The presence of "camp followers" among the Continental Army was common throughout the war, but those women were not seen as embodying respectable Christian womanhood.[74]

The Albany conference of 1775 offers the only other example of Stockbridge Indian women's engagement in warfare or diplomacy during the Revolution. Stockbridge women along with Oneida women, who had been the object of missionary efforts by Eleazar Wheelock and Samuel Kirkland before the war broke out, attend the conference at Albany that took place

[72] Molly Miller, "Mohican Leaders of the Past: Moshuebee," in Dorothy W. Davids, Laurie S. Frank, Ruth A Gudinas, Kasey Rae Anne Keup, and Barbara Miller, *The Mohican People: Theirs Lives and Their Lands: A Curriculum Unit for Grades 4-5*, pg. 29, (Accessed 28 February, 2019) <https://www.uwgb.edu/UWGBCMS/media/educ-fns/files/The-mohican-People.pdf> .
[73] "Answer of the Commissioners to the Speech delivered yesterday by the Indians, Speech of Capt. Solomon, a Chief of the Stockbridge Indians, and Reply of the Commissioners, Treaty concluded, and the Indians informed they would receive their presents tomorrow," *American Archives* Series 4, Volume 3, Page 0488.
[74] Holly A. Mayer, *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 124-7.

between colonists and surrounding Native nations. Though it was common for some Mohican and Oneida women to be present at treaty negotiations or council fires, their manner of participation at this event was new. Oneida and Stockbridge young women and girls entertained the guests by singing Christian hymns, likely in their own languages. Comments from Anglo onlookers tell of the differing degrees of Stockbridge and Oneida acceptance as "civilized" people by colonial men. In writing to a friend, Lieutenant Colonel Tench Tilghman noted that the Stockbridge girls were "pretty and extremely cleanly," and "spoke tolerable English" compared to the Oneida girls, and so Tilghman desired to "make an Acquaintance among them."[75] For the remainder of their time at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, there exists little evidence of Mohican women fulfilling their customary diplomatic role as hosts, counsellors, and speechmakers.[76] Still, their presence at this conference is suggestive of their method to adapt Mohican customs and values to a new colonial context. The practice of bringing women along on diplomatic missions phased out entirely among the Stockbridge after the Revolution. This particular adaptation affected other Native nations' perception of the Stockbridge. Hendrick Aupaumut, who became chief Sachem sometime during or immediately after the war, later travelled to the western nations on behalf of the new United States. His efforts to strike a fair peace agreement between Native nations and the United States were called into question by Molly Brant, an influential Mohawk woman who advocated against an alliance with the United States. When Aupaumut's intentions were questioned during the council fire at Niagara, Brant spoke up and argued that, if

[75] Samuel Alexander Harrison, ed., *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman: Secretary and aid to Washington* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1876), 95-6.
[76] Fur, *Nation of Women*, 144.

Aupaumut and his brothers came in peace, they "would certainly follow the customs of all nations – they would have some women with them. But now they have none."[77]

Throughout the war, the men and women of the tribe pleaded with missionaries and colonial officials for soldiers' salaries and assistance in obtaining clothes. Between the decline of game and pressure from missionaries to adopt more "civilized" dress, most Stockbridge Mohicans came to rely upon cheap English textiles to clothe their families.[78] Non-importation left Native peoples in Stockbridge particularly vulnerable. Training in spinning and weaving for Mohican women was not systematic. Because most Stockbridge Indian women did not have access to spinning wheels and looms, they had to purchase homespun from their Anglo neighbors. Additionally, finances for the missionary work at Stockbridge disappeared when the British-owned New England Company pulled their funding for American colonial missions during the war.[79] Pressure to sell land to cover debts continued unabated and widows were left to petition the state for assistance, often only through the help of Anglo men. Since time immemorial, Mohican women were accustomed to running the internal affairs of their villages, doing so by themselves while men were away on hunting, diplomatic, or military expeditions. Their experience in Stockbridge was different. The neglect of Native female education at Stockbridge left Mohican women relatively powerless in the face of land encroachment.[80]

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[77] Aupaumut, Manuscript account of Journey, MHS. For a book-length treatment of women as symbols of peace among plains Indian societies and a mention of the prevalence of this custom, see Juliana Barr, *Peace Came in the Form of a Woman: Indians and Spaniards in the Texas Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 9, 69.

[78] Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 172.

[79] Frazier also suggests that the Continental Congress did not respond to requests for help from the Christian Indians during the American Revolution because they believed that their money would be better spent treating with Natives who were not already allied with the colonists. Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 205.

[80] Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 205; Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 99-101; Calloway, "The Continuing Revolution in Indian Country," 17. People in rural Massachusetts did not support boycotts during the Revolution. Despite smuggling, textiles were difficult to acquire, particularly in rural areas.

Pressure to cede land in Stockbridge was not new. As early at 1749, Stockbridge Indians petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for redress in a series of land transactions to which the nation did not consent. The Stockbridge made clear that they were made to believe that there would never be any more than a few English families living among them, and that, save those few lots, the land would be guaranteed to them forever.[81] This was of course never the plan Stockbridge missionaries and their benefactors had in mind. The idea was to get Indians on private plots of land, allow them to keep some land in common, and then sell the remainder off to Anglo settlers. The Indian population in Stockbridge remained relatively stable around 200 from 1740 to 1780. In contrast, the non-Indian population of Berkshire County reached 25,000 by the 1780s.[82]

Poverty and pressure to sell land became so great that, by the close of the war, the nation accepted an invitation from the Oneida to settle on their land in New York. Over the course of the 1780s, Stockbridge Mohican families, along with the southern New England Natives who came to live with them during the war, moved out of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The Stockbridge Mohicans settled on a six-mile square plot within the Oneida reservation. Oneida Creek ran north and south, splitting the tract in two. The water from the creek offered enough of a current to power mills, but the land was thickly wooded. Roads needed to be cut and land cleared before New Stockbridge could be settled by the roughly 200 displaced Mohicans.

William M. Fowler, Jr., *Samuel Adams: Radical Puritan* (New York: Longman, 1997), 78-79; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 37-38.

[81] Transcription of Colonel Oliver Partridge's Committee Report to the Great & General Court of the Complaints made by the Stockbridge Indians, 1749, Wilcox Deed Research Collection, volume 1, Stockbridge Town Library and Archives, Stockbridge, MA.

[82] Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, 283.

Rebuilding a town infrastructure with limited resources would prove challenging, but the Stockbridge were optimistic about their move and believed there would be some benefits to relocation. The Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brothertown agreed to live together with "one head, one heart, and one blood." They hoped that the reservation would act as a safe haven for Native people to live peacefully away from white settlers.[83] In the years to come, each community would have their own approach to adaptations and did not always agree on the path forward. Missionary tracts emphasized these differences and probably exaggerated them. Despite their differences, the groups continued to council with and often support one another in their efforts to preserve their communities on Oneida land. The Oneida reservation became a haven for all manner of Native and mixed-race communities. The Tuscarora arrived decades earlier as they were pushed out of their homeland in present-day North Carolina due to aggressive colonial settlement and warfare. When a large group of them arrived in New York, the Haudenosaunee welcomed the fellow Iroquoian speakers as members of the now Six-Nations Confederacy.[84] The Mohican's Lenape/Delaware kin who remained in New Jersey after many others dispersed west after the French and Indian War, also accepted an invitation to settle in New Stockbridge in 1790s. The group adopted a Congregational missionary by 1745, but were unsuccessful in their attempt to establish a permanent settlement within their homeland.[85] In an address to their Lenape kin, Aupaumut told them "we have a good Dish in which we could Eat together As truly

[83] The Indians' name for Brothertown even contained the root word "conncuk" which translated to "commons." David Silverman makes the case for similar goals among the communities, but different approaches on how to achieve those goals. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 96; For quote from treaty, see James Dow McCallum, *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians* (Hanover: Dartmouth College Publications, 1932); reprint, Whitefish: Kessinger, 2008, 157-72.

[84] Starna, *From Homeland to New Land*, 212-214. For more on the Oneida's tendency to take in outsiders, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 95.

[85] Their first missionary was David Brainerd followed by his brother Jon Brainerd in 1747. This small group of Lenape families became known as the Brotherton Indians, not to be confused with the Brothertown Indians of coastal New England and Montauk. Starna, *From Homeland to New Land*, 216.

Grandfather and Grandchildren wherein we could be satisfied And where we could help one another."[86] Aupaumut then guaranteed that their people would equally enjoy any benefits received or gained by the Stockbridge. Over time, the Lenape slowly trickled into the area and became one nation with the Stockbridge, raising the New Stockbridge population above 300 by the early 19th century.[87]

Unfortunately, any illusions that Oneida territory would be a permanent safe haven for Indian nations were dashed even before everyone from the Stockbridge community relocated from Massachusetts. After the Treaty of Fort Herkimer was signed in 1785, the Oneida's territory was reduced by 250,000 acres around Oneida Lake. The sale precipitated a renegotiation of land holdings between the Oneida, Stockbridge, Brothertown, and Tuscarora nations.[88] After some initial conflict over how much land to allot each group, the communities settled into their respective areas [Fig. 1], all routinely interacting with one another through trade, intermarriage, church services, and councils.[89] Among the Oneida, there existed just over 600 men, women, and children primarily Oneidas or Tuscaroras who were scattered in small villages throughout the northern half of the reservation. The most prominent Oneida towns were Kanawalohale, known to be mostly friendly to missionaries, and Old Oneida, known by missionaries to be a hotbed of "pagan" activity. Kanawalohale was destroyed in the Revolution, but rebuilt and subsequently known as Kanawalohale or Oneida Castle.[90] The town of New

[86] As quoted in Starna, *From Homeland to New Land*, 217.
[87] For amore detailed account of the long relationship between the Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 159-160.
[88] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 127-9.
[89] Journals of both Sergeant and Kirkland reveal the frequency with which Natives from neighboring communities visited them at community meeting houses and their homes. See Pilkington, *Journals of Samuel Kirkland*; Sergeant journals, MHS. These relationships are discussed with further evidence cited in subsequent chapters.
[90] For an overview of the village and its tendency to be confused with the Mohawk village, Canajoharie, see "Kanawalohale," Dartmouth College Library Digital Collections, Accessed January 14, 2019, <https://collections.dartmouth.edu/occom/html/ctx/placeography/place0114.ocp.html>.

Stockbridge was situated about twelve miles south of the main Oneida villages. The meeting house, school, and mill lots were situated in the North-central area of the Stockbridge reserve. Two Tuscarora settlements sat just North and South of New Stockbridge's nucleus, one just above the reserve line in Oneida territory and a mile or so down Oneida Creek. Brothertown consisted of approximately 150 Native men, women, and children from the southern New England communities of Mohegan, Narragansett, Montauk, Niantic, Farmington, Mashantucket (Groton), and Pawcatuck (Stonington).[91] The Brothertown's plot of land laid just east of New Stockbridge and extended about two miles wide and three miles long.[92]

Native nations were not the only people living on the reservation. Missionaries, mostly from the Congregational church, settled among the Native communities or on the outskirts of their reserve, often acquiring large tracts of Indian land for themselves.[93] John Sergeant, Jr., the son of their original missionary took up the pulpit at Stockbridge in the 1770s and followed the Stockbridge from Massachusetts to New York. Sergeant only lived in the area part-time for the first ten years because his wife, Mary Codner Sergeant, was reluctant to leave Massachusetts.[94] Samuel Kirkland had periodically lived amongst the Oneida of Kanawalohale since at least the 1760s, though his ill health and questionable land dealings with the Oneida made him a less influential player in Native life on the reservation by the 1790s.[95] Sansom Occom, the only permanent Native minister in the area, lived at Brothertown, but acquired a strong following

[91] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 110.
[92] Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse, "Report on The Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, 1796," *Indian Notes And Monographs*, no. 54 (New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1955), 12. For another rough estimation of town distances, see Silverman, Red Brethren, 42.
[93] See the Sergeant and Kirkland tracts on Fig. 1.
[94] A longer of account of her hesitancy and subsequent removal of the family farther from the reservation is in chapter 2. Journal entry, 25 June, 1809, John Sergeant, Jr. Journal, 1809-1818, microfilm reel 44, New York Historical Society, New York City, New York (NYHS).
[95] Belknap and Morse, "Report on The Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, 1796," 6.

from the Stockbridge and Oneida. The town of New Stockbridge was divided for a time over whether or not to continue support of Sergeant as their minister or ask Occom to take over the responsibility.[96] Pohquanoppeet would likely have shared that role with Sergeant, but he died in 1789, just after arriving in New York with his family. Occom's untimely death in 1792 settled the dispute in New Stockbridge, but also meant that only Anglo ministers remained on the reservation.

The preference for Occom is representative of a larger desire on the part of the Stockbridge to curb as much Anglo influence in Mohican affairs as possible. One of the benefits of removing from Massachusetts was the isolation they hoped to gain from white settlers. A New York State resolution was passed to compell all Indians on the reservation to adopt a formal town council system, but the act was repealed a year later. Though a New England-style town meeting may have continued in New York, there is not much evidence of it. There is far more evidence that the business of the town was conducted through unique Stockbridge Mohican-style governance with a chief sachem and headmen or counsellors as well as a church deacon.[97] Meetings of Mohican women and their contributions to community decision making also come into clearer focus in the records left from their New York settlement. Even with continued land encroachment, New Stockbridge was shaping up to be a more distinctively Mohican place than what Old Stockbridge had become.

In the years that followed, the Stockbridge confronted new challenges and opportunities. After the Treaty of Paris in 1783, trade patterns in New York shifted as the British influence in

[96] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 136.
[97] For Peter Poquonnaupeet as schoolmaster and leader within the church at New Stockbridge, see Letter from Hendrick Aupaumut to Joseph Sansom, December 14, 1790, Morris Family Papers, 1719-1925 (Coll. No. 1008), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

Haudenosaunee territory waned. After the war, Stockbridge people were no better off with regard to clothing their people than they had been in Massachusetts. Without ready access to cheap British textiles, cloth became one of the most expensive items Indians had to purchase on the open market.[98] By the mid-1790s, Ester Littleman, a Stockbridge woman, was the only person on the entire Oneida reservation who could make cloth. The sixteen yards she produced in 1795 was inadequate to clothe the Stockbridge or raise sufficient revenues for the nation. Their annuities from the federal government and New York state amounted to roughly $1.80 annually per person, but this money was often redirected to Indian agents living on the reservation.[99] Commodity extraction and the development of the area around Fort Shuyler on the Mohawk River led to rapid deforestation surrounding the reservation. Early proposals to build a canal directly through Oneida country drove up the price of land in the area, making Indian tenancy precarious at best. Even if the Stockbridge and Oneida were not privy to the state's plans to build a canal through Oneida land, they felt pressure from white settlers to lease or sell reservation land, sparking early conversations about another removal among the Stockbridge.

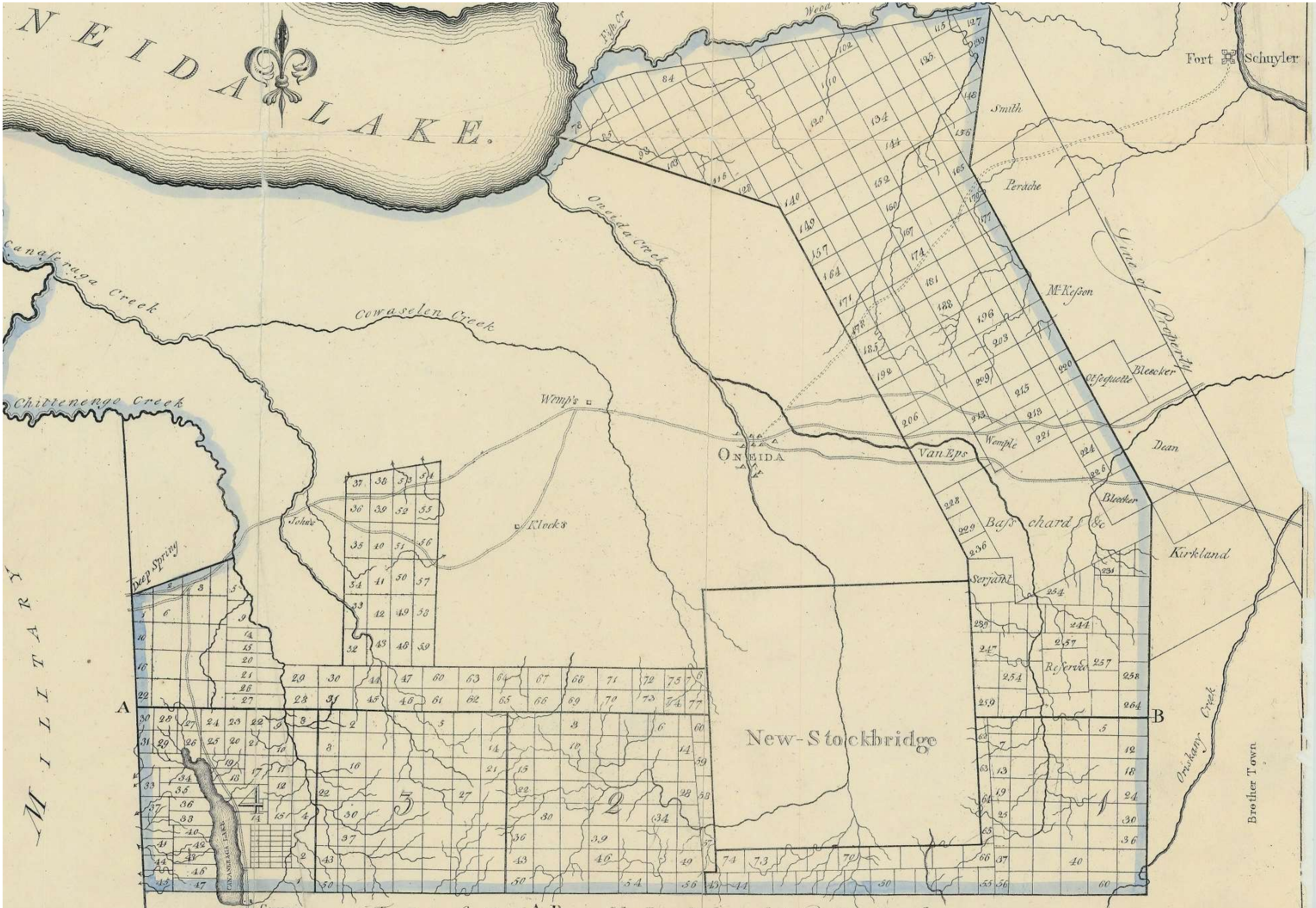
In order to combat these challenges, Stockbridge Mohicans developed strategies informed by their recent and distant past. Stockbridge men continued their role as Native diplomats. Hendrick Aupaumut and his brother Solomon Quachmut married sisters Lydia and Catherine from the prominent Quanquanant, or Quinney, family. They utilized their position as Native brokers toward what they likely saw as two interrelated goals. First, they hoped to assist

[98] Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 68-69.

[99] This number is calculated by reports from the War Department, population statistics acquired from The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and Quaker accounts. They were supposed to receive annually $350 from the War Department as well as $200 from the state of New York. The population in the mid-1790s was roughly 300. See Copy of a letter from Joseph Sansom to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, 14 June, 1796, Henry Simmons, Jr. Journal, 1796-1800, (MC 975.01.072), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. Henry Knox to Israel Chapin, 28 April, 1792, *Papers of the War Department*.

other Native nations in adapting to U.S. expansion through the adoption of English literacy and Anglo-style agriculture. Through this, they also hoped to gather a large population of Native people on land that would be guaranteed by the United States to Indian people forever. To serve these ends, Aupaumut accepted a request from the United States to act as an intermediary to negotiate peace with western nations as tensions in the Ohio country mounted in the early 1790s. The women and men who acted as the nation's leaders in this period came of age, and came to positions of prominence, during and immediately after the Revolutionary War. With the struggles of the war and broken promises of white missionaries on their minds, they sought to take more active control of their community's affairs. Balancing Mohican values and knowledge with English literacy and education for both boys and girls would be key. An introduction to new allies in the Society of Friends opened a space to make this happen. When a path was cleared to educate the nation's daughters and form a new alliance, they began the road toward self-determination by way of spinning wheels.[100]

[100] Belknap and Morse, "Report on The Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, 1796," 21-22.



The Lots south of AB are the Lands leased to Peter Smith

Fig. 1 Detail of a map of the Oneida reservation created c. 1810, represents the layout agreed upon by the Oneida, Stockbridge, Brothertown, and Tuscarora nations in the 1780s. The Tuscarora community that lived on the Stockbridge reserve settled just north of the main fork in Oneida Creek. New Guinea was situated at the southern-most part of the Stockbridge reserve where the creek splinters. These nations regularly interacted with one another as well as their Cayuga and Onondaga neighbors to the West. This map shows the state of white settlement that took place in the area. Encroachment and leasing eventually fractured the once-cohesive communities land holdings. "A map of the Oneida Reservation including the lands leased to Peter Smith, ca. 1810," New York State Archives, A0448-79, Recorded Indian treaties and deeds, 1703-1871 (bulk 1748-1871). Vol. 1, p. 241.

III. "SISTERS IN THE LORD": STOCKBRIDGE AND QUAKER WOMEN TRANSFORM INDIAN EDUCATION, 1790 – 1797

On a cold Friday morning in November, 1797, four Stockbridge and two Tuscarora girls arrived with their parents at Fort Schuyler along the Mohawk River. The families were there to meet Quakers Joseph Clark and Henry Simmons who were to deliver the girls to Quaker families in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Clark remarked on the solemnness of the occasion:

> . . . the Indians delivered their children to us with the utmost confidence, composure, and quietude, which brought over my mind a considerable weight that nothing on my part might obstruct this great and important work. The girls manifested much stillness at parting with their parents and going on a long journey with perfect strangers to reside in a distant land.

The journey would take them 400 miles along icy waterways and roads, down the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers, through New York City, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. The girls did not know how long it might be before they returned, nor what to expect when they arrived. They carried with them little more than a letter from their mothers to the Quaker women they would meet in Chester County. After settling into the boat that would take them down the Mohawk River, the girls buried their heads in their blankets and did not speak another word for the rest of the day.[101]

By the early 1790s, Secretary of War Henry Knox had outlined the United States' fledgling "civilization" project aimed at pacifying Native nations through the encouragement of animal husbandry, plow agriculture, and domestic arts. Though teaching Indian girls to spin, sew, and knit was part of the overall plan of "civilization" for Native peoples, there is little evidence that the federal government actually followed through on initiatives geared toward Indian women and girls until the nineteenth century.[102] Correspondence and receipt lists from the

[101] Charles Ingerman, ed., *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians: 1797* (Doylestown, PA: Quixott Press, 1968), 28-29.

[102] For outline of plans for the Six Nations and neighboring Indians (including the Stockbridge), see Henry Knox to Israel Chapin, April 28, 1792, Hamilton and Kirkland College: Samuel Kirkland Papers, Roy Rosenzweig Center for

War Department in the 1790s suggest that the education and assimilation of women and girls represented a mere afterthought in U.S. policy. Religious missionaries in the first decades of the Republic, too, emphasized the education of boys and the dissemination of male agricultural tools. The Stockbridge had different plans and priorities. With the hardships of the Revolutionary War and removal still fresh on their minds, men and women together sought out opportunities for women and girls.

On the New York reservation, the arrival of a new religious group doctrinally different from the Congregationalists presented an opportunity for Stockbridge girls to receive a better quality education than they had under Congregational missionaries. Though Native women on the reservation quickly noticed the positive difference between Quaker and Congregational men, it took a year's worth of personal correspondence between Stockbridge and Quaker women before Stockbridge mothers officially requested that their daughters be sent to live in Quaker homes. What began as a Quaker "experiment" to assist indigenous peoples and regain Quaker status in the new republic, ultimately became a new kind of experiment in female-first Indian education that was replicated in later civilization projects. Though religious men took credit for this idea, it was born out of Native desires and an Indian-Quaker female network that expanded female opportunities on both sides of the racial divide.

The Federal "Civilization" Project is Born

In the years after the Revolution, American policy makers under the Articles of Confederation lacked a clear vision for the mechanics of expansion. With a nation full of

History and New Media, *Papers of the War Department, 1784-1800*, Department of History and Art History, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA, Accessed September 23, 2017, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/docimage.php?id=6593&docColID=7118>.

uncompensated veterans and families eager to settle land west of the Appalachians, the Articles government sought what they believed would be the simplest means of territorial conquest: the use of force to gain control of lands from Native peoples that they could grant to veterans and their heirs.[103] This policy proved to be short-sighted and short-lived. Native resistance and American financial constraints necessitated a reimagining of Indian policy toward an approach that utilized inducements to persuade Native peoples to reorganize their communities and economies around Anglo norms. Less costly than war, this approach also served the aim to confiscate Native land. If the government could persuade Native peoples to settle on individual plots of land and take up male plow agriculture, they could make the case that communal lands were no longer needed and should thus be redistributed to white settlers.[104]

Many Native communities who fought in the Revolution found themselves, like the Stockbridge, in a world once again "turned upside down."[105] The 1783 Treaty of Paris ceded all British-controlled lands south of the Great Lakes to the colonists. In the minds of American diplomats, this legitimized their right to all land east of the Mississippi River. Americans opted to eschew any notions of Native rights to the soil as Euro-American settlers poured into the Ohio country. Two treaties in 1785 and 1786 attempted to set boundaries between Indian territory and land open for settlement, but settler encroachment continued unabated and the Native factions across the southern Great Lakes formed the Western Confederacy and prepared for war.[106] The

[103] Daniel Richter, "Onas, the Long Knife: Pennsylvanians and Indians, 1783 - 1794" in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1999), 133-135.
[104] Reignald Horsman, "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire of Liberty'," in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, 37-39; Daniel Richter, "Onas, the Long Knife: Pennsylvanians and Indians, 1783 - 1794" in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, 158.
[105] This quote is taken from Henry Quaquaquid and Robert Ashpo, "Petition to the Connecticut State Assembly, May 1789," in Colin Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin, 1994), 178.
[106] These include the Treaty of Fort McIntosh in 1785 and the Treaty with the Shawnee in 1786. Horsman, "The Indian Policy of an 'Empire of Liberty'," in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, 39-40.

Northwest Indian Wars began as informal frontier warfare, but evolved into an expensive series of military campaigns. The overall weakness of the Articles government to levy taxes to pay for the military, along with its decentralized decision making, ensured a failure of their conquest-centered Indian policy.

The appointment of Henry Knox as Secretary War in 1785 marked the beginning of attempts to change the direction of U.S. Indian policy. Influenced by enlightenment ideas about the stages of societal development, Knox believed that Native peoples were not inherently savage, but rather, in a less-developed social state. Attempts to reform Native peoples through their habits and dress were not new. John Eliot represents the first Englishman to attempt to "civilize" Indians.[107] He established a "praying town" Indian community at Natick, Massachusetts in 1650. While some of the Indians there adopted Anglo-Christian dress, plow agriculture, and Christian practice, the introduction of Christianity did not erase indigenous identities. Ultimately, Natick failed as an experiment to incorporate Indian people into the colony due to the incomplete nature of Eliot's attempts at conversion along with discrimination against Indian people in the Massachusetts Bay colony. Suspicions of Christianized Indians ran high after the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675. Though most Christianized Indians remained neutral or assisted colonists in the war, those from Natick were rounded up and removed to Deer Island in Boston Harbor for the winter of 1675. Those who did not die of starvation and hunger on Deer Island faced retribution by colonists after the close of the war.[108] Missionary efforts to convert Native peoples in New England continued, but with much less enthusiasm. Even those

[107] The French and Spanish attempted to convert indigenous peoples before the English. For the beginnings of Recollet and Jesuit attempts to convert indigenous people, see W.J. Eccles, *The Canadian Frontier, 1534-1760*, revised edition (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979), 6-7, 32. For a collection of essays on the Catholic church in Latin America, see John F. Schwaller, ed., *The Church in Colonial Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2000).

[108] Jill Lepore, *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (New York: Vintage, 1999), 32-34, 138-144, 184-185, 236.

missionaries who believed in saving Indians' souls still considered Indian peoples inherently inferior to white men. By the late eighteenth century, few colonists were sympathetic to the kinds of perceived benevolent approaches attempted in the colonial period. [109] Knox's plan was similar to Eliot's strategy of remaking Indians into white people, but Knox's enlightenment influence meant a deemphasis on religious conversion in favor of economic and cultural reform.

By 1791, amidst U.S. defeats at the hands of the Western Confederacy, Knox began to implement his new policy in an attempt to pacify some Native factions and ensure that non-combatants remained out of the conflict. At the recommendation of Samuel Kirkland, Henry Knox tapped Hendrick Aupaumut to assist the United States in this endeavor. Aupaumut was chosen because of the status he and the Stockbridge historically held among their more distant kin to the West. He also possessed the convenient cultural characteristics of a "civilized" Indian and was an outspoken advocate of Indians adapting to European-style farming. Aupaumut agreed to undertake the embassy in the summer of 1791. He visited the nations along the Miami River and encouraged them to settle for peace and take up the habits of "civilized" life. Though Aupaumut was generally welcomed among members of the Western Confederacy, he encountered harsh criticism from other Native peoples about his life style and approach to diplomacy. While trying to advocate for the civilization project and peace with the United States, opponents claimed that the Stockbridge "were shut up like to [sic] many hogs in a pen." Molly Brant, sister of the British-aligned Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant and widow of British Indian agent Sir William Johnson, doubted Aupaumut's intentions at the upcoming council fire at

[109] For a book-length analysis of evolving Anglo attitudes toward Indian people in seventeenth-century, see Joyce Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500 – 1676* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Niagara. Noting an indigenous custom whereby nations attend councils of peace with their women, Brant observed that Aupaumut traveled without any Stockbridge women.[110]

Aupaumut's embassy and the council at Niagara failed to bring an end to the Northwest Indian Wars, but the next year the War Department renewed their efforts to spread good will among Native peoples. Securing good relations with the Haudenosaunee in New York was of paramount importance. Not only did the War Department want to keep the confederacy out of the larger conflict, they also understood the importance of securing Haudenosaunee land for American expansion. A meeting between the Six Nations and the United States in Philadelphia led to an arrangement where the Department of War agreed to furnish the Six Nations and Stockbridge Indians with implements of husbandry and other assistance in exchange for their spreading word that the United States wished for peace with Indians. In this agreement, George Washington authorized a $1,500 annuity for the Native nations living in New York and along the Allegheny. This money, however, was not to be spent in any manner the Native nations pleased. Knox sent specific directions to Superintendent of the Six Nations Israel Chapin that a significant part of the annuity must be paid to white families who agreed to live on the reservations as carpenters, blacksmiths, and teachers. These white agents would offer their services to the Indians and teach them their trades. Knox noted that the men who act in this capacity should be married and their wives should teach Indian girls domestic arts including spinning, sewing, and knitting. The remainder of the money could be used to purchase chains, plows, livestock, and other tools of husbandry.[111]

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[110] Hendrick Aupaumut, "A Narrative," Hendrick Aupaumut manuscript narratives and letters, P-31, I D, vol. 19, Timothy Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

[111] Henry Knox to Israel Chapin, 28 April, 1792, *The Papers of the War Department: 1784 – 1800*, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, Department of History and Art History, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=6593> (accessed 9-6-2017).

Beyond general statements of promoting "civilization," educating children (which almost always meant boys), and a mention that mission family wives should teach Indian girls spinning and sewing, there is little evidence that the federal government made any concerted effort to train women or girls. Receipts from the War Department betray the civilization project's priorities. The appropriations made for the Stockbridge in 1792 included livestock, agricultural tools, a grindstone and crank, and clothing for the poor. The only money potentially directed at women or girls was fifty cents for needles and thread, items Indian peoples had integrated into traditional beadwork for well over a century.[112] Though Knox's directives included recruiting women to live on the reservations and train Indian girls, there is no evidence that any of the white tradesmen who came to the reservation under the direction of the federal government ever brought wives or other families members to assist in training women and girls. By 1796, only one woman out of nearly 1,000 people living on the Oneida reservation could spin and weave. Esther Littleman, the lone cloth weaver on the Oneida reservation was a Stockbridge widow who cared for seven children and an infirm sister. It is unclear where Littleman learned to spin and weave or where she acquired a loom as the first mention in the War Department's records of sending a loom to Indian peoples was to the Creek Indians in 1799.[113] In 1795, Littleman wove about sixteen yards of cloth, not enough to adequately clothe the Stockbridge or raise sufficient revenues for the nation. The Stockbridge mentioned to the Reverends Jedidiah Morse and Jeremy Belknap that they sold their produce to purchase clothing and wished to expand their efforts at

[112] Timothy Pickering, "Appropriations of monies for the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians," 4 May, 1792, *War Department Papers*, Accessed September 6, 2017, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=6630>.
[113] Benjamin Hawkins to James McHenry, 9 January, 1799, *War Department Papers*, Accessed October 27, 2017, <http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=30055>.

cloth manufacture.[114] By the middle of the decade, it became clear that if the Stockbridge wanted assistance in cloth manufacture, they would need to look beyond the federal government.

Quakers in Crisis

Since the Society of Friends' arrival in North America, they prided themselves on maintaining peaceful relations with indigenous peoples. William Penn's first treaty with the Delaware Indians in present-day Pennsylvania has been immortalized in painting and mythologized in American memory. The history of their relations with Indians is more complicated. The Quakers' early engagement with colonial Indian affairs was mediated through an organization within the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting called "The Friendly Association for Retaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures." Members from this committee acted as intermediaries at treaty negotiations in the eighteenth century. In addition to facilitating negotiations, the association often provided supplies for British efforts to treat with Indian nations. The primary goal of this group centered around maintaining peace between Indians and colonists and assist the British in maintaining Indian allies who might otherwise side with the French in the imperial conflicts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In this period, Quakers made no efforts to change Native cultural habits or convert Indians to

[114] Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse, "Report on The Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians, 1796," *Indian Notes and Monographs* No. 54 (New York: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, 1955), 21-22. Daniel Richter has dismissed Quaker efforts to get Indians to spin and weave as outmoded, commenting that this occurred when white women "were beginning to banish their spinning wheels to the attic," but most families relied upon homespun well into the 1810s. This was particularly the case for rural communities. Indian communities were looking to gain this ability around this time due to the high price of manufactured textiles after the close the of war when trade was cut off from Britain. Daniel Richter, *Trade, Land, Power: The Struggle for Eastern North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2013), 239; Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 69; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Vintage, 2001), 37-38; Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780-1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 96-97, 141.

Christianity. Rather, Congregational, Baptist, and Moravian missionaries carried out most of the work toward conversion and the eradication of Native lifeways in the colonial era.[115]

The Quakers' positive identity as the "Sons of Onas" (that is, the sons of William Penn) aided their ability to be effective intermediaries, but the presence of Quaker women also played an important role in the society's ability to earn the trust of indigenous delegations. While women played no formal role in the Friendly Association, some female ministers travelled extensively through Indian country and attended treaty councils with male companions. Two Quaker travel writers and ministers, Susanna Hatton and Catherine Payton, attended treaty conferences in the 1760s and met with the indigenous women who were part of the travelling delegations. These two women recognized the power Indian women held in tribal councils their sway over decision making. Though Quaker women did not play leading roles in the treaty negotiations, they were influential enough to elicit concern from non-Quakers who hoped to control Indian Affairs. Non-Quakers recognized that Quaker women were effective in gaining the support of Indian people. Indeed, many Quaker women writers in the mid-eighteenth century became outspoken advocates of protecting indigenous claims to land.[116]

Quakers, however, failed to bring about the "peaceable kingdom" between Indians and English that Penn envisioned for the colony. Imperial conflicts and the aggressive settlement of English colonists on Indian land drew Native communities into sporadic warfare from the late-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. Additionally, the Quakers began to lose political

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[115] Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians: 1655-1917* (Philadelphia: The Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1917), 90. For the records of this association, including accounts of treaty negotiations and receipts of expenses, see Friendly Association for Retaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians by Pacific Measures, AA 1, vol. 1, QSCHC.

