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# STOCKBRIDGE-MUNSEE CULTURAL ADAPTATIONS: "ASSIMILATED INDIANS"

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## I. CULTURAL ADAPTATION AS A METHOD

THIS paper is a case study of an adaptive response to the surrounding dominant Euro-American society by a community with a self-perception as "assimilated Indians." To maintain the structure of the community and to integrate it with the broader society required the emergence of centralized leadership statuses accountable internally to the membership and externally to representatives of the dominant society.

The community's ideological commitment to an identity as "assimilated Indian" (earlier "civilized Indian" and "Christian Indian") has been a rallying point for those who cannot or will not disappear into the broader socio-cultural system. The paradoxical elements of this identity have quite consistently pared down community membership, eliminating dissidents, and have provided the community with a role as cultural intermediary or "broker"<sup>1</sup> between the dominant system and other Indian groups or communities. More recently, this activity has involved the community and its leaders in pan-Indian affairs to an extent of importance out of proportion to the community's size.

This "assimilated Indian" community is so highly acculturated as to approximate the conditions of assimilation. However, it is a community and its members are bound by ties of kinship, by territoriality as a reservation community, and by an ideology which they conceive to be "Indian."

Ethnographic and ethnohistorical research for this study was conducted in the Stockbridge-Mun-

see Community, a reservation located east of Bowler in Shawano County, Wisconsin. The Stockbridge-Munsees are descended of eastern Algonquians, mostly Mahicans and Munsees, who removed to Wisconsin during the nineteenth century. The community was organized as a Mission community in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1734. Members of the Mission community were a band of Mahicans located near Stockbridge. Other Algonquians joined the community there and in New Stockbridge, New York, where it was removed in 1785.

The Stockbridge-Munsees constitute the only remnant of eastern farming Algonquians which has maintained an organized community from the period of early contact with Euro-American culture to the present, to my knowledge. Algonquian farming groups were disorganized and destroyed by the impact of contact with Europeans, or the tribes were so reduced in numbers as to be virtually lacking suprafamily organization. The Mahican tribe suffered disorganization and loss of numbers in the years after European contact. The band at the Stockbridge Mission developed a community with centralized leadership patterns which were adaptive to survival.

The contemporary Stockbridge-Munsee community differs little from many non-Indian rural Wisconsin communities in outward appearance. The reservation consists of the greater parts of two townships, Bartelme and Red Springs. Residences are strung out along the primary reservation roads and are separated from each other by wooded areas. Most of the residences are situated in Bartelme township. Red Springs is heavily wooded with second-growth timber. There are few large cleared areas for farming although most residential sites have a garden clearing and a hayfield. Service facilities—restaurants, taverns, or groceries—are lacking on the reservation. The Stockbridge utilize the facilities of neighboring communities.

Physically, the Stockbridgers are fair-skinned, despite an admixture of Negroid elements, taller than most Indians, and not particularly Indian in appearance.

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<sup>1</sup> The "cultural broker" is a representative of a society which has allegiances to two cultural-value systems. In a real sense, he is a marginal man, but one who has sufficient knowledge of the two value systems to be able to convey understandings between them.

In their homes, their dress, their material possessions and their religious, political, and educational orientations, the Stockbridge are difficult to distinguish from their rural non-Indian neighbors. Homes are of four types. There are field stone cottages, generally of four rooms, and trimly painted frame houses of the same size. These homes and their yards are neatly kept. There are a few log homes, and these are generally in bad repair. As along country roads in the area, these log houses are left to deteriorate. There are half a dozen or so larger modern homes, such as are found in neighboring communities or in urban subdivisions. These have picture windows and areas of stone or brick exterior finish. Almost all homes are surrounded by lawns but these are not so well kept as urban lawns because of the difficulty of keeping down weeds.

The furnishings of the smaller homes are simpler than those found in the modern homes. In the cottages, linoleum is used as a floor cover throughout the house, scatter rugs being used additionally in the living and bedrooms. The living rooms are furnished with over-stuffed furniture, but it is old. In the modern homes, only the kitchen floor is covered with linoleum. Carpeting or a rug of room size is used in the living area. Kitchens are universally furnished with stoves, refrigerators, sinks, cabinets, and, of course, tables and chairs. The equipment of cottages is older than that of the modern homes. Information gathered from a recent community census indicates that three-fourths of all units have outdoor toilets. This lack of indoor facilities is related to the expectation of a federal program involving modernized sanitation. Although there is no sign of impending action, many Indians forestall installation of improvements themselves, awaiting federal action. There is only one residence which lacks electricity and requires kerosene for lighting.

Most members of the community drive cars of fairly recent model. The younger people are more inclined to drive late model cars. In some families, there is more than one car because the younger people keep a car of their own. Almost all families own television sets of recent model, and wringer washers (which require less hot water). Dryers are not used. Both power and hand lawn mowers are used. In those houses which are not occupied year round, heating is accomplished by an oil space heater, while most houses are heated by basement wood furnaces

because wood is available without charge on the reservation.

Stockbridge-Munsee men customarily wear sport clothes after work and on weekends. They wear business suits, white shirts, and ties when the occasion requires. The women wear house dresses during the day as well as hose and comfortable shoes. They wear jeans or slacks for gardening or heavy outdoor work only. They dress fashionably but modestly on social occasions in heels, hose, rayon dresses, costume jewelry, and wool coats. I have seen one fur coat.

All members of the community speak English only; the native language has not been spoken in two generations. All persons are literate and most persons vote in state and national elections. Indian children attend the Bowler school, and their record is very good indeed, the drop-out rate being 8.6 per cent, in contrast to rates as high as 35 per cent for other Wisconsin Indian groups.<sup>2</sup> Most young people take advantage of Bureau of Indian Affairs technical or college scholarship programs. A number are currently enrolled in Wisconsin colleges.

Church membership is almost universal among the Stockbridge; membership is divided between the Presbyterian church which is off-reservation, and the Lutheran church which is centrally located on the reservation. Neither the Native American Church nor the Midewiwin Society are represented on reservation.

Thus, in material culture, education, and religion, the community is thoroughly acculturated to Euro-American patterns. It is difficult indeed to see how the community differs outwardly from neighboring rural, non-Indian communities in the northern part of Wisconsin.

Nonetheless, the Stockbridge-Munsees define their community as an "Indian community." More importantly, they perceive and describe themselves as "assimilated Indians" and as "educated Indians." While the expression "assimilated Indians" presents a conflict in terms, their meaning is that they have responded very positively to White culture and yet they perceive themselves as being distinctive from it. They define themselves as Indians, yet they perceive within their community elements which are distinctive from, "more progressive" than, other Indian communities. Historical data bear out that essentially this self-

<sup>2</sup> E. N. Embertson (personal communication), State of Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, July 15, 1965.

perception has existed for over a century and a half.

This self-perception is ideological in nature and is an important factor in community integrity and persistence. The Stockbridge ideology includes certain values which the people hold to be distinctively Indian values. Most important is the relation of man to the natural world and to the deity. They perceive a necessity for harmony in the universe; man's obligation in maintaining this harmony obliges him to refrain from destroying the natural environment, the forest, rivers, lakes, etc. A second value is sharing—goods and money—within the family and with other Indians. Sharing within the family is typified by the giving of large gifts—a television or refrigerator, for example—when funds are available, and expecting aid in the form of shelter, food, and money when in need. Related to this value is the feeling that Whites are rapacious in their struggle for material success and that such behavior is contrary to the Indian scheme. While it is easily argued that the values described as "Indian" may be found in White culture, the important fact is that these values are perceived within the community to be distinctively Indian.

The Stockbridge perceive themselves as distinctive from the other Indian communities, on the other hand, in the extent of their acculturation and in their degree of education. They are inclined to be sharply critical of the practice of "Indian" marriage, that is, common law marriage, in other reservation communities. Criticism of reported cases of child neglect stemming from family problems involving drinking is a recurrent theme among the women, and indeed, some families take in and care for foster children who have suffered neglect of this kind.

Of course, American Indian cultures, with few exceptions, have not only been modified beyond recognition in terms of aboriginal conditions, but the diversity between them has been greatly narrowed. North American Indian communities generally may, in many respects, be regarded as sub-cultural representatives of a pan-Indian culture that is at least regionally if not nationally comparable to an ethnic-cultural category such as the Spanish-American culture of the Southwest. Nevertheless, the Stockbridge self-image as "assimilated Indians" has defined their distinctiveness as a special sort of Indian community and has reinforced community integration. This ideological aspect of their community has been related his-

torically to their roles as cultural "brokers," intermediaries between Whites and Indians, and today as disproportionately active participants in pan-Indian movements, roles that have been vital to community solidarity and survival, and productive of power and prestige in Indian affairs.

There are other factors in community unity also. The community is structured by the conjugal family, by extensive ties of kinship, and by centralized leadership statuses. The community is a reservation community and as such its ties to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its segregation from White communities foster community unity. The Bureau of Indian Affairs serves important economic functions in providing economic aid in community improvement programs. The Bureau provides financial aid in education by making available college scholarships and vocational training. Political organization is structured by the terms of the community's reorganization under the Indian Reorganization Act. The Bureau of Indian Affairs remains a primary channel of communication between Indian reservation communities and the national culture.

Rinder, as well as other social scientists, has pointed to the importance of the Indian reservation system in fostering "segregated pluralism."<sup>3</sup> The reservation system fosters community integrity and distinctiveness from White communities.

#### ACCULTURATION AS ADAPTATION

This study is concerned with cultural adaptation rather than with acculturation as it has been traditionally defined. Because of the extraordinary degree of acculturation exhibited by the Stockbridge-Munsee community, the concept of adaptation is well suited as a methodology for the examination of the structural and ideological adaptations which permitted community survival. It is particularly significant in terms of the concept of adaptation that this community is one of the few surviving eastern Algonquian communities.

Herskovits defines acculturation as those changes which occur when differing cultures are in contact through time.<sup>4</sup> Traditionally, acculturation studies have been concerned with the degree of persistence and change in culture during a given period of time. Persistence and change

<sup>3</sup> Irwin D. Rinder, "Minority Orientations: An Approach to Intergroup Relations Theory Through Social Psychology," *Phylon* 26 (1965): p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1958), p. 11.

are thus measured from a given "cultural base line." In the majority of cases the focus of acculturational studies has been on the amount of change experienced by a technologically less complex culture as a result of contact with a technologically more complex culture. This focus is understandable when viewed within the historical framework of Euro-American cultural expansion.

In the above terms, Stockbridge-Munsee acculturation would appear to be near complete. It would approximate the final stage of acculturation defined by Herskovits, that is, assimilation.<sup>5</sup> I suggest that while the community is highly acculturated quantitatively and qualitatively, it remains a distinctive community by virtue of its integrative relations with the broader society, its ideology and structure, and its role in pan-Indian affairs. I suggest that the society (community) rather than the culture has survived and I propose to analyze the adaptive changes which have permitted the survival of a Stockbridge community through 230 years.

The environment of a specific human society is its habitat and those other cultures or portions of cultures with which it is in contact. Its culture is the chief mechanism by which the society adapts to its environment. I suggest that the study of cultural adaptation will produce as many data on and understanding of the mechanism of cultural change as has the traditional concern with the number of cultural elements lost, substituted, and added, and the degree of reinterpretation given these elements by the recipient culture, during a particular time period.

My theoretical concern is with the cultural mechanisms of survival and with the functions served by specific adaptations in response to significant environmental changes rather than with the psychological dynamics of selection and reinterpretation of cultural forms during and after the process of transmission. The latter concern accounts for some but not all aspects of adaptation. It emphasizes the cultural forms borrowed and how they fit the pre-existing culture—a matter of cultural integration which is, at best, only one facet of adaptation. It slights the functions of borrowing or inventing cultural forms which enable a social aggregate to cope with the problems of contact situations.