[116] As quoted in Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of the Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 223, 242. For an account of Susanna Hatton's experience at the Treaty of Easton, see August 1761, Diary of an Unknown Quaker Woman, August 1761, Quaker Collection, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

power in Pennsylvania as pro-expansionist politicians gained favor. Their influence further waned at the outbreak of the Revolution. Quaker pacifism made them targets of ridicule and suspected Loyalism throughout the conflict. At the close of the war, the Society of Friends looked for ways to prove their loyalty to the new nation and regain some degree of political authority.[117] The landscape of Indian relations shifted at the close of the war with the new Articles government looking for ways to open up Indian land north and west of the Ohio River to American citizens. The United States proved unprepared for the conflict and negotiation in 1785, opening up a place for Quakers to step into their historic role as intermediaries while at the same time, proving their usefulness to the new nation.

Due to their proximity to the capital, members of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting took up the primary work of Indian affairs with the federal government.[118] Beginning in 1791, Quakers began to attend council fires and treaty negotiations between the United States and Indian Nations. They also began reaching out to Native nations who appeared open to receiving instruction in "civilization" programs promoted by the Quakers and Knox. They did this work, however, without the assistance of Quaker women. Despite women's prior participation at treaty negotiations, no women appear to have travelled with Quaker parties to council fires in the 1790s. Quakers participated in Indian affairs in this period as partners with the federal government. Given that the United States resisted female participation in national affairs, perhaps the budding relationship between the United States and Quakers would have been

[117] Quakers carefully guarded representations of their pacifism after the war. Some Quakers rejected pacifism during the Revolution and contributed to the colonists' war effort. For this, they were kicked out of the Society and created their own "Society of Free Quakers." After the war, the Society of Friends fought "misrepresentations" and "injurious accusations" of their pacifism on a memorial to the Free Quakers. Petition, September 7, 1782, Society of Friends to the Pennsylvania General Assembly, Quaker Collection, Box 1, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

[118] Quakers from the Baltimore and New York Yearly meetings also formed Indian committees in the mid-1790s, but played a much less central role in U.S. Indian affairs.

strained had Quaker women insisted upon a seat at the conference table.[119] The absence of women at councils may not have mattered as the Quakers' inability to better assist Indian people over the years slowly eroded their good reputation. Native peoples in the early Republic were more likely to see Quakers as no better that the "Long Knives" whom they now served. Not experiencing much luck at winning over leaders of the Western Confederacy, the Quakers turned their attention to the less "hostile" Indian nations living near the Ohio country. Early success in this area came not from the federal government's or the Quaker's soliciting of Native peoples, but from Natives themselves. Corn Planter, a Seneca sachem living along the Allegheny River on the border between New York and Pennsylvania, requested assistance from the federal government's fledgling "civilization" program. At a 1790 meeting in Philadelphia, among other things, Corn Planter requested that George Washington personally board and educate nine Seneca boys. Washington dismissed Corn Planer's request and directed the matter to the Society of Friends who offered, after some hesitation, to have Corn Planter's son and one other boy placed in the home of a Quaker family.[120]

Not long after this first arrangement was made with Corn Planter, violence along the edge of the Anglo settlement reached a high point. As a result, Quakers inserted themselves into negotiations at the request of some Indian nations. By 1792, Quakers urged the federal government to shift their strategy toward pacifying measures that would include inducements to live a settled, "civilized" life. This message was received favorably by Secretary of War Henry

[119] For the United States not accepting women in federal work, consider the case of Mary Katherine Goddard. Goddard was the Postmaster of the Baltimore for fourteen years before she was fired in 1789 and replaced by a less experienced man. "Mary Katherine Goddard Writes to George Washington to Get Her Job Back," *The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History*, August 31, 2018, Accessed February 22, 2019, <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/content/mary-katherine-goddard-writes-george-washington-get-her-job-back>.
[120] Historians have credited Washington with the idea to have Quakers educate Corn Planter's son, but they miss the fact that Washington's suggestion came only after Corn Planter made an initial proposition to have Washington educate his son. For a detailed account of this interaction and a thorough treatment of Indian adoption in white homes in the early national period, see Peterson, *Indians in the Family*, 43-44.

Knox who had already begun to advocate for such an approach. In 1793, Quaker William Savery attended the conference at Sandusky and upon his return, suggested "that a mode could be adopted by which Friends and other humane people might be made useful to them in a greater degree than has ever yet been effected."[121] In the first years of the 1790s, the Quakers reached out to the Haudenosaunee in western New York as well as the Cherokee and Creek Indians in the south. These communities responded with some acceptance of Quaker offers for assistance, but only in a limited sense.[122] Quakers distributed tools of husbandry, extended loans, and brought a few Indian children to live with Quaker families, but the society's approach to Indian affairs remained ad-hoc.

Though Quakers knowingly advanced Henry Knox's "expansion with honor" program, they distanced themselves from the federal government when offering their services to Indian nations. In a circular letter to Indian people living along the border between the United States and Indian country, Philadelphia Quakers wrote: "We have often told some of your chiefs, when we have had the opportunity of taking them by the hand in this City, that we are not concerned in the management of the affairs of the Government, which are under the direction of the president of the United States, and his councellors; but that we should at all times be willing to do any thing in our power to promote love and peace."[123] In these early proposal, they offered their services train young men in husbandry and provided them with an English language education. By about 1794, some Indian communities invited Quaker men to come live in their villages and help adapt their communities to American expansion. Though white women were theoretically

[121] As quoted in Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, 91.
[122] Karim M. Tiro, "We Wish to Do You Good": The Quaker Mission to the Oneida Nation, 1790-1840" *Journal of the Early Republic* 26, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 355.
[123] Letter to Western Indians from the Meeting for Sufferings , April 19, 1793, Mss 004/ 1793 04 19, Beyond Penn's Treaty: Quaker and American Indian Relations, Accessed February 24, 2019, <https://pennstreaty.haverford.edu/page/SW_Letters_1793_04_19_001/>.

part of Knox's civilizing program, neither the federal government nor the Quakers included women in their plans to remake Indian communities. Any proscriptions for Indian girls were either given light lip service or failed to be mentioned at all. Quakers never proposed to send women into Indian communities or educate Indian girls, either in their villages or in Quaker homes. But with growing interest in Quaker assistance on the part of Indian communities, the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting formed a forty-three-member, all-male Indian Committee in 1795.[124]

Hendrick Aupaumut first became acquainted with the Quakers in his role as a diplomat for the United States, no doubt meeting several Quaker men at treaty negotiations in Philadelphia and in the Ohio country. On his journeys, Aupaumut met Joseph Sansom who was intimately involved in Indian affairs for the Society of Friends in the 1790s. Aupaumut must have made a strong connection with Sansom upon their first meeting. He first wrote to Sansom in 1790 to request assistance for his "weak" community as they built their new settlement from scratch in the "wilderness" of New York. He asked in particular that Sansom help the family of their recently deceased school teacher, the wife and children of whom were "almost naked this winter."[125] Sansom answered Aupaumut's call and subsequent requests for assistant throughout the early 1790s. The Society of Friends' fledgling Philadelphia Indian Committee assisted the Stockbridge through sending small sums of money and extending loans to the tribe to help erect a saw mill that the federal government had promised but failed to provide for the community.[126]

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[124] Other Yearly Meetings started their own programs of Indian assistance in 1795 as well. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians*, 89-94.
[125] Hendrick Aupaumut to Joseph Sansom, 14 December, 1790, Box 1, Morris Family Papers, 1715-1925 (Coll No. 1008), QSCHC.
[126] 2 February, 1796 Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC.

Aupaumut maintained contact with committee members and ensured that the relationship remained positive through the timely repayment of debts.[127]

The year 1796 was a fortuitous one for the formal meeting of the Stockbridge and Quaker missionaries. With the Northwest Indian Wars over, it became more practical to travel along frontier settlements and begin new "civilization" projects among Indian communities. In closer consultation with the Secretary of War and Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, the Quakers began to reach out to Indian communities in upstate New York once more to see if any were willing to undergo significant Anglo-style reforms with the assistance of Quakers.[128] Upstate New York was a key area for the United States to control due to rapid white expansion, fertile land, and early plans to construct the Eire canal. Proposals were made by Quakers to all members of the Six Nations and those living in the surrounding Indian communities. These circular letters reflected Friends' conversations with Pickering. They emphasized terminating the hunt and instructing Indian boys in husbandry. The letters promised instruction for male members of the tribe in blacksmithing, wheel and millwrighting, and carpentry with only vague references to a "useful" education provided for the children. Pickering reasoned that training the men and boys in agriculture was the most important aspect of this project because, "with what grows out of the ground they can purchase all other necessaries."[129]

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[127] For receipts of the Indian Committee that show money lent and repaid along with provisions given to Indian communities, see Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Account, 1783-1808 & Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee accounts, bills, etc., 1776 – 1812, 1250 AA15 & AA16, Box 1, Folder 1, QSCHC.

[128] From August of 1795 to January of 1796, Timothy Pickering served as both Secretary of War and Secretary of State.

[129] For Pickering and Quakers taking a male-centric approach, see Timothy Pickering to PYMIC, 15 February, 1796, Folder 2, Letters from PYMIC (AA41.1), QSCHC; PYMIC to Indian Brethren of the Six Nations, 5 January, 1796. Letters from PYMIC (AA41.1), QSCHC; February 15, 1796 and May 31, 1796 Minutes of the PYMIC 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC. For a reference to teaching children to read and write, see letter dated 8 January, 1796, Henry Simmons Letterbook, vol. 1 (Ms. Coll. 975.02.019), QSCHC.

Quakers received a favorable response from Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora living on the Oneida Reservation in upstate New York. Hendrick Aupaumut took the opportunity to showcase his nation's progress, but also their need for greater assistance.[130] With this positive reception, the Indian Committee prepared to send a delegation of six men to assist with the establishment of a farm at Oneida and then pay a visit to the Cattaraugus, Seneca, Onondaga, and Tuscarora further west.

Isaiah Rowland, John Pierce, Joseph Sansom, James Cooper, Henry Simmons, Jr., and Enoch Walker set out for the Onedia reservation in early June, 1796. A seventh man, Jacob Taylor, arrived later with gifts for the residents and the supplies needed to settle Taylor, Simmons, and Walker on the reservation. Though the Quakers received many well-wishes on their route from Philadelphia to upstate New York, pessimism concerning the "improvement" of Indians was a more widely-held disposition among the general population as well as those working for the federal government. Israel Chapin, the man tasked with carrying out Knox's vision on the Oneida reservation, mocked the Quakers' project stating that he was "fully convinced it is much easier to make a well-bread [sic] American an Indian, than an Indian a white man, much less a Quaker." Chapin became notorious for placing violent, self-interested white agents on the reservation and resisted extending farming incentives to the Oneida.[131] This new relationship between the Quakers and Stockbridge faced many challenges beyond pessimism and obstruction at the federal level. Both the Stockbridge and the Quakers appeared to be settling into their new post-Revolution realities. Their immediate crises were over, but much stood in the way of a successful alliance between the two groups. At the start of the summer in 1796, the Stockbridge had yet to determine whether the Quakers were "Long Knives" or the

[130] February 2, 1796, Minutes of the PYMIC 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC.
[131] Tiro, "'We Wish to Do You Good," 365.

"Sons of Onas." Though there were no Quaker women on that first journey to New Stockbridge, it would be the women of both groups who would determine the outcome of the alliance.

Strangers from Onas

The six Quaker men crisscrossed their way up the Mohawk River on stages and ferries, taking in the sights of rapid American settlement. All along the river, they encountered newly cleared land as well as dense forest. The landscape on either side of the river was dotted with "neat and comfortable houses." The river was flanked by high, fertile land under heavy cultivation, but not yet fenced. The river itself was a microcosm of the nation's early efforts to "civilize" and tame the continent and its peoples. The Mohawk's gentle current downstream abruptly ended by a 100 – 150 foot rock face over which water poured "with amazing violence." The unsettling violence of the river was countered, in the minds of the travelers, by the beginnings of canal construction. The river was to be tamed through locks to ensure comfortable passage to Lake Ontario. Making it to Fort Schuyler, just ten miles from the Oneida reservation, the men were "exhilarated with the sight of the West Country Boats" filled with trade items, especially pot ash: a by-product of the rapid forest clearing taking place to make way for white settlement around the reservation.[132]

The men were particularly struck by the progress of settlement at Whitestown, just beyond Fort Schuyler. Established just nine years prior, the town was now five miles by six miles and accommodated a population of 43,000.[133] The town included a scattering of log "hovels" and stately frame houses. Prices for land in and around Whitestown skyrocketed in the

[132] Letter from Joseph Sansom to PYMIC, June 14, 1796, Joseph Sansom Letterbook, 1796 (inaccurately dated in databases as 1794), MC 1008, Box 23, Folder 4, Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA (QSCHC).
[133] Letter from Joseph Sansom to PYMIC, June 14, 1796, Joseph Sansom Letterbook, 1796, QSCHC.

1790s due to the overwhelming demand for land. The men met with General William Floyd, a politician who recently had been appointed as a commissioner of Indian affairs for the Brothertown Indians. Other prominent men they expected to meet were out of town, so they headed south for New Stockbridge. They traveled about eight miles south by road through a "rugged, but fertile and populous country." At the point where the road turned west toward New Stockbridge, white settlement abruptly stopped as a thick forest of basswood and maple towered over the rough roads. The poor quality of the road bed made the Quakers' journey even more cumbersome, a complaint no missionary ever failed to recite. The travelers were found by a "drunken Indian" who welcomed them and agreed to take them through the forest to the Indian settlements. By nightfall, they came upon the first homes on the border between the Oneida's land and New Stockbridge. Men, women, and children, dressed in the "Indian style" (likely Stockbridge and Tuscarora Indians) were out shooting at marks when the Quakers arrived. After the Indians greeted the men with "stoical indifference," the Quakers invited themselves into Hendrick Smith's home to lodge for the night. Smith was an Oneida Indian who lived between Oneida Castle and the village at New Stockbridge. He, his wife, and children lived in a modest log home and apparently shared the space with some of their livestock. The men were awakened the following morning by Smith's hogs, rooting around them with "the familiarity of mess mates, impatient for breakfast." Though they had only traveled about twelve miles, Joseph Sansom already felt a long way from the stateliness of Whitestown.[134]

Late the previous night, Hendrick Aupaumut and Lydia Quinney received word that the Quaker missionaries arrived just three miles north of the main village at New Stockbridge. The

[134] Descriptions of New Stockbridge and road into the village during this trip can be found in Letter from Joseph Sansom to PYMIC, June 14, 1796, Joseph Sansom Letterbook, 1796, QSCHC; James Cooper, "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," Mss 003/044, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA (FHLSC).

next day, as Aupaumut set out with two companions and extra horses to retrieve the Quakers, Lydia began her day preparing breakfast and catechizing her children. The village at New Stockbridge ran north and south along Oneida Creek. The town was set up in the typical New England style with a central meeting house and nearby mill. In the village, square homes made of round logs and basswood bark shingles intermixed with wigwams. On their way into town, the Quakers would have noticed the now infamous sawmill [to be discussed in the previous section] broken down and disabled from a breech in the dam. They arrived at Aupaumut's home for breakfast on a Sunday morning, after which they requested to hold a religious meeting in their host's home. Aupaumut consented and he, Lydia, their children, and Aupaumut's companions sat for their first Quaker meeting.

The first council between the Quakers and the Stockbridge sachems took place that night where Aupaumut laid out the history of their New York settlement and their current state of uneasiness on the reservation. The Quakers met again with more members of the New Stockbridge community the next day where they were welcomed and given the floor to address the nation. Here the Quakers reiterated messages delivered in previous correspondence and set out their intentions on the reservation that summer. They intended to visit the various communities and see what kind of assistance they could offer and where they might be of most help. At each council on the Oneida reservation, they reiterated the same proposal: They wished to settle three of their company upon the reservation and begin to train Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora young men in farming, husbandry, blacksmithing, and wheelwrighting. General overtures were made toward assisting the nations with the education of their children, but no specific plans were made for the women or girls nor was the possibility suggested of sending children to Quaker homes. Though they did not originally offer assistance for spinning and

weaving, manufactured cloth was included in their list of bounties for products produced on the reservation by Indian hands.[135]

The Quakers remained on the reservation from June 11 to July 7. With a cursory evaluation of the Quaker Indian Committee's minutes, it would be easy to conclude that business on the reservation was conducted by men. A closer examination of correspondence and journals, however, reveals that women were key players in building the foundation of an emerging Stockbridge-Quaker network. In the many times the Quaker men travelled between Oneida, New Stockbridge, and Brothertown, the place they remained most was in Lydia's home. They were hosted by all the Stockbridge women who regularly offered items of thanks to these new Friends whom the Stockbridge women professed were "so near to our hearts."

"our true Sisters in the Lord"

The summer of 1796 was a busy one on the Oneida reservation. John Sergeant, Jr. had arrived the previous April for his semi-annual residence among the Stockbridge; Quakers from Philadelphia and one from New Jersey visited to see what kind of assistance their projects could offer; and surveyors for the Society in Scotland for Propagating the Gospel arrived to report back on reservation conditions and investigate the legitimacy of complaints lodged against missionary Samuel Kirkland by the Oneida. These men travelled extensively across the area and held councils with headmen from the Oneida, Stockbridge, Brothertown, and Tuscarora. Only the Quakers, however, addressed councils as "Brothers and Sisters," and conversed extensively with the Native women on the reservation. What might appear as small distinctions among men's

[135] Journal Entry, June 13, 1796, Records of Grants for Work among the Indians, 1720-1812, Journal of John Sergeant, April 25- August 20, 1796, UAI 20.720, Box 2, Folder 26, Harvard University Archives, Accessed February 18, 2019 < http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.ARCH:10514180>.

rhetorical and personal relationships with Native peoples resulted in the Stockbridge shifting their strategies of colonial adaptation.

Lydia Quinney (Aupaumut/Hendrick) was the first Stockbridge woman with whom the Quakers became familiar on the reservation. None of the men on the 1796 trip failed to comment upon their positive impression of her. The morning they arrived at Lydia's home, Henry Simmons was surprised to be offered such a good Sunday breakfast and referred to Lydia as an "Extraordinary Woman."[136] Joseph Sansom noted that "we were very well entertained by [Hendrick's] good wife, a managing well-disposed Woman." Sansom was particularly impressed by her practice of catechizing her children "twice in the day" and "inculcating the good principals of Religion in [her] Children."[137] Though the Quaker men held her in such high regard, their writings betrayed the uneasiness with which they had to reconcile Lydia's Anglo-defined civility with her indigeneity. Sansom stated that she was "one of the best Housewives, considering circumstances that we have even known no offence I hope to Any body."[138]

Lydia was well-respected not just by outsiders, but within the town as well. Her power derived not from her marriage to Hendrick. Rather, his role was more likely solidified by his marriage to her.[139] Lydia was one of five daughters of Catherine and John Quanauquaunt. They were a prominent family within the tribe at least since their settlement at Stockbridge, Massachusetts in 1735. Her father was a head sachem and her mother a member of the church in Stockbridge. Catherine was baptized in 1761 and had her children baptized the following year.[140]

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[136] Journal entry, Undated, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, (Ms. Coll. 975.01.072), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.
[137] Copy of a letter from Joseph Sansom to Friends, June 14, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[138] Copy of a letter from Joseph Sansom to Friends, June 20, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[139] For information on Algonquian marriage and kinship as it relates to the sachemship, see Kathleen Bragdon, *The Native Peoples of Southern New England, 1500-1650* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 152-153, 156-168.
[140] Congregational Church records, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1759-1865, microfilm, 1 reel, 35mm, 234575, item 3 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1961).

They remained active members of the church, and therefore adherents to the reform efforts to keep alcohol away from the community and support the nation's cultural transition to sure up land and ensure their nation's survival as Indian peoples. Though Quakers looked at her and saw an unexpectedly "civilized" Indian woman who lived up to every standard of white womanhood, beyond keeping her family name (Quinney), they could not see any other allegiance to her Native identity. Lydia was a Christian woman, but she was a Mohican first. Throughout her life, she fiercely protected her nation's sovereignty.[141]

The Quaker men "were not in haste to leave her" and leave her for long, they did not.[142] Out of the twenty-seven nights they stayed on the reservation, at least sixteen were spent in Lydia's home.[143] This gave them the opportunity to become familiar with her and her family. Indians used her home as a gathering place to come and pay thanks to the Quaker guests. Stockbridge women were the primary visitors to Lydia's home. The Quakers remarked on how often the Stockbridge – especially the women – visited them: "All the time we were at Hendrick Aupaumut's the Indians of the Neighborhood were continually sending in strawberries, milk, butter, and sometimes meat, and otherwise manifesting their love and regard." [144] It was customary for the sachem's wife and the women of the village to host guests and provide them with food and other gifts.[145] Stockbridge women hosted, treated, and conversed with the Quakers, no doubt learning something of the Quakers' attitudes toward women in the church.

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[141] For a discussion of Lydia Quinney and other Stockbridge women's stance on tribal sovereignty, see Chapter 5.
[142] Copy of letter from Joseph Sansom to Friends, June 20, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, QSCHC.
[143] This number is calculated from the journey of James Copper. This represents the number of nights he stayed with the Aupaumut/Hendricks. There were nights when the group split up, with the six men staying in different locations, so it is likely that the Aupaumut/Hendricks hosted Quakers more than sixteen nights. James Cooper, "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," (Mss 003/044), FHLSC.
[144] Copy of a Letter from Joseph Sansom to Friends, July, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[145] Bragdon, *Native Peoples of Southern New England, 1500-1650*, 153-154, 175-178; Journal entry, June 26, 1796, James Cooper "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," QSCHC.

In their conversations, the subject of the Quaker men's wives came up. Stockbridge women must have learned the different standing in church that Quaker women held over Presbyterian or Congregational women. In their churches, women could be ministers and missionaries. Quakers were known to be more open to the valuable contributions of women and people of all races. Their subscription to the notion of an "inner light" informed a very different approach to gender and race relations than the Presbyterians, founded in the Puritan tradition of strict gendered church hierarchy and a belief in the inherent sinfulness of mankind. Though the Stockbridge had been converted in the Puritan/Presbyterian tradition, their women appeared to take the lead on religious matters, as evidenced by their higher levels of church membership from the beginning of their affiliation with the Congregational Church in Stockbridge, Massachusetts.[146] As noted above, their adoption of a Puritan religious tradition did not mean a rejection of all Native customs. Because Mohican women could act as *powaws* and possess spiritual authority in their own right, it would not be a stretch to imagine that they likely saw similarities between their customs and those of the Quakers. The Quaker's relative equal treatment of women would have been something that the Stockbridge picked up on and likely prompted their desire to make connection with Quaker women. [147]

The speeches made by Quaker men in the summer of 1796 also played a role in the positive impression Stockbridge women had of Quaker men. The Quakers never failed to address adult female Stockbridge, Oneida, and Tuscarora as "sisters." This rhetorical practice was

[146] Congregational Church records, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1759-1865, microfilm, 1 reel, 35mm, 234575, item 3 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1961).
[147] Journal entry, June 26, 1796, James Cooper "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," QSCHC. Moravians were also successful in recruiting Native women among the Delaware in part because of the more equal treatment of women in the community, emotional response in conversion, recreate aspects of visions, willingness to learn language. Gunlög Fur, *A Nation of Women: Gender and Colonial Encounters Among the Delaware Indians* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 57-66, 76, 84, 91, 139.

uncommon among United States diplomats or other missionary societies, even when Indian women were present at treaty councils. Quakers also repeated their promise that they did not seek any land and assured all the inhabitants of the reservation that any improvements made by Quakers would remain the property of the Indians on the reservation.[148] Quakers had no interest in winning souls for the Quaker church, only to fulfill their calling to assist Native peoples in temporal matters.

Quakers held several councils with the Stockbridge, Oneida, and Brothertown Indians that summer. At each council, women were present and heard Quaker promises to take on apprentices among Oneida male youth and to visit the other communities regularly to offer help.[149] In their initial proposals to the Oneida to settle upon the reservation, they began their address by offering deference to the tribe by stating "if any part of it displeases you, tell us so & we will reconsider it." When the Oneida did not accept the proposed location the missionaries wished to settle, the Quakers pressed no further and accepted the Oneida's counter offer.[150] Women responded positively to the Quakers' message in every community on the reservation. At Oneida, multiple women approached and thanked them for their assistance. The women at Oneida Castle sent along a letter delivered by one of their sachems to offer their approval of the Quakers' work and a hope that the men in their community would keep their promises.[151]

The Quaker missionary from New Jersey, Joshua Evans, remained at Brothertown for much of his stay, often in the home of Loruhamah Crosley and her daughter Gracy.[152]

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[148] Address to Stockbridge Indians, late June, 1796, James Cooper "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," QSCHC.
[149] Copy of a letter, Joseph Sansom to Friends, June 20, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[150] Transcription of agreement between Quakers and the Oneidas, June 25, 1796 – June 30 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[151] July, 1796, Joseph Sansom, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.
[152] Journal entry, July 1, 1796, Joshua Evan's Journal, 1795-1796 (RG5/190 Journal E), FHLSC. Joshua Evans' activities on the reservation are also recorded in James Cooper "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," QSCHC.

Loruhamah and Gracy wrote the first letters to the wives and daughters of the Quaker missionaries. Loruhamah addressed her letter to "Friend Evans" and explained why she felt the need to write. "It is the regard I have of thee, and thy Husband in particular, that causes me to write . . . I doubt not but he is sent by the hand of God; to do good to my Nation the Indians . . ." Gracy wrote to Evans' daughters to likewise express her gratitude toward their father: ". . . methinks he looks like one of the good old Saints, that was to Preach to the ends of the Earth, and a friend to all People, especially to the Indians." She further extended a wish that they might meet someday "if it is the will of the all wise being."[153]

Women went to great lengths to attend councils and possessed opportunities every week to consult with one another about reservation affairs. One of Lydia's daughters attended a council in New Stockbridge on the same day that she gave birth to a son. Eight days later, she along with her newborn son visited the Quakers at Oneida Castle and informed them that she named her child after one of their party.[154] There exist few accounts of the women's meetings held on the reservation, but we know that Stockbridge women met every Wednesday for a religious meeting that was occasionally attended by Oneida and Brothertown women. At these meetings, council fires, and in course of daily work planting, grinding grain, and basketmaking, women possessed many opportunities to converse with one another about their experiences with the visiting Quakers.

In the Stockbridge and Oneida's final meetings with the Quakers, their positive assumptions about the Quakers were confirmed. By the end of June, Jacob Taylor arrived with the tools and other supplies the Quakers promised to leave on the reservation. Henry Simmons

[153] Copy of a letter from Loruhamah Crosly to Joshua Evans Wife, 13 July, 1796, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC. Copy of a letter from Gracy Crosly to Priscilla and Margaret Evans, 3 July, 1796, Henry Simmons Letterbook, QSCHC.
[154] Copy of a letter from Joseph Sansom to PYMIC, July, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.

noted the Oneida's surprise by the Quakers actions and statements at their final meeting. Simmons recalled "that now they knew we meant what we said for we had only repeated the same speech we made to them before, whereas it was the common practice of the White People to speak good words to them at first; but when they spoke again they always found that they had changed their minds."[155] They repeated their offers at each council to "not to get your Lands from you or any think that is yours, but to visit you in love, and stay with you, if happily we may put you in a way, to enjoy the manifold blessings of the All bountiful Creator." The Quakers also agreed to share some control over the apprenticeships. They agreed with the Oneida that a committee would be formed with three Quaker men and three Oneida men who would evaluate the conduct of the apprentices.[156] For the Stockbridge, the Quakers delivered them smiths tools, agreed to help them fix their saw mill, help fund their school taught by John Quinney, and offer them an advance to begin construction on a grist mill (to be paid back if the federal government ever delivered on their promise to help pay for it). The Stockbridge also requested that the Quakers intercede on their behalf in the late payment of annuities owed to them by the federal government.[157]

At their parting, Hendrick stated that they believed the Quakers to be "true Friends," but he expressed concern that Quaker friendship was conditional. James Cooper noted that Hendrick "remembered that we said that after trying them for a while and there appeared no improvement among them that we should be discouraged from giving them any more assistance." Hendrick wanted to know if the Quakers would maintain their assistance so long as the Stockbridge

[155] Journal entry, 14 July, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[156] "Minutes of Conclusive Conferences, and Agreements between the Quakers settling on the Oneida Reservation and the Indians there, propose on the 25th and agreed to on the 30th of the Sixth Month 1796" Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[157] Copy of a letter from Joseph Sansom to PYMIC, July, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.

continued to improve. The Quakers responded that they "were in hopes that if [the Stockbridge] were but industrious and sober and minded our counsels . . . they would want but little more help from their friends." Cooper read Hendrick's questioning as an "artfull Query to draw from Friends a promise" to "hold them bound to their engagements . . . as tho there were or had been the strongest covenants" between them. Quakers gave the Stockbridge reason to believe that they were not like most white people. They were reliable and seemed to have the Stockbridge's well-being at heart. It is easy to understand why the Stockbridge wanted to secure a lasting bond with these new allies.[158] Since the Quakers were not interested in being drawn into a permanent alliance with the Stockbridge, the Quakers created a situation that placed the Stockbridge in a permanently subordinated position. To receive assistance, they continually needed to emphasize their need and their low state of civilization.

On July 7th, The Quakers departed the New Stockbridge community after breakfast. James Cooper noted in his journal that "many of them coming to take their leave of us [and] bid us farewell, … & parted not without considerable marks of respect from most more particularly from the women (who had all along discovered it by their strawberries & other things for our sustenance." The Quakers then headed to Oneida Castle where they lunched with hundreds of Oneidas who likewise came to see them off. The Oneidas, too, expressed their "satisfaction with the opportunity particularly the women." Then men left the Indians and their friends Enoch Walker, Jacob Taylor, and Henry Simmons around 4:00 and headed west to deliver letters to other members of the Six Nations in western New York. [159]

[158] 4 July, 1796, James Cooper "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," QSCHC.
[159] Journal entry, 7 July, 1796, James Cooper, "Journal of a Visit to the Oneida, Stockbridge, and Brotherton Indians, 1796," QSCHC.

Within one week of the Quakers' departure, the Stockbridge approached the remaining Quakers for the first time about the possibility of sending some of their children to live with Quakers. A situation that Eleazar Wheelock and some of his contemporaries might have jumped at was rebuffed by Walker. He asked them to remain patient and allow the Quakers to send more people to them. This marks a departure in the Stockbridge's approach to educating and training their children. They were already receiving aid from the Quakers for their local school, but training in the school was limited to reading, writing, and basic arithmetic. In 1796, there were no plans at any targeted education for the nation's women and girls, nor were there any plans to even place a Quaker woman on the reservation. The three Quaker men hired Lydia's aunt to keep house for them and made no mention of needing a female Quaker volunteer until November of the following year.[160]

It is telling that the Stockbridge approached the Quakers about this possibility. The Quakers were not their only white contacts and there were familiar young white women on the reservation from April through August. John Sergeant's daughters, Nabby and Betsy, travelled with their father on most of his trips to the reservation. The girls sometimes attended their father's sermons, but were likely there to help him keep house rather than act as missionaries or close friends to the Indians. While they would have interacted with the Stockbridge at church services and possibly in other daily activities, they were likely too young to be seen as helpful ambassadors. Their mother also would not have encouraged close ties with the Indians. She refused to move the family to New York permanently until 1799. By 1809, she moved the family off the reservation to live in the "neighborhood of white people" because of the "unhealthy"

[160] Enoch Walker to PYMIC, 14 July, 1796, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929 (MC 1003), Box 1, Folder 3, QSCHC.

conditions around New Stockbridge.[161] The Sergeant family's desired distance from the Stockbridge mixed with Sergeant's constant condescension might explain why the Stockbridge never approached Sergeant, his daughters, or his wife about the possibility of training their daughters abroad. A letter written to Sergeant's daughter upon their departure in August 1796 demonstrates the Stockbridge's uncomfortable relationship with the Sergeants. Written by Hendrick Aupaumut and John Quinney, the letter extended warm wishes to the girls, but requested that they not "speak too much about the misdeeds done by the Indians" because if word spread, they might lose their opportunities for help. They ended the letter by giving the girls Mohican names. The Stockbridge understood the importance of reputation in gaining white assistance and they did not trust the Sergeant girls to maintain the nation's good reputation among white missionaries. The Stockbridge also knew that Indian girls rarely received any education beyond the basics of keeping house when placed in the homes of typical white Christians. Given the Quakers' track record over the last few years, reaching out to the Quakers for boarding Stockbridge children was less of a risk. The Quakers had not yet let them down.[162]

Sergeant returned to Massachusetts with his daughters on August 20. Just over two weeks after his departure, Lydia, Hendrick, and her brother John Quinney began their efforts to draw the Quakers into a closer relationship of reciprocity. On September 8, two of the head men, Hendrick Aupaumut and John Quinney wrote a letter thanking the Quakers for their support, stating that their "forefathers were destitute of such encouragements." They assured the Quakers that the Stockbridge were "fixed on the path" the Quakers set for them and that their young men

[161] Journal entry, 25 June, 1809, John Sergeant, Jr. Journal, 1809-1818, microfilm reel 44, New York Historical Society, New York City, New York (NYHS).
[162] Journal entry, 16 August, 1796, John Sergeant, Jr. Journal, April 25 - August 20, 1796, UAI 20.720, Box 2, Folder 26, Harvard University Archives, Accessed February 18, 2019 < http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.ARCH:10514180>. No women signed this letter, nor is there mention of the women's feelings toward Sergeant's daughters.

were set upon working the land. Though the men showed much deference in their letter, they also reminded the Quakers what was at stake in the enterprise and how the Stockbridge might also benefit them.

> Remember that many of our white neighbours are looking to see what will be the affect of your undertaking, some expect you will be discouraged in a short time - and further be it known to you, that we have had the opportunity to send information to our friends the different Tribes who lives great ways towards the sun setting, of your kindness towards us, and your friendship to all Indian Tribes - They will also be looking on to see what will be the consequence of your undertaking . . .

In closing the letter, Hendrick and John emphasize the importance of their children to the tribe's future. ". . . Our minds are to go forward and lead our Children on the good path, - so that when we come to the last step, our Children may be able to go on still in the same way. - Brothers - We are fully persuaded on our minds that you are in the rite path."[163]

Lydia reached out to Margaret Elliot, the wife of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee's ranking member, John Elliot. Hendrick made acquaintance with Elliot's wife on a previous diplomatic trip to Philadelphia. Lydia uses this encounter as an opportunity to make initial contact with Quaker women. In opening, Lydia writes:

> Sister - Although we are unacquainted with each other, yet since my Husband has told me of your good character, my love have been drawn towards you, for I love such good People, Our women as well as Men are happy to find that your good people have

[163] Letter, Hendrick Aupaumut and John Quinney to Friends in Philadelphia, September 8, 1796, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.

maintained good Friendship towards the different Tribes of Indians, we find no other people that seems to be so near to our hearts.

Lydia then informs Margaret that "there are Ten Women of this Town, who profess to be the followers of Jesus" and "know something of the ways of the good Spirit." She redirects attention to her children, seeking to connect with Margaret on a maternal level. She states that "The Lord has been please to give me six children two girls four Boys, Their Dear souls I desire to instruct in the fear of the Lord; That they may remember there [sic] Creator in the days of there [sic] youth." She closes with a statement about their hardships since they came to live in New York, which she refers to as "this Wilderness." But she reassures Margaret, "Still we will press forward." Lydia signs the letter "thy sister in the Lord," and uses for the first time in the written record her husband's first name as her last, "Lydia Hendrick."[164]

The next month, four Quaker women of Chester, Pennsylvania (where several men of the Indian Committee lived) wrote to women of the Oneida Nation "and those to whom this may come." The women extended their love for Indian women and sent along clothes for the children who attended the school at Oneida as well as a stove for the school house. They encouraged the women in cloth production and Christianity because they believe that the faith "hath taught our Brethren to be tender towards their Women and not to oppress them, but they are willing to do their part of the business, wherefore we think it would tend greatly to the Happiness of your Nation." The Quaker women were clearly operating from the assumption that because Oneida women were still the main producers of crops in their communities, they were subject to male oppression. This demonstrates that while cloth production was considered important and was

[164] Letter, Lydia Hendrick to Margaret Elliot, September 8, 1796, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC. The convention of Indian women and families taking their husband or father's Christianized first name as their last name begins in this period. Through this process, Indian family names become Anglicized.

encouraged by Quaker missionaries, the most important change was to ensure that men were "doing their portion of Service out of Doors" and women were "filling up their alotments in the Houses."[165] Because Stockbridge gender norms were already arranged more closely along these lines, Quakers and other white missionaries were more interested in "winning" over the less acculturated Indians. The Stockbridge, therefore, had to become their own advocates to obtain the assistance of white missionaries because they had already achieved more advancement than most white people thought possible. Though this letter was addressed specifically to women of the Oneida nation, like most circular letters of the time, it would have made its way around the reservation. This would have been the first communication Stockbridge women read from the women of Chester whom the Stockbridge agreed to send their children the following year.[166]

Between the fall of the 1796 and summer of 1797, the New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee became more closely connected to the project on the Oneida reservation. The committee in New York worked closely with the Philadelphia committee in summer of 1796 to acquire and transport goods to the reservation. They planned a trip of their own the following fall, but the weather and interest in the project waned.[167] Renewed interest the following spring led to the organization of an envoy to visit the reservation in the summer of 1797 to check on the progress of their various endeavors and deliver more goods. The addresses made by Quakers in the summer of 1797 echoed those of the previous summer.[168] The Quakers remained encouraged

[165] Letter, Sarah Newlin, Hannah West, Rachel Hunt, and Rachel Valentine to Indian Women of the Oneida Nation, October 4, 1796, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[166] A few months after Philadelphia area Quaker women started writing to Stockbridge women, Martha Routh of Philadelphia wrote to the Cherokee and Creek, though not specifically to their women. Her letter is the only other one written by a woman in this period to a group other than the Stockbridge and Oneida. Letter, Martha Routh to the Cherokee and Creek Nation of Indians, December 21, 1796, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929, Ms. Coll. 1003, Box 1, Folder 3, QSCHC.
[167] Letter, Thomas Eddy to New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, September, 27, 1796, Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC (AA41), Box 3, Folder 7, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.
[168] Letter, Thomas Eddy to New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, June 5, 1797, Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC, QSCHC.

by Oneida progress, but several impediments existed. The cultivation of corn kept the children out of school and alcoholism made the Oneidas difficult to keep "under control." The Oneida also had to contend with a poorly selected agent of the federal government. An unnamed Dutchman employed by the War Department lived on the reservation to provide blacksmith services to the Indians. The chiefs wished to have the man dismissed as the man had "done them much harm." To add to the trying situation, the War Department's superintendent did not live close to the reservation which hindered communication and understanding between the Oneida and the War Department.[169]

At New Stockbridge, the Quakers witnessed more improvement. Agriculture among the men increased from the previous year, a development the Quakers attributed to the premiums offered. The Stockbridge worked anywhere from one to six acres of wheat in addition to Indian corn, peas, and flax. Hendrick Aupaumut was expected to raise around 200 bushels of wheat and an abundance of other crops.[170] The school in New Stockbridge remained open and the Stockbridge regularly employed a blacksmith to assist them with the trade. The saw mill had been repaired and the grist mill the Quakers promised to help build in the absence of federal help was operational.[171] Quaker men from New York seemed no less impressed by Stockbridge women than their Philadelphia counterparts. They wrote of the Stockbridge, "the men are sober & well disposed and among the women are some remarkably religious characters, with whom we

[169] Letter, Thomas Eddy to New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, July 20, 1797, Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC, QSCHC.
[170] Letter, Thomas Eddy to New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, July 20, 1797, Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC, QSCHC.
[171] Letter, Jacob Taylor, Henry Simmons, and Jonathan Thomas to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, July, 16, 1797, Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC, Box 3, Folder 7, QSCHC.

enjoyed very great satisfaction – our committee often expressed their surprise at finding such women among Indians."[172]

By the end of the New York committee's visit, Stockbridge women wished to make direct contact with the wives of the new visitors, no doubt because the Quakers continued to demonstrate their good will and promises kept to the Indians. Thomas Eddy recalled,

> We had an opportunity with several of the women by themselves, and they mentioned to us with much diffidence, a great desire to see some of our women, but as that might not be soon, they said they wished to write to them, provided we thought it would be well received, we told them we had no doubt it would, and encouraged them to write freely what they had to communicate. We then left them by themselves and next morning they brought us an epistle of which I send thee a copy - after they brought it to us, they mentioned they meant it to serve for all of the women friends, so we added by their direction the word "ellswhere."[173]

This letter was written on June 24th by thirteen Stockbridge women including Lydia Quinney and two of her sisters. The letter addressed primarily to Hannah Eddy, Martha Titus, and Elizabeth Seuman expressed Stockbridge women's appreciation for the Quakers' chain of friendship and demonstrates their perspective on their relationship to Quakers.

> We find that these Friends who gave us many good Counsels are true Men – So we believe that you are also our true Sisters in the Lord, - therefore we think you would be willing to hear from us, who tho are poor People (commonly called) by many white

[172] Letter, Thomas Eddy to New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, July 20, 1797, Individual Correspondence, QSCHC.
[173] Letter, Thomas Eddy to New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, July 20, 1797, Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC, QSCHC.

people Squaws, we are rejoiced to find that Friends have such Love which makes no distinction.[174]

Catherine Solomon wrote her own letter with the same intended audience. She asks when the women heard that a "child" had been "born in the wilderness?" She heaps praise upon the Quaker women for sharing their husbands with the nation. She writes, "I think I believe you are good Woman which chosen good part which no man can taken away from you – I hope that make your faithful Heart Melt."[175] Though the women often employ the imagery of Indians as children and the Quakers are their superior guides, much of the letters suggest the hope for an emerging kinship as opposed to a maternalistic relationship. In the group letter the Stockbridge women state, ". . . let us join hand in hand to serve the Lord Almighty, who is able to put such weapon on our minds to withstand all the Temptations of the Evil one – and that we may be able to hold out to the end, where we shall join to praise our Savior to all Eternity."[176]

Though the Stockbridge remained the most "advanced" Indians on the reservation, they continued to struggle in New York. Many already felt the pressure to sell or lease land to individuals or the state. Their annuities amounted to roughly $1.80 per person, per year. They often did not even receive these payments due to late processing or funds being redirected to Indian agents living on the reservation.[177] The school continued at New Stockbridge under the

[174] Copy of a letter from Elizabeth Josy (Joseph) et al. to Hannah Eddy et al., June 24, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC. Thomas Eddy mentions the letter being written by the women in a letter from Thomas Eddy to PYMIC, July 20, 1797 Individual Correspondence of the PYMIC, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.
[175] Copy of a letter from Catherine Solomon to Hannah Eddy, et al., June 25, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[176] Copy of a letter from Elizabeth Josy (Joseph) et al. to Hannah Eddy et al., June 24, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[177] This number is calculated by reports from the War Department as well as population statistics acquired from The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and Quaker accounts. They were supposed to receive annually $350 from the War Department as well as $200 from the state of New York. The population in the mid-1790s was roughly 300. See Copy of a letter from Joseph Sansom to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, June 14, 1796, Henry Simmons, Jr. Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC; Henry Knox to Israel Chapin, April

direction of John Quinney, but it only existed by the support of Quakers. The Stockbridge still did not have all of the equipment needed to produce cloth at the rate they wished, nor did their girls receive any gender-specific instruction within the school. It became clear between 1796 and 1797 that the Quakers were the Stockbridges' best chance at gaining additional assistance that could put them on a path to better provide for their nation and thus, defend their land. While the Oneida and other members of the Six Nations remained skeptical of Quakers, ultimately beginning to refer to them as "long knifes" rather than the "sons of Onas," the Stockbridge were willing to take their assistance and continued to see the Quakers as a force of good for Indians.[178]

The Request

Talk began to circle on the reservation about the possibility of sending girls to live among the Quakers to learn skills the nations desperately needed. By September, it was time for Henry Simmons to return to Philadelphia. His parting sparked a flurry of council fires and letter writing by the Stockbridge to maintain Quaker friendship and make a bold request that had been previously denied.

On September 9th, Hendrick Aupaumut delivered a belt of wampum to Henry Simmons to take to Philadelphia. Prior to the presentation of wampum Hendrick attempted to draw the Quakers nearer to the Stockbridge through a lengthy oratory. Alluding to their deepening kinship, Hendrick stated, "I now make a path which will lead from my fire place to yours, the

28, 1792, *Papers of the War Department, 1784 to 1800*, Roy Rosenzweig Center for History and New Media, George Mason University, Accessed February 18, 2019 < http://wardepartmentpapers.org/document.php?id=6593>.

[178] Copy of a letter from Eve Knuhkaunmuw et al. to Hannah West et al., November 8, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC. For a discussion of Indians' evolving relationship with the Quakers, see Daniel Richter, "Onas, the Long Knife: Pennsylvanians and Indians, 1783 - 1794" in *Native Americans and the Early Republic*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1999).

path shall be plain and straight, so I remove every Fallen Tree from it and pull up every brier and all poisonous Weeds, which stood on the way, and removed every Obsticle." He continued,

> Brothers – Now let it be known throughout your Tribes, that we both Stand on this good path, when we may walk backwards and forwards to see, visit comfort, and exhort one another for our good, that we may be enabled to keep up our Friendship bright, and our path smooth & Direct . . . If we always be faithful in Cultivating our Friendship and preserve this path, the great Good Spirit will look on us with approbation and send his Light upon this path to Scatter all Dark Clouds, that it may always appear Pleasant, that we and our latest generation may rejoice in it.[179]

The belt of wampum accompanied several letters written from men and women among the Stockbridge to individuals and the Philadelphia Indian Committee. All of the letters echo the same message: that the Stockbridge have never before had such good friends and that those friends must help their future generations continue on their current path. In a letter from the Stockbridge chiefs to the Quaker men who visited them the previous summer, they state that "you have … put a good staff in the hands of our children that they may be enabled to learn that leads to good life." They continue, "if our forefathers had received such kindness, such way of help by their white brothers, who got all their country; as we have received from you, we might have been able to become useful citizens of this island, but they were not allowed to have such privileges."[180] John Quinney wrote to John Pierce, thanking him for his assistance with the school. He recalled, "I have often talked with my people, particularly to youth what great thing

[179] Hendrick Aupaumut's address at a Council Fire, September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[180] Copy of a letter from Joseph Shawqualquak et al., to Isaiah Rowland et al., September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.

have been done for us, what great obligations we are under to improve … and I hope that by the Good Spirit, there are some amongst us who understand in some measure these things and humbly look for blessings on these means that our benefactors may be abundantly rewarded from above."[181]

Part of this package of letters came from three Stockbridge women. Elizabeth Mauchtoog's letter suggests a familiarity with Margaret Elliot not seen in previous letters. She references previous correspondence and sends the regards of Esther Littleman, Catharine Littleman, and her sister Mary, Stockbridge women Margaret apparently knew. She thanks Margaret for the gifts she sent to Elizabeth a year prior and expresses her desire that her people "understand the intent of the favours we received and make right improvements of them."[182] Catherine Quachmut's letter to Rebeccah Roberts revealed "we are much comforted for friends staying here at Onedia," and that her "people are much altered since friends began to take concern for Indians."[183] Lydia wrote to Ruth Wamsley to likewise share their encouragement from the friendliness of Quakers. Lydia's hope was that her "Nation will yet become useful citizens."[184] All three women noted the low morale among the Stockbridge prior to the arrival of the Quakers and manifested a desire to maintain contact with Friends. Within these meetings, they made their request to send some of their daughters to receive an education from Quaker families. Given the gravity of sending a nation's daughters to live among white families, it is

[181] Copy of a letter from John Quinney to John Pierce, September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[182] Copy of a letter from Elizabeth Mauchtoog to Margaret Elliot, September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[183] Copy of a letter from Catherine Quachmut to Rebeccah Roberts, September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.
[184] Copy of a letter from Lydia Hendrick to Ruth Wamsley, September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC. Loruhhamah Crosley also writes to Joshua Evan's wife again, September 8, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.

understandable the Stockbridge sought to draw the Quakers into a close alliance through the exchange of wampum and a trove of correspondence.

Henry Simmons carried these messages to Philadelphia, arriving at the meeting of the Indian Committee on September 28th. While there, he gave a report on conditions and informed the committee that several individuals on the reservation wished to send their daughters to live among Friends in Philadelphia to receive a better education. The proposal was "afforded considerable satisfaction to the minds of Friends Present" and the committee made haste to arrange for the girls to be brought down. They agreed to meet early the next month in a special session to discuss the matter further.[185] At the October 7th meeting, the committee decided to finance the education of two Oneida, two Tuscarora, and three Stockbridge girls and that Henry Simmons and Joseph Clark would be deployed to retrieve them within the month. They were to set out on the 14th with provisions for the journey and to make contact with Thomas Eddy in New York to obtain assistance from the New York Indian Committee. It was also resolved to send out letters to the quarterly and monthly meetings in the area to solicit nominations for host families. The committee sought young families with daughters of their own who were familiar with Indians.[186]

Three weeks after the Philadelphia Committee received the request, Henry Simmons and Joseph Clark set out for the Oneida reservation by way of Thomas Eddy's home in New York City. They carried provisions for the journey, gifts for the Indian girls, and letters from Margaret Elliot and Rebeccah Roberts to be delivered to Lydia and Catherine Quinney.[187] After a

[185] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee Minutes, 1795 – 1815, 9-28-1797, QSCHC.
[186] Minutes, October 7, 1797 and October 17, 1797, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee Minutes, 1795 – 1815, QSCHC. For list of potential families and qualifications, see "Note on potential Indian hosts," in Letters, Invoices, Minutes, etc., Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929 (Ms. Coll. 1003), Box 1, Folder 3, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.
[187] For an account of Simmons and Clark's journey published years later, see Ingerman, ed., *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians: 1797*; Henry Simmons Journal, 1796 – 1800 (Ms. Coll. 975.01.072), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

treacherous and snowy road, they arrived at Oneida Castle on the 28th. Over the next several days, they met with Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge chiefs and visited with families on the reservation. Simmons and Clark learned that the Oneidas had no intention of sending their daughters away. They feared that the girls might learn "wrong habits" among whites and preferred that their daughters be taught by a Quaker woman on the reservation "which they always understood would be the case from the first proposal made by the committee." The Oneida's change of heart caused the Tuscarora to hesitate in their promises as well, but they ultimately decided in favor of the opportunity and sent Catherine Peters, 18, and Leah Kughwighnetha, 11, to meet the Quakers at Fort Schuyler later that month.[188]

There existed no hesitation on the part of the Stockbridge community. Both men and women came to visit Simmons and Clark at Oneida when they first arrived. Clark mentioned the hearty welcome they received from them and remarked upon the decorum and religious seriousness of the women of the Stockbridge women whom he considered "superior … to many under our name who make a high profession of religion."[189] When Simmons and Clark reached New Stockbridge, the community treated them with the utmost hospitality. Clark recalled that he "Never experienced greater kindness than from the Indians." The Stockbridge always provided them with horses and guides, and stayed up all hours of the night to renew fires for their guests. They took great care of the men who were about to shepherd the daughters of their most prominent families 400 miles to Philadelphia. Mary Pohquonnoppeet (Peters), 9, Margery Aupaumut (Hendrick), 13, Elizabeth Maumontsquaw (Baldwin), 13, and Margaret

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For references to the letters written by Elliot and Wamsley, see Copy of a letter from Catherine Quachmut to Rebeccah Roberts, September 9, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC; Copy of a letter from Lydia Hendrick to Margaret Elliot, October 23, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798, QSCHC.

[188] Ingerman, ed., *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians: 1797*, 10-28, 11-1, 11-6; "The names and ages of the Indian Girls brought from the Oneida Country," Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

[189] Ingerman, ed., *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians: 1797*, 17-18.

Mautawsquaw (Jacobs), 12, were all daughters of the Quinney sisters: Elizabeth, Lydia, Eve, and Catherine who were in turn daughters of Catherine Quinney, Sr., wife to the former sachem John Quannequant.[190]

Even with the anxiety that the girls and their parents felt about sending their children such a distance, they maintained their resolve. Elizabeth Joseph, mother of Mary Peters, wrote to Henry Simmons that Mary asked her many times "whether I feel quiet on my mind that she should go with Friends." She replied to Mary, "I am cheerfully willing you should go with these good friends to their homes, because you shall there find good Friends."[191] On the eve of their daughters' departure, Lydia Quinney, Elizabeth Joseph, Eve Knuhkaunmuw, and Catherine Nauhowwessquoh wrote to the Chester County women who they believed would watch over their daughters. They asked that their daughters be instructed in "those ways which you Teach your Daughters." They further stated, "we hope that by the blessings of the good Spirit, they shall be profitable to us, you may teach them as you shall judg proper. Sisters, We have long wished that some of our Children should be thus Teached, but poverty has prevented us not giving them that opertunity."[192]

On the morning of November 10th, Stockbridge and Tuscarora families rose early in the morning to make the journey through snow to Fort Schuyler. They delivered their daughters to

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[190] "The names and ages of the Indian Girls brought from the Oneida Country," Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC; Family connections were verified by comparing names on letters with family names on the baptismal records in Congregational Church records, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1759-1865, microfilm, 1 reel, 35mm, 234575, item 3 (Salt Lake City, Utah: Filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, 1961). Further verification of the Quinney sister's relationship is confirmed in Hendrick Aupaumut genealogy record, PPLA28, Arvid E. Miller Library and Archives, Bowler, WI. Bragdon notes that the adoption of Christianity in indigenous communities may have supported distinctions in rank. Kathleen Bragdon, "Gender as a Social Category in Native Southern New England," *Ethnohistory*, vol 43, no. 4 (1996): 75-77.

[191] Letter, Elizabeth Joseph to Henry Simmons, November 8, 1797, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929, QSCHC. A copy of this letter can also be found in Henry Simmons Letterbook, QSCHC.

[192] Eve Knuhkaunmuw et al. to Hannah West et al., November 8, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

Simmons and Clark, not knowing how long it might be before they would see them again. After decades of struggle to keep themselves clothed and settled on land, the Stockbridge finally found allies they trusted enough to help them secure a more profitable future. That future laid in the hands of these four girls and the networks they built from their mothers' foundations.

IV. "IF I STAY EVER SO LONG": ISOLATION AND EDUCATION IN QUAKER HOMES, 1797 – 1801

A blanket of snow covered the banks and high cliffs on either side of the Mohawk River as Mary, Margaret Aupaumut, Elizabeth, Margaret Mautawsquaw, Leah, and Catherine huddled together in a "nearly open" boat.[193] The next seventeen days must have been a harrowing experience for these six girls who had never before traveled far from the Oneida Reservation.

Along the Mohawk River, they witnessed a multitude of boats moving up and down river carrying passengers and cargo. Travelers often stopped along the banks to rest and prepare food. By the time they arrived in New York City a week later, the girls' boat had twice run aground in winter storms. Despite the turbulence of their transport, they stayed with a number of Quaker families who provided them warm beds and meals. On their fifth day of travel, they stayed in Hudson and met a Quaker minister by the name of Hannah Barnett. Though they likely heard stories about women's participation in the Quaker church from their mothers and the Quaker missionaries who visited the reservation, Barnett was likely the first white female minister they had witnessed. By the sixth day, the girls began to break their silence and appeared to Joseph Clark to be cheerful for the first time.[194]

The next day, their boat ran aground for the second time and they were forced to lay in the cold wind of the storm for hours before their ship could continue on to New York City. They arrived late on the opposite side of the Hudson, the captain of the ship unable to dock due to the strength of the tide. To keep the journey moving, Clark took a small, icy boat across the river to

[193] Joseph Clark, "Minutes of a Tour," *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. 1, ed. John And Isaac Comly (Philadelphia: William Sharpless, 1831), 367.
[194] Charles Ingerman, ed. *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians, 1797*, (Doylestown, Pennsylvania: Quixott Press, 1968), 28-34.

get to Edmond Pryor's house that night. The six girls struggled to get into the slick, frozen boat as the waves crashed along its sides. The party stayed that night with Pryor whose warm accommodations felt to them "like a brook by the way." The next day, the girls boarded a ship for Brunswick, New Jersey. Prior to departure, they met with the wealthy Quaker merchant Joseph Delaplane who gave each girl a piece of silver. Throughout the journey, white observers noted their surprise at the girls' modest deportment, but in Brunswick, they endured a particularly crass back-handed compliment delivered by a Polish officer, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.[195] Upon learning that Indian girls were staying at the inn, the general requested to meet them. Clark obliged and led him to the girls' private room where they were taking dinner. The general walked all the way around the table, observing the girls. He finally exclaimed, "These are almost civilized already!"[196]

The remainder of their trip was friendlier. On their ninth day, they arrived at their travel companion, Henry Simmons' home in Bristol. They remained for two nights while Clark returned to his home and made final arrangements to bring the girls to Chester County. On the way to Chester, the girls stayed with Clark and his family for several days while neighboring Friends visited and bestowed small gifts of welcoming to the girls. On Nov. 23rd, they finally reached Chester County to stay with Indian Committee member James Emlen. From his home, they left early on a Sunday morning to attend their first Quaker meeting. Clark made sure to seat the girls before members arrived so as not to cause a stir.

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[195] Clark, "Minutes of a Tour," 367; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under The Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 with some further accont of like in New Jersey*, ed. Metchie J.E. Budka, Collections of The New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, Volume XIV (Elizabeth, NJ: The Grassmann Publishing Company, 1965), 30-31.
[196] Ingerman, *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians*, 34-36.

The girls likely dreaded the next day. Clark provided escort to Nathan Cope's house in East Bradford where the girls were forced to part ways. Eleven-year-old Leah Kughwighnetha and eighteen-year-old Catherine Peters, both Tuscaroras, were to live in the homes of Nathan Cope and his son Benjamin Cope, respectively. Margaret Aupaumut, the thirteen-year-old daughter of Hendrick and Lydia was to remain nearby in the home of Joshua Sharpless. After an emotional parting, Clark continued south to New Garden with Mary, Margaret Mautawsquaw, and Elizabeth. They met at a Friend's home in New Garden where brothers William and Isaac Jackson met to receive the girls. William Jackson departed with thirteen-year-old Elizabeth Maumontsquaw while Clark accompanied eight-year-old Mary Peters and twelve-year-old Margaret Mautawsquaw to Isaac Jackson's home. As Joseph Clark prepared to make his final departure, the gravity of the situation must have overcome Mary and Margaret as both of them "wept considerably."[197]

It is difficult to know how each girl felt as she lay down to sleep that first night, staring at an entirely new ceiling, among a white family she had never met. Only Mary and Margaret Mautawsquaw had the company of each other. They had no way of knowing what their life would be like among the Quakers. They must have heard stories of abuse endured by past Stockbridge children in white homes in Massachusetts. But their mothers were certain this was the right decision. Mary's mother assured her that she was "quiet on her mind" concerning the girls' departure. [198] Their nation was depending on them for its future survival. They were to be the next generation of intercultural mediators and preservers of Mohican knowledge. To keep the community intact, they had to learn Anglo ways and make connections with whites willing to

[197] Ingerman, *Joseph Clark: Travels Among the Indians*, 40-42.
[198] Letter from Elizabeth Joseph to Henry Simmons, November 8, 1797, Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929 (MC 1003) Box 1, Folder 3, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

assist them in that endeavor. As they lay in bed that first night, they joined dozens of Indian girls before them and thousands in the century and half after them in navigating, at much too young an age, a program of "civilization" hostile to their very existence.

A Mohican Female Education

It is difficult to discern how much of Mohican tradition was still practiced or taught to Mary, Margaret Aupaumut, Elizabeth, and Margaret Mautawsquaw in the 1790s. Since the settlement at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, fewer members of the nation engaged in seasonal hunting and sugaring, though there is evidence that sugaring, hunting, fishing, and clamming continued well into the eighteenth century at their Massachusetts settlement.[199] The move to New York likely further disrupted those patterns and over time, more members of the nation took to fixed English-style homes and Anglo husbandry. We can, however, be confident that these girls were taught their nation's history and role as intermediaries between other nations. Margaret's father was one of the keepers of their history and served as their primary diplomat, or outside sachem. Their actions later in life suggest that community solidarity remained important to them and thus, they were likely brought up a community culture proud of their past and sure of their identity. The Mohican language continued to be the primary language spoken between members of the community at least through the 1810s.[200]

[199] Henry Simmons, Joel Swayne, and Halliday Jackson to Philadelphia Indian Committee, 3-24-1799, Henry Simmons Letterbooks, vol. 2, 1798-1799 (MC 975.02.019), Quaker and Special Collections, Haverford College, Haverford, PA (QSPHC); Joseph Sansom to Philadelphia Indian Committee, 7-18-1796, Morris Family Papers, 1715 – 1925 (Coll. No. 1008), Box 23.

[200] In the first decade of the 1800s, church services were still performed in Mohican, Iroquoian, and English. Separate women's religious meetings were held exclusively in Mohican. Journal entry, 8-21-1818, Journal for July 1, 1817 - Jan 1, 1818, John Sergeant Diaries, 1809-1818, microfilm edition, New York Historical Society, New York, New York (NYHS).

Traditions and cultures change over time, and the Stockbridge Mohicans were no different. As reflected in Hendrick Aupaumut's histories of his people, their story changed over the course of the eighteenth century to incorporate their emergent identity as Mohican Christians. Along with that new identity came new kinds of education for Stockbridge children. Alongside Mohican knowledge, they were taught lessons from the Christian bible from white male missionaries and their parents. Though none of the girls who were sent to live with Quakers knew how to write, they all must have known at least a little English as Margaret and Mary's mothers (and possibly Margaret's mother) could read and write in English with reasonable skill. Given the speed with which Mary and Elizabeth learned to write, it is conceivable that in 1797, they could speak ably in both English and Mohican. They would have learned the basics of gardening and sewing from their mothers along with how to project English ideals of female modesty and Christian solemnity.[201] Having limited knowledge of Quakers, the girls would not have known exactly what to expect among Friends. This arrangement where Indian children lived with Anglo families, while relatively new to the Quakers, had deep roots among indigenous peoples and their Anglo-Protestant colonizers. In colonial New England, the education of Indian adults and children was not a uniform program, but rather a series of experiments and attempts by various Christian missionaries over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In order to understand what these Stockbridge girls likely expected and how their experience

[201] Female modesty was central to English ideas about a peoples' civilization. Missionaries to the Stockbridge, as well as outside observers, often noted Stockbridge women and girls' solemn decorum in religious practice and modesty of deportment. In addition to any of the journals of John Sergeant, Jr., see Ann Mifflin, "Journal of Two Trips into Indian Country, 1802 and 1803," Logan-Fisher-Fox Family Papers (Coll. 1960), Vol. 11, Box 4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA; Elizabeth Camp Journals, 1819-1825, vol. 2, M-1854, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; Dorothy Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United* (Philadelphia: J.H. Cunningham, 1819).

represented both change and continuity from the colonial period, it is necessary to evaluate their predecessor's experiences in colonial education.

Indian Girls in the English Missionary System

Labor and domestic education was a fact of life for most all girls – Native, African, or English – in colonial New England. All children from the middling and lower classes commonly boarded out in English homes in either "private" or "pauper" apprenticeships. This system filled a demand for labor in English homes and trained young people in domestic and vocational skills, with the occasional foray into reading and writing.[202] Private apprenticeships were exclusive to the children of middling families who went to live with neighbors in need of labor. While being boarded out, young people usually learned gender-dictated domestic or craft skills (spinning and weaving for girls, farming or blacksmithing for boys). Far more common for lower-class Anglo, Native, and African children were pauper apprenticeships. These arrangements stemmed from local officials' desire to maintain social order and keep young people from becoming "charges" of the town. In this system, children were taken from families deemed "disorderly" and placed in a more "respectable" home. A child could be removed for any number of reasons, but commonly due to an absent parent or poverty.[203] If subject to this policy, boys and girls were compelled to serve an indenture to their English master or mistress until adulthood. In return for their labor,

[202] Ruth Wallis Harndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau conceive of four different types of bound labor for young people in colonial New England: pauper apprenticeships (for families in debt or deemed "disorderly"), gradual emancipation apprenticeships (part of the gradual emancipation policies of the early National period where the children of slaves would be freed after a period of servitude), private apprenticeships (for middling, Anglo children to learn domestic and vocational skills from neighbors), and immigrant indentures. See Harndon and Sekatau, "Colonizing the Children: Indian Youngsters in Servitude in Early Rhode Island," in *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience* eds. Colin G. Calloway and Neal and Neal Salisbury (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2009), 138.
[203] Harndon and Sekatau, "Colonizing the Children," 138, 141.

owners were obliged to give them shelter, food, clothing, and a basic education.[204] Though all children could be impressed into labor, the terms of contracts varied according to race and gender. Indian girls began working at younger ages, served longer indentures, and received less education than Anglo children or Indian boys.[205]

Indian girls are less represented in formal indenture contracts, but many served in a similar capacity as boarded or day laborers in English homes. Evidence suggests that girls often worked in the same homes as their mothers to earn small wages or to pay back family debts.[206] Young Native people were particularly vulnerable to enslavement or other kinds of coerced labor for a number of reasons. Disease, land loss, and dishonest creditors made debt endemic to Native communities. A system of debt peonage became widespread throughout southern New England. Men left families for extended periods of time, particularly on whaling voyages, while women and children worked as domestic servants to pay debts or subsist while men were away.[207] By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies passed

[204] Harndon and Sekatau, "Colonizing the Children," 142-3, 156.
[205] For a detailed breakdown of what was expected in this "reciprocal" relationship and the discrepancies among the contracts, see ibid., 143, 150-51, 156.
[206] Harndon and Sekatau suggest that mothers placed children in homes strategically. Mothers left children in homes where they worked or frequented and where they thought their children would receive the best treatment. Placement was important because children who lived with English families often became indentured to that family to repay the cost of providing their care. Ibid., 143, 145-46.
[207] For parental absence as a reason for indenture, see Harndon and Sekatau, 147-48; 143-46; For more on debt peonage as it relates to the family, see Margaret Newell, "The Changing Nature of Indian Slavery in New England, 1670-1720," in *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience*. Colin G. Calloway and Neal Salisbury, eds. (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2003), 118-23; For more on the specifics of how Indians became dependent and how a change in gender roles placed women in a particularly troubling situation with regard to land and subsistence, see O'Brien, "Divorced from the Land," and O'Brien, *Dispossession By Degrees*.

laws to prohibit Indian enslavement, but excluded children in their teens or younger.[208] Once bound by contract, children could be sold anywhere and separated from their families.[209]

When missionaries approached Native communities about accepting a missionary or sending their children away to Indian schools, the reality of economic and familial insecurity must have been brought to bear on any community's decision. In a world where their fates were tied up in English contracts and laws, indigenous peoples realized the important role formal education could play in securing community survival.[210] Not all Indian girls in colonial New England lived in communities populous enough to warrant the opening of their own school. Many, however, expressed interest in educating their children and took measures to bring teachers into their towns or sent their children to schools outside of their communities. Most institutions of learning were run by a missionary (either English or Indian) for local Indian children (often in "praying towns").[211] Other institutions were established within predominately white settlements (but near Indian towns) and accepted pupils from abroad. Young people who attended these schools came from places as near as a few miles down the road to hundreds of miles away in colonies throughout the Northeast. This was the case for Moor's Indian Charity School,[212] established in 1754 in Lebanon, Connecticut by Reverend Eleazar Wheelock.[213] A

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[208] The exclusion applied to boys under the age of twelve and girls under the age of fifteen. Newell, "Indian Slavery in New England," 108, 113, 115, 117, 127, 129. Despite wide-spread laws by the eighteenth century prohibiting Indian slavery, the importation of Indian slaves and "judicial enslavement" of adults and children persisted after 1700. Regardless of official status as a slave, many Natives lived in white homes as servants. By 1774, "35.5% of all Indians in Rhode Island lived with white families; the proportion grows to over 50% if one excludes free Indians living in the largest Indian town, Charlestown."

[209] Newell, "Indian Slavery in New England," 124,

[210] For treatments on the importance of literacy to community perpetuation, see Lisa Brooks, *The Common Pot: The Recovery of Native Space in the Northeast* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

[211] For a map of Indian and English towns in southern New England, see Linford Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 2-3.

[212] Moor's Charity School was eventually moved from Lebanon, Connecticut to Hanover, New Hampshire and became Dartmouth College. For a brief overview of the school's trajectory, see McCallum, *Letters*, 11-27.

[213] Children attended from throughout Southern New England, New York, and New Jersey. McCallum, *Letters*, 293-298.

central part of the education for Indian girls included taking up residence in an English home to learn Anglo-defined women's housework.[214] The promise of a formal education was one of the few ways in which this arrangement differed from more common experiences as laborers.

Boys tended to be formally educated at a higher rate than girls. This discrepancy appears to owe to English priorities to educate boys, rather than any preference on the part of Native parents.[215] Young women at Wheelock's school only attended formal classes one day a week. The remainder of their "education," academic and domestic, purportedly took place inside the English homes in which they boarded.[216] Despite the overwhelming emphasis on domestic work for girls, Wheelock seemed to conceive of his female pupils not simply as providers of labor, but potentially as respectable wives for the Indian ministers who graduated from his school.[217] In this sense, Wheelock would have conceived of their service in English homes as something more akin to a private apprenticeship rather than a pauper apprenticeship. This perceived idyllic arrangement did not, however, always match with the experiences of Indian girls enrolled in the school or the expectations of their parents. The poor treatment girls received in these homes was no secret to missionaries or parents. The fact that missionary Experience Mayhew mentions the mistreatment of Indian youth in English homes on Martha's Vineyard several times in *Indian Converts* (a book meant to promote conversion efforts) suggests that it was a significant controversy dating from the beginning of the practice in the seventeenth century.[218]

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[214] Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 146-147.
[215] In one case in 1757, the Lantern Hill Pequots specifically requested the opening of a school run by an Indian woman because most of their school-age children were girls. This wish was never fulfilled because their English minister, Joseph Fish, claimed there were none from the community suitable enough for the job. For this story and a discussion of Indian education in southern New England, see Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 136-63.
[216] This experience contrasts with boys who attended school five days a week, in some cases, alongside English boys. Wyss, "Writing Back to Wheelock," 97. For early thought on how to educate boys and girls in a different fashion, see Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 51.
[217] McCallum, *Letters*, 16.
[218] Mayhew mentions both positive and negative experiences in the homes of English families, but acknowledges that the general perception is that most of them were poorly treated. Mayhew, *Indian Converts*.

Despite their limited access to academic training, some of these girls learned to read and write and left documentation of their experiences in the schools. Of the fifteen girls who attended Moor's Charity School between 1754-1779, we have writings from four. If we compare their notes with bits of evidence from Wheelock's papers, we can say something about the experiences of at least thirteen of the girls. Each experience must have been unique based on where she was from, how long she stayed, and whether or not she got along with fellow students or her "Master" or "Mistress" (as they called the English couple with whom they lived). Though school girls only made up a small fraction of the Native female population, their responses to the incursion of white missionaries and families in their lives is revealing. They experienced boarding out like many other Indian girls and grew up in indigenous communities that were often linked to each other through Indian preachers and kinship ties. They appear to be average girls who simply acquired an exceptional opportunity. For some, their tenure at the school was long and fraught with conflict, others were dismissed or went home within a few months or years. Some found camaraderie in one another and at least one must have pleased Wheelock when she married a male classmate. Far more, however, vexed their missionaries and struggled to adjust to life in early Indian boarding environments.

Mary Secuter was a troublemaker. She came from a Narragansett community in Connecticut, entered the school on December 17, 1763, likely boarded with a local family, and remained enrolled in the school for at least five years. Secuter does not stand out in the records until four years after her admission when she was forced to write and sign a dictated confession. She confessed that on a December evening: "I went into the School while I was intoxicated with Liquor and there behaved myself in a Lude and very immodest Manner among the School Boys."

Less than three months later, she signed another confession, this time written in Wheelock's hand:

> I was guilty of going to the tavern & tarrying there with much rude & vain company till a very unseasonable time of night where was dancing & other rude and unseemly conduct, & in particular drinking too much spirituous liquor whereby I was exposed to commit many gross sins . . .[219]

Secuter was not the only female pupil at the tavern that night. Another signed confession by newly admitted Mohegan, Hannah Nonesuch, reveals that she and fellow Mohegan Sarah Weog were also caught in this "frolick" in the "company of Indian boys & girls."[220] The confession also indicates that Nonesuch was enticed by Weog to join in the fun. Weog, even more so than Secuter, was apparently quite the troublemaker. She was expelled from the school in 1764, only two years after her arrival, but appears to have been readmitted sometime before the incident in 1768. Though we do not know the circumstances of Weog's expulsion, the fact that she was expelled once before and Wheelock insisted upon naming her as the ring leader for the frolick suggests that she was not quite the well-behaved maiden Wheelock had hoped to cultivate. Another Mohegan girl, Patience Johnson was dismissed for unknown reasons.[221] Though we do not know the details for each incident, these confessions and dismissals lead us to believe that this kind of behavior was not uncommon, or at least common enough that it could be overlooked or tolerated to maintain enrollment.