The adaptive functions of change are sought by asking about *adaptation* in a contact situation rather than exclusively asking about *cultural trans-*

*mission*. I suggest that future study of culture change within the framework of cultural adaptation will be a productive approach to the mechanisms of change and may yield comparative data for generalization.<sup>6</sup>

In his study of culture change, Steward has utilized the concept of a "cultural core," a concept which is basic to many anthropological schools of thought. Steward states that those features closely related to the economics and subsistence techniques of a social unit constitute the "cultural core" and function as regulators of the utilization of the environment in *culturally prescribed ways*.<sup>7</sup> This ecological concept is useful in examining cultural adaptations. I propose to show that ecological adaptations required by participation in the fur trade caused adaptive changes in family and village structure. The adaptations constitute new cultural foci, and permit the emergence of new social and political structures.

#### METHOD

Herskovits has noted two necessary avenues of research in the area of culture change: the situation in which contact between cultures is recent and in which change may be observed in process; and the situation in which contact occurred sufficiently long ago that there have been accomplished considerable changes and some measure of cultural adjustment.<sup>8</sup> In either event there is a cultural "base line" from which change may be said to proceed. In the first situation, the accounts of older informants as well as the use of documentary materials may be used to reconstruct the cultural base. In the latter situation, the investigator must rely heavily on the use of historical documents to reconstruct the cultural base and to infer the types and extent of changes which have taken place.<sup>9, 10</sup> In this paper, the historical method will be used to infer and document the adaptations which bear upon the thesis.

<sup>6</sup> Aid in conceptual clarification was given by Mr. John H. Dowling and Dr. James M. Silverberg of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. See also Marshall Sahlins, "Culture and Environment," in Sol Tax, *Horizons of Anthropology* (Chicago, 1964): pp. 132-147.

<sup>7</sup> Julian H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1955), p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (Gloucester, Massachusetts, 1958), p. 117.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," *Anthropology Today* (Chicago, 1962): pp. 375-393.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

Materials such as the Journals of the missionaries to the Stockbridge Indians and reports prepared for the Department of War and for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as well as other primary and secondary historical and anthropological sources have been used for the collection of historical data. Ethnographic field research was conducted during June, July, and August of 1965, and the data collected constitute a source of information about the contemporary community.

Four primary historical periods will be used to examine Stockbridge-Munsee adaptations. Chapter II deals with the aboriginal and early contact period, pre-1609 to 1734. Historical and archaeological data will be utilized in the reconstruction. Chapter III deals with the Mission Period, 1734-1820. Prior to the community removal to New York State, the Mission existed with interruptions until 1785 at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Study will be limited to the periods for which Mission records are available. Records from the New York Mission are utilized for the years between 1796 and 1820. Adaptive developments in ideology and social structure, including the emerging leadership patterns and the external political roles of the community, are analyzed. In Chapter IV the concern is with the resolution of factional strife that developed and threatened to destroy community organization after westward removal of the community to Wisconsin. Data for this third period, 1820-1910, have been secured from government records. Chapter V concerns the contemporary community and the functioning of its ideology, its leadership structure and its external political activity in the modern world.

## II. EUROPEAN CONTACT AND THE FUR TRADE: 1609-1734

Although the contemporary Stockbridge-Munsees of Wisconsin have a varied ancestry, they are descended primarily of a band of Mahican Indians settled near Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1734, and a scattering of those Algonquians, mainly Munsees, who joined them at various times prior to and following their removal to Wisconsin. This chapter is concerned with the Mahicans of east-central New York and the western valleys of Massachusetts because an aggregate of these Indians constituted the nucleus of the Stockbridge Mission community in 1734.

### ABORIGINAL CULTURE

Primary historical materials of the early contact period, that is immediately after 1609, provide

little information with which to reconstruct the Mahican aboriginal social and political organization. The material presented is not sufficient for analysis of the social structure, but is intended to provide an outline upon which to base inferences relating to changes induced by the fur trade.

The Mahicans and related tribes occupied the eastern bank of the Hudson River from Lake Champlain to Long Island Sound. The main band of post-contact Mahicans occupied the Albany area. To the west of them were the Mohawks.<sup>11</sup>

The Mahicans, Munsees, and Delawares were Algonquian speakers who shared a basic culture with Iroquoian speakers.<sup>12</sup>

The archaeological evidence<sup>13, 14</sup> establishes the beginnings of agriculture in the area dating from Point Peninsula II-IV. The record indicates that Iroquoians and Algonquians developed side by side through the Owasco period to the historic period. The level as well as the content of material culture of the Iroquoian and Algonquian speakers of the New York-New England area was essentially similar.

The Mahicans lived in small villages, some forty in all; these were generally located along the rivers and frequently palisaded for defense. Settlements, usually consisting of irregular clusters of dwellings, were moved as the supplies of game or fuel or garden lands were exhausted.<sup>15</sup>

The Mahicans depended for subsistence upon agriculture, as well as upon hunting and gathering. Farming was mainly the province of women, and they raised corn, squash, and beans. The men hunted and fished.<sup>16</sup>

As among the Iroquois and Delaware, descent was reckoned in the maternal line by the Mahicans and Munsees. The matrilineal clans of the Mahicans were named the Turtle, the Wolf, and the Bear, as were the Mohawk clans, and according to information given to Jones by Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, the sachem was always selected from the Bear clan.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that village mem-

<sup>11</sup> E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), pp. 34-35.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> James G. Griffin, "The Northeast Woodlands Area," *Prehistoric Man in the New World* (Chicago, 1964): pp. 223-258.

<sup>14</sup> Richard S. MacNeish, "The Archeology of the Northeastern United States," *Archeology of the Eastern United States* (Chicago, 1952): pp. 81-89.

<sup>15</sup> Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present* (Springfield, 1854), pp. 24-25.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

bership included members of more than one clan, and although precise information is lacking one may infer that the matrilineal elements of village social and political structure. In addition to the sachem, village officers included an unnamed number of counselors, a war leader, a speaker and a messenger. This information was provided by Aupaumut in the nineteenth century, and therefore its validity in reference to aboriginal organization is questionable. No information is provided as to the functioning of the village governmental structure.<sup>18</sup>

It is clear that each village was autonomous in directing its own affairs. Following European contact, the individual village could not effectively deal with Dutch and British authorities, and a tendency developed for confederating the various bands. There is no evidence that the tribal confederacy was more effective than the autonomous village arrangement in the ordering of relations with Europeans. The use of the title "King" for the sachem of an important village was a British practice intended to promote the establishment of responsibility in one person for the more effective and convenient handling of Indian affairs. There is no evidence that the "King" had effective coercive power in making and implementing village policy.<sup>19</sup>

#### EUROPEAN CONTACT

The first Dutch settlement near the site of Albany was a fortified trading post, built in 1614 on Castle Island, the site being in present-day Albany. This post was subsequently abandoned and in 1623 Fort Orange was constructed on the west bank of the Hudson. Fort Orange was a trading post also, and it was not until 1630 that the first Dutch colony was established. In that year, Kilian Van Rensselaer bought land from the Mahicans to establish Rensselaerswyck.<sup>20</sup> The settlement is described.

There is, secondly, a colony sent thither by that Rensselaers, who is its Patron. The colony is composed of about a hundred persons, who live in 25 or 30 houses built along the River. . . .<sup>21</sup>

The Dutch traded almost entirely with the Mahicans until 1623 when they concluded a covenant of friendship with the Iroquois.<sup>22</sup>

Because their traditional territory extended into the Housatonic Valley of Massachusetts, the Mahicans were allied with the British at an early date. In 1621 a covenant of friendship was established between the British and the Mahicans of the Housatonic.<sup>23</sup>

The reasons for European settlements in the New World varied, and as the purposes varied, so did the nature of the European-Indian contact situation. The Dutch West India Company sponsored the New York settlements; the charter of that corporation stated the purpose of settlement as being commercial rather than colonial, and, indeed, the first Dutch agricultural settlement, Rensselaerswyck, was not founded until 1630.<sup>24</sup> The earliest Dutch constructions at Albany were trading posts, and the object of trade was peltry. Trelease states:

The West India Company charter . . . gave the company no original land title. Ownership remained in the native occupants, and the charter grant, as well as the patents issued under it by the company, conferred only the ultimate right of ownership once the Indian titles were extinguished.<sup>25</sup>

Indian land cessions to the Dutch were to be voluntary and recompensed.

British interest in New England centered in the establishment of an agricultural colony for the relief of population pressures in England. Trade was of secondary importance.

During 1640 and 1641, the English continued to make their purchases of the Indians, and to establish themselves in the most convenient and fertile portions of the land.<sup>26</sup>

The British purchased all Indian lands but the concepts of landownership and usage held by the European and by the Indian were so divergent that disagreements over landownership plagued the British authorities. To the Indian, the granting of land was not a permanent agreement, but rather the granting of the rights of residence and

<sup>22</sup> E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> "Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries 1610-1791," *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 5 (1632-1633): p. 284.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.* 24 (1642-1643): p. 311.

<sup>25</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York* (Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> John W. DeForest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1851), p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20-22.

<sup>19</sup> E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), pp. 58-62.

<sup>20</sup> "Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries 1610-1791," *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 24 (1642-1643): p. 311.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 28 (1645-1646): p. 111.

land use, for as long a period of time as necessary. To the British settlers, the transaction was a final one, and they proceeded to fence their agricultural fields, and to permit their animals to graze at will—often in Indian corn fields.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the Indians frequently demanded return of the land or further payment for it. Both parties suffered damages in the ensuing conflicts.<sup>27</sup>

The French in Canada, the first of the European immigrants, were primarily interested in the preservation of the fur trade and the extension and perpetuation of their Indian alliances with the interior tribes.<sup>28</sup> French interests were secondarily religious, the Jesuits having early established contacts with the various tribes for the purpose of conversion. The Jesuits played a political role of considerable importance in the manipulation of Indian alliance to French interest during the later European struggle for political control in North America.<sup>29</sup>

Thus the first contacts of the Mahicans centered about Albany were with Dutch fur traders, and the conflicts stemming from land disputes which plagued the New England and the Long Island settlements were absent for many years. Dutch traders, on the other hand, furnished the Indians with quantities of rum and brandy, and, after the settlement of Rensselaerswyck, with guns and ammunition.<sup>30</sup> The availability of arms at Rensselaerswyck made possible a competition between the Mahicans and the Mohawks which became intensified over the years, and led to the ultimate fall from power of the Mahicans.

After 1620, the Mohawks and the Mahicans competed for control of the fur trade, both tribes having access to arms. The Mohawks had the advantage of larger territories and were able, because of their geographic position, to control the passage of the peltry of the interior tribes to the European powers.<sup>31</sup> This competition led to wars between the Mahicans and Mohawks which were controlled to some extent, though not prevented, by Dutch intervention. As reported in the *Jesuit Relations*, “. . . there being a war between the Iroquois and the Wolves [the Mahicans], the

Dutch joined these latter against the others . . .”<sup>32</sup> Subsequently, a treaty was negotiated at Fort Orange during July and August of 1645. The terms of the treaty required that the peace be kept; that differences be negotiated; and that cases of murder, on either side, be judged by a court.<sup>33</sup>

By 1659, the fur trade at Fort Orange had declined as a result of the depletion of game animals in the immediate area and the continued efforts of the British and the French to secure a larger portion of the trade for themselves. In a letter to the directors of the Dutch West India Company, dated September 4, 1659, Peter Stuyvesant decried the situation:

At Fort Orange almost everybody complains . . . because of the decline of the trade, which grows worse from year to year. It is stated on authority, that although the beavers have been bartered from the savages at high prices this summer, 100,000 guilders have been given to them as presents.<sup>34</sup>

According to Rutenber, the Mahicans remained in the Albany area as late as 1664.<sup>35</sup> But, with the British acquisition of New York from the Dutch on September 6, 1664, the Mahicans suffered yet another blow. With the establishment by the British of court districts and the creation of counties, the Indian hunting territories, already depleted, were doomed to extinction.<sup>36</sup> The Iroquois were sufficiently far to the west to escape the consequences of British settlement for some years to come.