[219]McCallum, *Letters*, 237.
[220] McCallum, *Letters*, 232.
[221] McCallum, *Letters*, 294.

What are we to make of these girls and their "rude and unseemly conduct"? What kind of behavior would have been typical for an eighteenth-century New England Indian girl and what standard did missionaries expect them to meet? By the mid-eighteenth century, many Native communities, particularly in southern New England, were known for their sporadic and sometimes heterodox engagement with Christianity. Most Native towns were not designated "praying towns" and therefore were not under the close supervision of a white missionary, though they would increasingly have had English neighbors. Narragansett and Mohegan communities (of which Secuter, Nonesuch, Weog, and Johnson belonged) often preferred Indian over English preachers and were known by white missionaries to not be bastions of "civilized" life.[222] These kinds of communities were places where more indigenous expressions of gender and social relations likely persisted. The consumption of alcohol was almost universally frowned upon in Native southern New England,[223] but dancing and socializing with Native boys would have been quite normal for adolescent girls. Indeed, girls in their early teens might have their first sexual experiences prior to marriage.[224] Secuter, Nonesuch, and Weog danced with other "Indian boys & girls." The girls referenced in Nonesuch's confession may have been her two school mates, but the boys likely were not pupils at the school. When referencing the male students, Wheelock's writing usually notes "school boys" or "scholars." Additionally, no corresponding confessions for this event from any of the male pupils appear to exist in Wheelock's papers. If these young Indian men were local non-students, then girls at the school were able to engage in relationships with other young Native people who lived without close

[222] Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 136, 146-47.
[223] A major reason why Indian communities acquiesced in allowing an Indian missionary into their town was to instate an enforced prohibition on the sale of alcohol. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening*, 149.
[224] Carolyn Neithammer, *Daughters of the Earth: The Lives and Legends of American Indian Women* (London: Collier MacMillan, 1977), 44-7.

supervision by a missionary. The pull between familiar activities and people and an obligation to gain important skills and acceptance from powerful English men and institutions must have been great.[225]

Wheelock did not tolerate Indian frolicks or promiscuous behavior by his pupils because it did not fit within the Puritan ideal of young womanhood. Engaging in "unclean" behavior was considered a gross sin that welcomed the wrath of God.[226] However, if we move beyond the ideal and look at reality, these kinds of interactions were quite common among young Anglo Americans. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich points out that young people attended "frolicks," or parties, after the completion of gender-specific labor tasks such as barn raisings or quiltings. Contrary to the popular myth that colonial-era New Englanders were sober and chaste, premarital sex was common. Studies on New England sexual norms for both the colonial and early national eras suggest that nearly half of all first births were conceived out of wedlock.[227] One noteworthy difference between Anglo and Native girls in this comparison is that these particular Native girls, as opposed to most English or Native young people, were under close supervision by Wheelock. He had to maintain his reputation as an effective missionary, and any reports of Indian girls drinking or engaging in behavior of a sexual nature would be interpreted as a shortcoming of his instruction. These Native girls also had the burden of stereotypes projected on them. Increasingly throughout the eighteenth century, perceptions of Anglo women as innately lascivious and

[225] A footnote on McCallum's transcription of this confession states that Hannah Nonesuch was admitted to the school on March 11, 1768. This is also the same day her confession was signed, placing the "frolick" three days before her admission into the school. McCallum, *Letters*, 233. This gives the event an added dimension for two reasons. First, Nonesuch's actions were subject to reprimand even before she was officially a pupil. Second, one wonders whether the frolick corresponded to her admission in some way. Perhaps as a farewell or a welcome.
[226] For a discussion of "uncleanness" in Puritan ideology, see Kathleen Brown, "'Murderous Uncleanness': The Body of the Female Infanticide in Puritan New England," in *A Centre of Wonders: The Body in Early America*, Janet Moore Lindman and Michele Lise Tarter, eds. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 77-94.
[227] Ulrich estimates thirty-eight percent of births in Hallowell, Maine from 1785-1812 were conceived before marriage. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard Based on Her Diary, 1785-1812* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 146-47, 152.

susceptible to evil spirits gave way to a sense that women possessed an inherent piety and superior morality to men. In contrast, women of color continued to be viewed as inherently depraved and wicked.[228] For Indian girls, frolicks and sexual interactions with males were interpreted as evidence of their savagery and propensity for immoral behavior.[229] In the confines of these spaces dominated by Anglo-Puritan cultural norms, many of these girls' outlets for normative Native female behavior were strictly

Despite the struggles Indian youths endured while attending missionary schools, there is evidence to suggest that a good deal of bonding between Indian females took place. The above incident involving Sarah Weog and Mary Secuter is case a in point. Weog and Secuter arrived at Wheelock's school just one year apart, 1762 and 1763. Within those four years between Secuter's arrival and the incident, the two girls must have shared a great deal of experiences and confided in one another. Another friendship appears in Wheelock's papers, though this time without quite the excitement of the above incident. The first two girls to be admitted to Wheelock's school were Amee Johnson and Mirriam Storrs. Both arrived in 1761 and boarded with English families. Amee arrived from the town of Mohegan and was the sister of Joseph Johnson who arrived at the school three years prior. Mirriam was the first of only five girls who came to the school from beyond Connecticut or Rhode Island.[230] She was the only Indian girl from the Delaware nation in New Jersey to be sent by missionary David Brainerd. A letter from Wheelock to Brainerd acknowledging Mirriam's arrival tells us a bit about these two girls.

[228] Brown, "Murderous Uncleanness," 91-92.
[229] Wheelock and Mayhew often used terms like "vicious" and "wicked" to describe Indians' nature and the difficulty of instructing them. See McCallum, *Letters*; Mayhew, *Indian Converts*.
[230] Three Mohawk girls arrived in 1765 and one Oneida in 1768 was the last girl admitted to the school. McCallum, *Letters*, 293-97.

> Upon my return from Boston about 4 weeks ago met yours . . . Mirriam at my House. I am well pleased . . . she is in good health & well contented, she has a kind mistress and she says she learns well so far as she has had opportunity to see & know Amee the other Indian girl (13 years old) who is mated with Mirriam and boards, about 20 rods from her . . . Mirriam has made surprising proficiency in learning [since she] came last spring. She than surely knew her letters (and indeed was more backward in reading than in other parts of her learning.) Will now write a good hand . . .[231]

The letter indicates that Mirriam's relationship with Amee clearly had a positive effect on her. This shouldn't surprise us given they were the first girls to attend the school. Even though they were from communities that likely did not meet together regularly, a bond quickly emerged from their similar situations. Both boarded in homes run by English "mistresses" and were excluded from all regular school activities beyond their once-a-week class. The two were boarded "20 rods," or two and a half miles from one another. Though they lived some distance from one another, their interactions were apparently frequent. The letter also attests to ways in which parents were assured of their child's care and promise of education. Wheelock makes it a point to mention all that Amee has learned in less than one year. After telling of Amee's accomplishments in sewing and dairying, Wheelock requests that David Brainerd (the missionary to the Delaware Indians) tell Mirriam's parents that she will want for nothing that is within his power while she is away.[232]

From what we can piece together in the records, it appears that Amee and Mirriam adjusted relatively well to life in Lebanon. If they did anything to receive the ire of Wheelock,

[231] Eleazar Wheelock to David Brainerd, 6 Nov., 1761, *Wheelock Papers*, reel 1.
[232] Eleazar Wheelock to David Brainerd, 6 Nov., 1761, *Wheelock Papers*, reel 1.

we do not know about it. No confessions or other letters of trouble exist for them. In one letter written to Wheelock in 1768 from New York, Mirriam expressed her fondness for her time in the school, her desire to visit, and her disgust at the immorality she sees in the city.[233] We know nothing of Amee except that she courted one of the Indian school boys, David Fowler, for a time, and ended up working at a local tavern near Lebanon. The brief story we have of these two girls suggests that not every experience was an intolerable one. Another student, Hannah Garret, married David Fowler and presumably took up the ideal life of a missionary's wife that Wheelock had planned for all of the girls.[234] It should be noted, however, that she was the only one of the fifteen girls to do so.

Not all girls adjusted to life in Wheelock's school as well as Mirriam and Amee. Several attempted to run away or their families withdrew them within a few months.[235] Others stayed longer, but pushed for frequent visits home or withdrew themselves after experiencing trouble at school. In addition to receiving scorn for her extracurricular activities, Mary Secuter's intimate affairs were also subject to scrutiny by Wheelock and other men in her life. In several letters of correspondence, it is clear that Wheelock and her father had more control over her prospects than either she or her mother.[236] Her father initially wrote to Wheelock asking him not to condone a marriage between Secuter and Hezikiah Calvin, who was a male student and Indian missionary. Secuter later wrote a letter to Wheelock expressing her love for Calvin, but also her hesitancy to marry him despite her parents' approval of the marriage.[237] It is unclear whether Secuter's

[233] McCallum, *Letters*, 239.
[234] McCallum, *Letters*, 294.
[235] McCallum, *Letters*, Appendix A, 293-298.
[236] Women in Native society often arranged marriages. Women were also free to marry and leave their mates at any time. Fur, *Nation of Women*, 108, 135.
[237] Mary also states that she resigned herself to living a single life, though it is not known whether or not she ultimately married. McCallum, *Letters*, 53-4, 67.

parents had a change of heart, or if she was unaware of her father's formal request of Wheelock. What is known is that even though there is evidence to suggest that Mary and Calvin did some "frolicking" of their own, the two never married.[238] Because she was bound by Anglo gender conventions, the men in Secuter's life had greater say in a matter that would otherwise have been decided almost exclusively by her mother and herself.[239] After this incident, in a letter to Wheelock, Secuter ultimately made the decision to end her enrollment at Moor's Charity School. She stated that the reverend was wasting his money on her and that "The longer I Stay in the School the worse I am . . ." She reasoned, "it will Cost a great deal to keepe me hear, wh will be Spending Money to no Purpose . . . dont think I deserve ye honour of being in your School, if agreeable to ye Doctor I should be glad to leave the School next week & be no longer a member of it."[240]

Attempting to leave boarding school life by denying the effectiveness of the instruction was a strategy also employed by another of Wheelock's students, Sarah Simon. She left the school on several occasions for extended periods of time, and, within three years of her arrival, requested permanent dismissal. Simon was bound out to an English family, and while we do not know her exact experience there, her requests to leave suggest that she preferred her former life among her Mohegan family.[241] Several of her letters show concern for her widowed mother and request a trip home to visit her.[242] She informs Wheelock in another letter that she is sick and thinks the salt water air will help in her recovery (she grew up in a coastal Mohegan village).[243]

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[238] Around the time (early to mid-1767 and early 1768) Mary's father writes of his disapproval of their potential marriage, Calvin writes to Wheelock, confessing to a number of vague sins and attributes some of these sins to "conjugal thoughts." McCallum, *Letters*, 52-63.
[239] Fur, *Nation of Women*, 108, 135.
[240] McCallum, *Letters*, 238.
[241] Wyss, 100; McCallum, *Letters*, 65.
[242] McCallum, *Letters*, 229.
[243] McCallum, *Letters*, 228.

Finally, Simon informs Wheelock in a passionate letter that she fears she is not a Christian because of her "great many wicked thoughts," requesting the reverend's help while at the same time stating "that it will not do me any good; for I have talked with the Dr grant many times …," suggesting the ineffectiveness of his teachings and rejecting the possibility of becoming a proper maiden.[244]

The decision to send one's child away to school must have been a difficult one. One wonders how communities weighed their options. The pull of a formal education in the English language must have been great. Several of Wheelock's male graduates, Samson Occom and Joseph Johnson among them, helped other New England Natives a great deal by writing petitions and advocating on behalf of many communities.[245] Their success was proof that a formal education for Indian children was not only useful, but necessary. On the other hand, none of the girls returned to take on leadership positions in their communities, at least not ones that English documents allow us to see or Anglo viewers would have recognized. It is perhaps telling that females comprised a significant minority of the students at Wheelock's school. Totaling less than 17% of student enrollment, their limited participation in school was representative of the larger Anglo colonial trend of educating boys more so than girls. Life in school, particularly hundreds of miles away for some, was likely a jarring experience for young Indian women. Even if raised by Christianized Indian parents, their mothers would have played an active role in their early development, and as many other scholars have noted, indigenous ways of life were far from eradicated in New England communities in the eighteenth century.[246] According to Pequot oral

[244] Simon is referring to numerous times in which she sought and received Wheelock's advice in the past. Ibid., 230.
[245] For Occom and his cohorts' efforts to help Native people petition colonial and state legislatures for redress, see William DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1899), 240-141, 276, 288, 291, 313.
[246] Wyss, "Writing to Wheelock," 97, 99, 103.

traditions, even those children who lived as servants in the homes of white families maintained close connection to their communities. They attended ceremonies and celebrations and learned "traditional native skills along with their 'white' training."[247] Attending Wheelock's school was likely a different experience. Students who attended Moor's Charity School often came from locations far away from Lebanon, Connecticut. Wheelock allowed the students to take extended trips home, but they remained detached from their families (except via correspondence) for most of the year.

For girls who resisted the control of English missionaries and Puritan societal structures, little is known about their lives after their time at Moor's Charity School. Although the sources do not allow us to follow the girls' development, records from the praying towns on Martha's Vineyard and in Stockbridge, Massachusetts inform a discussion of how rebellious girls often developed into what Mayhew and other missionaries considered "pious" women.

Parents often withdrew their children from Wheelock's school because of the impression that they were treated more like slaves than students.[248] These girls were caught between contradictory expectations. They were sent to learn skills for their communities, but Wheelock strictly wanted them to be helpmeets for male missionaries. With such a wide gulf between desires of the different parties, it is no wonder that these girls were not deemed "successes" by Wheelock. Most of the girls who attended Moor's returned to their communities, but we have little evidence of how their education (or lack thereof) benefitted their families and kin relations. We can imagine that learning the English language was helpful for the community, but these were minimal skills that did not prove to be transformative for a tribe's situation. Given the

[247] Harndon and Sekatau, "Colonizing the Children," 152.
[248] Mayhew, *Indian Converts*, 194, 220; McCallum, *Letters*, 65.

reputation that the practice of boarding-out had in the colonial period, it is telling that Lydia, Elizabeth, Eve, and Catherine were willing to send their daughters so far away to live among white families with whom they only recently developed ties. As these women hoped, their daughters' experiences in Quaker homes *were* different in a number of ways, but Mary, Margaret Aupaumut, Elizabeth, and Margaret Mautawsquaw shared many of the same problems that nearly all Native youth faced within Indian education programs throughout American history.

"to be faithful in all the Duties . . . laid before you": Indian Girls in Quaker Homes

Even though Quakers had become friends of the Stockbridge over the past two years, it is to be expected that the girls nevertheless felt a good deal of anxiety about leaving home. Stockbridge experiences with whites were rarely positive and the girls were without the protection of family or extended kin. But these girls, like those who attended Wheelock's school decades before, were tasked with an important mission: to help their communities survive colonialism. The task must have weighed heavily on their minds. We do not know for certain if the girls who attended Wheelock's school were from prominent families, or the degree to which they felt a duty to remain at Moor's Charity School. The Stockbridge girls, however, provide more insight into their background and specific motivations for staying the course. We know that all four girls were the granddaughters of the former sachem John Quannequant (Quinney). Although close ties with Anglo Christianity altered matrilineal lines of inheritance, their mothers were considered headwomen of the tribe and clearly played an important role in the nation's relationship to outsiders. Though Lydia was never recognized as a sachem in her own right, a later female traveler to the reservation referred to her as the Stockbridge *sunksquoh*.[249] Her role

[249] Dorothy Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United* (Philadelphia: J.H. Cunningham, 1819), 111.

as the primary host to distinguished guests supports this observation. Margaret Aupaumut's father was the tribe's primary sachem and Mary's father had been the nation's school teacher until his premature death. If this kind of responsibility were to fall to any girls, it would be them. There were also practical reasons for their selection. As the daughters of prominent families, they likely possessed the best access to education and resources, and given their families' early adoption of Christianity, they were also the members of the nation most highly adapted to Anglo culture.[250] No line of inheritance or Christian upbringing, however, could have prepared them for separation from their kin for an indeterminate amount of time. Correspondence written to and from these girls and their mothers reveals both the anxieties and resolve they felt about the arrangement.[251]

Settling in to their new homes must have been a strange experience for the girls and their hosts. Though every family who took in one of these girls ended up playing important roles in the future of the Philadelphia Indian Committee, none prior to their hosting had any experience missionizing to Indians.[252] The three girls who were settled in East Bradford stayed with families connected to one another. Nathan and Amy Cope, who boarded Leah, was the father of Benjamin Cope who kept Catherine, the eldest of the girls. There were at least four children, two boys and

[250] Bragdon, "Gender as a Social Category in Native Southern New England," 75-77, 86. Christianity may have supported distinctions in rank and "functional gender differences," though the generosity of high ranking members remained important to legitimacy in leadership.
[251] Letter from Elizabeth Joseph to Henry Simmons, November 8, 1797, Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929 (MC 1003) Box 1, Folder 3, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.
[252] While none of the families previously engaged in missionary work to Indian communities, they would have been familiar with Delaware Indians who passed through the area somewhat regularly and would have been quite familiar Hannah Freeman, a Delaware Indian woman who lived itinerantly with local families in Chester County in the last decades of the eighteenth century. For the story of Hannah Freeman, see Dawn G. Marsh, *A Lenape Among the Quakers: The Life of Hannah Freeman* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2014). Though the Oneida reservation girls and Hannah Freeman lived in Chester County at the same time, there is no evidence that they met one another. Hannah's notoriety in the county however, makes it difficult to imagine that the girls would have never become acquainted with her.

two girls, near the home at which Leah stayed.[253] Benjamin and Rachel did not yet have any children, but Catherine and Rachel Cope were only eight years apart.[254] Joshua and Edith Sharpless, who boarded Margaret Aupaumut, were Rachel Cope's parents. Both Joshua and Edith were Quaker ministers and they had at least four children at home when Margaret arrived: a pair of four-year-old twin girls, an eighteen-year-old son, and a twenty-two year old daughter.[255] In New Garden, the other three girls likewise stayed with families related to one another. Isaac and Hannah Jackson had at least four grown children, and one twelve-year-old son living with them when Mary and Margaret Mautawsquaw arrived. Isaac and Hannah's son, William and his wife (also Hannah) took in Elizabeth. They lived roughly six miles from Isaac and Hannah, in New London. Not much is known of William and Hannah's home life, except that William was a Quaker minister.[256]

Though early arrangements may have been awkward, it is clear from Quaker records that the Indian Committee made efforts to place the girls in homes where they would be well cared for. Unlike Indian girls in the colonial period, Quaker families in 1796 who offered to board them in did so without the intention of putting them to work as servants. The call sent out to Quaker monthly meetings stated that those willing to educate the girls should not expect much compensation for doing so. Of those who volunteered, a good many were rejected out of concern for the girls' wellbeing. Elderly and infirm couples were turned down, as were couples with too many young children. To the committee, the ideal home had older children who could assist in

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[253] Nathan Cope, *1800*; Census Place: *East Bradford, Chester, Pennsylvania*; Series: *M32*; Roll: *36*; Page: *808*; Image: *231*; Family History Library Film: *363339*.
[254] Joshua Sharpless, Ancestry.com. *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014.; "Rachel Cope," Beyond Penn's Treaty, Accessed February 1, 2018, <https://pennstreaty.haverford.edu/person/rcoop1/>.
[255] Ancestry.com. *U.S., Quaker Meeting Records, 1681-1935* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2014.
[256] "William Jackson," Beyond Penn's Treaty Database, Accessed February 25, 2019, <https://pennstreaty.haverford.edu/person/wjack1/>.

caring for the home and provide a good example for the girls. The Jackson family was singled out early-on in the process as a family well suited to care for the girls as they had three grown daughters who helped a good deal with running the home and were both "virtuous" and "industrious."[257]

This difference in approach resulted in significantly different experiences and outcomes for the Stockbridge and Tuscarora girls. Within the Quaker faith, to take on the task of helping "suffering" populations, one must feel a calling to do so. Missionary work and caring for underprivileged groups was a sacrifice they were duty-bound to fulfill. Gender dynamics within the home and the church were also different than in non-Quaker homes. Women and people of color could be ministers and speak openly in meetings. It was also not assumed that all young women would become wives and mothers. It was perfectly acceptable within Quaker society to choose not to marry and instead devote one's life to other pursuits that might benefit the larger community.[258] Though Sunday mornings in New Stockbridge resembled Congregational services, women carried out their own fervent religious meetings, sat on councils, and were recognized as headwomen by white observers who condoned female participation in council fires. Within both Stockbridge and Quaker custom, women held their own meetings and contributed to larger decisions made by the community or society. Both groups of women also played a central role in marriages within the community. Within most Native societies and all Quaker communities, marriages had to win the blessings of a council of headwomen or the Women's Meeting, respectively.[259]

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[257] List of families who volunteered to take Indian girls, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, 1758-1929, (Ms. Coll. 1003), Box 1, Folder 3, QSPHC.
[258] Susan Hill Lindley, *You Have Stept Out of Your Place*, 10.
[259] Sergeant Journal for women's meetings. Also, Quaker mention of meeting from Simmons or Cooper journal. For Quaker women and marriages, see Susan Hill Lindley, *You Have Stept Out of Your Place*, 13.

Though the girls may have seen more equivalences between Quaker families and their own, the distance from their own families must have been painful. The adjustment was difficult for some of the girls. Not long after settling in to Isaac and Hannah Jackson's house, Margaret Mautawsquaw received terrible news. Just a few days before her departure, Margaret's beloved younger sister, Jerucy, fell ill. She died just days after Margaret arrived at the Jackson house. The cash of letters carrying the news would have arrived around Christmas.[260] Correspondence made its way slowly back and forth between the reservation and Chester County. The first opportunity the girls had to send letters home was not until spring. The only letters that survive from that cache came from Mary Peters who wrote to her mother and brother. She reported that she was treated well by the Jacksons, but that she longed to see her family "and all Stockbridge friends." She was hopeful that she might return before the next winter.[261] All of the letters home likely contained similar wishes. The Quaker missionaries who were to deliver the children's letters to their parents were instructed that "no attention may be paid to their request of seeing any of their kindred," further reasoning that "they are but children, such wishes are natural and they cannot take into voice the inconvenience of expense of accomplishing them." [262] Unfortunately, Peter's letter does not offer much detail beyond the lessons received in the first few months with the Jacksons. There is no hint as to why, after only nine weeks, Elizabeth was removed from the home of William Jackson and placed with Margaret Aupaumut in the home of Joshua and Edith Sharpless.[263] There is also no indicated why Margaret accompanied those letters home to New Stockbridge, ending her time among the Quakers after only five months.[264]

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[260] Hendrick Aupaumut to Joseph Clark, 30 November, 1797, Henry Simmons Letterbook, QSCHC.
[261] Letters from Mary Peters to Mother and Brother, March 10, 1798, reprinted in *Friends' Intelligencer Journal, 1898*, vol. LV (Philadelphia: Friends' Intelligencer Association, 1898), 73.
[262] Copy of a Letter to Friends at Oneida, April 14, 1798, Letters from PYMIC (AA41.1), QSCHC.
[263] February 1, 1798, Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, 1795-1815, QSCHC.
[264] May 19, 1798, Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, 1795-1815, QSCHC.

One of the biggest differences they faced while living among the Quakers was learning in Quaker schools. The school at New Stockbridge was only open intermittently due to a lack of funds and sporadic attendance by the local children.[265] Quaker schools remained open nearly year-round and held long hours. From March through November first, school met five days a week from 8:00 AM until noon and 2:00PM until 5:00. During winter months, schools opened one hour later, but otherwise maintained the same schedule. Quaker schools could be held in private homes or meeting houses, but by the 1790s, multiple formal schools existed in both New Garden and East Bradford. The schools were almost always taught by Quakers with educational directives handed down by the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia.[266] Reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught to all children, girls as well as boys. Given the need for women to be accountants for the Women's Monthly and Yearly Meetings, accounting and bookkeeping were taught to both boys and girls: an important skill that would serve the Stockbridge girls well.[267] A classical education was also encouraged for all where qualified schoolmasters existed. Gendered differences in school only manifested in the teaching of industrial skills. Male students received instruction in trades like blacksmithing and carpentry while girls learned sewing, weaving, and needlework. Industrial education was so important Quakers, that they originally offered premiums to boys for producing desired products.[268] Alongside these skills, moral and religious education was also instilled. Children were expected to dress plainly and be in attendance every day, as absences demanded notes from parents or guardians.[269]

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[265] John Sergeant, Jr. discusses this in nearly all of his journals. For just one instance, see June 13, 1796, Journal of John Sergeant, Jr., April 25 – August 20, 1796, Harvard University Archives, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.
[266] Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Philadelphia* (New York: Teacher's College Columbia University, 1920), reprint edition: New York, Arno Press, 1969, 122-123; 180-188.
[267] Susan Hill Lindley, *You Have Stept Out of Your Place*, 11-12.
[268]Premiums were also awarded for academic achievement. In the colonial period, boys were also taught sewing. School newspapers and magazines were common by the eighteenth-century. Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, 36-38; 186; 190-192.
[269] Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, 182-183.

The Stockbridge and Tuscarora girls, like the Quaker children they lived with, were closely supervised by local Quaker families. Given the location, they probably attended school with both white and black Quaker and non-Quaker children. Though there were local children who did not attend theses schools, children in Quaker schools would have been expected to keep their close friendships among only their classmates.[270] Mary and Margaret would have gone to one of three Quaker schools in New Garden while Leah, Catherine, and Elizabeth would have attended one of the schools in Bradford. Both towns had roughly the same demographics with populations between 750 and 850. People of color made up between five and seven percent of the population in each area. The only major discrepancy was the age distribution in each location. Roughly thirty-eight percent of the population of Bradford was comprised of children under the age of sixteen as opposed to fifteen percent in New Garden. The Stockbridge and Tuscarora girls would have interacted with children of all ages and social groups on a daily basis. Mary and Margaret lived next door to several black families, though given the treatment of people of color in the census records, we cannot know the ages of those household members.[271] Close relationships with non-Indians certainly developed in this atmosphere. Mary and Elizabeth both wrote letters to their close Quaker confidants they met while in Chester County. Their letters suggest that the girls developed a close bond with their friends and the families with whom they lived.[272] Mary became particularly close to one of the Jackson's daughters, Hannah, while in New Garden. Hannah, in her twenties by the time Mary arrived in her home, decided shortly after to engage in missionary work. She volunteered to go to New Stockbridge with the

[270] Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania*, 182-183; 254.
[271] 1800 U.S. Federal Census for New Garden and East Bradford.
[272] Elizabeth Baldwin to Unknown, July 3, 1800, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA; Mary Peters to Hannah Jackson, 9-19-1803, Naomi and Rayner Kelsey Papers (MC 950.130), QSCHC.

next group of Quakers to check on progress at the Oneida reservation and to help missionary efforts among the Seneca. She went on at least two trips of this nature while Mary stayed with the Jacksons. Hannah acted as a go-between for Mary and her mother, allowing them to exchange letters and no doubt relaying stories of each other's lives while they were apart.[273]

Any positive relationships that developed probably did not make up for the longing for home. Two years after Doxtator's departure, her mother wrote to her a letter addressed to "Mary Peters alias Kauknausquoh":

> Mhwaunauyuh Nechan,
>
> I take this opportunity to inform you that we are all well, and you had another little sister, now litter better than three months old . . . I have rec'd your Letter and the Stockings you sent for which I am glad, and thank the great Good Spirit . . .

Elizabeth Joseph appears to be responding to a disheartened Mary with words of encouragement and a reminder of her responsibilities and need for faith. Her mother orders Mary "to be faithful in all the Duties which may be laid before you" and to maintain her current path because "without the good Spirit we can do nothing." Though she and the other girls seem to have had a positive experience in Quaker homes,[274] by August 1800, Doxtator wrote a request to the

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[273] April 28, 1798, May 10, 1798, May 19, 1798, February 22, 1800, Minutes of the PYMIC, 1796-1815; Mary complains to the Indian Committee that she does not hear from her mother as much since Hannah Jackson returned from her mission. Mary Peters to David Bacon, 8-26-1800, Individual Correspondence of the Indian Committee, QSCHC.

[274] Elizabeth Joseph to Mary Peters alias Kauknausquoh, October 22, 1799, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. At least one Stockbridge girl, Elizabeth Maumontsquaw Baldwin expressed some reluctance to return home. She wrote to an unnamed (presumably white) friend, "I believe I should be willing to stay longer if I had my choice …" Elizabeth Baldwin to Unknown, July 3, 1800, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. If Mary experienced significant mistreatment, she likely would not have sent her own daughters to live in Quaker homes years later. See references to the Stockbridge requesting to have their children brought up in New York Quaker homes in the minutes of the New York Yearly Meeting's Indian Committee on May 24, 1817, August 12, 1817, April 7, 1818, May 26, 1818, May 25, 1822, and December 2, 1822, New York Yearly Meeting Committee on Indian Concerns (NYYMIC) Minute Book, 1816-1850 (RG2/Nyy/700/Box 1), Friends Historical Library (hereafter, FHL), Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting's Indian Committee to return home as soon as possible, writing, "I want to see my Father & Mother & Brothers & Sisters, I dont want to stay another year, I think I have learned enough, every thing necessary, I cant learn any more if I stay ever so long I want to go very much this fall . . ."[275] In this plea to return home, there are echoes of Mary Secuter and Sarah Simon. Mary would not be allowed to return home for another year. For that year, as with three years prior, she likely tried to keep her mind on the task at hand, but must have wondered how her family was getting along back home.

On the Reservation

After the Oneida declined to send their girls to Philadelphia, the Indian Committee finally decided to send a female Friend to the reservation. One of the two women to answer the call of the Indian Committee was Hannah Jackson. By the end of 1798, a school for girls was opened among the Oneida. There, the Quaker women taught the girls spinning, sewing, and knitting.[276] Jackson facilitated communication between the Indian girls and their mothers, making sure that letters were sent and received while she remained in New York. The Quaker women who cared for the Stockbridge girls also wrote to the girls' mothers, updating them on their progress and sending along their early manufactures.[277] The mothers communicated with the Quaker women

[275]Mary Peters to Indian Committee, August 26, 1800, Letters to the PYMIC, Individual Correspondence (AA41 Box 4, Folder 2), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

[276] Certification of Hannah Jackson to work among the Oneida, Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, QSCHC, Haverford, PA; 28 April, 1798 Minutes of the PYMIC, 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC; 1799 Account of Proceedings, Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, QSCHC, Haverford, PA. Though the Oneida wanted the women there to train women and girls, the male missionaries on the reservation reasoned that the Quaker women would be most useful in teaching Native people housework and in assisting the Quaker men in keeping their house. Letter, Jacob Taylor to PYMIC, November 4, 1797, Individual Correspondence, QSCHC.

[277] For correspondence between Stockbridge women, girls, and Quaker women, see copies of letters in Henry Simmons Letter Book, and Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

as well. At the same time Elizabeth Joseph wrote her letter of encouragement to Mary, she wrote a letter to Hannah Jackson, Sr. thanking her for taking care of the girls:

> Dear Sister,
>
> I will inform you that I ever have been glad in that you have taken good care of my poor daughter because I am persuaded in my mind to believe that this kindness is from the great Spirit who alone can put such compassionate feeling on your hearts toward us the Natives. Therefore I have been feel easy and entirely willing that you should be judges when my Daughter should return, and am fully believe that she live much better there than what she can do here -- In tender love I bid you farewell, from your friend - Elizabeth Joseph[278]

Alongside this sustained correspondence, Quaker women of Chester Quarterly meeting raised funds for the missionary efforts being carried out on the reservation. For the period that the girls resided in Chester County, the women donated £150 to be put towards assisting Friends' work among the Stockbridge, Oneida, Brothertown, and Tuscarora.[279]

Despite these continued connections with Philadelphia Quaker women, the men on the Indian Committee began to lose interest in the project at Oneida. From the beginning of their post-Revolution missionary efforts, the Philadelphia Quaker Indian Committee hoped to make inroads with the Seneca along on the Allegheny. They made a connection with Corn Planter and educated his son earlier in the decade, but failed to make the case for settling a missionary near Corn Planter's village or among other Haudenosaunee villages in western New York.

[278] Copy of a letter from Elizabeth Joseph to Hannah Jackson, October 22, 1799, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800, QSCHC.
[279] Receipt for the Women Friends of Chester Quarterly Meeting, Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs (Ms. Coll. 1003), Box 1, Folder 3, QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

Throughout the 1790s, Corn Planter wished to keep intact his nation's existing agricultural and hunting practices alongside the new technologies the Quakers helped them obtain. Cornplanter kept the Quakers at arms-length until the Seneca started to feel increased pressure on their land holdings. Having lost their land in Pennsylvania, and now having the opportunity to observe the Quakers' dealings with their Oneida brethren, the Seneca decided to invite Quaker missionaries to settle in Tunesassa, about three miles away from Cornplanter's village. Increased interest from the Seneca along with some vague references to discouragements at the Oneida Reservation caused the Philadelphia Indian Committee to close its mission there in the winter of 1799. The Quaker "concern" toward the reservation was not entirely abandoned as members of the New York Indian Committee began to slowly take a more active role on the reservation in the years that followed, but this shift was not apparent to the people living on the reservation who felt betrayed by the Philadelphia Committee's abandonment of the project.[280] Upon the Philadelphia Quakers' departure from the reservation, members from the Oneida and Stockbridge communities expressed their disappointment. Both communities believed that having the Quakers close kept poor treatment by local whites at bay. The Stockbridge requested that the Philadelphia Quakers keep in touch and return for visits when possible, for which the Quaker men agreed. Given the intense pressure on their lands and the presence of a few troublesome

[280] Curiously, reports from the winter of 1798 suggested satisfaction with the project from Natives and Quakers. The results of a report conducted in July of 1799, however, caused the committee to conclude that their work on the reservation was no longer productive. "Report of the Indian Committee to the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting," 10 December, 1798, Minutes of the PYMIC 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC; 16 November, 1799, Minutes of the PYMIC 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC. For more on the beginning of the mission to Cornplanter, see David Swatler, *A Friend Among the Senecas: The Quaker Mission to Cornplanter's People* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 2000), 20-23. For the Seneca telling the Quakers that they wanted to see what became of the mission to the Oneida, see entry for 4 July, 1796, Henry Simmons Journal, 1796-1800 (Ms. Coll. 975.01.072), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

agents appointment by the War Department, the Stockbridge and Oneida felt they have been deserted in a time of need.[281]

Beginning in the mid-1790s, Israel Chapin, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Oneida Reservation Tribes, started placing agents on the reservation. The men he chose quickly earned a bad reputation for their ill-temperament and lack of any substantive help. Chapin placed a blacksmith among the Stockbridge and Oneida who was particularly troublesome. By 1801, the relationship deteriorated and both groups demanded that the blacksmith leave town. He refused and threatened to kill local Native people if they forced him off the land. Around the same time, he and other Americans who settled unlawfully around New Stockbridge demanded that the tribe pay them for "improvements" to the land. The nation turned to an Anglo lawyer and Chapin for assistance, but both men refused to help the Stockbridge in the matter.[282] As the situation with the blacksmith unfolded in the summer of 1801, the Stockbridge girls received word that they would finally return home that fall.