Intermittent feuding between the Mahicans and the Mohawks resulted in the victory first of one side, then the other. Such wars continued until 1669 when a final battle between them was fought at Hoffman's Ferry, a site on the Mohawk River. The Mohawks were the victors.<sup>37</sup>

While a few of them remained in the area of Albany, most of the Mahicans removed to the Housatonic Valley of Massachusetts, traditionally their territory and as yet sparsely settled by the English. Their council-fire was reestablished at

<sup>32</sup> “Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries 1610-1791,” *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 28 (1645-1646). p. 113.

<sup>33</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York* (Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 68.

<sup>34</sup> *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* 3 (Albany, 1883): p. 444.

<sup>35</sup> E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), p. 58.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 159-161.

<sup>37</sup> “Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries 1610-1791,” *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* 51 (1660-1668): p. 295.

<sup>27</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York* (Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 12.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>29</sup> See the *Jesuit Relations*.

<sup>30</sup> E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), p. 66.

<sup>31</sup> George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois* (Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1940).



Stockbridge which was also known as Wnahtukook and as Westenhuck.<sup>38</sup> During the subsequent European wars, the Mahicans took part in the various expeditions against Canada.<sup>39</sup>

It is most significant that, despite their loss of territory and power, the Mahicans continued to participate in negotiations between the British and the Iroquois throughout the colonial period. At a conference held between the British authorities, the Iroquois, and attended by the Mahicans, held on July 8, 1754, at the Albany Courthouse, the Mahicans requested payment for certain "hilly" lands for which they claimed never to have been recompensed. They were promised that the matter would be investigated. The proceedings having to do with this conference state that it was customary for the Mahicans to participate in such matters, their expenses being paid by the government.<sup>40</sup>

This lack of subordination-superordination in Mahican-Iroquois relations may be explained in part by the Iroquois need for allies after the population losses suffered during the European wars and their own efforts to subjugate the southern tribes, and the British need for Indian allies on the eve of the French and Indian War, 1755-1763. Weer notes that prior to 1750, only the Cherokees remained in their historic position, the Five Nations having destroyed or damaged the Hurons, the Neutrals, the Tionontati, the Erie, the Conestoga and the Susquehanna, among others, in their efforts to control greater territories and hence greater wealth in pelts.<sup>41</sup> The British were in need of Indian allies, having alienated many tribes by their policies in Indian Affairs.<sup>42</sup>

The Mahicans fought with the British during the French and Indian War, but prior to this time, they received a Protestant Mission and the role of this Mission in their continuing adaptation is the concern of the following chapter. Meanwhile, it will be profitable to examine those changes which may be inferred to have occurred in Mahican culture between 1609 and 1734, the date of the founding of the Stockbridge Mission.

In their contacts with the Dutch, the primary orientation of the Mahicans was the exchange of furs for European goods. Their contacts with the settlement at Rensselaerswyck were concerned with trade, for Dutch West India Company traders complained frequently of the competition given them in securing furs by the unlicensed tenants of the colony.<sup>43</sup> Additionally arms and ammunition were available through the colony, despite the fact that regulation of such traffic was otherwise exercised by the West India Company.<sup>44</sup> While the Mahicans had sold lands, dating as early as 1630, differences between European farmers and Indians had not developed into the source of trouble from which areas of New England and Long Island suffered.

We may safely conclude that the Mahicans replaced many items of aboriginal material culture with substitutes of European manufacture as soon after 1609 as these were available. There is evidence that they were present in quantity within a few years. Stuyvesant noted the arrival of merchants of the West India Company in 1610.<sup>45</sup> Such items as European cloth, knives, metal utensils, and generally, rum or brandy were customary mediums of exchange in the fur trade. The Dutch, having control of the flow of wampum, beads used by the Indians in ceremonial exchange and manufactured on Long Island, utilized these beads in trade.<sup>46</sup> By far the most important of these innovations in terms of the inducing of cultural change were the gun and liquor. Throughout their historic settlement in the east, the sachems of the Mahican nation requested the White civil authorities to prevent the sale of alcohol to their people.<sup>47</sup> We know that social and personal disorganization resulted from the Indian's great fondness for alcohol; the extent of disorganization is impossible to determine.

Although traffic in guns was strictly regulated by European authorities, illicit traffic continued throughout the period of the fur trade. Since the Mohawks had access to guns and ammunition also, these two groups were able to struggle for control of the fur trade. Thus, the gun permitted the

<sup>38</sup> E. M. Ruttenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), p. 62.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 185-190.

<sup>40</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., *The Documentary History of the State of New York 2* (Albany, 1849): pp. 572-604.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Weer, "Preliminary Notes on the Iroquoian Family," *Prehistoric Research Series 1* (1937): pp. 8-9.

<sup>42</sup> E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., *The Documentary History of the State of New York 2* (Albany, 1849): pp. 585-591.

<sup>43</sup> *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York 3* (Albany, 1883): p. 373.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 466.

<sup>46</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York* (Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 48.

<sup>47</sup> See the Journals of John Sergeant; Journals of John Sergeant, Jr.: Belknap and Morse; O'Callaghan.

Mahicans to remain an Indian power until 1669, the date of their defeat by the Mohawks.

The fur trade itself was the most important factor in the adaptations required of aboriginal culture. Mahican men spent increasing amounts of time in trapping furs and hunting for game as compared to aboriginal requirements for food and skins. Trapping did not require a large group of cooperating men; one or two men might operate their trap lines without other aid. Aboriginal technical items such as the bow and arrow and pottery were replaced by European materials and the demand for these materials increased. The materials were provided by the labor of men, and we may conclude that the role of the male in providing these new necessities increased in importance during this period. The women continued to farm and it is likely that they received less lengthy assistance in the heavy work of clearing from the men who now had little time and steel axes. The shift in economic power, that is the situation in which males were better able to provide the necessities of life by trapping without the aid of the extended family, favored a development of conjugal as opposed to consanguineal family and was the first factor in the breakdown of the matriclans. The matri-centered family became less important in this sphere although women continued to contribute importantly to basic subsistence.

The European concept of property, alien to the Indian, constituted a second factor in the breakdown of aboriginal clans, which we have recognized as the basic structuring element of village life. In contrast to the European, the Indian did not recognize individual landownership, but rather usage rights. In areas of intensive agriculture, the matriclan or the consanguineal family was recognized as having usage rights in specific territories for horticulture. The village was recognized as reserving a given territory for its subsistence needs. European methods of acquiring land through a final sale weakened the clan and the village structure in the usurping of territory.

In the early contact of European and Indian, the European insisted that disagreements and crimes be disposed in the European fashion. Essentially, then, these political prerogatives, generally handled by a council of elders, and the clans of the village in convention, were assumed by Europeans. Thus, the decision-making functions of the elders and the clans in policy-making and social control were weakened. I propose that this

was a third factor in the breakdown of the matriclans.

The fur trade depleted hunting territories more rapidly, requiring more distant expeditions in search for furs. The Mahicans were unable to expand to the north or west, as were the Iroquois. The establishment of legal and administrative districts by Europeans further contributed to the decline of clan and village functions in land tenure.

The last factor contributing to the decline of clan and village political structure was the enormous demographic losses suffered by the Mahicans as a result of introduction of European disease, and of the intertribal wars. Captain Hendrick Aupaumut stated to Jones that prior to the depopulation of the Mahicans by White diseases, the various bands were able to raise 1,000 warriors.<sup>48</sup> Trelease records an estimated Mahican population of 3,000 persons at the time of contact.<sup>49</sup> Trelease also notes Governor Kieft's estimate that 1,000 Indians had died between 1640 and 1645 as a result of the wars of the tribes along the Hudson.<sup>50</sup> This figure reflects only a five-year period and represents primarily males. The consequences of such a loss of males would be reflected in the next generation. Such population losses would necessitate non-aggressive adaptations to the dominant culture.

We have observed the factors favoring the breakdown of the Mahican matriclans and the village power structure. I propose that the weakening of these two critical structures in aboriginal life prepared the way for the emergence of two important patterns in Mahican adaptation through time. These two patterns were the appearance of a powerful leadership status, an adaptive mechanism in internal and external affairs, a status fostered by Europeans for ease in dealing with Indian populations. Additionally, the population losses suffered by the Mahicans prohibited the utilization of war as a means of adaptation, and encouraged the development of the broker role as an adaptive mechanism for the maintenance of political power.

With the weakening of the clan as a unit of political power in the village, and as an economic unit in village life, it was possible for strong leadership patterns to emerge. Clans, egalitarian in nature, would serve to inhibit the emergence of such patterns.

<sup>48</sup> Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present* (Springfield, 1854), p. 15.

<sup>49</sup> Allen W. Trelease, *Indian Affairs in Colonial New York* (Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 68.

The year 1734 marked the emergence of the centralized leadership status in the activities of Captain Konkapot, its first occupant, at Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The policy associated with the emergence of centralized leadership had three basic elements. The first was the maintenance of community organization in a form altered by the adoption of political structuring elements from White culture. The second was the adaptive utilization of the nuclear family as the basic element of social and economic organization. The third was the utilization of Christian religious education as an adaptation basic to the roles of cultural brokerage. This tri-part policy was developed during the years at the Stockbridge Mission, 1734-1785.

### III. THE MISSION PERIOD: 1734-1820

Data gathered from Mission records document a shift from consanguineal to conjugal family organization among the Mahicans at the Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Mission. Evidence is presented pertaining to some changes in male roles, as European ploughs and tools were received and utilized in agriculture. This change, in combination with those adaptations necessary for previous participation in the fur trade, fostered loss of importance of the matrilineal clan as an economic unit. Matrilineal clans were no longer significant structural units of village organization. During the New York Mission period, the super-tribal role of cultural broker or intermediary emerged and was expressed in the activities of the leadership status, symbolized most directly by its occupant, Captain Hendrick Aupaumut. Aupaumut's activities, while ultimately unsuccessful, structured a pattern of behavior which is important as a cohesive factor in the contemporary Stockbridge-Munsee community.

Attempts toward religious conversion of the Indian began as a result of the work of such men as Roger Williams and John Eliot. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was founded in England in 1649 and was supported by responsible and important persons.<sup>51</sup> The Stockbridge Mission was founded in 1734 under the auspices of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge. The purposes of the various missionary societies in New England were essentially the same. The British colonists, intending permanent agricultural settle-

ment, realized that Indian and White would not live in peace until the Indian had been "civilized." The four aspects of civilization implicit in the mission efforts were the learning of English; the acquisition of civilized manners; conversion to the Christian religion, that is, moral reformation; and the acquisition of the techniques of self-support in the developing European environment. John Sergeant, first missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, in a letter to a Dr. Colman of the Society in Scotland, dated August 1, 1743, noted the need for . . . a method in the Education of our Indian Children as shall in the most effectual manner change their whole habit of thinking and acting; and raise them as far as possible into the condition of a civil, industrious and polish'd people; while at the same time the principles of virtue and piety shall be carefully instilled into their minds in a way that will make the most lasting impression; . . .<sup>52</sup>

Not to be neglected was the political motive. The European wars and the conflict with French Canada necessitated the securing of as many Indian allies as possible. In a letter to the Honorable Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, dated March 8, 1749, Sergeant proposes a system of education which would prepare the Indian for ordinary life, and would provide certain gifted Indians with higher education so that they might instruct others. He viewed his proposal " . . . as a means of engaging them more firmly in the British interest; . . ." <sup>53</sup> Thus, the contributions of the sponsors of the missionary societies might be said to constitute a good investment.

#### THE STOCKBRIDGE MISSION

British settlement had begun in the Stockbridge area with the purchase of two townships of land in 1722. The deed was signed by the Mahican sachem, Konkapot, and two tracts were reserved for Indian use: one at Skatekook in the eastern portion of the Housatonic Valley not far from Albany; the second was Wnahtukook near Stockbridge.

In May of 1734, Konkapot was asked whether his people wished to receive a mission. The Indians agreed to the proposal and John Sergeant, then a tutor at Yale College, preached for the first time on October 13, 1734.<sup>54</sup>

It is noteworthy that the Stockbridge Indians had accepted the mission without general consent

<sup>52</sup> Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston, 1753), p. 107.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-23.

<sup>51</sup> John W. DeForest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut* (Hamden, Connecticut, 1851), p. 272.

of the tribe, the associated villages. Sergeant wrote :

It is a custom among the Indians not to proceed in any affair of importance till they have the consent of the several Clans belonging to the Nation; and the Indians at Housatonnuk having proceeded so far without the general consent of their Brethern, were much concern'd lest they should be frown'd upon at the approaching Meeting—the more so because they had heard that the Indians of Hudson's River [Skatekook] highly resented their receiving a Minister and Schoolmaster before they had gain'd the approbation of the rest of their Tribe; . . .<sup>55</sup>

The Mahicans proceeded without the consent of the loosely structured tribe, which we have described as being composed of villages having a high degree of political autonomy in most matters of decision making. While this effort at unity at the tribal level was a necessity after European contact, it becomes apparent that tribal efforts to create an effective authority structure were inadequate. The quotation from Sergeant implies that the method of enforcing conformity to tribal decisions continued to be the aboriginal means of effecting social control, that is the expression of disapproval. More effective sanctions were lacking. The sachem Konkapot hesitated only long enough to secure the consent of his own villagers.

In 1735 Sergeant baptized and married in Christian rite the sachem, now Captain Konkapot, and his wife, and, second in rank, Lieutenant Umpachane and his wife.<sup>56</sup> (These two men had been granted military commissions by Massachusetts authorities.) Sergeant also organized a day school and a Sabbath school under the supervision of Timothy Woodbridge.<sup>57</sup>

Between 1736 and 1739, Sergeant repurchased the township of Stockbridge from its white proprietors because the Indians lived on two separate tracts, and

. . . being remote from each other, put them to the trouble of removing from their proper habitation in the winter season . . . There was therefore from the beginning a design to accommodate them with land, that they might all settle in one place, and that there might be accommodations also for others of the tribe who might be dispos'd to come and settle with them.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 33–34. I believe Sergeant's reference is to the five bands of Mahicans. See Ruttenber.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>57</sup> J. N. Davidson, *A History of the Stockbridge Nation* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1893), p. 4.

<sup>58</sup> Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston, 1753), p. 54.

In addition to the Indians, Woodbridge and himself, Sergeant planned to accommodate within the township four English families "to civilize and Anglicize the Indians, and to help them in their secular affairs."<sup>59</sup> On June 11, 1738, Sergeant recorded:

In the May Sessions of the General Court we were made a Town.—Capt. Williams, Capt. Pohpnehonneswok & Lieut. Souhewenaukhkeek were the persons authorized to call the first Town meeting; which accordingly was held—at which those gentlemen were chosen Selectmen, Mr. Woodbridge Town Clerk and Mr. Jones Constable. This affair made some balk and difficulty, as every new thing does, among the Indians.<sup>60</sup>

By 1738, Sergeant had built a meetinghouse which also served as the schoolhouse, and he received substantial contributions from persons in England for the support of the education of Indian children.<sup>61</sup>

At the request of the Indians the township had been platted and each Indian family utilized an allotment of reasonable size.<sup>62</sup> The land was held in common by the Indian members of the community.<sup>63</sup> By 1739, the Stockbridge Indians possessed four new ploughs, as well as "axes, hoes, etc." and Sergeant notes that they plowed "their land themselves which they used to hire done and seemed well pleased with the present [ploughs]."<sup>64</sup>

There were disorders in the community at this time. Liquor was made available to the Indians and Sergeant notes one result of excessive drinking:

A murder had also been committed by one of our Indians in a fit of Drinking. The murderer had been baptized; the person murdered an Heathen, tho' brought up with the English, and spoke English well. I took the first opportunity to preach with some severity against such disorder—<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>60</sup> John Sergeant, *Journal of Rev. John Sergeant Missionary to the Indians in Stockbridge, Massachusetts* (April 1, 1739 to March 30, 1740) (Yale University Library, 1739), p. 7.

<sup>61</sup> Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston, 1753), pp. 69–81.

<sup>62</sup> Compiled plan of "Indiantown" or Stockbridge; *Colonial Records*; 436; Xerox Copy; Stockbridge Library Association.

<sup>63</sup> Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston, 1753), p. 143.

<sup>64</sup> John Sergeant, *Journal of Rev. John Sergeant Missionary to the Indians in Stockbridge, Massachusetts* (April 1, 1739 to March 30, 1740) (Yale University Library, 1739), p. 5.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

There was some opposition to Sergeant and Captain Williams on the part of certain Indians but this attitude appears never to have become the basis for a faction.<sup>66</sup>

At the end of 1739 the community numbered 120 persons. It appears that Indian children were progressing well in education, and that many of the Indians spoke English. However, Sergeant made the following assessment of the state of civilization:

The men generally esteem it a shame for them to follow any other business but that of hunting. Hence the women cannot, if they would, be acquainted with housewifery being oblig'd to carry on all the business abroad.<sup>67</sup>

Between 1740 and 1747 Sergeant conceived the idea of building a boarding school for the education of Indian boys and girls. Sergeant records his reasons,

. . . for there cannot be a Propagation of religion among any people without an equal regard to both sexes; . . . but also because the care for the souls of children in families, and more especially in those of low degree, lies chiefly upon the mothers for the first seven or eight years; . . .<sup>68</sup>

Sergeant received contributions from his sponsors in England as well as from the Prince of Wales and his brother, the Duke of Cumberland.<sup>69</sup> The Stockbridge Indians gave "two hundred acres of land to build a School House upon, and to be cultivated by the children who should receive their education there."<sup>70</sup>

The school was completed before Sergeant's death on August 7, 1749. At that time 218 Indians lived in Stockbridge, at least 125 of whom were baptized and 42 were regular church members. Some 20 of 53 Indian families lived in "English houses," the remainder preferring the "Indian house." Twenty families cultivated farms. Fifty-five children attended the five-room school. There were a dozen English families living in the community.<sup>71, 72</sup>

The Reverend Jonathan Edwards succeeded Sergeant in 1751, and he was followed by the Reverend Stephen West in 1758.<sup>73</sup> In 1775 John

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>67</sup> Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston, 1753), p. 94.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

<sup>72</sup> J. N. Davidson, *A History of the Stockbridge Nation* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1893), p. 11.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Sergeant, Jr., became missionary to the Stockbridge Indians and he remained with them until their removal to Wisconsin in 1822. During the American Revolution, the Stockbridge Indians, under the leadership of Captain Daniel Ninham and Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, fought on the side of the Revolutionists. Captain Ninham died at the battle of White Plains, and Captain Aupaumut was commended by General Washington.<sup>74</sup>

We have considered British motives in establishing the Stockbridge Mission, and we have recorded the effectiveness of the policy of John Sergeant in the process of "civilization" of the Indians at Stockbridge. From this material we may observe certain adaptive changes which have occurred and we may infer others from the context of our material.

The first factor of importance has been mentioned, that is, the acceptance of the Mission by Konkapot and Umpachane without securing consent of the remaining units of the tribe. There were no effective tribal sanctions to punish this presumed transgression. Konkapot's stated reason for desiring a mission was that Indian children might learn to read and write.<sup>75</sup> Apparently he considered that he had sufficient authority to proceed with the organization of the Mission. Hopkins states that Umpachane was willing but not so enthusiastic as Konkapot. In later years, Umpachane's lack of enthusiasm developed into hostility toward Sergeant and other British residents of the community, but this hostility, possibly because of the negative attitudes within the community toward Umpachane's excessive drinking habits, did not become the consolidated point of view of a faction. It was significant, however, that because the function of the community involved education and religious conversion, dissenters would find little reason for joining the Stockbridge Indians, and it is likely that the presence of British families would further deter them. Mission acceptance on the part of the Indians indicates that considerable acculturation had occurred among the members of the original band.

Of significance in inferring the changes in family and clan structure are two factors: apparent willingness on the part of some Indians to be married by Christian rite; and the family allotment of Indian lands in the township of Stockbridge, while the totality of the township was held

<sup>74</sup> E. M. Rutenber, *History of the Indian Tribes of Hudson River* (Albany, New York, 1872), pp. 286-287.

<sup>75</sup> Rev. Samuel Hopkins, *Historical Memoirs Relating to the Housatonic Indians* (Boston, 1753), p. 16.

in common. The acceptance of Christian marriage rites suggests that the role of the male in family organization was such that he was acknowledged to have more authority than his wife in accordance with European practice. Family residence patterns had previously been altered by economic conditions fostered by the fur trade, in favor of neolocal residence. This residence pattern appears to have been present in Stockbridge at the time that the township lands were divided. We have noted that in 1749 there were 218 Indians living in Stockbridge and that 20 families lived in English houses. Both Davidson and Hopkins observe that there were 53 Indian families in the community. From this information, we obtain a mean population per residence of 4.1 persons, including children. We may suggest that the normative household unit was the conjugal family, specific composition varying with circumstance. This conclusion would not rule out the existence of some larger units or the possibility of related females living in proximity to each other. The latter may have been the case in the instance of the 20 Indian families which cultivated farms. Sergeant has stated that the Indian men preferred the hunt to any other occupation, and we may be sure that the women continued to bear considerable responsibility for successful farming. It is probable that the women continued to cooperate in planting and harvesting. Whether such cooperation involved relatives or neighbors is a moot question. Patterns of neolocal residence and conjugal family organization are likely to emerge when the economic patterns of the community are such that cooperation among consanguineal relatives is not a necessity, when the conjugal family is able effectively to discharge economic responsibilities. Sergeant noted that, with increasingly effective agricultural tools, the Stockbridge Indians were able to raise three times as much corn as they had done previously. It is likely that men used the plough since there is evidence from the New York Mission period that some men farmed. We may conclude that the agricultural base of the community was much more secure as a consequence, and that the conjugal family, living independently of consanguineal kin, was better adapted to the given ecology-subsistence situation.

The factors just discussed suggest that the matrilineal clan structure of village life, while vestiges of such may have been present, had been weakened. Sergeant observed that, in the event of divorce which occurred frequently, the children

remained with the mother in the family residence. It is likely that divorced women received aid from their families. However, the economic obligations of males were focused on the conjugal family rather than on the matriclan. Economic roles of the cooperating clan members became less important. Thus, family organization, residence patterns and economic practice tend to weaken the clan structure.

The clans were the functioning unit of village politics aboriginally. Such units could not have functioned in the town of Stockbridge. Sergeant has described a town organization in which both Indian and White participate, but the form of this organization is essentially European. Additionally, it may be noted that the Indian members of the organization were selectmen, that is participating or voting members, but that the two most important authority statuses, Town Clerk who was responsible for external relations, and Constable who was responsible for internal order, were filled by British residents. This pattern of village organization weakened further a clan political pattern which had been in decline for a century.

Patterns of land tenure varied from aboriginal patterns. The land was held tribally, and allotments were utilized by families for residence and for farming. It is likely that the men continued to hunt game for food, and such hunting could be carried on in the unsettled and hilly tracts about the British settlements. It is likely that the Colonists hunted in the same fashion.

We see the possibility for the emergence of a strong centralized leadership status in a community organized by the conjugal family, and in which roles of authority are no longer clan-sponsored. The beginnings of such leadership may be seen in the actions of Captain Konkapot in his acceptance of the Mission without consent of the confederated tribal units. Captain Konkapot continued to exercise authority in relations with European leaders in the community.

The Mission records indicate conspicuously little factional opinion. Lieutenant Umpachane opposed Sergeant and other Europeans in the community. A contributing reason in Umpachane's hostility was European opposition to his excessive drinking. He was never able to consolidate a bloc of dissenting opinion.

To review briefly, the Mahican Indians, during the last years of the seventeenth century, were faced with two alternatives. Because of later Dutch expansion in requirements for lands for

settlement, and because of aggressive expansion by the Mohawks in efforts to control the fur trade, the Mahicans had to decide between two choices: continuing war with the Mohawks, and possibly with the Dutch as Dutch settlements absorbed more of their lands; or removal from the area of conflict. They chose the latter course, the former being impossible because of lack of numerical strength. They might have removed to the west, beyond the Iroquois territory. Instead, they retreated into traditional territory, the Housatonic Valley.