Homecoming

The Tuscarora girls were the first to return in December of 1799, just as the Philadelphia Quakers made their departure. Nathan Cope reported that Catherine Peters achieved "more [advancement] than could be expected," but that Leah, despite attending school, did not find great interest in academics. Leah, however, did improve in her domestic education, so the

[281] 2 January, 1800, Minutes of the PYMIC 1795-1815 (HC.PhY.838.01.009, 1250/AA14), vol. 1, QSCHC.
[282] For more on problems with agents on the Oneida reservation, see Letter, John Dean to PYMIC, October, 19 1801, Individual Correspondence, QSCHC; Letter, NYYMIC to PYMIC, July 20, 1797, Individual Correspondence, QSCHC; Letter, Jacob Taylor and Jonathan Thomas to PYMIC, October 9, 1797, Individual Correspondence, QSCHC.

committee decided to send her and Catherine home together since Catherine had reached adulthood and made satisfactory progress.[283]

Mary, Margaret Mautawsquaw, and Elizabeth remained with their Quaker families until the fall of 1801. The prospect of returning home was no doubt exciting for Mary, who had begged to come home the year prior. Elizabeth, on the other hand, felt more conflicted about her return. The summer before their expected return home, Elizabeth expressed to a friend her anxieties about returning to New Stockbridge. Though she admitted that she missed her family, she relayed her concern that, being so young, she might fall into "bad company" among the "wild people" still living in her community. She wished to stay another year until she turned eighteen, thinking that by that time she "would know how to do all things perfectly well." Reading the letter, one can feel Elizabeth caught between her family and the Friends of whom she became so fond. She thought going back to the reservation might mean a loss of her progress, but her loyalty to her mother and family pulled her back. She was returning not by her own choice, but because she felt that she "should not like to disappoint my poor Mother – because she told Henry Simmons she should like if I go this fall if the friends are willing to let me go."[284]

Though we have no record of any hesitation from Mary or Margaret, we can imagine that each girl held her own complicated feelings about their return. From the colonial period through the boarding school era, Native peoples who left their communities to attend schools often found that their return was not welcomed by all. Having been immersed in a different culture for four years, the girls grew accustomed to certain habits and may have grown less familiar with others.

[283] Nathan Cope to PYMIC, December 17, 1800, Individual Correspondence, QSCHC.
[284] Elizabeth Baldwin to Unknown Girl at the Weston School, 7-3-1801, Henry Simmons Letterbooks, vol. 2, 1798-1799 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC.

The Quakers were more open-minded than their Congregational counterparts. Mary and Margaret Mautawsquaw could still talk to each other in Mohican, but Elizabeth may not have maintained the practice over the years. Native children who attended government boarding schools several generations later sometimes rejected their American education and returned to what their teachers would have considered their "wild" or "savage" manner of dress, speech, or spiritual practice. Like the children of later board school generations, these girls were forced to deal with conflicted allegiances and identities. Their enthusiasm for attending the schools probably varied, but their attendance itself fulfilled important functions for their communities. Indian education from the colonial period served to both assist Native peoples with key adaptations to help their communities survive and aimed to destroy the culture and community Native peoples were fighting so hard to maintain.[285] These girls' experiences echoed much of what their predecessors endured. This time, however, these girls gained fluency in reading, writing, mathematics, and cloth production that would was unparalleled by the girls who attended Moor's Charity School. By going and returning as a distinct group of girls, these Mohican daughters had strength in numbers and the support of their community. Their education was orchestrated by their mothers and intended to produce concrete results for their community.

Mary, Margaret Mautawsquaw, and Elizabeth arrived home in New Stockbridge late in the evening on October 12, 1801. The next day, men and women joined together in council to address Joseph Clark, the man who escorted the girls to and from Philadelphia. The community extended its thanks to Clark and other members of the Philadelphia Indian Committee for their assistance in educating their daughters.[286] The community celebrated the girls' safe return, but

[285] For parallels in these experiences, see Brenda Child, *Boarding School Seasons: American Indian Families, 1900-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000).
[286] Letter, John Dean to PYMIC, October 19, 1801, PYMIC Member Letters to PYMIC, 1791-1815, AA41.1, Box 1, Folder 5, QSCHC.

there was not time to celebrate for long. The girls arrived in the midst of heightened tensions with the War Department's agents and attorney. The situation must have crystalized in their minds the importance of having a tribal member act as their attorney. Without a sustained Quaker presence on the reservation, white allies were few in number. It was in this context that the girls set about disseminating the knowledge they received from Quakers and worked to sustain that increasingly tenuous connection. Much work would need to be done to fortify the community against unscrupulous agents and American encroachment on Indian land. They started with spinning wheels.

V. "IN ORDER TO FORM PERFECT UNION": STOCKBRIDGE WOMEN AND THE SEARCH FOR COMMUNAL PROSPERITY, 1800-1818

For at least two years prior to the 1801 arrival of Mary Peters, Elizabeth Maumontsquaw, and Margaret Mautawsquaw, the Stockbridge nation prepared for their daughters' return. In a letter to Mary, her mother, Elizabeth Joseph, mentioned that her step father stopped hunting entirely in order to dedicate himself to agricultural pursuits. By 1799, he started cultivating flax so that Mary would have plenty of raw material with which to work. Joseph expected her daughter to share her new skills with her younger sister, and no doubt, other members of the nation.[287] There was much work to be done and, with pressure to sell land increasing every year, no time to waste. The young women quickly rose to the occasion. By 1804, a sixteen-year-old Mary operated her first school for Stockbridge children where she spent part of the time teaching girls to knit. The endeavor was so popular, plans were made to open two schools the following summer, one run by Mary and the other by Margaret Mautawsquaw. The Sergeant family found much to appalled in Mary and Margaret's efforts. One of Sergeant's daughters, Elizabeth, wrote to the women Friends who cared for the girls to update them on their progress and encourage the society's continued support of their new school. Mary in particular seemed to catch Elizabeth's attention. She wrote of Mary, "I think you will have no reason to regret what you have bestowed upon her, for I am convinced she will never bury her talents."[288]

[287] Elizabeth Josey to Mary Peters alias Kauknausquoh, 22 October, 1799, Henry Simmons Letterbook, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

[288] Letter from E.S. to "Respected Friends," December 6, 1804, printed in William P. Farrand, ed. *The Evangelical Intelligencer for 1805*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: William P. Farrand and Co., 1806), 384-385. This source has the letter writer incorrectly identified as Sergeant's wife. His wife's name was Mary. Elizabeth was his daughter. This makes more sense as well because at the end of the letter, Elizabeth sends the love of her mother and sisters. Mary Sergeant did not interact with the Stockbridge. Sergeant's daughters, however, visited the women's meetings on several occasions and attended their father's Sunday sermons at the meeting house.

For the seventeen years after the girls returned to New Stockbridge, they alongside Stockbridge headwomen worked toward developing strategies for communal uplift. The centerpiece of their effort rested in the production of cloth, but also included the selling of Mohican craftworks and maintaining the "chain of friendship" they cultivated with Quaker women.[289] Pressure from rapid American settlement around the reservation caused Hendrick Aupaumut and Stockbridge counsellors to start searching for yet another new home further west. Unsatisfied with the prospect of another move, the women of the nation continued to build their community in New York with the hope that they might be able to stay. Unfortunately, business interest in developing a canal to cut across the state of New York mixed with emerging pro-removal ideologies to set the stage for the alienation of the Stockbridge from their land, despite community growth and adherence to American standards of "civilization." Women of the nation reluctantly consented to the sachem and council's plan for removal, but not before making an appeal to the highest office in the state of New York to stop the sale of Stockbridge land.

Keeping Ties

With the Philadelphia men's retreat from the relationship with the Stockbridge, it was up to the women of the nation to continue to appeal for support from their Quaker sisters. Some Quaker visits from Philadelphia to the reservation continued despite the relationship's ambiguous status. At the suggestion of Hannah Jackson, Ann Mifflin of Philadelphia made two trips to Indian territory in 1802 and 1803. One year after the girls returned, Mifflin travelled with

[289] Both the Stockbridge and the Quakers used this terminology to describe their relationship with one another. For just one example, see William P. Farrand, ed. *The Evangelical Intelligencer for 1805*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia, PA: William P. Farrand and Co., 1806), 346, 384.

at least one other Quaker woman and Quaker men to the Oneida reservation and then west toward Haudenosaunee territory. Throughout the trip, Mifflin likened indigenous peoples to the Israelites, emphasizing Indian worthiness of Friends' assistance. Though punctuated with condescension and racist assumptions about Indians, Mifflin's journal – like the writings of most Quaker women – often emphasizes the positive attributes of indigenous cultures and recognized the ravages of white settlement on Native communities.[290] At Stockbridge, the Quaker travelers were well received. Mifflin noted their "commodious" meeting house where she witnessed spiritual enlargement "beyond expectation." She would have also noticed the recent construction of several frame houses around the center of the settlement and fields of wheat, rye, and flax. Whether or not she met the girls who recently returned from Chester County is unknown, but she certainly would have known about them given that Mifflin was encouraged to undertake the journey by Hannah Jackson. Several members of the nation inquired about past Quaker visitors and expressed a desire to see them again. They conveyed a message to the Quakers about their displeasure with John Sergeant Jr. His inability to help secure Stockbridge land mixed with his gloomy outlook on Native dispositions made him a person many Stockbridge men and women tolerated more than embraced. In contrast, Mifflin painted a picture of Indians clamoring for involvement from Quakers, particularly Quaker women. In several cases throughout the journal, she notes the excitement that some communities felt by seeing her and her female companions. Cornplanter's sister reportedly noted that Mifflin was the first woman to visit them. Accordingly to Mifflin, the "chiefess" and her brother hoped it would be encouraging to their people. While

[290] Mifflin sees their communal land holding as something laudable and likens it to the days of the Apostles. Ann Mifflin, "Journal of Two Trips into Indian Country, 1802 and 1803," pp. 1-4, Logan-Fisher-Fox Family Papers (Coll. 1960), Vol. 11, Box 4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA. Mifflin also notes that Sergeant received part of his salary from the sale of Stockbridge land. Whether true or not, that perception was common on the reservation.

Mifflin may overstate the excitement of Natives to see her, if the example at New Stockbridge is any indication, other Native women may very well have found some hope, or at least relief, to see a member of their own sex as an authoritative member of a visiting delegation.

While on the trip, Mifflin pontificated on the differences between Quaker and traditional missionary approaches. With the "progress" she saw at Stockbridge no doubt in her mind, she critiqued other societies for spending large sums of money in support of their missionaries rather than diverting their funds directly to practical uses that "will render [the Indians] more comfortable." She continued to observe that introducing plow agriculture to the men must come first, but it was needed primarily to leave room for the more vital revolution: allowing women to spin and weave. For Mifflin, only when women could produce home manufactures would men complete the turn toward "civilization." Mifflin articulated an emerging view of indigenous women as the linchpin in the civilization project. To support this new female-centered approach, she called on Quaker "females of property" to aid their Indian sisters by opening up a sister manufacturing school among Cornplanter's people.[291] Though not radically different from federal Indian policy in terms of outcome, Friends' methods constituted a significant departure that most Indian communities found preferable to other missionary societies and federal agents. In this vision of Indian affairs, indigenous communities were given resources directly rather than having funds funneled through agents. Furthermore, Quakers seemed willing to find consensus with Indian people on the kinds of resources the community needed. Mifflin did not directly become involved in any of these missionary efforts, but, given the common circulation of Quaker

[291] Mifflin, "Journal of Two Trips into Indian Country," 12, 28, 29.

travel accounts within and beyond the community, her story and perspective may have influenced other Quakers who continued their involvement in Indian affairs.

As important as Mifflin's account may have been to influence other Quakers, the kind of help the Stockbridge desired would not fall into their laps without political work. As Mifflin toured the communities of New York Indians that summer, Catherine Quachmut along with her husband Solomon visited members of the Philadelphia Indian Committee. It might seem peculiar that they would visit the committee after their daughter, Margaret Mautausquaw, returned and the Philadelphia committee resigned their post at Oneida. This trend of Stockbridge visitation to Philadelphia, however, continued throughout the tribe's time in New York. They knew that the Philadelphia and New York Committees worked in consultation with one another and, given their positive experience with Philadelphia Quakers, likely wanted to maintain that connection. When Stockbridge women and men travelled to Philadelphia, they often also made a stop in New York to visit members of that Yearly Meeting's Indian Committee. The exact timing and identity of the women and men who travelled to and from the reservation as community members or Quaker missionaries is not precise, but we do know that personal exchanges were extensive.

Beginning sometime in the first years of the nineteenth century, New York Quakers began bringing Quaker women along on their travels to the reservation, several of whom corresponded with Stockbridge women on the reservation. By 1804, the connections between Stockbridge and New York Quaker women became so extensive that the all-male Indian Committee began to include female members for the first time. The Indian committee reasoned that the Stockbridge women, whose minds were "impressed with a degree of religious thoughtfulness" should be "equally entitled to our assistance as the Men" and that helping the women "may be the means of increasing usefulness to them." Men on the committee recognized

that the Quaker women were the best people to continue that work. The Women's Yearly Meeting heartily agreed that women should be part of the Indian concern and stated that "much sympathy was felt for this part of our Creatures" so "they should claim our further attention." The Women's meeting then appointed ten women to serve on the Indian Committee. Because of the Stockbridge women's effort to draw Quaker women into their network, for the first time in history Anglo women officially served and contributed to the decision-making of an influential body in American Indian relations.[292]

Beginning the next year, the New York Indian Committee sent an annual group of male and female members to visit the reservation and report back on needed assistance. Each report included information on the status of agriculture production, schools, and morale at New Stockbridge, Brothertown, and the south settlement at Oneida. Nearly every year, the disposition of the women on the reservation remained the key reason for continued support, despite a perceived lack of "progress" and continued paganism among the Oneida. This time, when the committee sent Quakers to work on the reservation, they made sure to send multiple women.[293] While there, men and women living on the reservation reported back steady progress in the way of raising crops and the building of frame houses, particularly at New Stockbridge. By 1808, the Quaker minutes concerning Indian affairs on the reservation began to conclude that the teaching of children should be central to their efforts. With Mary and her cousins busy at work helping to

[292] Though the wives of missionaries assisted in some missionary efforts and some women in Quarterly and Monthly Meetings occasionally raised funds to support missions, women were never allowed to participate on the Quaker Indian Committees or their precursor, The Friendly Association for Retaining the Preserving Peace with the Indian by Pacific Measures. 1804 Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. Thanks to Christopher Densmore for his assistance in bringing the 1804 meeting to my attention.

[293] 1804-1812 Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

adapt their community, this would have been an easy conclusion to make. The Stockbridge's experiment was catching the eye of New York Quakers.

It seemed the Philadelphia Indian Committee also took the lesson from the Stockbridge and Oneida to heart. When making plans to send a missionary family to Cornplanter's people on the Alleghany reservation, they included women. In 1804, the three women who volunteered to live among the Seneca were all connected to the Stockbridge and Tuscarora girls in some way. Hannah Jackson, Rachel Cope (the woman who housed Catherine Peters in New Garden), and another young woman from New Garden named Elizabeth Leeds set out for the Quakers' new missionary settlement at Tunesassa. Though the Quakers repeated their same offers to educate boys in the first years of the settlement at Tunesassa, they at least sent women to visit the Alleghany reservation and included women in their missionary families within a few years of settlement. Rachel Cope developed a productive and trusted relationship with Seneca women while there, but it was not until 1807 that someone proposed to have Cornplanter's daughter live with Cope or Hannah Jackson to learn how to spin and weave. Soon other girls were included in these plans, but within a year, the Seneca withdrew from a proposal to send their girls to Philadelphia to be educated in Quaker homes.[294]

At New Stockbridge, a friendship of sorts developed between the Stockbridge women and Quaker women who lived and visited the reservation, albeit one fraught with unequal racial power dynamics. Dorothy Ripley, a Quaker minister from England, visited the Oneida reservation on a tour of the United States in 1807. Her purpose in coming to New York was to minister to the "poor Indians" living there. Upon her arrival, however, she was told by the many

[294] December 17, 1801, January 14, 1802, March 18, 1802, December 15, 1803, February 15, 1804, October 18, 1804, March 14, 1805, April 11, 1805, May 13, 1805, July 16, 1807, December 17, 1807, April 14, 1808, April 22, 1808, Minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Indian Committee, 1795-1815, QSCHC.

Presbyterian ministers residing there that she would not be welcome to minister to a mixed gender Indian congregation because the Presbyterians "did not teach the Indians that women had any right to preach."[295] Ripley preached in Brothertown anyway. Native people on the reservation came from miles to pay her a visit, including some Stockbridge women. Two women familiar with the customs of Quaker meetings joined in a conversation concerning the topic "Where the Spirit is, there is Liberty." She travelled to New Stockbridge where the headwomen wrote her an address thanking her for her visit. She continued on to Oneida where once again she was told not to preach, but was welcomed by Skenando, an Oneida chief, and a group of women who invited her back to Skenando's home. One of the Presbyterian ministers who warned her not to preach to the men attempted to follow her to Skenando's home. According to Ripley, his conduct and orders "raised the breasts of the women universally," and he was summarily dismissed by the party. Before leaving the reservation, she was visited by Catherine Quachmut who walked eight miles to hand deliver a letter to Ripley. Quachmut and Ripley met five years prior in Philadelphia when Quachmut and her husband visited the Indian Committee. Referencing the encounter at Brothertown, Quachmut wrote that she was "grieved at the incivility of the missionary who opposed women's preaching." She thanked Ripley for her words and wished her not to be discouraged by those who "are led to believe that it is not the duty of women to preach." In wishing her well, Quachmut wrote, "may the Great and Good Spirit who is able to protect thee by His almighty Power through all the changing scenes of this life, guide thee by his wisdom."[296] Quachmut likely had little to gain from befriending and supporting Ripley. Ripley held no position of authority within the Quaker church nor sat on an Indian Committee.

[295] Ripley reports that this was the common experience in all of the settlements. The quote comes from her exchange with a Presbyterian minister at Oneida. Dorothy Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United* (Philadelphia: J.H. Cunningham, 1819), 112.
[296] Dorothy Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United*, 118.

The extent of familiarity and support seen here is unusual between Indian women and white women. The Stockbridge must have thought they indeed found sisters in Quaker women.

Support between Stockbridge and Quaker women was mutual. Just as Quachmut felt an obligation to support Ripley, the Quaker women sent to the reservation by the New York Indian Committee felt a particular allegiance to Indian women on the reservation. One Quaker woman, likely Philena Hunt, taught a school at the Oneida south settlement. When a minister with questionable intentions came through the village, Hunt interrupted his attempt to baptize Indian children by vocally laying bare her distrust of the man. The minister later wrote to the New York Indian Committee and complained about his treatment at the hands of their sister. The committee looked into the matter, but after hearing Hunt's recalling of the events, the committee informed the minister that no action would be taken against Hunt.[297]

We do not have the personal letters of any of the Quaker women who lived on the reservation, but a look into other female visitors' accounts of their experiences with the Stockbridge women offers insight into what that daily relationship was like. Though the relationship between Stockbridge women and Sergeant's daughters comes across in the record as somewhat frosty, the daughters were invited to the women's weekly religious meetings. The Stockbridge women spoke only in Mohican at the meetings, and did not bother to translate for Sergeant's daughters, but the invitation suggests that Stockbridge women understood their role as hosts and took that role seriously. A later, self-appointed female missionary named Elizabeth Camp was also invited to the women's meetings during Camp's stay as a school teacher in 1820.

[297] Based on other records, it likely was Hunt, though other women could have been there. Diary of an Unknown Quaker Woman, August 1761, Quaker Collection, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; William Jenkins to NYYMIC, 27 February, 1812, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

Camp records much of her life in New Stockbridge, including some of her conversations with the women, but never mentions anyone, male or female, by name. All of the conversations she recounted in her journal involve her corrections of Indian women's interpretations of Christianity. Still, she often attended the women's weekly meetings where at least some of the sermons delivered were in English. Of the community-wide religious gatherings, she observed, "The prayers were fervent, or appeared so, though I could not understand them being performed in Indian." She breakfasted with some of the women and visited them on her regular strolls through town. Though she seemed to develop some affection for the Stockbridge people, often observing their unusually strong religious nature and kindness, she still often referred to them as her "dear red heathen" and at the initiation of her tenure at New Stockbridge, like Sergeant's wife, was preoccupied with the fact that she was "deprived of the society of white people."[298] Stockbridge headwomen as well as other women from the tribe always acted as gracious hosts to whomever came to the reservation on a mission of peace. Women were important to diplomacy, particularly with outside missionary societies who might help the nation secure assistance or reparations for past losses. They remained closer to some more than others. Not only did Stockbridge and Quaker women see eye-to-eye on the role of women in communities and religious life, but Quaker women rarely pressed for religious indoctrination and were much more likely to view Stockbridge women in a positive light than women from other religious denominations. But the Stockbridge were aware of how the experiences of white outsiders on the reservation could reverberate for years to come in the form of favor or scorn. Every guest

[298] For an example of Camp's interactions with Stockbridge women, see the conversation she had with one basket maker on May 31, 1820: "I enquired into the state of mind, she saw said she loved the Savior. I then enquired how long she had loved Christ, she announced "always". I did not gain evidence that she had experienced a change of heart. I told her that we are born in to the world enemies to God, that we did not naturly love Him, nor anything that is good & gave her such instruction as I hoped would be profitable to her; and left her. May God bless her & prepare her for death. - -" For quotes in text, see May 14, July 2, and July 3 Elizabeth Camp Journals, 1819-1825, vol. 2, M-1854, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

provided an opportunity to renew ties or make new alliances. Women played a key part in this diplomacy and an even larger role in years to come. But their role in external affairs was only one part of their larger world. Maintaining this network with Quaker women was only one part of a larger efforts to sustain their community in New York. Far more of their time was occupied by the day-to-day business of Mohican life.

Mohican Women's Quotidian World in Early America

When the girls arrived home in 1801, they set to work on spreading the knowledge they learned from their Quaker families. In a letter to Hannah Jackson, Mary Peters described the new frame houses that were being built in New Stockbridge and among the Oneida. She also told of her success in teaching her people how to make better butter and cheese.[299] As observed by missionaries, the return of the girls sparked an increase in the number of tribal members raising flax and sheep to aid thread and cloth production.[300] These new developments did not, however, constitute a radical change in Mohican life. The Mohicans of Stockbridge, like all indigenous people, adapted to their surroundings even before colonization. The incorporation of cloth production simply placed greater emphasis on agricultural pursuits, an adaptation already well underway among the Stockbridge. The technologies these girls brought with them did not constitute the conclusion of their education either.

[299] Mary Peters to Hannah Jackson, September 19, 1803, Naomi and Rayner Kelsey Papers (MC.950.130), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

[300] Mary Peters to Hannah Jackson, September 19, 1803, Naomi and Rayner Kelsey Papers (MC.950.130), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. Elizabeth also mentions in her letter to Mary that her father is raising more flax in preparation for her return. Elizabeth Joseph to Mary Peters alias Kauknausquoh, October 22, 1799, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. Missionaries notice in many contexts that women's engagement in spinning and weaving often induces men to raise more flax and sheep. For one example of this analysis with regard to the Stockbridge, see 1817 Yearly Report from the Indian Committee, Minutes 1801-1821 (RG2/NYy/001 1.3), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

The girls resumed their indigenous education and continued to live in New Stockbridge much the way they had before. They returned home with Anglo-style clothing given to them by the Quakers, but they did not regularly wear those items within their community. The girls, now young women, returned to their traditional leggings, mantel, and moccasins.[301] A woman and girl's day depended upon her family's occupation or role in the community. For those living without as many resources, women and girls might work in the homes of missionaries or white families who lived in the area. Many of the nation's children attended school at least a few days a week with their teacher and tribal councilman, John Quinney (the brother of Lydia and her sisters). Sons of the nation's sachems and councilmen usually left the community at some point in their young lives to attend a predominantly white boarding school. Occasionally, young men boarded out with Anglo families to learn a trade, but this was less common in New Stockbridge than in Massachusetts.[302] At home, girls helped their families with household chores including milking cows and the making of butter and cheese. Women kept gardens of legumes and herbs that required regular tending and assisted in the harvesting of corn. The picking of wild strawberries for daily consumption as well as the Strawberry Festival were important parts of a Stockbridge woman and girl's daily life. Females were primarily responsible for harvesting from the garden and cooking meals.

Most Stockbridge families attended church services on Sunday, though most were not official members of the church. Most Mohicans in New Stockbridge could speak English well enough to converse with Anglo visitors, but all still spoke to one another primarily in the

[301] Thomas Shillitoe, *Journal of the Life, Labors, and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe in the Service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ*, vol. 2 (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839), 179-82.
[302]Solomon U. Hendrick, Abner Hendrick, and future sachem John W Quinney attended Caleb Underhill's school, Grammar School, Pougkeepsie, NY. Unknown Stockbridge Indian author, "Death of John W. Quinney," in *Report and Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1857 and 1858*, vol. 4 (Madison, WI: James Ross, state printer, 1839), 309.

Mohican language. Dress at religious services and in daily life varied widely. The majority of Christianized Indian women wore leggings, mantel, and blanket. Some Stockbridge, Oneida, and Tuscarora families continued to wear more traditional regalia to services including feathers, skins, and metal adornments.[303] Religious services were held in both English and Mohican.[304] Women and men held their own separate religious meetings during the week. For women, Thursday afternoons were reserved for the religious gathering of women. Sunday events and women's meetings in New Stockbridge were often attended by neighboring Tuscarora or Oneida families. Stockbridge families likewise occasionally travelled to Oneida to attend church services on Sunday. While the headwomen outwardly expressed a form of Christianity recognizable to white outsiders, other women held more heterodox beliefs that included elements of Christianity, but retained a more outward expression of their indigenous spirituality. The blurring of the boundaries between *Pohtommouwaus* (God) and the "Great Spirit" made religious meaning slippery and subject to indigenous and individual interpretations.[305] Despite missionaries' attempts to reorient Stockbridge thinking along nuclear families and individual uplift, communalism remained a central aspect of the Stockbridge philosophy. With every appeal for assistance, headmen and women centered their concerns around the community's future rather than the welfare of their individual family. When the women started a spinning school in the 1810s, all profits were divided equitably among the families.[306]

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[303] Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United*, 101.
[304] Sergeant could speak Mohican, but also used Aupaumut as a translator for Mohican, Delaware, and Iroquoian languages.
[305] Lion Miles, "Mohican Dictionary," *Scribed*, online access < https://www.scribd.com/doc/48752313/Mohican-Dictionary-by-Lion-G-Miles> (accessed 12 December, 2018). For the concept of the slippery nature of language, culture, and religious syncretism, see Louise M. Burkhardt, *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).
[306] John Sergeant certification of Mary Peters, September 19, 1815, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, HIS, Indianapolis, IN.

Another key component of this communalism was the sharing of Mohican knowledge, including history and medicine. Women were typically the holders of medicinal knowledge. Medicine women began to teach their daughters, granddaughters, or nieces around the time the girls turned ten. As a medicine woman herself, Mary Peters likely started learning medicines soon after she returned from Chester County. Late summer and early fall was the best time to gather herbs and bark as most plants were fully bloomed by that time. Women and their young learners would take to the woods with baskets and hatchets for gathering plants and harvesting bark, giving thanks to each plant as they collected. The girls were taught how to dry each herb and make a teas, tinctures, and salves for all manner of ailments. Traditionally, medicine women never charged for their services, but were often thanked with gifts in kind, some of which are recorded in account books from the period. Medicine women commonly treated members of the nation as well as white neighbors and missionaries and acted as midwives.[307]

Beyond farming and selling butter, cheese, and garden vegetables, women made craftworks to trade in and around the reservation and sell to white collectors at regional markets. Woodsplint baskets constituted much of the craftwork performed by Stockbridge and other indigenous women in the early nineteenth century. Basket making required much labor and skill that each woman perfected over the years. Younger women and girls helped harvest and prepare the grasses while learning the artistry of the trade. Stockbridge baskets possess some characteristics common to their Haudenosaunee and other Algonquian neighbors and some unique to their community. Potato stamping was popular among all tribes in the north east as

[307] For information about Stockbridge-Munsee medicinal tradition, practices, and medicines, see Misty Cook (Davids), *Medicine Generations* (Misty Cook Davids, 2013). For information about Mary Peters Doxtator's medicine, see Nathaniel Rose Testimonial of Mary Doxtator, 24 February, 1823, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 10, Indiana Historical Society (IHS), Indianapolis, IN. For another account of Mary Peters/Doxtator as a healer, see Thomas Shillitoe, *Journal of the Life, Labors, and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe in the Service of the Gospel of Jesus Christ*, vol. 2 (London: Harvey and Darton, 1839), 179-82.

they borrowed techniques and designs from one another. Yellow, blue, and red colors and stamps were most popular among the Stockbridge as well as the use of heart-shaped motifs, likely influenced by their early trade encounters with the Dutch [Fig. 2][308] Stockbridge women also embroidered and beaded leggings [Fig. 3] and purses [Fig. 4] and made corn husk dolls [Fig. 5] and moccasins [Fig. 6] for their own use and sold beaded bags and dolls at markets. Many of these clothing manufactures, whether kept within the nation or sold on the market utilized cheap trade cloth and ribbons gifted to the nation by the federal and state governments. Mohican items could end up being sold in locations hundreds of miles from New Stockbridge, but women and men also likely travelled to regional markets to sell their wares at peak travel times. The towns of Vernon and Utica were only a half-day's walk from New Stockbridge. They also likely travelled to the tourist hub of Saratoga Springs to sell their manufactures to white travelers from the United States and Europe who were eager to experience the sublime and "wild" landscape of the Adirondacks and were anxious to meet the country's Indians and take a piece of their handiwork as souvenirs. A French Baroness and Baron in exile from France made several stops in New York to get sight of the Indians. At Ballston Springs, an Indian woman sat for a sketch for the Baroness. In the portrait, the woman wore leggings, moccasins, a dress with ruffle trim, a blanket, earrings, and a beaver pelt hat. Her posture and crossed ankles suggest a woman familiar with notions of Anglo womanhood and propriety. The woman's hybrid Anglo-Indian dress was characteristic of a style popular among elite Stockbridge women well into the 1840s [Fig. 7]. The identity of the woman is unknown, but given her appearance and the provenance of many

[308] Many thanks to Gwendolyn Saul at the New York State Musuem and Archives for the tour of Mohican craftworks.

Mohican craftworks from the area, it is likely that the portrait is of one of the Stockbridge women who travelled to Ballston Springs to sell baskets and purses in the summer.[309]

Part of the collective identity of Stockbridge people was their kinship ties to other Native nations. As elder brothers to the Shawnee and Cherokee, grandfathers to the Delaware and Miami, and grandchildren of the Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, they were integral in providing guidance at treaty negotiations since time immemorial.[310] As Algonquian-speaking people who lived close to the Haudenosaunee, Mohicans acted as intermediaries between the two ethnic groups and shared cultural similarities with both. Mohicans, and particularly the Stockbridge after 1735, were present at most major treaty negotiations between eastern Native tribes and colonial governments. Wives typically travelled with men on their diplomatic missions and occasionally with war parties to establish distant camps, but this practice began to fade in the seventeenth century. The last known instances of Stockbridge women and girls attending treaties or travelling with soldiers was during the Revolutionary War. Even though women did not play as central a role in distant Stockbridge diplomacy, women continued to host guests. Mary heard of her uncles' travels to council fires in the west and must have known something of the impending war brewing between the United States, England, and England's Indian allies to the west of Haudenosaunee territory. The children of headmen and headwomen must have been the most well-versed in matters of diplomacy, as the fate of their nation's affairs usually rested in their work at home and abroad.[311]

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[309] William M. Fenton, "Hyde de Neuville Portraits of New York Savages," in William Starna and Jack Campisi, eds., *William Fenton, Selected Writings* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 73-76.
[310] For Henrick Aupaumut's recounting of kin relations, see Electa Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present: Records of an Old Mission Station* (Springfield, MA: Samuel Bowles & Company, 1854), 16-17.
[311] A Quaker missionary travelled in New York and stayed at Mary's home on his journey. After speaking to Mary, he recounts a brief story of her life and says that upon her return to her people she "resumed the Indian dress and manners." Shillitoe, *Journal of the Life, Labors, and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe*, 179-82.

Intermarriage between Native nations was also a common tradition that carried over into this era. Sometime around 1805, Mary married an Oneida man named Peter Doxtator who belonged to the "Pagan" faction of Oneida. She moved nearer to his kin relations for at least a few years. While she resided there, the Pagan party reportedly began to warm more to the Quaker presence on the reservation and began asking for more assistance in opening schools for their children.[312] As the daughter of a headwoman, Mary played an important role tying the two nations together in uncertain times and brokering connections with outside allies to aid in each community's survival in the face of white expansion. Throughout Indian country in New York state, she became an important broker between Native people and the Quakers for at least fifteen years.

Despite their best efforts, by 1810, the Stockbridge still struggled to clothe their nation and ward off white advances on their land.[313] In 1804, at least one infant in New Stockbridge perished from lack of warmth. During her visit, Dorothy Ripley decided to leave three of her dresses behind because some of the women were in want of clothing.[314] They received some support from Quakers to continue their school under Lydia' brother, John Quinney, but little other assistance to aid cloth production.[315] More families grew flax than in any year prior, but cloth was still woven in only a few women's homes, so a surplus was difficult to come by. Sometime around 1810, Mary returned home to New Stockbridge as a widow with three

[312] 1808-1812 Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.
[313] The United States as a whole also struggled to meet the demand for cloth. The Embargo Act of 1807 temporarily ended international trade, making the acquisition of cheap textiles from Europe particularly difficult. This act forced an continuation of the reliance upon homespun into the early nineteenth century. Alan Taylor, *The Civil War of 1812: American Citizens, British Subjects, Irish Rebels, and Indian Allies* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011), 115-119.
[314] Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United*, 112, 117.
[315] 1806 Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

children.[316] With her arrival, the Stockbridge saw a new opportunity to expand their cloth manufacture and work toward a more profitable future.

The Search for Communal Prosperity

The years leading up to 1810 were pivotal ones for Native communities who lived on the Oneida reservation. The Brothertown and the Oneida's south settlement drew closer to the New York Quakers as the Brothertown sent two of their girls to live in Quaker homes and Philena Hunt arrived at Oneida to begin teaching school to Oneida children, including the rudiments of spinning, sewing, and knitting to both women and girls.[317] Brothertown men and women also started separate moral reform societies intended to encourage "industry" and "morals" among the nation.[318] In 1809, Hendrick Aupaumut and his son Abner visited a Delware settlement just beyond Indiana territory. They aimed to secure land on which they and other eastern tribes could permanently settle. In a letter to his mother, nineteen-year-old Abner expressed hope from the reception they received from their western kin. Abner stated that the Delaware wished his father to stay because "he knows all Indian and white people affairs," and that the women of that nation looked forward to the Stockbridge coming so that their children could learn to read and write.

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[316] From later census records and account books we know that Mary had at least three children, the third of which was born around 1810. The date of her husband's death is more speculative and is drawn from a later account of her life mentioned by a New York chronicler, Joshua Clark, who claims that her husband died before she opened her spinning school. Mentions of her husband are sparse and she never remarried, as she continues to be referred to as a widow in Quaker minute books and correspondence. Joshua V.H. Clark, A.M., *Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times; Being a series of historical sketches relative to Onondaga; with notes on the several towns in the county and Oswego*, vol. 1 (Syracuse: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), 240-41; June 20, 1822, PYMIC Minute Book, 1815-1837 (1250 HVAA6, Vol 1), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

[317] 1808 and 1809 Women's Minutes; For another reference to the Brothertown children sent to New York City, see John Dean from John Murray to John Dean, 7 January, 1808, Box 1, Folder 1, Indian Historical Society, Indianapolis, IN.

[318] Thomas Eddy to Thomas Dean, 9 March 1808, Box 1, Folder 2, Dean Family Papers, Indian Historical Society, Indianapolis, IN.

His father's letter written on the same date, while optimistic, betrays the tensions and divided loyalties Native peoples felt. Tecumseh and Tenkswatawa acquired many followers who believed in the possibility of a successful nativist revolt against U.S. expansion. Aupaumut's efforts to encourage agricultural and other economic adaptations were met with some resistance.[319] While Aupaumut was much encouraged with most of his dealings with the Delaware along the White River, much uncertainty and the prospect of war derailed Stockbridge plans to relocate for another decade. Within months of getting word about the precariousness of the Stockbridge project along the White River, Stockbridge women decided to stand their ground in New York.

In January 1810, the women wrote to Hannah Jackson, Ann Mifflin, and other women Friends from Philadelphia and requested help to open a spinning school to be run by Mary Peters. Their request made its way to the New York committee, though it is unclear how much material assistance they gained for this effort in 1810. Two years later, several men and women of the tribe wrote to the New York committee affirming their wish for a spinning school run by Peters. A New York's Women's Meeting report from that same year observed that the women's production of cloth seemed to lift all boats at New Stockbridge.