The most important adaptive changes, occurring in response to changes in the authority structure imposed by the European concept of law, to changing patterns and needs of economics-ecology, were the shift to neolocal residence, the emergence of the conjugal family as an organizational principle, and the weakening of clan structure and function. These factors encouraged the emergence of the role of strongly centralized leadership status. The very lack of numerous mechanisms of village integration after contact permitted the development of strong leadership in response to changing needs and authority patterns. The strongly centralized leadership status was adaptive in maintaining internal order in a community lacking other organizational units and in structuring external relations with British authorities.

#### NEW STOCKBRIDGE, NEW YORK

The Stockbridge Indians removed from Massachusetts to accept land from the Oneidas in Oneida and Madison Counties in New York State in 1785. Although reasons for the removal are unclear, pressures in Massachusetts stemming from discontent with high land taxes of the period may have played a part. However, the Oneidas had also accepted Delawares, Tuscaroras, Munsees, and other tribal remnants and had provided for them on their reservation.<sup>76</sup> The Oneidas had a Mission on their reservation under the supervision of a Reverend Samuel Kirkland. That the Mission had exerted some influence on the Oneidas for the establishment of a religiously oriented community is attested in a letter from Mr. Kirkland to the Commissioners of the Society at Boston, dated March 10, 1784:

The Oneidas expect in the course of two years to have more than a thousand Indians in their vicinity who will be disposed to attend to the word of God.

<sup>76</sup> Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present* (Springfield, 1854), p. 86.

. . . About eighty of the Delaware tribe have lately petitioned the Oneidas for a settlement in their neighborhood. . . . Their request was immediately granted.<sup>77</sup>

It is likely that the Indians were motivated to remove by demographic losses, by the need to consolidate, and by the unrest among the frontier populations.

The Stockbridge Indians occupied a tract six miles square, adjacent to the Oneida reservation, which was named New Stockbridge; the Brotherton Indians, also remnant Algonquians, occupied the northeastern portion of New Stockbridge. All of these lands had been reserved to the Oneidas by treaty at Fort Schuyler on September 22, 1788.<sup>78</sup> The New England Indians were accompanied by the Reverend Samson Occum, a Mohican Indian minister,<sup>79</sup> and were later joined by John Sergeant, Jr., and other groups of Stockbridgers.<sup>80</sup>

In 1796 Belknap and Morse reported to the Society in Scotland that the Stockbridge Indians numbered 300, of whom 30—5 men and 25 women—were active church members. They noted that many Stockbridge Indians were able to read English and few could write it. We may infer that many could speak the language.<sup>81</sup> The authors recorded that two-thirds of the men and most of the women at New Stockbridge were industrious:

Agriculture and the breeding of cattle and swine are their chief employments by which they produce a sufficiency of food; and by selling part of their produce are able to purchase their clothing. They have but few sheep, and a little flax; . . .<sup>82</sup>

One woman had woven sixteen yards of wool cloth, and Hendrick Aupaumut, Stockbridge sachem, utilized his team of oxen to raise wheat, Indian corn, and potatoes. Thus, we observe that the Stockbridge Indians no longer wore aboriginal clothing, had adopted many of the common European technologies, and that at least some men farmed.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>78</sup> Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse, "Report on the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians," *Indian Notes and Monographs* 54 (1796): pp. 5-7.

<sup>79</sup> Electa F. Jones, *Stockbridge, Past and Present* (Springfield, 1854), pp. 86-87.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>81</sup> Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse, "Report on the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians," *Indian Notes and Monographs* 54 (1796): pp. 6-13.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

In contrast, the Oneidas were still organized by the matrilineal clan,<sup>83</sup> and "The authority of sachems and chiefs is merely that of recommendation, without any coercion of penal sanction."<sup>84</sup> Only two or three families farmed, the remainder being willing to live off the largesse of the farmers if permitted. Most Oneidas subsisted on corn, beans, and potatoes, raised by the women, and fish and fowl, with the purchase of additional corn and meat from the Stockbridgers and Brothertons, whom they professed to despise for their feminine occupation.<sup>85</sup>

The Stockbridge Indians contrasted with the Oneidas in the matter of land tenure, the Stockbridge families holding their lands in fee simple, with the proviso that the land might not be sold to Whites. The Oneidas held their lands in common and Belknap and Morse note that they expected those who had food to share with those who had not. Belknap and Morse attribute the superior agricultural production of the Stockbridgers to their system of land ownership.<sup>86</sup>

There were factional differences in both communities, in the matter of religion. The Oneida differed from the Stockbridge, however, in that their religious factions represented also differing political and social views, while the Stockbridge factions reflected loyalty divided between two resident missionaries. Prior to the death (about 1791) of the Reverend Samson Occum, the Mohegan missionary resident at New Stockbridge among the Brotherton Indians, Stockbridge allegiance was divided between Occum and John Sergeant, Jr., but the records do not reveal any lasting dissension. The issue did not involve the acceptance of Christianity, but rather the choice of a minister.

Among the Oneidas, the religious issue involved not only the acceptance of Christianity versus the maintenance of the aboriginal religion, but the religious issue involved also the question of the degree to which the various elements of the Oneida community wished to accommodate to White values and culture.

The Oneidas had received the Reverend Samuel Kirkland in 1760 and after thirty years of Presbyterian instruction as well as missionary efforts to induce basic cultural changes such as the acceptance of European technology and values, the

Oneidas were divided into two bitterly opposing factions, the Christian party and the Pagan party. Each of the factions was an organized unit, and each represented a distinctive way of life.

Members of the Christian party occupied the western portion of the main Oneida village, while the Pagans occupied the eastern portion. The factions were significant in village political organization, each seeking to control the elective village government at the turn of the century in order to promote its own interests and ideology. The Christian party sought to use government to impose its new ideology on the entire Oneida community; the Pagan party recognized the necessity for expansion of traditional government to meet a newly developing governmental function, i.e., governing of relations with the United States and with local White communities, but the Pagans resisted the acceptance of White culture in its totality. With continuing Mission efforts on the part of Episcopalians, some of the Pagans were converted, and a third faction was effected in the Oneida community, the Second Christian party. The remaining Pagans assumed the name, Orchard party, and they too ultimately removed to Wisconsin after 1820. These three factions, divided not over the principle of acceptance of change in favor of White standards, but rather over the degree of change acceptable to the memberships, structured community life after the removal to Wisconsin and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The factions reflected not totally opposing views but differences in degree of desirable acculturation, and they left the tribe lacking cultural integration and seeking to reintegrate the various segments of the society through modifications in political organization.<sup>87</sup>

In socio-economic matters, the Stockbridgers were divided over the matter of land use. One portion of the tribe favored the leasing of lands to White farmers, with Indian owners living off rental revenues. Belknap and Morse record that most of these persons were "addicted to intemperance."<sup>88</sup> The other faction favored cultivating their lands "with their own hands."<sup>89</sup> The latter party, led by Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, be-

<sup>87</sup> Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *Salvation and the Savage, An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862* (University of Kentucky Press, 1965), pp. 132-133.

<sup>88</sup> Jeremy Belknap and Jedidiah Morse, "Report on the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brotherton Indians," *Indian Notes and Monographs* 54 (1796) : p. 20.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.



came more important politically. The differences of opinion involved may be reflected in the factionalism of the nineteenth century.

The White-acculturated faction led by Captain Hendrick Aupaumut favored a social model derived from nineteenth-century White agrarian society in which the values of thrift and industry structure social life and social organization. This faction accepted and endorsed the shift in economic roles which acceptance of European farming technology required, that is, male roles related to farming and female roles related to housewifery, i.e., weaving, tailoring, etc. Stockbridge social organization was structured by the conjugal family.

Belknap and Morse observed that the Stockbridge Indians spent their "pensions," that is, funds from land settlements, in building a saw mill and keeping a school, and they intended to build a smithy and to buy equipment for the manufacture of cloth. They record that the Oneidas built a saw mill, bought oxen and tools, and supported a blacksmith. There is no mention of a school at Oneida, while the Stockbridge children were taught by a Stockbridge teacher, John Quinney.<sup>90</sup>

This comparison between the Oneidas and the Stockbridge Indians permits us to assess better the adaptations which we have inferred have taken place among the Stockbridgers. We have noted the most significant fact that the Oneida social organization was structured by the matrilineal clans, and that the political authority of the Oneida tribe resided in the sachems whose power was limited to the recommendation of action without the force of penal sanction. The super-tribal League of the Iroquois had been left powerless after the American Revolution. In contrast, the Stockbridgers were organized in conjugal families, each family owning its own lands, and some families farming successfully. We must note that one strong leader, Hendrick Aupaumut, was sachem, and that, while he possessed no apparent coercive power, he preserved community unity.

The Oneida matriclan, the functional unit of aboriginal slash-and-burn horticulture, was inadequate for successful farming by European techniques. European technology required the participation of men, and Oneida men considered themselves to be "made for war and hunting and holding 'councils' . . .,"<sup>91</sup> not for farming. That the Oneida clans persisted in the face of the eco-

nomic adaptations required by the fur trade may be accounted for by the fact that European systems of dividing an area into administrative and judicial districts did not affect their systems of land usage in the central and western sections of New York until long after the Hudson River Indians had been forced to adapt to this policy. Secondly, the Iroquois controlled the fur trade because they were able to prey upon and act as middlemen for the parties of Indians from the interior who brought their furs to market via the waterways of New York and Canada. The related women of the Iroquois matriuxorilocal household cooperated in agriculture and their important roles in subsistence fostered clan stability, barring undue stress. Male roles of the Iroquois in securing furs required a greater degree of cooperation among males, whether the cooperative unit was composed of household members or of clan members, than did the operation of trap lines among the Mahicans. Whether taking furs by force or securing them by trade, a larger group of cooperating males was necessary among the Iroquois. Thus, male roles in the fur trade among the Oneidas would not have provoked a breakdown of the consanguineal family and matriclan as they did among the Mahicans.

These differences between the two groups made for and were reinforced by their systems of land tenure. The Oneidas continued to hold their lands in common, and, one may infer, the clans continued to be operative in land-usage rights of a greatly reduced territory. Oneida land-tenure methods would have mitigated against successful farming by European techniques. The Stockbridge, on the other hand, assigned land to conjugal families, and some of the males of these families were able to farm successfully, raising European crops as well as the aboriginal ones, keeping small meat herds, and selling their excess produce. The females of these families had adopted European technologies, such as the weaving of woolen cloth and its manufacture into clothing.

By 1800, the Stockbridge Indians had effected a more stable community than had the Oneidas. The Stockbridge community was structured by many of the values, social forms and technologies of Euro-American culture. While there were factions at New Stockbridge, New York, the weaker of the two appears to have been poorly organized and not threatening to community integration.

The Oneida community, on the contrary, exhibited aboriginally derived forms of social or-

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

ganization, technology, role structure and values, as well as the Euro-American derived models. Social and cultural integration were lacking; the community was segmented by factionalism.

The Stockbridge community derived from a band which, in 1734, had separated itself from conservative Algonquian elements and had formed an independent, non-conservative community. While the Oneidas lacked the opportunity to divide the community in a physical as well as an ideological sense, because of the pressures of an expanding White frontier, the Stockbridge had developed yet another unifying and integrating feature of culture, the ideology of cultural brokerage.

#### THE BROKER ROLE

During the critical early years of the nineteenth century the Stockbridge perceived themselves as brokers between Indian and White in an expanding America. The frontiers of White settlement were pushed westward continually, thus displacing many tribes in the woodland area. Remnants of the eastern tribes either settled on reservations in the various states or removed to the Indiana Territory to take up residence among friendly tribes. These tribes grew increasingly warlike, and their efforts to resist White expansion culminated in the efforts of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, to organize all of the Indians of the central area of the United States in order to create an Indian state which Whites might not penetrate.

To the north, in Canada, the British made their last efforts to claim all of North America.

The Prophet preached a return to the old Indian ways and the abandonment of White ways and goods. To achieve this end, he and Tecumseh gathered remnants of many Indian aggregates at Tippecanoe.<sup>92</sup> Tecumseh endeavored to confederate all of the tribes of the east and those as far west as the Plains, intending to maintain a boundary separating Indian territory from White territory. The Stockbridge Indians assumed a remarkable role in this struggle between Indian and White.