Presumably due to the success in spinning and weaving at New Stockbridge and Brothertown, the Oneida also wished to further their girls' skills in the production of cloth. By 1813, the Indian Committee agreed that the same plan of assisting primarily with cloth production and allowing the community to run its own spinning school should be implemented at Oneida. Within a year of that decision, an Oneida woman expressed her wish to run a similar

[319] Extract of a letter from Hendrick Aupaumut to John Sergeant, Jr., 7 July, 1809, Hendrick Aupaumut to John Sergeant, Jr., 23 Sept, 1810 and Abner W. Hendrick to Mother (Lydia Quinney/Hendrick), undated, in Journal of John Sergeant, Jr., 1809-1818, New York Historical Society (NYHS), New York, New York.

spinning school at Oneida. By 1812, a Quaker missionary working on the reservation, Joseph Frost, observed that, "it will apear that those who have not had a famely to enstruct them, have improved as fast as those that have had this advantage," further stating that it was best to let each community "consider what steps would be best to take in" regard to civilization projects. Noting the effectiveness of indigenous teachers on the reservation (including three such teachers at New Stockbridge), the Quakers began to coalesce around an idea that Native people already knew, but one that departed greatly from previous missionary societies and the federal government: Native people did just as well, if not better, teaching each other than they did receiving instruction from Quaker families.[320]

From the opening of the indigenous-run spinning schools. the communities on the reservation saw an overall increase in general prosperity. The Indian Committee continued to send resources to help spinning enterprises including tools, raw materials, and seed for flax.[321] What began as a school for a handful of young Stockbridge girls, by 1815, grew into a larger

[320] Mary Peters to Hannah Jackson, 19 September, 1803, Naomi and Rayner Kelsey Papers (MC.950.130), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. Elizabeth also mentions in her letter to Mary that her father is raising more flax in preparation for her return. Elizabeth Joseph to Mary Peters alias Kauknausquoh, 22 October, 1799, Henry Simmons Letterbook, 1797-1798 (MC 975.02.019), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. Missionaries notice in many contexts that women's engagement in spinning and weaving often induces men to raise more flax and sheep. The first mention of this occurs in the minutes for the Women's Meeting in 1812. 1812 Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For a later examples of this analysis with regard to the Stockbridge, see "1817 Yearly Report from the Indian Committee," Minutes of the PYM, 1801-1821 (RG2/NYy/001 1.3), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; 12 August, 1817, and 25 May, 1822 in NYYMIC Minute Book, 1816-1850 (RG2/Nyy/700/Box 1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; Charles Willits to Unknown, 19 May, 1820, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; 20 June, 1822, Minute Book, 1815-1837 (1250 AA6 Vol. 1), QSCHC, Haverford, PA. For requests from the Stockbridge to open a spinning school to be run by Mary Peters/Doxtator, see Elizabeth Joseph et. al. to Hannah Jackson et al., 30 January, 1810, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; Natives of New Stockbridge to Joseph Frost, 22 May, 1812, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For the argument that Indians did just as well without the presence of Quaker families and to use the same strategy at Oneida as they did at New Stockbridge, see John Dean and Joseph Frost to Samuel Parsons, 27 January, 1813, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For quotes, see Joseph Frost to Samuel Parsons, 16 May, 1812, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

[321] Stockbridge men and women routinely complimented Mary's efforts with the school in their letters to Quakers in hopes of securing continued support for the project. Letter from Hendrick Aupaumut et. al. to NYYMIC, January 2, 1815, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. Also see n. 41 and n. 42.

project that included sixty women and girls who produced in one year over 400 yards of flax and woolen cloth dressed for men and women as well as coverlids and yarn. Rather than having each woman or girl use and profit from what she produced, the products of the spinning school were distributed equally among the women. They used their products to clothe members of the nation, sell to the Quakers, and possibly sell on the open market alongside basketry, purses, and other indigenous craftworks.[322] Mary Peters reached out to the Onondaga to gauge their support of similar opportunities in their community. After reporting Onondaga interest to the Quakers, Mary decided to open a spinning school among the Onondaga at her own expense.[323] Around this same time, Stockbridge and Onondaga women together formed a female moral reform society to promote "scinence [sic] & the useful arts of reading spinning knitting sewing industry and good moral[s]." The constitution of the society mirrored the preamble to the Constitution in its language. The document stated that the women

> do hereby form ourselves into a society by the name of the female cent society New Stockbridge and Onondaga Tribes in the above mentioned arts, and in order to form perfect union - and tranquility among ourselves and all those who may hereafter join our said society do ordain and establish this constitution for our said society.

[322] John Sergeant certification of Mary Peters, 19 September, 1815, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, IHS, Indianapolis, IN; Thomas Eddy to PYMIC, 20 July, 1797 Individual Correspondence (AA41), Box 3, Folder 7, QSCHC, Haverford, PA; Henry Simmons Address to the Stockbridge Nation, June 1796, Henry Simmons journal, 1796-1800 (MC 975.01.072) QSCHC, Haverford, PA; 24 May, 1823, NYYMIC Minute Book, 1816-1850 (RG2/Nyy/700/Box 1), FHL, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

[323] See 12 August, 1817, and 25 May, 1822 in Minutes of the NYYMIC, 1816-1850 (RG2/Nyy/700/Box 1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; Charles Willits to Unknown, 19 May, 1820, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; 20 June, 1822, Minute Book, 1815-1837 (1250 AA6 Vol. 1), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

The society met annually and took membership dues with the aim to promote education and help their communities combat alcoholism.[324] With twenty-eight signatories, including all of the tribe's headwomen, the society became an integral part of the women's community at Stockbridge and served to bond the Stockbridge and Onondaga women together. The society and the women's weekly meeting were closely related as most members of the society were also members of the church. Women within and beyond the reservation were encouraged by Stockbridge women to attend the weekly religious gatherings. When unconverted women attended the meetings, Stockbridge women possessed an opportunity to make their case for change and conversion to an indigenized-Christianity alongside economic adaptation. Between the society and the religious meetings, the group seemed to draw out their own connection to the ideals of American democracy and the idea of liberty. In observing one meeting, Elizabeth Camp claimed that she had "never attended so solemn and interesting meeting with females" as they seemed "to enjoy religion in an unusual degree" and "enjoy perfect freedom" in their worship. The scripture chosen by the women that day was "Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." In a nation where they were subject to constant threats on their land and often their lives, Stockbridge women found a degree of freedom in their religion that helped guide them along the many adaptations they underwent to answer to the pressures of colonization. The Stockbridge idea of "liberty" took such an important meaning to Lydia's sister, Eve, that she started to go by "Eve Liberty" sometime prior to the start of the reform society.[325]

[324] "Constitution for ladies society for New Stockbridge and Onondaga women," 14 December, 1817, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, IHS, Indianapolis, IN.
[325] 11 August, 1820, Elizabeth Camp Journal, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI. For a list of signatories, including "Eve Liberty," see "Constitution for ladies society for New Stockbridge and Onondaga women," December 14, 1817, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 9, IHS, Indianapolis, IN.

Evidence of different enterprises and movements starting within different communities on the reservation and spreading within and beyond its boundaries suggests that there was a substantial degree of exchange between the Stockbridge, Oneida, Brothertown, and Onondaga nations. The network between Stockbridge and Quaker women served as a powerful force in New Stockbridge, but it was the broader kin-networks that existed between the Stockbridge, Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora, and Delaware living in New York that facilitated the spread of academic and industrial education among all of the communities living on the reservation. The various communities of Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, Stockbridge, and Brothertown Indians regularly visited one another on Sundays for religious sermons preached in English by white missionaries as well as in Algonkian and Iroquoian languages by interpreters and Native ministers. Women held prayer meetings in their own language and sought to acquire indigenous teachers to instruct their children in academics as well as industrial labor.[326] There were no doubt male and female intermediaries who facilitated these relationships. For the Stockbridge, that duty fell largely to Mary Peters. She not only maintained ties between the Stockbridge and other Native nations, but she quickly became a central intermediary between the Quakers and Native nations south of Lake Oneida.[327]

When Mary decided to open the school among the Onondaga, she also reached out to her Quaker allies to secure places in Quaker homes for two of her daughters, her son, and other Stockbridge girls. In 1818, six girls, including two of her own daughters went to live in Quaker

[326] An account of the women's meeting is provided in the August 21, 1817 entry of John Sergeant Jr.'s Journal, Diary, 1809-1818 (MC BV Sergeant), microfilm reel #44, New York Historical Society (NYHS), New York, New York. Indigenous peoples' requests to have their own members instructed and supported as school teachers appear frequently throughout Indian Committee minutes for both the New York and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings. See PYMIC Minute Books at QSCHC and NYYMIC Minute Books and FHL.
[327] Mary Peters was often reference in letters to and from the Stockbridge and the New York Yearly Meeting Indian Committee. Mary Pye et al. to NYYMIC, January 2, 1815, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For more, see n. 42.

homes on Long Island.[328] While her daughters were away, Mary taught seasonally at Onondaga and continued to act as an intermediary between the Quakers and other Native communities. She advocated for more resources to continue educational efforts on-site or connected surrounding nations to her contacts at the Indian Committee.[329] She also made several visits to the Philadelphia and New York Indian Committees to extend formal thanks and advocate for ongoing projects.[330]

Unfortunately, the strength of community networks and the support of well-meaning Quaker female allies could not alone sustain Indian communities in New York. White migration to New York around the turn of the century proved overwhelming. The proposal of the Erie canal turned an already unsympathetic state legislature into an institution that undermined Native land rights at every opportunity. The original route of the proposed Erie Canal cut directly through the Oneida Reservation, placing a premium on land sales from Natives in the area. The Stockbridge successfully kept their members from leasing land until the middle of the 1810s when pressure became too great and the New York legislature began to side more frequently

[328] Given that Mary could have taught her daughters everything she learned from Quakers, this move suggests that there was more to this exchange than simply acquiring new information. The Stockbridge had kindled a new kin-like tie to the Quakers and hope to continue this relationship through the exchange of people. 1818 Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For discussion of requests to educate Stockbridge girls on Long Island, see 24 May, 1817, 12 August, 1817, 7 April, 1818, 26 May, 1818, 25 May, 1822, and 2 December, 1822, Minutes of the NYYMIC, 1816-1850 (RG2/Nyy/700/Box 1), FHL, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.

[329] 24 May, 1817, 22 September, 1817, 2 December, 1822, Minutes of the NYYMIC, 1816-1850 (RG2/NNy/700/Box 1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. Mary Doxtator to Thomas Eddy, 10 September, 1817, and Hendrick Aupaumut et al. Certification Letter of Mary Doxtator, 2 January, 1815, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For Mary at Onondaga, see August 12, 1817, and May 25, 1822 in NYYMIC Minute Book, 1816-1850 (RG2/Nyy/700/Box 1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; Charles Willits to Unknown, May 19, 1820, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; June 20, 1822, Minute Book, 1815-1837 (1250 AA6 Vol. 1), QSCHC, Haverford, PA.

[330] Hendrick Aupaumut et al. 2 January, 1815, and Society of Females at New Stockbridge to NYYM Friends, 3 May, 1822, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; James H. Mills et al. Testimonials of Mary Doxtator, 18 January, 1821, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 10, IHS, Indianapolis, IN; 20 June, 1822, Minutes of the PYYMIC, 1815-1837, QSCHC, Haverford, PA; 2 December 2, 1822, Minutes of the NYYMIC, 1815-1850, FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

with white lessees and squatters for control of the land. By 1815, 100 white families lived on Stockbridge land.[331] A letter to the Indian Committee from a white settler who lived about thirty miles from the Oneida reservation stated that the governor wanted to give the whites who sought Indian land "everything they wanted and more."[332]

By the 1810s, the climate was already ripe for the furtherance of ideologies concerning Indian removal. In 1818, just as the Erie canal stalled out around seventeen miles east of the reservation in Utica, New York, Thomas Ogden, one of the co-owners of the Ogden Land Company, penned a letter to Quaker Indian Committee member Thomas Eddy. Ogden articulated the case for Indian removal that was utilized by the state of New York to dispossess Indians of their land. According to Ogden, the Indians did not have any right to their land and would be better off gathered on a tract in the Southwest. The land magnate reasoned that Indian reservations could no longer be tolerated, as they literally stood in the way of "progress."[333] The letter was written at the request of Eddy who had a chance encounter with Ogden in New York City. Perhaps Eddy wished to understand the legal means through which the Natives were being fleeced of their homeland, but his involvement in the development of the Erie canal muddies the waters for Quaker intentions in early America. As a "favourite project," Eddy strongly advocated for the development of the canal, even when political will seemed to wane in the state. In this arena, his role as a self-proclaimed philanthropist and friend to Indians ran in direct contrast to

[331] 1814, 1816, 1818, 1819, 1823, 1825 Reports from the Indian Committee to the Women's Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA; James Mott to G. Seaman, John Murray, and T. Willis, 22 December, 1815, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA. For more on the process of land loss at New Stockbridge, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, Chapter 6.
[332] Peter Lossing to Thomas Eddy and John Griscom, 17 July, 1816, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.
[333] Thomas L. Ogden to Thomas Eddy, 4 June, 1818, NYYMIC Scrapbook (RG2/NYy/700/Box 1a), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.

his interests as a successful New York merchant looking to expand commercial opportunities for himself and the state of New York.[334]

Hendrick Aupaumut's negotiations with the Delaware along the White River remained tentative with the outbreak of war in 1812. The Delaware community with whom Aupaumut negotiated felt less enthusiastic about Tenkswatawa's message, but there was enough support of the prophet to cast some suspicions on Aupaumut's offers to establish a school and teach the community the Stockbridges' forms of adaptation. During the war, many Stockbridge and Oneida men fought on the side of the United States. Some, like Aupaumut, served for an extended period of time and did so out of their firm belief that an alliance with the United States was the best way forward for their people. Others served only a few weeks in 1814, often out of pressure from white settlers, no doubt demanding that the Natives on the reservation prove their loyalties.[335] After the war, the Delaware renewed their invitation to the Stockbridge to relocate on the White River. With the plan back in motion, some Stockbridge families opted to discontinue their agricultural pursuits and begin leasing land to prepare for their move. This had a damaging effect on morale for the Stockbridge women who were busy growing their community in New York. Stockbridge and Oneida women hesitated to leave the communities they worked so hard to build in New York. We can understand any tribal member's reluctance to move when we consider the challenges inherent in rebuilding a community that possessed so much existing infrastructure. In 1818, each major community on the Oneida reservation possessed saw and grist mills, smiths shops, numerous frame houses, well cultivated fields, meeting houses, roads, and a large number of spinning wheels and looms. Further, this proposed

[334] Samuel L. Knapp, *The Life of Thomas Eddy: Comprising an Extensive Correspondence with Many of the Most Distinguished Philosophers and Philanthropists of this and Other Countries* (New York: Conner & Cooke, 1834), 30, 122, 150, 233-35, 305.
[335] For Stockbridge involvement in the War of 1812, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 160.

move also took place on the heels of Doxtator's opening and assisting of multiple schools around the reservation, the establishment of a reform society, and the sending of her daughters to Quaker homes on Long Island.

As the men of the nation made plans to sell a large tract of land to finance the move to White River, Mary travelled to Albany to make a personal appeal to the Lieutenant Governor of New York, John Taylor. Shrewd in her diplomatic calculations, she knew she would need an influential white man to help her make this appeal. She enlisted the assistance of David Butler, a minister from Troy, who agreed to write a letter on her behalf to convey her argument in favor of preserving Stockbridge land. Mary then travelled to Taylor's office to deliver the letter by hand. In referencing Mary's many contributions to what the state perceived as "civilization" projects, Butler wrote:

> While thus pursuing with considerable success her favorite object, she has been alarmed by a project of some of the Indians to obtain permission from the Legislature to dispose of their land. This has very much excited her solicitude; & she says that of most of the women of her tribe. They are desirous of becoming civilized & christenized & this they think is in a fair way to be done where they are. That if they sell this land, & remove into the wilderness, they fear that they will remain savages forever. I really wish, Sir, that you would use your influence to prevent this. & likewise in processing the appointment of judicious & benevolent men to superintend their affairs. She wishes, & she seems to think that it is the wish of the red people generally, that they might be Quakers, as they have done more for them than any other set of christians.[336]

[336]David Butler to John Taylor, 7 March, 1818, Edward E. Ayer Manuscript Collection (Ms 127), Newberry Library, Chicago, IL.

Mary knew how to speak the language of the colonizers from whom she would need help. She knew her language must be framed in the civilized versus savage dichotomy. As she, her mother, and her aunts knew, she needed to appear understanding and capable, while at the same time desperate, humble, and deferential. Mary was fully capable of writing this letter herself. Her choice not to do so suggests that she knew these words would be better received from another white man. Even better, a white man who held moral authority within white communities. It was common for any person who travelled for business in this era to carry with them character references. It was particularly important for an Indian woman to do so. In an age where any women, particularly women of color, would be perceived as out-of-place in businesses and legislatures, it was of the utmost importance to tread carefully. Though careful in its execution, her hand-delivery of the letter in and of itself was unusual. She was a woman confident in her position and dedicated in her work to the people of her nation.

Fig. 2 Basket. “Wood splint. Stamped floral motif. Donated July 7, 1937.” Algonquian, Mohican. E011-02. Collection #E-39033B. New York State Museum Department of Ethnology. Photo taken by author. This basket was donated by the Mrs. E.D. Hill in 1937, but reflets the materials and sylistic motifs common among Mohican crafts in the early nineteenth century.

Fig. 3 Leggings. “Women’s pair. Green fabric with beadwork. ‘Used by Mahikans of Renss. Co.’” Algonquian, Mohican. E011-06. Catalog #E-336296A-B. New York State Museum Department of Ethnology. Photo taken by author.

Fig. 4 Pouch. “Red fabric, linear beadwork, heart motif on both sides. Purchased by Dennis Doyle from Indians of Albany, 1807.” Algonquian, Mohican. E011-06. Collection #E-50500. New York State Museum Department of Ethnology.Photo taken by author.

Fig. 5 Doll. “One small, cornhusk doll, female. Fabric clothing. Given to Katherine Rowland by the Indians of Rensselar County about 1820. Rowland was the Great-Great Grandmother of the donor, Mable T. Covey.” Algonquian, Mohican. E021-10. Collection #E-39504. New York State Museum Department of Ethnology. Photo taken by author.

Fig. 6 Moccasins. “Pair. Deerskin with ribbon applique flaps. ‘Used by Mahikan Indians of Renss. Co.’” Algonquian, Mohican. E011-06. Collection # E-36295A-B. New York State Museum Department of Ethnology. Photo taken by author.

Fig. 7 “Sauvage de Balston Spring,” Baroness Hyde de Neuville, 1807. In Fenton, “Hyde de Neuville Portraits of New York Savages,” 75.

VI. "THROUGH ALL THE CHANGING SCENES OF THIS LIFE": REMOVING AND REMAINING, 1818 – 1840[337]

As daring as Mary might have been for her hand-delivery of Butler's letter to the Lieutenant Governor, her presence in Albany in and around the capital was not unusual. An examination of the accounts of Indian agents and commissioners reveals that Albany remained an indigenous place into the early nineteenth century. The area around Albany was the first place Mohicans met and traded with the Dutch. The *Mahicanituck*, or Hudson River was the center of Mohican life until competition for furs from neighboring Haudenosaunee nations along with European rivalries pushed them east of the river in the early eighteenth century. From the time of the Mohicans' retreat from the area through the early nineteenth century, however, Albany continued to be a meeting place for Native peoples, particularly for treaty negotiations with European, and later American, colonizers. By the time Albany was named the state capitol in 1797, it regularly hosted Indian delegations comprised of both men and women. Those groups brought in business for local innkeepers, maids, translators, and couriers, not to mention the many employed in transportation, who transported Native people on stages and ferries along the Mohawk and Hudson rivers.[338] The surrounding areas to the north and east became places where Mohican and other indigenous women sold their wares to locals and tourists. Around the turn of the century, the Hudson River Valley and upstate New York attracted tourists from Europe and elsewhere in America. A large part of its appeal was the presence of Native people whom tourists wished to meet, largely as an American curiosity. The indigenous presence in Albany

[337] Quote taken from copy of a letter from Catherine Quachmut to Dorothy Ripley recorded in Dorothy Ripley, *A Bank of Faith and Works United* (Philadelphia: J.H. Cunningham, 1819), 117-119.

[338] For receipts and accounts of reimbursements to Indians and local service providers for expenses for Indians peoples from the Oneida reservation, see "Entry documentation submitted by the Indian Commissioners and Indian agents for annuities paid to Indians and for other expenditures" (A0832-77), Box 1, Folders 1-3, 5, Box 2, Folder 1-2, Box 3, Folders 1-3, New York State Archives, Albany, NY.

meant different things to different people, but all expected Native people to be there as diplomats, consumers, and sellers of goods.[339]

As tourists flocked to the area for a chance to see members of a "vanishing" race of people, New York politicians tried their best to make that myth a reality. Mary's trip to the capitol in March of 1818 was the first of many she took over the next eight years. Mary was not old enough to remember her community's removal to New York, but in the 1820s she witnessed the slow exodus of her nation nearly one thousand miles from their homeland. Beginning with their first major move to New York, the trauma of removal became part of Mohican identity. Today, the nation's symbol, called "Many Trails," memorializes the multiple removals endured during the long nineteenth century [Fig. 8]. The symbol stands for "endurance, strength, and hope," through centuries of attempts to erase Mohican nationhood and culture. Melding tradition and innovation, Stockbridge women in this era embodied those qualities. Despite their failed appeal to the state of New York, the community had to survive. The scenes of their life, as Catherine Quachmut put it, had always been changing, but colonization forced more rapid creative adaptations and methods of survivance. The lives of all Stockbridge people transformed from their Massachusetts settlement in 1780 to their settlement on Lake Winnebago in the 1840s, particularly in the lives of Stockbridge women. Their commitment to community, however, remained.

[339] For more on the indigenous souvenir trade in the Northeast, see Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

Treaty Making and Breaking

As Mary entered the capitol building, she passed beneath Themis (Lady Justice) sitting atop the building's cupola [Fig. 9]. Blind-folded and with evenly balanced scales, the statue symbolized fairness and justice within American law. As any indigenous person could have testified, the invocation of these principles did not apply to Indian people. Mary's request to prohibit the sale of Stockbridge land was denied by the Lieutenant Governor. She returned to the capitol in July to take part in the final treaty negotiations that resulted in the sale of over 5,000 acres of Stockbridge land. At $.95 per acre, the Stockbridge received below market value for their cession.[340]

In the month following the sale, between sixty and seventy members of the nation began their trek to the White River. Rachel Konkapot, one of the founding members of the female reform society, was among the first to make the trip. She and nine other formal members of the church went along with the first group to reestablish their church in their new home. Rachel, her husband, and their kin underwent a long journey across the Ohio country onto the plains west of the Ohio River Valley. Though Mohican women had tried to prevent removal, some male members of the nation hoped that the move would have a positive impact on the community. The Stockbridge knew from their oral traditions that they previously had left kin behind in the "White Mountains" while journeying toward the rising sun. Aupaumut and others hoped they could reunite with their kin and attract other Native nations to the area. The goal was to create an Indian haven where they could live peacefully with other Indian peoples and assist them with

[340] For a breakdown of amounts per acres of land sold in New York, see Lion Miles, "Stockbridge Indians in New York 1784 – 1929," Our History, Stockbridge-Munsee Community Band of Mohican Indians," Accessed Jan 10, 2019 < https://www.mohican.com/history-1784-1829-the-tribe-leaves-new-york/>. For an estimated price of land in New York in 1818 , see Journal of the Assembly of the State of New York at their Forty-first Session (Albany: J. Buel, 1818), 686.

strategies of survivance to combat white expansion.[341] As much as removal and hardship, hope remained a central aspect of the Stockbridge experience.

Rachel and her Stockbridge kin arrived at their new home only to find yet another treaty foiled their attempts at communal stability. Just before their arrival, the Miami and other Ohio valley nations met with federal agents in St. Mary, Ohio. The meeting centered around a push from the United States for the Miami, Delaware, and others to cede more land around Indiana territory. With the promise of money, supplies, and infrastructure, members of the area nations agreed to a treaty that signed over a large tract of land between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers in what is today central Indiana. The area desired by the United States included the tract of land previously promised to the Stockbridge by the Miami and Delaware. Aupaumut even met with Thomas Jefferson years earlier in order to gain the affirmation of the United States that the Stockbridge would be allowed to reside on that land forever in peace. With no secure title to the land and eight hundred miles away from their former home, some families remained in the area by moving around among Native communities who were willing to take them in. Most families decided within a year to return to New Stockbridge, despite the fact that their land had already been sold.[342]

Rachel, then pregnant, began her return home with her husband in the fall of 1819. As their party travelled through Ohio country in September, they were shot upon by two white men. Rachel took a musket ball to her thigh. Hours after she was shot, Rachel went into labor and her daughter, Mary, was born. The new mother and daughter, along with their travelling companions, made it to Mount Vernon, Ohio where they attempted to recover from the incident. Rachel, however, suffered a shattered thigh bone. She laid in pain for months until she finally

[341] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 161.
[342] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 162.

died from her wound on December 22. It is unclear what became of her travelling companions, but her daughter remained in Mount Vernon and was placed under the guardianship of a non-Stockbridge man in 1823. Long removals through inhospitable land and under the eye of suspicious white settlers not only threatened Indian nations' cultural and economic prosperity, it posed a threat to their physical safety and the stability of Stockbridge families.[343]

After the failed attempt to resettle on the White River, the Stockbridge along with their Brothertown and Oneida neighbors looked to the northern Great Lakes for a new place to hang their kettle. Lydia's son, Solomon U. Hendrick travelled to Green Bay with representatives from the Oneida and Brothertown communities to meet with a delegation of Menominee and Ho-Chunk. The Stockbridge held distant kinship ties with the Sauk and Foxes who lived south of the Green Bay area. The Sauk and Foxes invited the Mohicans to move to the region during the later years of the Beaver Wars (1640 – 1701) when conflict between the Mohicans and Mohawks reached a high point in the late seventeenth century. In the summers of 1821 and 1822, negotiations proceeded as all parties debated the terms on which the New York Indians might live on Menominee and Ho-Chunk land. The 1820s were shaping up to be a decade of complicated treating making and breaking.[344]

"we have made but feeble progress"

With little certainty about where the nation would end up, Stockbridge women carried on the business of the community in New York. As the main representative to the Quaker Indian

[343] For a discussion of the tribe's move to Indiana, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 159 – 162. For Rachel Konkapot's death and the indictment of her killers, see "Last Week's Omissions." *New-Hampshire Gazette* (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), February 22, 1820: [1]. *Readex: Readex AllSearch*. Accessed January 25, 2019 <https://infoweb-newsbank-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=ARDX&docref=image/v2:103709D225B248A8@EANX-103CC17FC9B715F0@2385853-103CC17FDECB526A@0-103CC180B2F82B76@Last+Week%27s+Omissions>.
[344] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 164-165.

Committees, Mary Doxtator stayed busy during these years of struggle and transition. While Stockbridge men worked to make deals with the Indian nations at Green Bay and the state of New York, Mary and other Stockbridge women ensured that their ties to Quakers remained strong. In 1821 and 1822, while Solomon U. Hendrick was travelling back and forth between New York and what was then considered by the United States to be Michigan Territory, Doxtator made several visits to the Indian Committees in Philadelphia and New York. On each trip, she carried with her notes of certification attesting to her work among the Onondaga and many other Native communities living in the area. She visited the committees to renew ties, extend thanks, and procure more materials for the spinning schools she maintained at Onondaga and New Stockbridge. Though the women resolved to help their community where it sat in New York, external factors bred to new challenges. With the sale of more land in 1819, an unprecedented number of white families moved onto reservation land. Even the Stockbridge families who had not yet moved west began to lease their land to whites in preparation for the anticipated move to Wisconsin. The state of New York encouraged this enterprise in hopes of removing Indians from the land as quickly as possible. This reality caused a number of families among the Stockbridge, Oneida, and Brothertown Indians to lose interest in Quaker projects in and around the reservation. Doxtator and her clan sisters, however, appeared resolute in continuing their connections with the Society of Friends, perhaps with the expectation that Quakers could assist them in the rebuilding of their new home out west. Doxtator went to New York in 1822 to retrieve her two daughters from Friends' custody on Long Island. On that journey, she delivered a letter from Stockbridge women that elaborated upon the many thanks they felt they owed the society, alluded to the hardships they faced, and made an appeal to continue their sisterhood with the society:

> Each year, yea, daily we have great reasons to thank the Great & Good Spirit, in that he had, in compassionate regard for his poor red children, put it into your hearts … to [give] unto us those good things which are so admirably calculated to promote our convenience & happiness here. And, we have the utmost assurance they shall never be forgotten but will prove the greatest benefit to our latest generations. Altho we regret to say to you, we have made but a feeble progress in the time of Rectitiude & Duty, yet we are not discouraged; but are determined to perserve --May we ever find and interest in your prayers. We are likewise gratefully sensible for the continuation of your patronage to our Indian girls. We have pleasing anticipations respecting their future usefullness. Our prospects are britened by the example of our friend Mary who was brought up among Friends. She is a pattern to us in all the various branches, of femenine duty. In short, she is, as a parent constantly overseeing & guiding us: & seems to have pure desires for our true interests. We therefore recommend her with that confidence, that she will meet that reception among every sentiment of respect & esteem.[345]

Upon delivering the letter, she returned home to New Stockbridge with her daughters, Ann and Elizabeth. The next several years were filled with struggles with external diplomacy and internal community crisis. Doxtator discontinued her school at Onondaga, likely for a number of reasons. The Quaker committee reported that the community had developed "prejudices against her."[346] There is no detail to accompany that assessment, but as the Quakers failed to assist Indians who lived around the Oneida reservation with New York's land dealings,

[345] Society of Females of New Stockbridge to NYYMIC, 3 May, 1822, NYYMIC Scrapbook, FHL, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA.
[346] 25 May, 1822, Minutes of the NYYMIC, 1816 – 1850 (RG2 / Nyy / 700 / Box 1), FHLSC, Swarthmore, PA.

it might be possible that Doxtator's connection to the Quakers stymied her work there. She had other reasons as well to refocus her efforts solely at New Stockbridge.

By 1823, the Stockbridge, Oneida, and Brothertown Indians entered into an agreement with the Menominee and Ho-Chunk to settle on land along the Fox River, about twenty miles south of the American settlement at Green Bay. Once land was secured, more members of the nation prepared for the long journey to their new home at Grand Kakalin. Throughout this period, Doxtator's home became a central meeting place for the nation and Doxtator became a trusted attorney for members looking to finance their removal through the sale of land. In 1824 and 1825, Doxtator was designated by the principal men of the tribe as the nation's "Lawful Attorney to see too [sic] & Do all business relative to ourselves & the Nation as she … deemeth right." One year later, both men and women of the tribe signed a document that certified her as the tribe's attorney to accompany sachems John W. Quinney, Solomon U. Hendrick, Jacob Seth, and John Metoxen to "assist . . . in transacting any business relative to our Nation, with the Legislature of the State of New York."[347]

Doxtator's work as an attorney, advocate for tribal education, and young clan mother became more complicated than ever. Attempts to maintain Quaker ties during the removal proved unsuccessful. Reports from the New York Yearly Indian Committee and New York Women's Meeting reflected a lack of interest in the project at New Stockbridge. While women still manufactured apparel in 1823, Quakers concluded that the Stockbridge once again needed encouragement to do so. It is not clear whether or not the Quakers considered that so many families were occupied with preparations for removal. The following year the remainder of the

[347] Principal Men and Inhabitants of New Stockbridge, January 20, 1824 and Inhabitants of New Stockbridge, January 18, 1825, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 12, IHS, Indianapolis, IN.
For a discussion of land deals with the Menominee and Ho-Chunk, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 163-168.

Stockbridge girls living on Long Island returned to New Stockbridge, and by 1825, the New York Women's meeting determined that their investment in the Stockbridge people "holds little hope of materially benefitting them" due to their "unsettled" state.[348] The New York Yearly Meeting tossed around the idea of assisting the Stockbridge in Wisconsin during the next decade, but by 1840, no help materialized.[349] Without further Quaker assistance, Doxtator took on the responsibility of financing the school at New Stockbridge during the tribe's transition to Wisconsin. As the primary "attorney" of the nation, she also purchased land from individual families and then travelled to Albany to sell that land to the state.[350] Additionally, Doxtator joined Lydia Quinney as a popular host of tribal guests.[351] Her home was also a safe haven for families who struggled with homelessness and hunger, some of them presumably in transition from selling their land to waiting for the next group exodus.[352]

In the midst of holding down these various responsibilities to her people, Doxtator's home and all of her possessions were lost in a fire in March 1824. With the tribe not yet finished with its business in New York, Doxtator set about plans to rebuild her home. She turned to Thomas Dean, the lone Quaker still residing on the reservation at Brothertown, to help make arrangements to rebuild a larger home that could accommodate more people.[353] Dean also

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[348] By 1823, the Indian Committee felt that the Stockbridge needed encouragement to manufacture cloth due to their "unsettled" state. 1823 Report from the Indian Committee to the Women's Yearly Meeting, Minutes of the New York Yearly Women's Meeting, Women's Minutes, 1798-1833 (RG2/NYy/006 6.1), FHL, Swarthmore, PA.
[349] 21 May, 1831 and May, 1847, Minutes of the NYYMIC, 1816 – 1850 (RG2 / Nyy / 700 / Box 1), FHLSC, Swarthmore, PA.
[350] Principal Men and Inhabitants of New Stockbridge, January 20, 1824 and Inhabitants of New Stockbridge, January 18, 1825, Dean Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 12, IHS, Indianapolis, IN; 8 March and 15 February 1823, New York State Assembly Journal, 612; February and 14, 15 March1827, New York Senate Journal, 194-195, 363-365, 430.
[351] For Mary Doxtator and Lydia Quinney hosting guests in the 1820s, see December 1824 and January 1825, Thomas Dean Day Book, 1824-1825, Indiana Historical Society (IHS), Indianapolis, IN..
[352] For Doxtator's home as a place for the homeless and starving, "Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxtader to the State of New York (Series A1823, vol. 41), New York State Archives, Albany, NY.
[353] For a record of her home's destruction, see March 25, 1825, *Journal of the Senate of the State of New York at their Forty-Eighth Session* (Albany: E. Croswell, 1824), 401-402. Mary Doxtator must have moved into an existing home on land that had been sold to her or moved in with a family member as Thomas Dean stayed with her in New

supplied many Indians in the area with food stuffs and household goods while the three nations began to trickle out of New York. Upon close examination of Doxtator's everyday activities through Dean's account and day books, it becomes clear the extent to which she provided for her own family and the larger community. During this period, Doxtator purchased large quantities of food stuffs from Dean (265 pounds of oats in one transaction). To pay for these kinds of expenses, she took on debt and worked in Dean's home. For working three days in Dean's home in December 1824, Dean paid her in kind with twelve pounds of pork, two pair of ribs, one-half bushel of apples (40 pounds), two quarts of soap, and two pounds of lard.[354] In between travelling to Albany, housing families, financing schools for Stockbridge children, and performing domestic work in others' homes, Doxtator also played an important role hosting the attendees of council meetings concerning affairs in Green Bay (and likely attended those meetings herself). Removal and the departure of the Quakers as close allies posed new challenges for the entire Stockbridge community, but Doxtator remained firm in her resolve to achieve Mohican self-determination. In 1826, a Quaker traveler visited her home as he passed through upstate New York. While conversing with the Quaker man, Doxtator reflected on her people's experiences with white agents and missionaries. She acknowledged the "disinterested" nature of Friends in contrast with those she referred to as "mercenary missionaries" who sought to enrich themselves from Indian affairs. Referencing the many white agents and missionaries who came and went on the reservation over the years, she stated, "We want none of their care, we are quite capable of caring for our affairs ourselves."[355]

Stockbridge while he helped her plan the construction of her new home. 5 May, 1824, Thomas Dean Day Book 1824, Dean Family Papers, 1788-1920 (M0085 OMB0093 BV 1074-1082, 3470), IHS, Indianapolis, IN.
[354] December 4, 1824, Thomas Dean Day Book, IHS, Indianapolis, IN.
[355] Shillitoe, *Journal of the Life, Labor, and Travels of Thomas Shillitoe*, 181.