In the development of the role of broker, there is evidence that such activities were part of the Stockbridge leadership pattern as early as 1792, but I have no detailed documentation for the incident. Downes records:

The formal resuscitation of the confederacy took place at a grand Indian council held in August and

<sup>92</sup> Ruth Murray Underhill, *Red Man's America* (University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 136.

September, 1792. The council was the first formal assembling of the tribes since 1788 and was called for the purpose of making a united response to American overtures for peace. These overtures were brought by Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, an Indian from the reservation at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who had been working to assemble the northwestern Indians all summer. But in spite of anything Captain Hendrick could do or say, the confederacy insisted upon complete expulsion of the Americans from north of the Ohio. In justifying themselves they called up to memory all the deceit and cruelty and land robbery they had suffered from the Americans. . . . "And since that," they added, "every time the Big Knives get ready to come against us, they should send [a] message to us for peace.—Then they come to fight us."<sup>93</sup>

Aupaumut evidently acted as agent for the United States. The council represented all the "northwestern" tribes, that is those living in the Ohio Valley and to the north and west of it. We see the beginnings of Indian confederation which culminated in Tecumseh's defeat. Captain Aupaumut resumed his role of broker between White and Indian a few years later, and at that time, the role had been expanded to establish the Stockbridge as educators.

As early as 1803, John Sergeant, Jr. reveals in his Journal that occasional Stockbridge families were migrating westward and he urged their bringing Christianity to other Indian communities.<sup>94</sup> In May of that year two missionaries, the Reverend Messrs. Payson Willisten and Thomas N. Wood, visited New Stockbridge and met with "the principal men of the tribe" to request Stockbridge aid establishing Christian missions among the western tribes. They asked the Stockbridge to furnish interpreters and a schoolteacher to any missionaries who might be sent westward and the request was agreed to by the Indians. The Stockbridge conceived of their role in these words:

. . . Fathers, we will also inform you that we have taken pains to acquaint them [the western Indians] with the knowledge we have of the ways of white people, and recommended to them Civilization, and Christian religion. . . . we find that these nations have deep prejudice against the white people of this Country so they cannot distinguish good men from bad. . . . we look upon ourselves the front Door, by

<sup>93</sup> Randolph C. Downes, *Council Fires on the Upper Ohio* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1940), p. 321.

<sup>94</sup> John Sergeant, Journal of John Sergeant Missionary to the New Stockbridge Indians from the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge from the 1st of January to the 1st of July 1803 (Dartmouth College Library, 1803), p. 9.

and thro: which you can go through all the different Tribes. . . .<sup>95</sup>

It is significant that the Stockbridge perceived themselves to be brokers between two cultures, surely an important political role, and one which they continued to play during the critical years which followed.

By 1810, Captain Hendrick Aupaumut, sometimes called Captain Hendricks, had himself arrived at White River, Indiana Territory, and he corresponded with Sergeant to describe "how I prosicute the plan which I had formed against the influence of the Shawnee Prophet."<sup>96</sup> In 1812 Sergeant recorded a letter from Aupaumut, describing the battle of Tippecanoe in which General William Henry Harrison defeated the Prophet.

That Aupaumut played an important political role during these years is attested by correspondence from Indian agents in the Indiana Territory. In a letter from William Wells to the Secretary of War, dated December 31, 1807, Aupaumut's influence is recorded:

Each nation should be collected together and some regular sistam of government established among them . . . to purches from them while they are so much scattered and follow Hunting for a Living is very offensive to them . . . with this sum [\$3600] twelve Settlements could be established Captain Hendricks the celabrated stockbridge Indian chief and three of his young men have offered their serviceses for the purpose above mentioned on the following terms the Capt to receive 25 Dollars per month and each of his men half this sum—these Indians have all been educated and have lerned trades are well acquainted with farming and I think ought to be encouraged as I am convinst they would be use full to the united states among the Indians—<sup>97</sup>

Aupaumut's role in actively attempting to prevent the Prophet and Tecumseh from leading their Indian subjects to war is attested in a letter from the Secretary of War to John Johnston, dated December 4, 1810:

Sir, Intelligence has been received by this Department that Capt. Hendricks is in possession of information relative to the intrigues of certain persons, whose object has been to excite disaffection & hostile dispo-

sition among the Indians against the people & Government of the United States. . . . You will also require him to keep you advised . . . of such evil disposed persons whether Citizens of the United States or Emissaries from Canada. . . .<sup>98</sup>

Other records indicate that Aupaumut furnished information concerning the Prophet's policy and activities.<sup>99</sup>

That Aupaumut persisted in his efforts to civilize western Indians in the years after the Prophet's defeat is attested by Sergeant:

I will now conclude my Journal by observing that Hendrick with a number of his people have been absent for upwards of 4 years among the western Indians, labouring to promote welfare, and . . . was detained by the request of a number of the Miama Chiefs [who] were returning to make peace with the United States. That they wanted his assistance in this important business.<sup>100</sup>

This plan for civilizing the western Indians which Hendrick conceived was taken up by Jedidiah Morse who was commissioned by the War Department to prepare a report on Indian Affairs in the second decade of the nineteenth century. In reviewing the conditions of the various Indian tribes at this period, Morse conceived a plan for the future which was to have most important effects on the history of American Indian affairs.

Morse proposed that an Indian state be created in the Wisconsin Territory "to collect the remnants of tribes now scattered, and languishing and wasting away among our white population, and to colonize them for the purpose of preserving them from utter extinction, and of educating them to the best advantage."<sup>101</sup> Morse's plan proposed also that the Stockbridge Indians teach the arts of civilization to the Indian inhabitants of the proposed Territory:

If the whole of these tribes last mentioned be reckoned, as belonging to the Territory, 'though a great part of them are now west of the Mississippi, the whole number would exceed sixty thousand; enough, when educated, to form a separate Territory, and to have a representative in Congress.

In respect to the disposition of the Indians, in this Territory, to become civilized, it will be perceived

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>96</sup> John Sergeant, *Journal of John Sergeant Missionary to the New Stockbridge Indians from the Society in Scotland and from the Society in Boston for Propagating Christian Knowledge from the First of July 1810 to the First of January 1811* (Dartmouth College Library, 1810), p. 33.

<sup>97</sup> Clarence Edwin Carter (ed.) *The Territorial Papers of the United States, The Territory of Indiana 7* (1800-1810) (1939): pp. 510-511.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 531.

<sup>100</sup> John Sergeant, *Journal of John Sergeant Missionary to the New Stockbridge Indians from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland and from the Society in Boston from the 1st of January to the First of July 1813* (Dartmouth College Library, 1813), p. 56.

<sup>101</sup> Rev. Jedidiah Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822), appendix, p. 15.

. . . from a letter to the Secretary of War . . . by Solomon M. Hendricks, one of the Stockbridge Chiefs, . . . He says, 'they manifest great desire that we should come and reside among them, in order to learn them the arts of civilized life.'<sup>102</sup>

Morse's plan was well received by the War Department, and for some years the idea of an Indian state prospered. The idea received support from powerful eastern land companies, eager to purchase valuable Indian lands in New York. The removal of all eastern Indians to the west would make this goal possible.

Land company pressures affecting the policy of Indian removals were very important. In 1788 the New York State legislature had prohibited land purchases from Indians by individual citizens, thus setting the stage for the subsequent activities of the Ogden Land Company.<sup>103</sup> The Holland Land Company of New York held "preemptive rights of land purchase," which originated in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and were later held by Phelps and Gorman and by Robert Morris. These were later validated by the State of New York. In 1797 a council was held by the Seneca at Genesee, New York, at which Indian lands east of the Genesee River were purchased by Robert Morris and vast cessions west of the Genesee River were secured and ultimately sold to the Holland Land Company. "Choice reservation lands" were excepted.<sup>104</sup> In 1810 the Holland Land Company sold ". . . all their pre-emptive rights to the Indian reservations . . . for fifty cents an acre" to David Ogden of the Ogden Company. By 1820, the Ogden Land Company was bringing pressure on the War Department for the removal of all New York Indians.<sup>105</sup>

While not all New York Indians were removed ultimately, the aims of removal were secured. The ridding of New York of its Indian population was intended to make great areas of land available for White settlement. Additionally, successful removal would have ended the conflict of authority between the independent Iroquois tribes of western

New York and the sovereign state of New York.<sup>106</sup>

Morse records Indian land policy in New York in a letter from John Sergeant, dated March 30, 1818:

The Government of this State do not feel towards the Indians rights to landed property, as they have always felt in New-England States. They buy out the Indian title for one price, which they fix without consulting the Indians; and sell it for another and advanced price, thus making a gain, often a large one, out of the Indians.<sup>107</sup>

Thus, the essentially humanitarian values of Dr. Morse which envisioned an Indian state in which the Indian might be civilized were reinforced by economic pressures brought by land companies so that the War Department took steps to implement the removal of eastern Indians. The Stockbridge Indians, accompanied by representatives of various other New York tribes, negotiated their first treaty with the Menominees and the Winnebagoes in the summer of 1821.<sup>108</sup>

Morse's plan to create an Indian state, to civilize the Indians within it by means of education, was not successful. Firstly, government policy changed in that the inevitable wave of settlers required more land, and Wisconsin, being rich in natural resources and in the means for water transportation, was thrown open to White settlement. Secondly, the New York Indians who proposed to remove to Wisconsin met factional opposition from the Menominees and Winnebagoes. Out of these two factors developed the Stockbridge Citizen's and Indian Parties, which disrupted community life throughout the remainder of the century.

During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Sergeant persisted in his efforts at New Stockbridge. In 1815 Sergeant recorded that well over sixty children were enrolled in school and that Stockbridge Indians were serving as teachers.<sup>109</sup> Sergeant encouraged these young scholars

<sup>106</sup> Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (United States Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor, Washington, D. C., 1942), p. 53.

<sup>107</sup> Rev. Jedidiah Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822), appendix, p. 113.

<sup>108</sup> Walter James Hoffman, "The Menomini Indians," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 1 (1892-1893): pp. 21-43.

<sup>109</sup> John Sergeant, *Journal of John Sergeant Missionary to the New Stockbridge Indians from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland and from the Society in Boston from the 1st of January to the 1st of July 1815* (Dartmouth College Library, 1815), p. 21.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

<sup>103</sup> Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 2 (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1897): p. 585.

<sup>104</sup> Felix S. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (United States Department of the Interior, Office of the Solicitor, Washington, D. C., 1942), p. 420.

<sup>105</sup> Albert G. Ellis, "Advent of the New York Indians into Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 2 (1856): p. 415.

to teach religious doctrine in their homes, by translating the Catechism into Mahican. He observes that all Stockbridgers read English but they did not understand difficult passages of the Bible.<sup>110</sup> In the same entry, Sergeant recorded that Stockbridge women had spun and woven 222 yards of cloth during that year. And in 1818 Sergeant encouraged the formation of an organization, the officers of which were Indians, to promote temperance, industry and community welfare.

During this period, there emerged the status and role of cultural broker, intermediary between Indian and White. This status symbolizes and articulates an emerging Stockbridge ideology. The status was occupied by the same person occupying the centralized leadership status, Hendrick Aupaumut. The statuses may be segregated analytically nonetheless. It is important that the statuses reinforce each other. The centralized leadership status deals with internal responsibility and accountability to external authority. The cultural broker status permits the Stockbridge community to assume roles of power and prestige in Indian affairs. Aupaumut's efforts to encourage Indian "civilization" and to discourage Tecumseh's warlike endeavors were the roles associated with the broker status.

It is interesting that, during the early decades of the nineteenth century, three distinct kinds of Indian leadership roles had emerged. One, typified by Tecumseh, was that of great, even pan-Indian, warrior leader. The second, exemplified by the Seneca, Handsome Lake, and by Tecumseh's brother, the Prophet, was that of religious prophet. The third, typified by Aupaumut and the Mohawk, Joseph Brant, was that of intercultural mediator or broker. Tecumseh, his brother, and Handsome Lake were messianic leaders whose leadership, if successful, would have resulted in greater separatism for Indians. Aupaumut's leadership was non-messianic which, if successful, would eventuate in the accommodation of Indians to the overwhelming power of White society and to Indian acculturation to dominant White patterns of life. All three types have contributed to the development of contemporary pan-Indianism.