"Proper Rank and Influence"

When examining the record, Doxtator's assessment that the Stockbridge community was capable of handling their own affairs rings true. Though much emphasis continues to be placed on the role of missionary societies in the process of indigenous adaptation or "assimilation" to settler colonialism and American Indian education, most of the decision-making, particularly in the Early Republic, took place around council fires where Native peoples still held a degree of power over their community's method of dealing with settler colonialism. The Seneca pushed away the Quakers after one of their young men suffered under Quaker care in the 1790s. Likewise, the Seneca associated European farming with land loss because of the trajectory of land holdings among the Oneida and Mohawk after their movement toward plow agriculture. In the early years of the 1800s, the New York Missionary Society made modest progress in their proposals to open schools at Buffalo Creek, but ultimately failed because there was little interest in that enterprise on the part of the indigenous people who lived there. The lack of interest mixed with Haudenosaunee priorities to maintain *Guswenta*, or the agreement of sovereignty between Haudenosaunee and European nations, effectively kept missionary influences at bay. Pressure from white encroachment necessitated a different strategy by the 1810s. The prospect of land loss looked increasingly likely, even without the transition to plow agriculture. In order to gain skills needed to fight off white advancement into Indian territory, the community at Buffalo Creek finally permitted a missionary school, but kept the missionaries at arms-length and selected their own methods for accommodation. Even at Cornplanter's settlement, the Seneca in that community set the pace for Quaker assistance. Though their exact modes of adaption and timelines differed, the philosophies and strategies of Haudensaunee people and the Stockbridge were remarkably similar. In 1818, the community at Buffalo Creek appealed to the state of New York utilizing the exact rhetoric employed by Doxtator that year to dissuade the government

from allowing the sale of Indian land. They could not be expected to civilize, they argued, if they were continually pushed into the "wilderness."[356]

The same process of gradual adaptation for community survival that took place among the Stockbridge also defines the experience at Buffalo Creek and most indigenous communities across North America, albeit at different times and at a different pace. But we should not view these adaptions as emblematic of the defeat or "conquest" of indigenous people. As Alyssa Mt. Pleasant observed, the "construction of a missionary-run school reflected the goals of Haudenosaunee people at Buffalo Creek. Their interest in Euroamerican-style education sprang from the desire to maintain their land and lifeways." She adds that "the adoption of Christianity was also seen by some as a means to find the spiritual strength to persist in difficult times."[357] As in New Stockbridge, women at Buffalo Creek played a critical role in community decision making as respected elders. They attended councils with agents from the United States and missionaries. The will of female elders at Buffalo Creek precipitated their gradual engagement with Anglos throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Even as the balance of cultural, economic, and social sharing between indigenous and white worlds skewed toward Anglo power, Stockbridge and other indigenous women in this period held a prominent, if tenuous, place in intertribal affairs and foreign diplomacy. Though their options in this emerging world were narrower than before, we should not see them as the passive receivers of missionary education, but rather as shapers of their future and Indian-Anglo relations.

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[356] Alyssa Mt. Pleasant, "After the whirlwind: Maintaining a Haudenosaunee Place at Buffalo Creek, 1780–1825," PhD diss., Cornell University, 2007, 138-147, 150-174, Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global. (304860390). Retrieved from <http://library.tcu.edu.ezproxy.tcu.edu/PURL/EZproxy_link.asp?http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/docview/304860390?accountid=7090>; Swatzler, *A Friend Among the Seneca*, 13-15.

[357] Mt. Pleasant, "After the Whirlwind," 174, 178.

Even with new scholarship that foregrounds indigenous perspectives and brings forth mounting evidence of Indian women's participation in the shaping of early America, the larger historiographical narrative of the Indian experience in early eastern North America remains one of domination and forced assimilation. This issue stems from the highly problematic nature of historians' traditional source base. Sources from missionaries and agents of the United States more often reflect the imperial desires of Anglo institutions than the real complexity of Indian-white relations. White assumptions about indigenous helplessness in the face of an advancing "civilized" race shaded their assessments of Indian actions and degree of influence over their own futures.

The writing of Stockbridge history offers a powerful example. Around the same time the Stockbridge were beginning to see the dismantling of the community they built in New York, white missionaries began to rewrite the history of tribes like the Stockbridge by taking away any agency in their own success. In 1822, Jedidiah Morse submitted a report on Indian Affairs to the Secretary of War. Morse finally acknowledges something that the Stockbridge knew all along and that the Quakers slowly came to realize: educating Indian girls was a worthwhile endeavor that aided in material benefit for Indian people. Morse wrote that a better education should be extended to Indians, "particularly to the female Indians." In fact, "This should be a *primary* object with the instructors of the Indians." Throughout his report, he provides examples of Indian women who prove his point. Among those women is Mary Doxtator. Morse acknowledges the role her education played in her success. Her manufactures displayed "much ingenuity," and he suggests that she would make a good addition to a Mission Family. In the discourse of white American missionaries or federal Indian agents, education was always given to Indians, rather than sought or acquired through their own efforts. This perception is ironic as Morse was the

author of the 1796 report on the Oneida reservation that explicitly states the Stockbridges' desire to acquire more knowledge and resources to manufacture their own apparel.[358]

It is not surprising that Morse's interpretation of the situation prevailed. Despite the Quakers' initial rejection of the Stockbridge request to send their kids to Philadelphia, Joseph Clark, one of the men who escorted the girls to Chester County, later attributed the idea to a fellow Philadelphia Indian Committee member, John Parrish.[359] This credit did not appear in Clark's contemporary journal, nor does the evidence from the Indian Committee's minutes reinforce his claim. Additionally, historians must ask: if the prioritization of Indian women's education was an idea imposed on Indian people by Quakers or the federal government, why did they fail to send any women on missionizing ventures for so long? Early proposals to the Haudenosaunee, the Mohicans, and the Creeks only made offers to educate young men. Even after the Oneida requested a female Quaker to come to the reservation in 1797 and the experiment with Stockbridge girls ended favorably, the Philadelphia Quakers did not send a woman to their mission among the Seneca and Cataraugus on the Allegheny until 1804, and they did not make plans to send for a Seneca girl to live with Quakers until 1807. A historian writing at mid-century also claimed that the spinning school at Onondaga started by Mary Doxtator was actually opened at the behest of missionary Rev. Ezekiel Gear, a statement that contradicts several documents from the period.[360]

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[358] Jedidiah Morse, "A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs, Comprising a Narrative of a Tour Performed in the Summer of 1820," (New Haven, CT: S. Converse, 1822), 74-75, appendix 84, 324.

[359] Joseph Clark, "Minutes of a Tour," *Friends' Miscellany*, vol. 1, ed. John And Isaac Comly (Philadelphia: William Sharpless, 1831), 367.

[360] Joshua V.H. Clark, O*ndaga, or, Reminiscences of earlier and later times : being a series of historical sketches relative to Onondaga ; with notes on the several towns in the county and Oswego*, vol. 1 (Syracuse: Stoddard and Babcock, 1849), 240-242. Clark acknowledges that Mary Doxtator ran the school, but suggests that she was asked to do so by Mr. Gear who Clark seems to imply funded the school as well. This statement contradicts numerous records from the New York Yearly Meeting's Indian Committee.

The assumption that Indians needed to be implored to adapt to the Anglo world permeated all levels of government and society. Twelve years after the Stockbridge requested assistance with cloth manufacture and more than seventy years after they took up plow agriculture, Thomas Jefferson delivered a haughty address to Hendrick Aupaumut in which he blamed Indians, not colonization, for their loss of population and land. He admonished Aupaumut to take up plow agriculture and have women learn to spin and weave. Rewriting the history of colonization and instructing Indians on matters on which they were acutely familiar seemed a favorite pastime of white people involved in Indian affairs.[361]

These initial rewrites of indigenous history and actions were not even necessary, as missionaries and politicians had negative assumptions about Indians and Indian women on their side. The original six girls who travelled to Chester County in 1797 met Polish General Julian Niemcewicz who immediately assumed that the education of Indian girls was the idea of Quaker men. In his journal, he wrote, "The idea of civilizing the savages, beginning by enlightening their wives, appears to me to be very sensible." He reasoned that the result, however, would likely not meet with Quaker expectations because "the state of submission and near contempt in which this sex is held among the Indians" would prove a hindrance in their task.[362] This

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[361] "To Thomas Jefferson from Hendrick Aupaumut, 12 December 1808," *Founders Online,* National Archives, (Accessed 18 January, 2019) <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/99-01-02-9295>; Copy of an address from Thomas Jefferson to Hendrick Aupaumut, 21 December, 1808, PYMIC Reports, 1793-1883 (AA42), HCQSC, Haverford, PA. Unofficial Baptist missionary Elizabeth Camp briefly taught school at New Stockbridge in 1820. She often visited Stockbridge women in their homes and took it upon herself to correct what she perceived to be their misunderstanding of religion. On one occasion correcting a basket maker when the elder woman told Camp that she has "always" loved Christ. Recalling the event in her journal, Camp stated, "I told her that we are born in to the world enemies to God, that we did not naturly love Him, nor anything that is good & gave her such instruction as I hoped would be profitable to her." Toward the end of her visit, Camp asked a young Stockbridge man why he had not yet converted to Christianity. The man pointed to his heart and replied, "Here the difficulty lies." Rather than understand the conflicted feelings many Stockbridge openly felt about conversion and association with white people, Camp assumed that the man was admitting guilt for a sinful heart. See 31 May, 1820, and 12 September, 1820, Elizabeth Camp Journals, 1819-1825, vol. 2, M-1854, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

[362] Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Under The Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 with some further accont of like in New Jersey*, ed. Metchie J.E. Budka, Collections of The New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, Volume XIV (Elizabeth, NJ: The Grassmann Publishing Company, 1965), 30-31.

misperception that Indian women were treated like slaves by Indian men dates back to the earliest accounts of European observations of indigenous peoples. The ubiquity of the squaw-drudge complex within colonial and early American discourse undergirded the government's philosophy on Indian education from the early nineteenth century through the rise of federal Indian boarding schools decades later. It was most often employed in efforts to justify colonization and the forced conversion of Native people.[363] Morse's declaration that Indian women should be prioritized in the federal government's projects was based on the assertion that they needed to "be raised" from their "present degraded state."[364] In this context, Lydia Quinney's mention of white people's perception of Stockbridge women as "squaws" highlights the kinds of attitudes toward Stockbridge women that Quinney and her clan sisters were accustomed to suffering. It is no wonder why the Quakers' differing attitudes toward Native women sparked a different relationship than those the women had with previous or subsequent missionary societies. Though Quakers continued to hold some racist assumptions about Indian peoples, their propensity to see similarities between Indian and Quaker values, and their willingness to let the Stockbridge govern Quaker financial assistance, represented a significant contrast to what most white reformers had in mind when they designed civilization projects in early America. The sending of Stockbridge girls to Quakers was the result of a perceived partnership that would aid in community survival. For the Stockbridge and the Quakers who assisted them, the end goal was not the destruction of indigenous culture, but the fusion of tradition with practical adaptations to a rapidly changing world that was antagonistic toward Indian existence.

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[363] David D. Smits, "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index od Savagism," in Rebecca Kugel and Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, eds., *Native Women's History in Eastern North America before 1900: A Guide to Research and Writing* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 27-50.
[364] Morse, "A Report to the Secretary of War," 75.

The federal government and its boosters' intentions for educating Indian girls, however, were the antithesis of the Stockbridge's original intentions. Unlike the Stockbridges' community and kin-network-centered approach to cultural and economic adaptations, missionaries and the federal government alike sought female-centered education by the 1820s as a means of breaking up Indian communities. The Jeffersonian ideal of a nation full of virtuous farmer-citizens remained alluring for so-called reformers of the era. Men from Knox to Thomas Jefferson advocated incorporating Indians into the body politic through the possibility of intermarriage. Jefferson's address to Aupaumut contained a line that must have been chilling for the delegation of Indians intent on creating an indigenous haven on the White River. Jefferson told Aupaumut, "you will unite yourselves with us, join in our great Councils and form one people with us and we shall all be Americans. You will mix with us by marriage, your blood will run in our veins, & will spread with us over the great Island."[365] This plan of "uniting" the races served to extinguish Indian identities and culture through first giving them the trappings of whiteness and then intermarrying Indians out of existence. In his report, Morse further demonstrated his point about the prospects of educating Indian women in his description of a "full-blooded" Cherokee woman who lived with her "half breed" husband in Arkansas. She "dressed in every particular like genteel, well dressed white women" and cooked meals "after the manner of well bred white people." The couple had removed from the rest of their nation and lived "near the white settlements where they became thus civilized." The only negative quality to be found with this particular family was their continued use of the Cherokee language. The education of Indian girls, thus, was key, not to community survival or self-sufficiency, but of native community destruction. According to Morse, if the federal government could "civilize" the girls, the process

[365] Copy of an address from Thomas Jefferson to Hendrick Aupaumut, 21 December, 1808, PYMIC Reports, 1793-1883 (AA42), HCQSC, Haverford, PA.

of tribal termination, adoption of private property, and the ultimate diluting of Indian "blood" would take care of itself. Like Wheelock's approach, an Indian girl's only value was to provide comfort as an indigenous missionary's wife. The federal government and its agents took it a step further and determined that their best use was to act as virtuous wives to the nation's white settlers.[366] A great historical irony existed in this philosophy for Indian women. In redeeming Native women to "their proper rank and influence," as Morse put it, white missionaries and agents denied indigenous women's customary rank and influence. By rewriting the history to serve a white expansionist agenda, they also ensured the erasure of Indian women's proper rank and influence on historical processes. Even this narrow space of Indian women in the civilization program would soon be extinguished by larger trends toward the more immediate eradication of Native peoples from the United States.

"the Rough Path to which we have been induced to follow"

In his address to Thomas Jefferson in 1808, Aupaumut recalled the long history of population loss and the dispossession of Native people after the arrival of Europeans. In evaluating their situation since the close of American Revolution, Aupaumut explained, "And Since the different Tribes of Indians have made peace with the people of the United States—We have had a convenient time to reflect on the Rough Path to which we have been induced to follow—we wish to follow it no further."[367] In that statement, Aupaumut appealed to Jefferson to guarantee their land on the White River. Jefferson replied that he would ensure the Stockbridge title to the land, but warned Aupaumut that "the only way to prevent [the loss of land] is to give

[366] Morse, "A Report to the Secretary of War," 74-75.
[367] "To Thomas Jefferson from Hendrick Aupaumut, 12 December 1808," *Founders Online,* National Archives.

to everyone of your people a farm, which shall belong to him and his family and which the nation shall have no right to take from them and sell, - in this way alone can you ensure the land to your Descendants through all generations, and that it shall never be sold from under their feet."[368] Jefferson's promise and forewarning must have meant little to Aupaumut whose farm-holding kin were being pushed from their lands in New York. When the Stockbridge were denied their right to the land of White River, they knew the rough path would continue further into the west where they would need to negotiate their existence with more distant Native kin and a shifting political and social landscape on the northern plains. Their removals from the banks of the Mahicanituck, the Housatonic, New Stockbridge, and White River would be small in comparison to the removal and challenges ahead of the nation as it worked to carve out a place in the Great Lakes.

Only a small number of Stockbridge men and women comprised the first group to arrive in 1822 at Fort Howard, just outside Green Bay. They chose a location about twenty miles up the Wolf River to begin their new settlement [Fig. 11]. The first group's passage was challenging, but their route to Green Bay from Indiana was shorter than that of most families who made the trek from New Stockbridge. A larger group left New York in the summer of 1824. Travel proved difficult for each wave of migrants as they had to muster passage fare on steam boats as well as food along the way. Between travel to Green Bay and their ultimate arrival at the new settlement, many were forced to sell clothes, guns, and other household necessities to pay for their travel and supplies to reconstruct a town from scratch. Few narratives exist of the many removals undergone by the Stockbridge during this period, but the migration in 1824 was remarked upon by witnesses and paints a heartbreaking picture of Stockbridge removal.

[368] Copy of an address from Thomas Jefferson to Hendrick Aupaumut, 21 December, 1808, HCQSC, Haverford, PA.

The families who left New Stockbridge in 1824 travelled to Buffalo along the newly completed Erie canal, the transportation innovation that literally and figuratively ushered them out of the state. They then travelled on ships for seventeen days until they reached the northern tip of Michigan Territory at Mackinaw. Food was scarce and the journey seemed to take a particularly devastating toll on the young and old. Shortly after departing the port at Detroit, an eighty-four-year-old man named Andrew who worked one of the mills at New Stockbridge, began to have seizures on board the ship. Within five hours, he died as the group crossed Lake St. Clair. A young child of one Stockbridge woman contracted whooping cough and dysentery on the journey. The child made it to Mackinaw, but died three days later while the group waited at that settlement for the strong winds to clear. The woman was forced to leave her child there in Mackinaw, buried in the local Indian cemetery. It is unclear exactly when the group finally made it to Fort Howard, but when they arrived, one white observer referred to them mockingly as "a motley assemblage of half starved Indians from the immaculate state of New York."[369]

While Stockbridge families slowly migrated to Statesburg in the 1820s, several prominent men and women remained in New Stockbridge to help settle the nation's affairs. As families made the trek from New York to Green Bay, they transferred their land titles to Mary Doxtator, leaving her in charge of selling land and forwarding the money to individual families. In 1827, after most of the land had finally been sold, Doxtator began the process of moving her children to Wisconsin. A bill was passed by the New York legislature to allow her to sell her land in March of that year. Sometime before January 1828, however, Doxtator died, leaving her children to make the move to Wisconsin without her.[370] The 1820s were a challenging decade for

[369] John Bliss to D.B. Douglass, 5 February, 1825, David Bates Douglass Papers, 1790 – 1849, (Box 2, Folder 47), Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.
[370] 15 February and 14 & 15 Mary, 1827, New York Senate Journal, 194-195, 363-365; "Petition of the Estate of Mary Doxtator to the State of New York," New York State Archives, Series A1823, vol. 41.

the community, not just because of their removal, but because of the loss of a number of young leaders in the community. In addition to Doxtator, the nation also lost two counselors, Abner W. Hendrick and Solomon U. Hendrick. Being the niece and sons of Lydia Quinney, the losses must have hit her particularly hard. Within four years, she buried all three of them in the church cemetery at New Stockbridge. To add to Quinney's grief, the title for the church lot on which the cemetery rested went up for auction after the death of John Sergeant, Jr. in 1824. Quinney went to great lengths to purchase the title herself so that she could have a say in who ultimately owned the property after removal. Concerned that the likely buyers would use it for "profane" purposes, Quinney travelled to Albany and hired white men to bid on the property for her. After obtaining the property on which her nation worshipped and many tribal members, including some of her children, were laid to rest, Quinney redressed the windows and pulpit and lent it to a local white community to use for church services. Just seven years earlier, Aupaumut and his sons Abner and Solomon sold the nation's final plot of land in Massachusetts which also happened to lay near the tribe's burial grounds and common meeting place. Members of the nation made annual visits to their land along the Housatonic River to visit their ancestral burial grounds and ensure the care of these sacred sites. Quinney, her husband, and sons were careful in the sale of these final plots of land. Moving over 1,000 miles away, it was unclear how often the tribe would be able to return to their land. They needed to ensure that it would be well cared for.[371]

[371] Abner W. Hendrick died on 17 February, 1823 and Solomon U. Hendrick died on 3 August, 1825. Their headstones are the only record of the exact date of their death and approximate birth. The headstones remained on the cemetery land until the 1970s when the owner of the land moved them for fear that they would be destroyed by later owners. The headstones currently sit in Fryer Memorial Museum in Munnsville, New York, but will undergo transport to a location of the Stockbridge-Munsee community's choosing in the future. The exact circumstances or date of Mary Doxtator's death are unknown. No headstone remains for Mary's grave, but as this was the common place for community burials, it is likely that her remains rest on the same land. Electa Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 103. For the last sale of Stockbridge land in Massachusetts, see Berkshire County, Massachusetts, Berkshire Middle Registry of Deeds, Book 60, pp. 225, Hendrick Aupaumut to David Goodrich, 5 September, 1818, transcription from Wilcox Deed Research Collection, volume 1, Stockbridge Town Library and Archives, Stockbridge, MA. For this location being near a common meeting place of the tribe, see Clarence Fanto, "Daylong

Lydia and Hendrick finally left New Stockbridge and arrived at Statesburg in 1829. Unfortunately, the land on which they settled proved unsteady. For a short time, a large part of Michigan territory was conceived of as a new Indian country. But the land promised to Native people quickly became coveted by an influx of white migrants in the early 1830s. As one of the last Stockbridges, Quinney only remained in Statesburg for a few short years before the tribe removed for the third time in her life to the eastern edge of Lake Winnebago. Just prior to their fourth removal in fifty years, the nation suffered an epidemic disease in the summer of 1830. Disease and old age took the life of Aupaumut who was buried at their Statesburg settlement. The following year, interests within and beyond Michigan territory forced the tribe to relocate. These interests ensured the continuation of the "Rough Path" alluded to by Aupaumut twenty years earlier. The path the nation was forced to take in the 1830s got rockier and ushered in a new era where the preservation of Mohican language and customs faced harsh new challenges.

Life in Wisconsin

Details about everyday life for Stockbridge women in the first two Wisconsin settlements are not readily accessible in the documentary record. Little information from their first missionary, Jesse Miner, exists. The published reports of their second and longer-running missionary Cutting Marsh offer only a limited glimpse into day-to-day life at Statesburg and their second settlement known as Stockbridge-on-the-Lake. Marsh's original journals, however, offer some hints into the work undergone and challenges faced by Stockbridge women and girls

festival 'Revisiting Indiantown' in Stockbridge on Saturday," *The Berkshire Eagle*, 3 May, 2018. Many thanks to Rick Wilcox his work transcribing Stockbridge deeds and the sharing of his family's personal connection to the tribe.

in their new settlements.[372] After a harrowing journey to their first settlement at Statesburg, women assisted men in rebuilding the infrastructure of their community. Most families in Statesburg (and later at Stockbridge-on-the-Lake) lived in log homes. They quickly set to work building a church, saw mill, smith's shop, and framed mission house. The women's Cent Society and spinning school continued, though little information exists concerning the particulars of their business and meetings in Wisconsin. Education remained a priority among the Stockbridge, but funding for their school came from Marsh's employer, the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the American Board of Foreign Missions. These societies preferred to fund schools run by white mission families or Indian Christians who they deemed acceptable teachers capable of furthering the gospel among Indian children. The Stockbridge were able to get Electa Quinney employed for part of the year as their first school teacher in Wisconsin. Quinney was only twenty years old when she first started teaching in Statesburg in 1828, but she earned her place after teaching for a short time in New Stockbridge and spending years away from home gaining an education from both the Quakers on Long Island, and Miss Royce's school in Clinton, New York, and possibly a mission school in Cornwall, Connecticut.[373]

[372] The published accounts read like full transcriptions, but much of the text from the manuscript journals is omitted or significantly truncated. Many of the omissions involved details of conversations with Native families and information about Indian women. For Marsh's published accounts, see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* vol. 15 (Madison: Democratic Printing, Co., 1900), 47, n.1. For his manuscript letters and journals, see Cutting Marsh Papers, WHS, Madison, WI.

[373] Many accounts of Quinney's life place her in school at contradictory locations. Most biographies of Quinney are not well sourced, so some of her life story remains conjecture. By 1832, her school was attended by both Indian and white children as it was the first school opened in all of present-day Wisconsin. For this, Quinney is a beloved historical figure for Wisconsin's education system. For sources that discuss Quinney's life and education, see Jones, *Stockbridge Past and Present*, 105; Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* vol. 15 (Madison: Democratic Printing, Co., 1900), 47, n.1; Jesse Miner, "The Mission at Green Bay," *The Religious Intelligencer ... Containing the Principal Transactions of the Various Bible and Missionary Societies, with Particular Accounts of Revivals of Religion (1816-1837)*, Vol. 13, Issue 15, Sep 6, 1828, (New Haven: N. Whiting)**,** 235.

Educational initiatives, however, were dictated by Marsh. This Presbyterian minister held similar ideas about gender relations as his predecessor, John Sergeant. Jr. Without Quaker financial support, the Stockbridge were no longer extended funds to educate their children in line with the community's values. Electa only taught school for the summer months while members of a local mission family taught school for the remainder of the year. Unlike their previous schools in New Stockbridge, there was likely little to no instruction in the Mohican language. Boys' and girls' education became divided once more along Anglo gender norms. Both boys and girls attended the school, but boys spent more hours on reading, writing, and other academics while the girls' education focused primarily on sewing and housekeeping.[374] Overall, poverty and a lack of funding meant that the school struggled to remain open. In the early years of their settlement in Wisconsin, only a modest number of children age four to ten attended in the summer months. Most young people kept busy at home establishing the new community.[375] While in Wisconsin, the only young people to be sent away for education abroad were young men.[376] It is difficult to ascertain a precise literacy rate among Stockbridge women and girls, but the lack of writing and increased use of marks rather than signatures by women on legal documentation beginning in 1840 suggests that the reversion of educational priorities affected women's literacy. Literacy for women became so low that a headwoman of the tribe in the 1850s, Lucinda Quinney, could not sign her name on a legal petition for dower rights against her husband John W. Quinney's estate. Her inability to write or sign this petition herself alongside

[374] Cutting Marsh to David Green, 20 July, 1831, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, WHS.
[375] July 22, unknown year, Cutting Marsh journal, undated, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.
[376] One of the few young men to attend a school abroad was Levi Konkapot. Marsh wrote him a letter of recommendation to Oberlin College in 1848. Cutting Marsh to Rev. Asa Mahan (Pres. Oberlin Coll), May 14, 1848, John C. Adams Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, WHS.

her claim of dower rights is suggestive of the power lost by women through reversion of male-centric educational opportunities in Anglo-run Indian schools.[377]

Marsh's edited and published journals often compliment Christian Stockbridge women for their "civilized" nature, even comparing them favorably against local white inhabitants. A closer look at his manuscript journals, however, offers more detail on his relations with Stockbridge women and his general outlook toward Native people.[378] Marsh held deeply negative attitudes toward the Native "character," particularly the inherent "wickedness" and disobedience of Native women. Marsh often counseled married couples in Statesburg and Stockbridge-on-the-Lake. In nearly every case, Marsh found fault in the woman's demeanor toward her husband. He felt compelled to remind the Stockbridge that men should act as the head of the house, a principle thoroughly established within the western Christian tradition, but contested within the Stockbridge Mohican world view.[379] Betsey and other women were castigated because they "usurped authority over the man" in their marriages.[380] In a conversation with a woman named Lucy, Marsh said he "Endeadvored to show her the wickedness of her conduct and how far she was from manifesting the spirit if a Christian." Unfortunately, we

[377] The relative lack of women's signatures on legal documentation compared to the community's time in New York may also be indicative of the exclusion of women from tribal affairs relative to the United States and its agents. This issue is discussed below. For the petition of dower rights for Lucinda Quinney, see Photostat Copy of "Petition of Lucinda Quinney," 12 September, 1856, Calumet County Court, John W. Quinney Personal File (PPLQ45), Arvid E. Miller Library and Archive, Bowler, WI.

[378] Silverman utilizes quotes from Marsh that reflect his admiration of Stockbridge people, Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 171-172. The details in Marsh's manuscript journals are a result of the missionary society's request of specific details of the community and surrounding areas. The Society stressed the importance of sending journals regularly to get funding and stay in good graces. They stated "our missionaries are often greatly deficient in this particular." Do not write "everyday labors" or "elaborate reflections" in your journal. "Write with a view to utility. Describe your settlement, so that a Scotsman would know it from description, if he should afterwards visit it. Describe some of your principal men - their families - their children. Describe your ordinary manner of preaching & teaching. Give traits to the Menoming & Winnebago character – be accurate with your facts, your style, your general impression, so that an air of veracity may be diffused over the whole of your narrative." Letter from Jeremiah Evarts to Cutting Marsh, 29 March, 1831, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, WHS.

[379] For just two such occasions when Marsh elaborate upon this subject, see journal entries for 12 and 19 December, 1830, Cutting Marsh Papers, WHS.

[380] 24 June, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, WHS.

cannot know exactly how Stockbridge women felt about the instruction – solicited or unsolicited – they received from Marsh. Marsh seemed to be unsure of the reception himself. In recording Lucy's reaction, he wrote: "At this she wept: whether for sorrow or anger I know not."[381]

Marsh corrected Stockbridge men for what he deemed immoral behavior as well, but he spent far more time trying to control the actions of women in the community and bring them in line with Anglo-Christian norms. He scolded young people who lived together in an "unlawful" state before marriage. Marsh also found himself needing to place caveats on his religious teachings in order to curtail indigenous customs. He instructed the young people to always listen to their parents, except on the issue of marriage. The arranging of marriages, typically performed by female elders, was still a common enough practice in Wisconsin for Marsh to feel it was a threat to "civilized" order in the community.[382] Women in the Doxtator family found themselves at odds with Marsh on several occasions. Dolly Doxtator spoke ill of Marsh around the same time Marsh inserted himself into the political affairs of the community in the late 1830s, an action in which Marsh found grave insult.[383] Margaret Doxtator was repeatedly chastised for a variety of sins including "walking disorderly." She was required by the church to make a public confession of her sins, but routinely limited her confession, keeping some of her "sinful" activities to herself. When Marsh discovered that she had withheld information about drinking alcohol, she agreed to apologize until Marsh demanded she do so in public. In response to the missionary's pressure, she told him "she did not wish to have Christians trouble themselves any more about her." Marsh used this incident and another reference to a problem with Mary

[381] 13 and 18 December, 1832, Cutting March Papers, Box 2, WHS.
[382] 28 Nov and 5 Dec, 1830, Cutting Marsh Journal, May 2, 1830 - March 14th, 1831 Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.
[383] 27 May, 1833, Cutting Marsh Journal, Dec 7, 1832 - July 21, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS; 25 March, 1838, Cutting Marsh Journal, July 12, 1839 - Jan 1, 1841 Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.

Littleman to demonstrate why the "native character" could not be trusted.[384] Given his propensity to correct Stockbridge women's behavior, it is no wonder he found them particularly bored during Sunday services.[385]

Though Marsh seemed to have particular ire for disorderly women, his gloomy outlook on indigenous people affected his overall likability among many members of the nation. Of the Stockbridge, Marsh wrote, they "have emerged from pagan darkness but there are those around us constantly and others coming and going who are in all of the darkness of paganism, and there is yet the work of years to be done amongst my own people."[386] In defiance of Marsh's wishes, members of the community regularly interacted with their Menominee and Ho-Chunk neighbors.[387] Differences may have been especially stark between Marsh and some tribal elders who still found strength and relevance in indigenous spiritual traditions. Joseph M. Quinney, the brother of Lydia and father of John W., attended on more than one occasion the Grand Medicine Dance with the Menominee. The medicine dance and feast, part of a religious tradition that likely originated among the Menominee's Anishinaabe neighbors, were meant to fuse moral teachings with herbs and plants to enhance wellness and prolong life.[388] The incorporation of about two

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[384] 12 July, 1839, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS. Later in this entry, Marsh also mentions a case where a Stockbridge man abused his wife.

[385] Along with specific incidents, Marsh also mentions vague occasions when women did not behave as they "ought to." 7 July, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS. For his complaint about women being bored in church, see 1 August, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.

[386] Following common missionary parlance, Marsh often refers to the Stockbridge as "my people." For Marsh's observations during his early years in Wisconsin, see Cutting Marsh to Unknown woman, 15 October, 1830, Cutting Marsh Papers, WHS, Madison, WI.

[387] Marsh was only in favor of interactions with other tribes if the Stockbridge were in a position to instruct others on Christianity and "civilization" measures. Marsh sometimes accompanied Stockbridge men on travel to surrounding communities, including to the Sauk and Fox. Marsh saw these trips as missionary work. The Stockbridge more likely saw it as an opportunity to maintain kinship ties and exploring options and strategies for securing land. See Cutting Marsh Journals and Letters in Cutting Marsh Papers, 2 Boxes, WHS.

[388] 4 June, 1833, Journal of Cutting Marsh, Dec 7, 1832 - July 21, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS; Arlene Hirschfelder and Paulette Molin, *The Encyclopedia of Native American Religions: An Introduction* (New York: Facts on File, 1992), 181. For more on the Medicine Lodge Society, the power and use of medicine bundles among the Anishinaabe, Menominee, and Ho-Chunk, and other sacred dances and feasts, see Barry M. Pritzker, *A Native American Encyclopedia: History, Culture, and Peoples* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 429-430.

hundred Munsee into the Stockbridge community in the middle of the decade also served to bolster indigenous practices, not to mention increased the anxieties and frustrations of missionaries. On at least one occasion, Marsh visited a Munsee family whose child was sick and offered them comfort and baptized the child. After the baptism, the Munsee suggested that a medicine dance was needed to restore their son's health.[389] Even among the headmen and members of the church, there appeared to be a general dissatisfaction with Marsh's execution of missionary duties. In 1839, Marsh resigned from his work running the day school on the reservation. The reason for his stepping down is unclear, but Marsh recorded his offense at the reaction his decision elicited from some of the headmen: "Some appeared much pleased, but alas! Poor people, you have small cause to rejoice and now what are the prospects of education here. How dark, how unpromising!"[390]

Though Marsh spent little time recording the day-to-day actions of most Stockbridge women, his journals offer a glimpse into the female-run institutions and societies started in New York. The women's weekly religious meeting and spinning school continued at least until the 1850s, though there is little evidence concerning how much cloth was produced and what became of their products and profits. The women's reform society also continued and occasionally brought in new members from the surrounding communities.[391] Community and religious meetings also continued to be held in women's homes, especially the home of Lydia Quinney. Other women such as Elizabeth Pye and "blind Esther" (likely Esther Littleman) were

[389] 4 February, 1832, Journal of Cutting Marsh, Dec 7, 1832 - July 21, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.
[390] 1 Nov, 1839, Journal of Cutting Marsh, 12 July, 1839 – 1 January, 1841, Papers of Cutting Marsh, Box 2, WHS.
[391] Report of Cutting Marsh, June, 1841, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, WHS; Cutting Marsh to A.B.C.F.M., 8 July, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, WHS; Report of Cutting Marsh, June, 1843; Cutting Marsh to Brother A, 1830, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, WHS; Cutting Marsh to Eliza Mines, 20 Sept, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box1, Folder 2, WHS. 5 June 1833, Journal of Cutting Marsh, 7 December, 1832 – 21 July, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.

still much revered in the community. Pye held such religious authority among some members of the church that they wanted to continue to hold religious gatherings in her home even after her death.[392]

Women clearly held places of authority within the Wisconsin Stockbridge communities, even as Marsh challenged their traditional roles and autonomy. The larger landscape of U.S.-Indian affairs, however, was changing. The territory of Wisconsin was carved out of Michigan Territory and organized in 1836. The new territorial government adopted a seal that read "Civilization Replaces Barbarism."[393] Lydia's place as headwoman of the community remained strong, but the pressure placed on the Stockbridge nation under the Jackson administration brought into question the role indigenous women like Lydia could play in tribal affairs, even with their religious zeal, good morals, and exemplary breakfast.

Removal and the Search for Self-determination

The settlement at Statesburg met an early demise due to the merging of two interests. By 1831, the Stockbridge numbered about 225 people at Statesburg.[394] Together with their neighbors the Brothertown and Oneida, the New York Indians settled a large tract of land that alarmed the Menominee. Comparing the New York Indians to white people, they complained that the New York Indians possessed an insatiable thirst for land and grew in number too quickly. The Stockbridge and other New York Indians also supplemented their farming and husbandry with

[392] 14 January, 10 February, 5 May, 19 May, 1833, Journal of Cutting Marsh, 7 December, 1832 – 21 July, 1833, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.
[393] Oberly, *Nation of Statesmen*, 54-55.
[394] Cutting Marsh to Uknown woman, 15 October, 1830, Cutting Marsh Papers, WHS, Madison, WI; Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 171.

hunting, an activity the Menominee did not anticipate. Feeling threatened by their new neighbors' expansion and the fact that the Stockbridge and Oneida formed a pro-U.S. militia during the United States' conflict with the Ho-Chunk, the Menominee and Ho-Chunk felt little loyalty to the New York Indians. Earlier in the 1820s, the territorial administrators of Michigan along with the federal government envisioned this northern swath of Michigan territory as a large Indian reserve. This idea meshed well with the Stockbridge' desire to create an Indian country that could exist beyond white influence. An influx of white settlers, however, began to make its way into the Green Bay area by 1830. The desire for land in this area caused the territorial administrators to rethink their plan for an "Indian Country" in Michigan. To add to the United States' motivation to remove the New York Indians, one American surveyor suggested that the land could be used to cut another canal from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi. At the treaty of Butte de Morts, the Menominee made the case that the New York Indians held no title to the Menominee land on which they sat. The United States, eager to gain access to the rich land along the Fox River, were pleased to acknowledge the Menominees' right to cede that land to the United States. As a result, the New York Indians were forced to sell their land and relocate to a smaller reservation on the eastern shores of Lake Winnebago, a place that was agreeable to the United States, at least for the time being.[395]

Headmen from the Oneida, Brothertown, and Stockbridge petitioned every level of government in response to the treaty. In 1831, John W. Quinney travelled to Washington to make a case against the legality of Butte de Morts. Despite having their move to Statesburg sanctioned by the federal government, Congress reneged on their guarantees of Stockbridge security of the

[395] For a discussion of the ideology surrounding their removal in Wisconsin and the racial dynamics at play, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 175-179.

land. They argued that the New York Indians held too much land for their small numbers. According to Andrew Jackson and those in Congress who bought into his ideology, with too much land at their disposal, Indians would be tempted to abandon their agricultural pursuits and return to the hunt. They argued that the land was better used by white settlers who presumably already possessed enough "civilization" to resist the temptation to turn "wild." By relocating the New York Indians on smaller, individually allotted land, the federal government was saving them from their inherent "savagery" that they could not resist on their own. In response, the Stockbridge noted their long-standing agricultural practice and the role they had played in bringing "civilization" to other Native nations. John Metoxen, one of the Stockbridge headmen, made a compelling case against the United States' policy, pointing out that the New York Indians were more civilized by U.S. standards than the white inhabitants in Wisconsin. Surely then, it made more sense to give the Stockbridge those white settlers' land, if "civilization" trumped land titles. The Stockbridge also reminded those in Washington that they needed a surplus of land to accommodate more Native people they hoped would flock to their reserve in the coming years. Though that line of reasoning squared well with emerging attitudes toward Indian removal, Jackson would not entertain an Indian Country in Wisconsin, even if it was filled with Christian Indian farmers. The Oneida were unaffected by the sale of land, but the Stockbridge and Brothertown, both of whom had settlements on the east side of the Wolf River, had to remove further west to the shores of Lake Winnebago.[396]

By the 1830s, the political and logistical landscape of Indian affairs shifted. The use of missionary societies to fulfill the civilization program became a second priority to removal. Never popular in the first place, civilization programs were abandoned in favor of removal

[396] For a more in-depth discussion of the New York Indians' petitioning, see Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 177-180.

policies that benefitted white settlers and land speculators. After the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, federal and territorial governments pressed for smaller reservations. Indian communities felt pressure to either move or abandon tribal status to avoid forced relocation further west. This shift in federal policy placed a premium on formal treaty making in Washington D.C. Mary Peters died before she could make it to Wisconsin, so it is difficult to say whether or not she would have taken part in negotiations in the 1830s, but it would have been unlikely. With pressure to remove, it became more important than ever for the Stockbridge to prove their "civility" to those who wanted to see them banished from the land east of the Mississippi. Given the federal government's interest in ordering families around male heads-of-house, Peters would not have been the best representative to show their compliance to American gender ideals.

A series of supreme court decisions involving a band of the Miami and the Cherokee nation in 1823, 1831, and 1832 emboldened Jackson and Congress in their efforts to transfer Indian land to whites and relinquish federal responsibility to uphold Indian treaties. In these decisions, chief justice John Marshall cited the U.S. Constitution, the Treaty of Hopewell in 1785, and utilized the unofficial, but widely accepted doctrine of discovery to claim that Indians held a special status in the United States, not as sovereign entities, but as "domestic dependent nations." Marshall argued that Native nations, since the Treaty of Hopewell, had been under the guardianship of the United States and therefore could not negotiate treaties that would be subject to international law. He further made this case by citing that article one, section eight of the Constitution differentiated between foreign nations and Indian tribes in the regulation of commerce. Undergirding Marshall's entire philosophy was the notion that not only did Native people not have a claim to sovereignty vis-à-vis the United States, but that they never held any

claim to sovereignty from the point of Europeans' "discovery" of the continent. Because they did not possess "civilization" (i.e., European-style agriculture), Native peoples only ever held a "right of occupancy" to the land.[397] Contemporary Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred points out the flawed logic and manufactured history that was needed to support this stance. Alfred makes the case that Native peoples had always been considered sovereign nations in original treaties between indigenous peoples and Europeans. Because European existence on the continent was a "negotiated reality," Europeans and Euroamericans had to acknowledge the power Native nations possessed over their colonial aspirations. Therefore, Europeans themselves never really possessed the sovereignty they claimed to have.[398]

These decisions, with all their intellectual calisthenics, held lasting impact on not just the Miami and Cherokee, but on all Native nations living within territory claimed by the United States. Almost immediately after their removal to Stockbridge-on-the-Lake, the community felt pressure to remove again. In 1836, Andrew Jackson publicly pushed for the removal of all Indian peoples to west of the Mississippi River. The federal government appointed John F. Schermerhorn, the architect of the Cherokee's removal treaty, as the agent to negotiate a new treaty with the New York Indians in Wisconsin. The Stockbridge were already at a disadvantage in these negotiations due to the fact that the United States no longer accepted the possibility that Indians who adhered to American notions of "civilization" could exist as autonomous entities alongside U.S. citizens.[399] To complicate matters, the United States could potentially argue that, because the Stockbridge had incorporated so many different Indians into their nation and

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[397] Joanne Barker, "For Whom Sovereignty Matters," in *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, Joanne Barker, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 9-14.
[398] Taiaiake Alfred, "Sovereignty," in *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, Joanne Barker, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 33-35.
[399] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 179.

intermarried with African Americans and whites, that they no longer constituted a "domestic dependent nation" and qualified for a seat at the negotiating table.

Placed in an impossible situation, the Stockbridge divided over their next step. Some felt that their best strategy would be to stand their ground in Wisconsin and push for their claims as "civilized" Indian people. To claim legitimacy in Jackson's America, the Stockbridge had to bring Anglo-style racial, gendered, and jurisdictional order to the nation. To this end, the Stockbridge adopted a Constitution in 1837 that was drafted by Doxtator's cousin, John W. Quinney. The document abolished the hereditary sachemship and established the right to hold office and vote exclusively for men of the tribe. Thereafter, the nation passed laws that mirrored those of the United States. For women, that meant limiting their access to land and prioritizing male claims for child custody in the event of divorce. Quinney and others believed that the long standing practice of intermarriage with other tribes and races needed to be reined in so that the United States could not so easily deny the Stockbridge their status as an Indian nation. The laws passed, however, affected women more than men. A Stockbridge man who married a women outside of the nation would have his wife and children accepted as members of the nation while Stockbridge women engaged in exogamous marriage would be forced to lose their status as tribal citizens. To further consolidate tribal decision-making and prevent claims of an illegitimate status as a distinct people, the Constitution also barred citizenship from the two hundred Delaware and Munsee people who joined the Stockbridge in Wisconsin in 1835.[400]

The Constitution sparked controversy within the tribe. Members of the community who feared that the Constitution forsook their identity as Mohican people believed that the tribe

[400] "National Laws of the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribe of Indians," 11 March, 1837, John C. Adams Papers, Box 5, Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, WI; Oberly, *A Nation of Statesmen*, 54-59; Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 198-199.

would do better to take the United States' offer to relocate near Fort Leavenworth where they would not have to compromise tribal values. Two of the most influential men, John W. and Austin E. Quinney led the pro-Constitution or "Wisconsin Party" and lobbied hard for its adoption. Because women's participation in tribal governance is not well recorded in this era, we do not know how this split down gendered lines. We do, however, know that Lydia broke with the Quinney men and sided with the "Emigrant Party" who opted to remove to Fort Leavenworth. Historian David Silverman points out that the Emigrant Party was comprised of more traditionalists than the so-called Wisconsin Party.[401] On the surface, one might suspect that Quinney, with her adherence to Christian practice and dedication to strategies of adaptation that aligned with Anglo culture, might have sided with the Wisconsin Party. When we consider Lydia and Stockbridge women's strategies of survivance in New York, however, her decision to align with the Emigrant Party is not surprising. Adaptations to the American economy and some aspects of Anglo culture were meant to secure, not replace Mohican identity and values. While in New York, they were able to preserve values of communalism and consultation of elders, the sachemship, medicinal knowledge, and Mohican art and epistemologies. Women retained their ability to sway tribal affairs through consultation. Through these means, they were able to take control of educational priorities at New Stockbridge and place education in the hands of tribal members. The 1837 Constitution, while meant to be tool to secure the community's hold on land, got caught in the paradoxical trap of indigenous claims to sovereignty. As Alfred puts it, "'sovereignty' is inappropriate as a political objective for indigenous peoples." Indigenous nations needed to claim a legitimacy that would be recognized by the colonizing government, but

[401] Silverman arrives at this conclusion from an analysis of the Emigrant Party's documentation. The percentage of men who signed this document with a mark represented a much larger number than those who were illiterate in the nation as a whole. Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 198.

Native nations were never able to claim a concept that was invented by a colonizing force because that force created and shaped the very court systems that would determine whether or not Indian peoples could claim to have "sovereignty" as Westerners defined it. The Stockbridge encountered the problem that indigenous peoples continue to struggle to the present day: In the search for self-government and sovereignty in the United States, how do indigenous nations keep from becoming "replicas of non-indigenous systems"?[402]

"the Hendricks left here this day"

Factionalism wreaked havoc on interfamily relations within the community. Marsh supported the Quinney men and the Wisconsin Party through his sermons. Unhappy with a missionary taking sides in tribal matters (along with a long list of other grievances), members of the Hendricks, Metoxen, Konkapot, and Doxtator families voiced their displeasure with Marsh and the Quinneys' strategy. For this, Marsh excommunicated members of the Emigrant Party.[403] Tensions reached such a degree that Lydia feared someone might murder her last living son, Thomas, who led the Emigrant Party.[404] By 1839, the Emigrant Party worked out an agreement with the Wisconsin Party and the United States to sell one of the two townships established at Stockbridge-on-the-Lake to fund the party's removal to Fort Leavenworth. At the end of the year, Lydia and seventy-nine other Stockbridge men, women, and children started for the west. Of the twenty-six heads-of-house listed on the treaty roll, only four of those were women, including Lydia Hendrick, Dolly Doxtator, Betsey Bennett, and Catherine Littleman.[405] Other

[402] Alfred, "Sovereignty," 35, 38-39, 41.
[403] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 200.
[404] 6 March, 1838, Cutting Marsh Papers, WHS.
[405] Roll and Schedule Referred to in Articles Two and Three of the Treaty," "Articles Two and Three, Treaty of September 3, 1839 with the Stockbridge & Munsee Tribe of Indians," Photocopies of Records from the Bureau of

than these four women, we do not know how many left with the Emigrant Party or what role they played in the community up to their departure. Beyond women's displeasure with Marsh, and likely their new status as non-citizens with the Stockbridge government, there is other evidence to suggest that Stockbridge women were likely to break with the nation, for at least a time. Susan Seth, another more distant relation of Mary Doxtator, left the nation sometime in the 1830s and returned to New York. According to Marsh, she departed because she "found the restraints of religion too great." She returned in 1839, but fell ill before the Emigrant Party left Wisconsin. Marsh claimed that she expressed regret for her sins, but he doubted that her repentance was genuine.[406]

Lydia never made it to Missouri. She died sometime before the group's arrival at Fort Leavenworth. In the years that followed, many of those who left for the west returned to Wisconsin. Still insecure in their land holding, the nation broke into two new political parties: the "Indian Party" that favored the maintenance of tribal status and the "Citizen Party" that advocated the abolishment of the tribe in favor of U.S. citizenship. The Citizen Party gained the upper hand in 1843 and successfully won a vote in Congress that allowed Stockbridge men to become U.S. citizens. Predictably, Stockbridge land proved no more secure after allotment than it did under tribal authority. The levying of taxes quickly spiraled many Stockbridge families into debt, which resulted in the seizure of their assets, including their land. U.S. citizenship was so unpopular among the Stockbridge, just three years into the experience, John W. Quinney successfully lobbied Congress for a repeal to of the act. Since that time, the Stockbridge-Munsee nation has retained tribal status, but not without continued challenges. With their land holding in

Indian Affairs, pg. 576-577, accessed in the electronic databased at the Arvid E. Miller Library and Archives, Bowler, WI.

[406] 11 April, 1840, Journal of Cutting Marsh, July 12, 1839 - Jan 1, 1841, Cutting Marsh Papers, Box 2, WHS.

shambles after their debacle with U.S. citizenship, the Stockbridge removed one last time to a reservation in north-central Wisconsin where they remain today. Female literacy and formal participation in governance waned in the mid to late-nineteenth century, but was ultimately restored during a period of revival in the 1930s.[407]

Though the formal record appears to support the narrative of Mohican cultural decline and the disproportional negative effect of colonialism Native women, it is important to remember that the recording of Native history in Western documentation remains flawed. Without a similar reevaluation of the source material and incorporation of ethnohistorical sources, conclusions about the later-nineteenth-century experiences and roles of Stockbridge women in tribal affairs and broader U.S. history must remain tentative. If results from this study are any indication, more material exists that has not yet been consulted. The 1844 birth of Harriet Quinney, the daughter of Austin E. Quinney and Jane Ashatoma, along the banks of the Hudson River near Albany, New York, offers powerful evidence of the limited nature of U.S. power over indigenous lives.[408] Stockbridge men and women continued to make pilgrimages back to their ancestral homelands. U.S. Indian policy may have forced a narrowing of the path for Stockbridge women to preserve Mohican life, but Native women still walked that path through passing down the knowledge of medicines, language, the taking of pilgrimages, and in their role as the givers of life.

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[407] For an overall recounting of Stockbridge political affairs, see Oberly, *Nation of Statesmen*. Declining rates of literacy are estimated by this author based on declining source material written by women and less reporting on female education in Wisconsin from the Cutting Marsh Journals. Lucinda Quinney, the wife of sachem John W. Quinney, could not write her own name in 1856. Photostat Copy of "Petition of Lucinda Quinney," 12 September, 1856, Calumet County Court, John W. Quinney Personal File (PPLQ45), Arvid E. Miller Library and Archive, Bowler, WI.

[408] Jane Ashatoma was formerly a member of the Delaware nation. "Corrections and Additions to *Schmick's Mahican Dictionary*," Language Research File (Vault/Cabinet 3/Drawer 1), accessed in the electronic databased at the Arvid E. Miller Library and Archives, Bowler, WI.

Fig. 8 “Many Trails” symbol of the Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians. The original design was made by tribal member Edwin Martin and represents the many removals the tribe underwent as well as endurance, strength, and hope. “Our History,” The Stockbridge-Munsee Community, Band of Mohican Indians, accessed February 17, 2019, <https://www.mohican.com/our-history/>

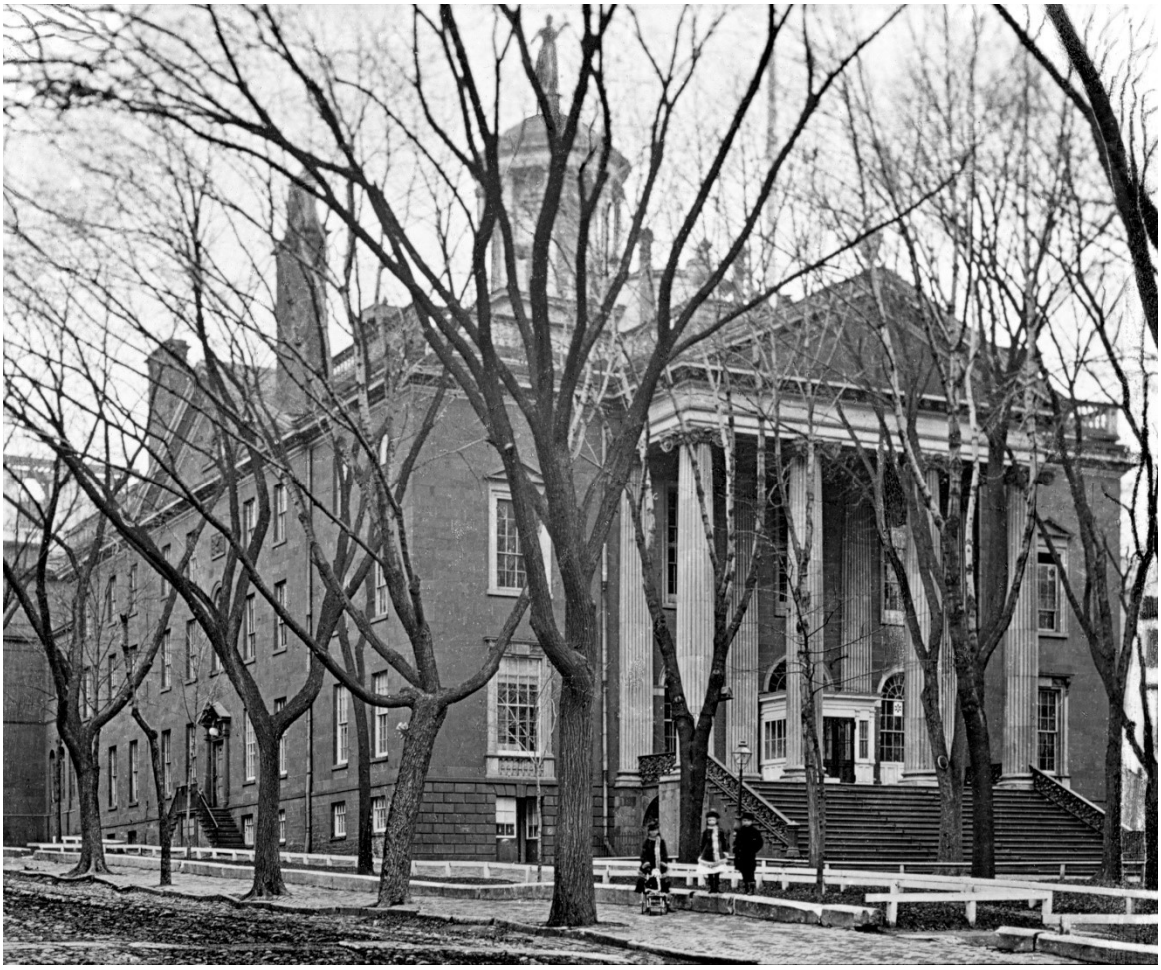

Fig. 9 The old capitol building in Albany, New York was used from 1809 until the 1860s when it was torn down to make room for the new capitol building that now stands in Empire Plaza. In the first half of the nineteenth century, many Indian people frequented this building for treaty making. Indian women were among those visitors as part of Indian delegations and alone as diplomats in their own right. 1860s. NYSA_A3045-78_X_8002, New York State Archives. New York (State). Education Dept. Division of Visual Instruction. Instructional glass lantern slides,

ca. 1856-1939. Series A3045-78. Neg. X8002 from the Test Slides. Accessed from New York State Archives Digital Collections <http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/3444> (Accessed 1-10-2019).

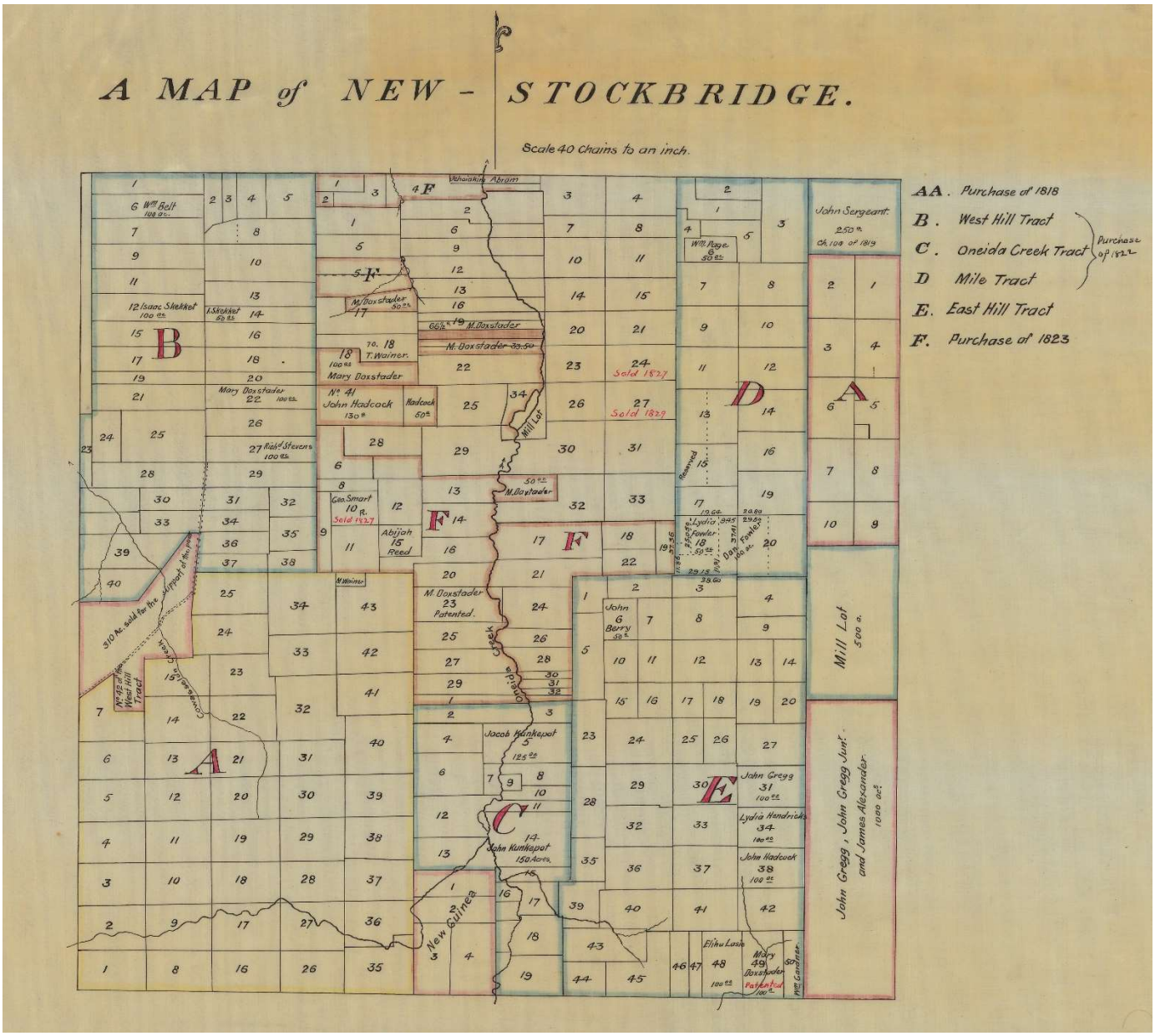

Fig. 10 Mary Doxtator's name exists on eight plots on the East Hill Tract and the Purchase of 1823, totaling about six hundred acres. Those plots represent only some of the land that Mary managed during the 1820s. The communal lot where the church, meeting house, and cemetery rested was located near Lot 17, Northwest of the Mill Lot. "Map of New Stockbridge and of the survey and allotment of the land ceded to the people of the State of New York by the Stockbridge Indians, September 16, 1823." Dated December 12th, 1823. Peleg Gifford, Deputy Surveyor. New York State Archives. New York (State). State Engineer and Surveyor. Survey maps of lands in New York State, ca. 1711-1913. Series A0273-78, Map #263 (copy).

Fig. 11. Detail view of settlements near Fort Howard. The Stockbridge settled about twenty miles upriver from Fort Howard and Green Bay. The Brothertown Indians settled just north of the Stockbridge and the Oneida to the northwest, on the west side of the Wolf River. Map of Green Bay, ca. 1820s, Dean Family Papers, (OMB 0093), Folder 1, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Indiana.

VII. CONCLUSION: MOHICAN DAUGHTERS IN AN AMERICAN NATION

Lydia Quinney's departure in 1839 exposes the tenuous place indigenous Christian women occupied in the first half-century of the United States. While U.S. Indian policy remained decentralized in the early republic, there existed more room for Indian people, especially Indian women, to adapt to settler colonialism while preserving key aspects of indigenous communal values and gender norms. Even as women left the fields, they maintained authority within their communities through traditional roles as counsellors and religious leaders. With a variety of missionary societies with whom to ally, Stockbridge women found religious "sisters" in Quaker women who placed their trust in Stockbridge women to run their own affairs at New Stockbridge. Once the tribe removed to Wisconsin, federal policy became more centralized and focused on removal, and missionaries who valued the role of women as leaders outside of the home were not as easy to find. In this context, there was little room left for Stockbridge women to negotiate their participation within the church and community affairs. A great irony exists in Quinney and her tribal sisters' use of their political capital as Mohican headwomen to advocate for Christian conversion and modern industry. Their perceived status as "nearly civilized" helped them in their efforts, but their success in helping their nation adapt to colonization led to the Stockbridge nation's ability to claim their legitimacy to land as "civilized" nuclear families under the control of male heads-of-house.

The interplay between education and citizenship was complicated for the Stockbridge in this period, just as it was for many Native nations from the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries. An education that included Mohican knowledge alongside Anglo literacy, numeracy, and trade skills offered the ability for members of the nation to economically sustain and defend the land rights of their distinctly Mohican community within a capitalist colonial nation state.

Despite the suggestion by some historians that the Stockbridge wished to no longer be "distinguishable as a race," their actions suggest otherwise.[409] Countless sources note the low opinion Stockbridge leaders had of most white people. They wished to remain separate from white settlers, but also respected as a nation in their own right. Their educational priorities reflect this desire. They wished to have white allies and the best Anglo educational opportunities for their children, but they did not wish to live amongst whites or adopt Anglo culture and governance whole-sale. In New York, men were the recognized leaders, but the chief sachem faced the headwomen in council fires. Spinning was a community-wide social activity for women and girls with the profits shared among all participants. Educating daughters of the nation was equally important as educating sons.

The system of education they developed with the help of the Society of Friends, however, only took them so far when state and federal governments reneged on treaty rights and rewrote U.S.-Indian law to justify the mass dislocation of Native communities. It was at that moment in Wisconsin that the Stockbridge found themselves in the impossible search for sovereignty described by Mohawk scholar Taiaiake Alfred.[410] Only able to legitimize their rightful existence through the colonizer's definition of nationhood, the Stockbridge felt compelled to replicate American laws and governance, thereby extinguishing many of their own values in their bid for legitimacy. After those measures still failed to secure their land holdings, their status as educated, "civilized" Indians allowed them to successfully argue for U.S. citizenship. That citizenship, however, only extended to half the adult population and offered few benefits for people the rest of American society viewed as irrevocably "savage," no matter how "civilized"

[409] Silverman, *Red Brethren*, 157.
[410] Taiaiake Alfred, "Sovereignty," in *Sovereignty Matters: Locations of Contestation and Possibility in Indigenous Struggles for Self-Determination*, Joanne Barker, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005).

they appeared. U.S. citizenship failed to address the unique needs of a colonized indigenous people. It did not curb colonial violence as they had hoped and their land was taxed in addition to being allotted and reduced for a third time. Debt from taxation made the transfer of Indian land to white settlers even easier than before, particularly when the Stockbridge people lacked as much control over their own affairs.[411] After only three years, the Stockbridge gave back their status as U.S. citizens, a move that deserves much more attention in the American story. From the beginning, citizenship in the United States was never equal and, in the case of the Stockbridge, not beneficial for their community. Equality for colonized people within a colonial state is an impossibility so long as the state fails to recognize and address the historic foundations for their continued inequality. Citizenship does not erase history.

If education provided more opportunities for community stability in the early national period, it had more deleterious effects at the end of the nineteenth century. Once education was taken out of the hands of Indian communities and centralized under the federal government, it ceased to have a positive impact on sustaining indigenous identities and customs. Federal boarding schools' primary objective was to dissolve children's connections to their indigenous ways of life.[412] Of course, the schools were unsuccessful in their attempt to destroy all aspects of indigenous culture, but they succeeded in eradicating indigenous languages and preparing Indian people for a life firmly ensconced in the laboring class. With their emphasis on labor education, federal boarding schools represent a continuation of Indian education developed from the colonial period. Most missionaries who started their work in the eighteenth century quickly eschewed attempts to give Native boys classical education. Gideon Hawley, who worked for a

[411] Under tribal authority, land could not be seized in the event of debt. Oberly, *Nation of Statesmen*, 76.
[412] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995).

time among the Stockbridge, criticized Sergeant Sr. and Wheelock's approach to teach Indian boys Latin and Greek philosophy, stating

> To enable a young Indian and give him a will to attend an acre of corn or even a yard of potatoes will be of much more utility to him than to be able to translate Virgil and Cicero. And to teach a young female savage to spin a skaine of yarn, milk a cow or even raise a brood of chickens will do more towards civilization than all the fine learning in such savage at any expense would do.[413]

But the evolution of Indian education was not entirely linear. The foundation for federal boarding schools was laid in the colonial period, but in the first decades of the republic, there was little will, vision, or resources to implement these ideas on a mass scale. Indian education in the early republic remained an experiment that was subject to, in part, what Indian communities were desirous of adopting. A philosophy of Indian education was still being formulated through observing communities like the Stockbridge and others who were making their own decisions about which skills would serve them best and how to utilize those skills to preserve their communities.

Boarding schools run by the federal government and benevolent societies later in the century focused primarily on labor training and the detachment of Native children from indigenous families and practices. Stockbridge women and men had similar mixed experiences in Indian boarding schools and day schools as other Native people. Some found the comradery of boarding schools heartening and enjoyed their teachers, while others faced abusive treatment and attempted to run away. Boarding school education, like other educational opportunities earlier in

[413] Gideon Hawley, manuscript letter to James Freeman, 15 November 1802, Gideon Hawley Letters Collection, Ms. N-1379, MHS.

the century, provided some positive benefits for Native children. Boarding schools were sometimes the only place for young children to go to escape endemic poverty on reservations. For some, the education they received at boarding schools paved the way for them to take positions within the Bureau of Indian Affairs or continue their education to become physicians or lawyers and take those needed services into their communities. Most importantly, the mixing of large numbers of Native children from all over the country unintentionally brought about the rise of a pan-Indian movement in the twentieth century. In this sense, Indian children were able to secretly share their customs and build solidarity between people from disparate Native nations who shared the boarding school experience. Those connections led to native revivals, Survival Schools, the Red Power movement, and ultimately the reform of Indian education.[414]

The apparent decline of formal female leadership in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century can be seen as temporary and symptomatic of the stress Native communities endured on their path toward survivance. We should also be careful in assuming that female leadership was entirely quelled in this period. Quaker accounts of Stockbridge women were qualitatively different than other missionary groups. Most missionaries in the nineteenth century, like their colonial predecessors, were funded by a missionary society that wanted to see both progress toward "civilization" and the continuance of "savagery" to justify the missionary's work with a given community. While the Society of Friends also utilized missionaries, Friends who volunteered for work on the Indian Committee were not career missionaries. They held other occupations and rarely remained in missionary work for an extended period of time.[415] It

[414] Child, *Boarding School Seasons*, 96-100. For more on survival schools and Red Power, see Julie L. Davis, *Survival Schools: The American Indian Movement and Community Education* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).
[415] One person who is an exception to this trend is Thomas Dean who remained with the Brothertown Indians in New York and Wisconsin for the duration of his life.

was easier for Quakers to be candid in their reports because their livelihood was not at stake. As the only society to actively deploy female missionaries in this period, their records also provide more detail about the lives of Indian woman than male missionaries from other societies. Without significant Quaker involvement in Stockbridge affairs after 1825, it is difficult to discern the extent of change in the latter part of the century.

While Stockbridge women many have lost formal positions of leadership that western culture might recognize, they continued to hold authority within a Mohican worldview. An oral history conducted in 1977 interviewed several tribal elders born between 1880 and 1900. Growing up, many Stockbridge-Munsee women worked as midwives and doctors. They supported their families economically through basketmaking and continued the tradition started in the early 1800s of manufacturing clothing. The women could only recall one female, Annie Besaw, who served on the tribal council in their lifetime, but one woman concluded the women should serve for the good of the tribe if they are born with the "gift of leadership."[416] As of 2019, numerous women have served on the Stockbridge-Munsee tribal council and held the office of President, including current President, Shannon Holsey. Just as the Quinney sisters and their daughters and granddaughters directed education for the community, Stockbridge women in the twentieth and twenty-first century appear to have taken and continued to take an active role in educational initiatives for the nation's children, particularly in the teaching and preservation of Mohican history, language, and culture.[417]

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[416] Editor, Cathleen Finley, Interview and Consultant, Christina Carter. "Tribal Women: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow: Stockbridge-Munsee Women," 13-14, 17-19, 22. (Wisconsin Tribal Women, Incorporated, 1977), digital copy from Arvid E. Miller Library Database.

[417] Women wrote the curriculum on the Stockbridge-Munsee for Wisconsin public schools. Several of the nation's female leaders, including Dorothy Davids were teachers or worked in tribal or Wisconsin public schools. Dorothy W. Davids, Laurie S. Frank, Ruth A Gudinas, Kasey Rae Anne Keup, and Barbara Miller, *The Mohican People: Theirs Lives and Their Lands: A Curriculum Unit for Grades 4-5*, pg. 29, (Accessed 28 February, 2019) <https://www.uwgb.edu/UWGBCMS/media/educ-fns/files/The-mohican-People.pdf>. Bernice Davids Miller

In January 2019, Deb Haaland and Sharice Davids were sworn in as the first Native American women to serve in the United States Congress. It was an important moment in American history for Native women to finally gain a seat at the table on the federal level. For students of Native women's history, their new positions are not surprising. Indigenous women have been engaged in leadership within and beyond their communities since time immemorial. Haaland's and Davids' historic wins should be spoken about alongside Madonna Thunderhawk, LaDonna Harris, Sarah Winnemucca, and Molly Brant, as well as the lesser-known figures like Lydia Quinney, Mary Peters and the countless Native women who are yet to be uncovered as shapers of American history. Their actions and voices are important for rewriting what we think we know about the past. In studying their experiences, we not only see the powerful consequences of colonialism, but the limits of colonial control, and the strength of marginalized communities. The exercise of recovering Native voices does more than add one more perspective to our collective history. Those voices challenge historians to correct the flaws in the larger American narrative.

Pigeon founded the Arvid E. Miller tribal museum and archives. A look through the tribal website and current newsletters shows the extent of female participation in education. I am also thankful for my conversations about women leaders with Nathalee Kristiansen and Yvette Malone.

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Kallie Mitchell Kosc was born on the American Airforce Base in Incirlik, Turkey to Kathy and David Mitchell. She was raised in Amarillo, Texas and attended college at The University of Texas at Arlington where she received Honors Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees in History.

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ABSTRACT

DAUGHTERS OF THE NATION: STOCKBRIDGE MOHICAN WOMEN, EDUCATION, AND CITIZENSHIP IN EARLY AMERICA, 1790 – 1840

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By the end of the American Revolution, the Stockbridge Nation of Mohican Indians found themselves pushed from their land in Massachusetts with their male population much reduced from service in the Continental Army. With a community to rebuild from scratch, headwomen of the tribe set about expanding their existing kin networks with the aim of better educating the women of the tribe and facilitating indigenous self-determination. Between 1790 and 1830, Stockbridge women achieved this goal as they established independent cloth manufacture in their town, opened several schools for Stockbridge and neighboring indigenous children, and acted as diplomats and attorneys on their tribe's behalf in front of major white institutions, including the New York State Assembly. By 1836, however, after their third removal, the tribe felt pressure from the federal government to further conform to gendered American legal norms in order to remain on their land in Wisconsin. In this context, the tribe adopted a constitution that limited women's access to land and prohibited their ability to vote for

or hold office on the tribal council. This dissertation seeks to understand the evolution of Stockbridge female leadership during the tribe's removal era. From diplomats and attorneys to legally marginalized peoples within the United States, the story of Stockbridge Indian women speaks to the precariousness of female indigeneity in the early republic and reveals many of the precursors to the United States' policies of Indian removal, compulsory boarding schools, allotment, and termination.