<sup>110</sup> John Sergeant, *Journal of John Sergeant Missionary to the New Stockbridge Indians from the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Boston from the 1st of July 1816 to the 1st of January 1817* (Dartmouth College Library, 1817), p. 85.

#### IV. THE DIVISION OF THE TRIBE: CITIZEN'S AND INDIAN PARTIES

The Stockbridge and Munsee Indians removed from New York to Wisconsin in the early part of the nineteenth century. Because their initial negotiations for land with the Menominees and Winnebagoes were inadequately supervised by federal officials, they subsequently were subjected to a series of removals and accompanying land cessions. Tensions related to their status in the growing Wisconsin Territory led to the disruption of community life and the division of the group into two antagonistic factions: the Indian Party and the Citizen's Party. At the cost of reduced community membership, the Indian Party strove to maintain community integration and fostered the removal from the community of the dissenters, those who elected the roles of "citizen" in preference to "Indian" status. Factionalism persisted until 1910 when Stockbridge-Munsee lands were allotted and federal relations were terminated. During the period of factionalism, the authority of the leader-sachem was strengthened by the adoption of a tribal Constitution which created a new power element, a tribal Court.

Factional conflict has been a common and persisting phenomenon in American Indian communities suffering the impact of great acculturational stress. These communities are frequently closely knit and exhibit a high frequency and intensity of personal interaction; although hostility may be and usually is present, the tendency is strong to discourage its expression. When the hostility centers around value conflict in respect to basic roles, such as "American citizen" versus "tribal Indian," there is little possibility for reintegration by compromise and adaptation of existing values.<sup>111</sup>

#### STOCKBRIDGE REMOVALS

In 1822 the first band of Stockbridge and Munsees removed to Wisconsin to occupy lands on the east side of Fox River which had been purchased from the Menominees and Winnebagoes by a delegation of New York Indians under the leadership of Jeddiah Morse and one Eleazer Williams, Episcopal missionary to the Oneida Indians. The purchases occurred during 1821 and 1822 and were later disavowed by the Wisconsin Indians. By 1825, the Stockbridge Mission was reestablished under the direction of the Reverend Jesse Miner. Upon Miner's death in 1829, the Rev-

<sup>111</sup> Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg, *Sociological Theory, A Book of Readings* (2nd ed., New York, 1964), p. 206.

erend Cutting Marsh assumed leadership of the Mission and the Mission school, in charge of Miss Electa Quinney, a Stockbridge teacher trained in Connecticut. In his report to the Scottish Society in 1831, Marsh recorded a population of 225 Indians, living in houses of "logs and covered with oaken shingles, all of them have floors and the crevices in the sides of the house are filled with mortar." The Indians had a saw mill and kept oxen, cows, poultry, and hogs. The school had four classes and forty pupils attended regularly.<sup>112</sup>

The community was disrupted by a second removal in 1832 to occupy two newly ceded townships in Calumet County, to the east of Lake Winnebago. This new cession and removal was occasioned by Menominee and Winnebago rejection of all claims to land on the part of the New York Indians as provided by the Treaties of 1821 and 1822, on the grounds that their principal tribal chiefs had not been present at the treaty signing. The newly-relinquished cession was intended to satisfy the claims of *all* of the New York Indians and was negotiated at the behest of the President of the United States. From this cession the Stockbridge and Munsees and the Brothertons were granted three townships of land.<sup>113</sup>

The beginnings of community dissension occurred in 1837 when John W. Quinney drafted a Constitution for the Stockbridge and Munsees which provided for election of tribal officers and the abandonment of hereditary succession of office. This innovation was rejected by a few Indians who elected officers of their own.<sup>114</sup> Obviously, the dissenters did not object to election as a principle but rather they objected to the persons being elected. And it is significant that John W. Quinney, Austin E. Quinney, John Metoxen and Captain Hendricks and his son, Solomon U. Hendricks, all important participants in community organization, were interrelated by marriage, though no matrilineal principle can be discerned from genealogical information.

This dissension was reinforced in 1838, when the New York Indians ceded to the United States

all rights in Wisconsin except for the tract occupied in part by the Stockbridge and Munsees and the Brothertons. This cession included their "right in common" in the Menominee lands, secured in the Treaty with the Menominees of 1822 which the Menominees disavowed on the grounds of fraud.<sup>115</sup> The dissenters were provided lands in the state of Missouri.<sup>116</sup>

On September 3, 1838, at Stockbridge, Wisconsin Territory, the Stockbridge and Munsees

... cede to the U. S. the E. half of the tract of 46,080 acres of land which was laid off for their use of the E. side of Lake Winnebago in pursuance of the treaty made by George B. Porter, commissioner for the U. S., and the Menominee nation of Indians on October 27, 1832, the said E. half thereby ceded to contain 23,040 acres, to be divided from the W. half of said tract of 46,080 acres by a line to be run parallel to the E. line of said tract.<sup>117</sup>

The reason for the sale of one-half of the reservation lands was stated:

This enabled the Nation to make provisions for extinguishing the claims of a disaffected and troublesome party to their lands and improvements, and thus enable it to remove to the State of Missouri. In a few weeks afterward it left, consisting in all of about 70 souls and this has restored in a measure peace and tranquility to those who remain.<sup>118</sup>

Further efforts to extinguish Indian land claims east of the Mississippi resulted in the Act of Congress of March 3, 1843, by which the Stockbridge and Munsees and Brothertons were granted citizenship, and which provided for the "subdivision and allotment in severalty" of the remaining Indian lands.<sup>119</sup> The Brotherton Indians accepted this political status and have had no federal status relations since that time. Some of the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians accepted citizenship and their allotted lands, many of which were sold very

<sup>112</sup> Albert G. Ellis, "Advent of the New York Indians into Wisconsin," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 2 (1856): p. 428.

<sup>113</sup> Cutting Marsh, "The Stockbridges," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 4 (1859): pp. 166-167.

<sup>114</sup> Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 2 (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1897): p. 774.

<sup>115</sup> Cutting Marsh, "The Stockbridges," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 4 (1859): pp. 166-167.

<sup>116</sup> Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* 2 (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1897), p. 778.

<sup>112</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 15 (1900), pp. 39-51.

<sup>113</sup> Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Pt. 2) (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1897), pp. 712-730.

<sup>114</sup> Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* 15 (1900) p. 157.

quickly to White interests.<sup>120</sup> These persons became known as the Citizen's Party. The Indian Party, under the leadership of John W. Quinney and supported by John Metoxen, refused to accept citizenship and the Act of 1843 was repealed by an Act of Congress August 6, 1846. This act required an enrollment of all Stockbridge-Munsees so that the reservation might then be "... divided between the parties in proportion to number, one part to be called the citizen and the other the Indian district." The citizen district was to be allotted in severalty.<sup>121</sup> The Citizens refused to enroll on the grounds that they had citizenship, and no division of the 23,040 acres of remaining land could be effected.<sup>122</sup> In November of 1848, the Stockbridge and Munsees ceded their remaining lands in Wisconsin and about half of that cession was patented to Whites and Indians of the Citizen's Party. The Indian Party of the tribe was to remove to land in Minnesota which, ultimately, they refused to do.<sup>123</sup> After other efforts at negotiation had failed, the Indian Party was satisfied by the Treaty of February 5, 1856, by which they were granted two townships of land in Shawano County, the townships of Bartelme and Red Springs in which they reside today.<sup>124</sup>

The Treaty of 1856 provided that each head of a family receive a minimum of eighty acres of land, one half of it arable, and in addition to the land cession, the United States was to provide a removal and improvement fund, totaling in all \$78,650. The tribe consisted of 152 persons at this time, and of these, one-fifth of the members

... headed by one Austin E. Quinney, and mostly consisting of members of the Quinney family, who had always exercised great power over the tribe, refused to sign the treaty, but without giving any sensible reason. The real objections, however, on the part of the Quinneys to the reorganization of the Stockbridge and Munsees appear to have been the threatened termination to their rule over the tribe by the ratification of the treaty.

Additionally, some Indians refused to remove because they claimed that the new lands were not

<sup>120</sup> *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1889), p. 16.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>124</sup> Charles C. Royce and Cyrus Thomas, "Indian Land Cessions in the United States," *18th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 2* (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1897): pp. 814-816.

suited to agriculture, a fact readily verified today.<sup>125</sup>

Meanwhile, the Indian Party made efforts to strengthen community leadership in 1856 by drafting and approving a "tribal Constitution," patterned on the Constitution of the United States, and providing for coercive political authority. There were thirteen articles in the Constitution, the last article being a Bill of Rights.

The Constitution provided that no distinction be made between Stockbridge Indians and Munsee Indians in community rights; all Stockbridge and Munsees, whether living in Wisconsin or in New York, having the rights to reservation land as granted under the Treaty of 1856. The right of the franchise was given to all married males and to those unmarried males over twenty-one years of age. Community goals included the encouragement of education, the maintenance of religious freedom, and the preservation of rights of person and property.

Article six of the Constitution provided for the structuring of authority statuses. A sachem was to be elected for a term of three years, and five Counselors for terms of one year. Additionally, provision was made for the election of a Treasurer, a Sheriff, two "Peace makers" and two "Path Masters." The duties of the latter two officers are unknown. The election of Sheriff provided for an authority status with some measure of coercive power in the internal affairs of the tribe. Further coercive power to be used in internal affairs was to reside in a Court, to be composed of the sachem and those two counselors receiving the greatest number of elective votes.<sup>126</sup>

After community removal, the disputes between Citizens and Indians persisted, the Citizens claiming not to have received their fair share of the proceeds of the sale of the Calumet County lands and their fair portion of tribal funds, though it appears that they received additional allotments and/or funds from land sales during this period. In an effort to settle the matter finally, an Act of Congress, dated February 6, 1871, provided for the taking of a roll of members of the two Parties and the sale of all except eighteen sections of the reservation, the proceeds to be used to satisfy the Citizen's Party, and the Indian Party to receive

<sup>125</sup> *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1889), p. 18.

<sup>126</sup> J. N. Davidson, *A History of the Stockbridge Nation* (Milwaukee, 1893), pp. 48-52.

the remaining eighteen sections as a reservation.<sup>127</sup> Because of irregularities in the enrollment, and the suspension of community officers for their part in it, the roll was not returned until 1874. It revealed 139 Citizens and 112 "tribals."<sup>128</sup> This effort failed to end the dispute.

Despite further efforts in 1893 and 1906 to settle the differences between Citizen's and Indian Parties, the intensity of feeling increased rather than diminished. Some persons reputed to be Citizens were, from the point of view of the Indian Party, illegally enrolled and therefore illegally enjoyed the benefit of tribal annuities.<sup>129</sup> The Indian Party claimed that the eighteen section reservation belonged to them, and that injustice was done them when members of the Citizen's Party were permitted to enroll. The government questioned not the ownership of the reservation but whether or not discrimination occurred in the various allotment proceedings.<sup>130</sup> Although the claims appear inconsistent, some Citizens claimed to have been forced out of their legal rights to land and to a share in community funds.

There were additional Indian grievances. The Indians had formerly logged themselves and a very considerable income had accrued to the tribe from logging operations. When the lumber industry was placed under the supervision of a White manager, the logging funds were reduced each year.<sup>131</sup>

In 1893 the Green Bay Agency reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

This remnant of a tribe . . . after repeated divisions, number now only 141, located upon half a township adjoining the Menomonee Reservation on the southwest. They appear to have been quite unfortunate in not obtaining an effectual approval of land allotments made in 1874, under provision of the act of 1871. Three-fourths of their two townships of land were sold. Those who so elected took their shares in money and became citizens, while those who chose to retain their tribal relations were to own the eighteen sections of land remaining, and depositing their money in the United States Treasury to bear interest. Since that supposed settlement, many of those who took their money and used it, with others,

<sup>127</sup> *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1889), pp. 19-20.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>129</sup> "Condition of Indian Affairs in Wisconsin," (Hearings before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, Senate Resolution No. 263, Washington, D. C., 1910), p. 1079.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 874.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1089-1092.

have returned upon the diminished reservation and made demand for a new division of the property of the remnant of the tribe.<sup>132</sup>

Despite the claims of fraud on the part of Citizens, it would appear that this is a reasonable statement of the realities of the situation. Another enrollment was taken in 1894, and in that year the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the allotment of the reservation and distribution of trust funds because of the extent of the disagreement and because of Stockbridge readiness to participate in full citizenship.<sup>133</sup>

In the Commissioner's Report of 1895, tribal membership was reported as 503 while the number of dwellings occupied by Indians was recorded at forty-eight. There were 520 acres of land under cultivation and seventeen million feet of logs were marketed. It is evident that many non-reservation Indians were enrolled tribal members, and that the logging industry was sufficient to support the reservation population.<sup>134</sup>

The 1898 report evaluated the situation as follows:

A few of these Indians are turning their attention to farming and have excellent crops, but owing to the unsettled state of their affairs, the most of the tribe that reside on the reservation are not making much effort to cultivate the soil.<sup>135</sup>

The Indians wished to cut and sell timber on the reservation and the report continues:

. . . but owing to the bad faith shown by many the previous year in refusing to clear the land for farming purposes after the timber was cut, I refused to recommend that they be allowed to clear land and sell the surplus timber.<sup>136</sup>

In the same report, it was also recorded that of 509 enrolled Stockbridgers, only 300 lived on reservation and that the remainder lived "in various places from the State of New York to the State of Washington."<sup>137</sup>

More careful analysis of the statistics presented above verifies that the logging industry, rather than agriculture, was the economic base of the community. We may derive a mean household

<sup>132</sup> *Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 341.

<sup>133</sup> *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1895 2* (1896): pp. 89-90.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 578-579; pp. 592-593.

<sup>135</sup> *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1898* (1898), p. 310.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.



size of 6.25, assuming a reservation population of 300 persons living in 48 dwellings. It is stated that 520 acres were under cultivation. From this we might derive a mean cultivated area of 10.6 acres per family. But, we must consider that 520 acres constitutes less than one section of land, one section being equivalent to 640 acres. Less than one section of land out of the total eighteen sections on the reservation was devoted to cultivation, the remainder being available for logging. It is also likely that each household maintained a vegetable garden as well as stock, as in the case today. Such land usage would have been a necessity in the last century, at any rate. Garden usage would further reduce the areas of land devoted to farming and/or herding.

The sale of 17 million feet of logs would have been adequate for the support of a reservation population of 300.

The Commissioner again reported that the tribal lands should be allotted and tribal relations terminated. He stated:

A start has been made in this direction, as during the year twenty-nine patents in fee simple, each patent calling for 80 acres, have been issued to them.<sup>138</sup>

By the Act of Congress of April 21, 1904, amended by the Act of Congress of June 21, 1906, provision was made for the allotment of all Stockbridge-Munsee lands and the division and distribution of their funds held in trust by the United States Treasury. Final division was effected in 1910.

#### FACTIONAL CONFLICT

The conflict between Citizen and Indian Parties disrupted Stockbridge community life for seventy years. Federal pressures for Indian assimilation or removal west of the Mississippi River were widely felt and in 1843, some Stockbridge-Munsees were willing to give up tribal status in return for their share of tribal property. There was adequate employment in the Wisconsin logging industry during the latter part of the nineteenth century so that their future in the roles of "Citizens" appeared secure.

In contrast, the Indian Party struggled to preserve a pattern of integrated community life and the self-image of "assimilated Indian," a progressive ideology in many respects. Their struggle stemmed from recognition of the power to be derived from reservation solidarity in the face of powerful White economic interests in the logging

industry. Well aware of the speed with which allotted lands were purchased by White loggers, and the rapidity with which Indians expended the purchase funds, the Indian Party struggled to keep tribal lands, their only financial asset, intact.

The earlier portion of the struggle between these two factions resulted in the strengthening of leadership within the Indian Party by certain provisions of the tribal Constitution. We have no way of measuring the effectiveness of these provisions, but we may infer a need for more powerful authority statuses by their inclusion in the Constitution. The Constitution provided for the authority status of Sheriff, a role borrowed from White culture which provides coercive power of a limited type in the internal affairs of the community. The Sheriff may intervene in internal disorders but he has no power to punish. The Constitution provided for an authority structure with the latter power in the form of the Court, again a structure borrowed from White culture. The Court was composed of the sachem and the two most popular counselors. The power of the Court was limited by three provisions contained in the Bill of Rights, Article 13. These prohibited excessive bail and fines, unjust punishment, and deprivation of liberty or property without proper compensation.<sup>139</sup> The restrictions of Court power were again borrowed from White culture, and they are enigmatic in some respects. While the abuse of power is expressly forbidden, the means of preventing the abuse of power in White culture, that is the jury system, is not mentioned. The Constitution provides that justice be administered by a three member Court, and, other evidence being lacking, we must infer that the prevention of abuse resided in community opinion, that is, in the power of the community to prevent the re-election of persons considered to have abused the powers of their statuses.

Thus, the Constitution of 1856 strengthened community authority and leadership by providing legal mechanisms for the ordering of community affairs. These legal mechanisms were borrowed from White culture.

These measures taken by the Indian Party were not immediately successful. The Stockbridge-Munsee tribe was terminated by allotment, and funds were distributed after 1906. According to contemporary members of the Stockbridge-Munsee community, a form of township government was

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 311.

<sup>139</sup> J. N. Davidson, *A History of the Stockbridge Nation* (Milwaukee, 1893), p. 51.

maintained after 1910, and this fact permitted their reorganization under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The accumulated knowledge of effective leadership, a primary and consistent Stockbridge-Munsee adaptation, was an essential factor in the ultimate preservation and perpetuation of the community.

Stockbridge factionalism appears against the background of a small community with a population ranging from 141 to 251, excepting for those periods when enrolled members increased in numbers owing to the likelihood of allotment. Organizationally, the community had two kinds of structures—conjugal families, perhaps fifty in all, and a single governing council, with no evidence of intervening social groups. Primary groups, including extended families, provided the basic patterning for the interaction of community members. The dispute over the value of an Indian community culture as contrasted with the culture of citizenship and economic prosperity divided the community into two irreconcilable factions.

For the Indian Party, community integrity constituted an important issue for Indians occupying the marginal position in which the Stockbridge found themselves during these critical years. And indeed, the Stockbridge were marginal Indians (not “real” Indians) when viewed from the vantage point of the less acculturated Menominees and Chippewas and were equally marginal (not “real” farmers) from the perspective of the surrounding White farming communities. Their mission experience had helped to obliterate their Indian heritage, while it had not truly fitted them for rural American life. The Indian Party had an early commitment to the policy of community integration and preservation. In a latent sense, community integration and commitment to the “assimilated Indian” ideology made possible the development of a viable political power which has made the Stockbridge Indians an important force in current pan-American movements.

Factionalism had, in effect, consolidated the strength of those adherents of the Indian Party and the “assimilated Indian” ideology. Community members remained committed to a course of acculturation, but continuing acculturation as an *Indian* community.

#### V. THE CONTEMPORARY COMMUNITY

When the Depression of the 1930's struck the nation, the Stockbridge-Munsees were severely affected. Their lands had been allotted in 1910 and many Indians had sold their allotments to

Whites during the years of lumbering operations. Many others had lost their lands when they were unable to pay the taxes accrued against them. The latter condition worsened during the depression years and Indians who had formerly been able to secure bank loans found themselves unable to meet the financial obligations necessary to keep their lands. Lumbering operations ceased at this time and the period of logging prosperity was over. When the lumber companies closed their operations, they left behind a ravaged forest and an unemployed community.

During this period, most of the Stockbridge-Munsee Indians lived in the township of Red Springs, Shawano County, an area north of Gresham, Wisconsin. Indians had been officers in township government throughout this period, and claim that, in this way, they maintained their “tribal” organization. Leadership during this period was provided by Carl Miller, related to the same Quinney family active in Stockbridge community organization during the nineteenth century. While there were other persons interested in community organization, there can be little question that Miller was the most powerful leader.

When the Indian Reorganization Act was made law in 1934, Miller, then chairman of Red Springs township, and a few other men of influence in the community, decided to attempt to secure reservation status once more. A contemporary informant states that “in those days when we didn't have cars, Carl Miller walked all the way to the Keshena Agency [the Menominee Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs] to talk about Reorganization.”

On May 21, 1938, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Stockbridge and Munsee Community were approved by the Office of Indian Affairs. Land was purchased in the townships of Red Springs and Bartelme. The land was essentially that granted the Stockbridge-Munsees under the Treaty of 1856, now drastically cut over as a result of logging operations. Owing to inadequate funds available to the Office of Indian Affairs, 2,250 acres of land in the township of Bartelme were purchased with Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) funds; the remaining 13,077 acres of land were purchased with funds from the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Title to the FSA lands has not yet been turned over to the community and this constitutes a serious economic problem which will be discussed below. Old papers give evidence that the Secretary of the Interior had been authorized to administer the

FSA lands and that they were to be treated as reservation lands despite the fact that Congressional action would be required to transfer the title to the Stockbridge and Munsee Community. The lands are used for community purposes.

Homes were built for Indian families on the reservation during the 1930's as part of a WPA employment project in which the Indians were employed in construction and other work. The CCC began reforestation work on the reservation, the results of which are the concern of the Forest Management Plan of the community today.

The Tribal Constitution states that the community has jurisdiction over all purchased lands. Membership in the community requires that one must be a descendant of an enrolled member on the 1910 roll; or a quarter-blood and descended of an enrollee of 1910; or a quarter-blood whose parents resided on reservation at the time of his birth.<sup>140</sup> The reservation is governed by a popularly elected Tribal Council composed of a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, and four Councilmen. The President presides at Council meetings, carries out the motions of the Council and countersigns checks. The Vice-President assists the President and presides over the Council in his absence. The Treasurer receives, records, and on recommendation of the Council, pays out tribal funds. Additionally there is an *ex-officio* Secretary whose minutes are sent to the Superintendent of the Ashland Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.<sup>141</sup>

The community is a membership corporation organized for the economic benefit of its members. Its powers are limited in the management of its property in that land, mineral and water rights, and timber may not be mortgaged or—except for timber—sold. Further there may be no distribution of corporate property except from net income. The corporation otherwise functions in the usual fashion. The Charter of the community may be revoked only by an Act of Congress.<sup>142</sup>

Today the majority of families live in the western portion of the reservation along the main paved road which goes north and then east through the reservation. Homes are generally small and well kept and a good many of them have been or are being improved. The instances of drastically

sub-standard housing are largely confined to old persons without family.

The conjugal family is the primary unit of reservation social organization, being composed of parents, children, and occasionally, an older relative. For the most part, older relatives have their own homes. There is no observable pattern of the conjugal family preferring residence near the home of either the wife's or husband's family.

The conjugal family is the basic economic unit although mutual aid between such family units in the form of loans of both money and property occurs.

Within the family, there is a division of labor by sex. The men are consistently the wage-earners, and, unless debilitated, they all work at least part of the time. Men continue to hunt and fish, but their produce is a small supplement to the family diet, not an essential part of it. Women work for wages in the tribal Craft Shop, and during the harvest and picking seasons. In both cases, the additional income is supplemental to the family budget. Craft Shop employment is part-time, and only a small fraction of the women participate, in any event. Employment as a berry-picker or potato harvester is seasonal.

Women contribute consistently and importantly to the family budget in their gardening activities during the summer, and in the subsequent preservation of food, either by canning, or more recently by freezing, for later consumption.

Teen-aged youngsters occasionally find part-time and summer employment but this pattern is inhibited by employment conditions in Shawano County. More young people would work if the opportunities were available.

Since many younger persons have participated in the Relocation Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and have sought skilled vocational training and employment in certain cities and are thus absent most of the year, these persons create an interesting pattern of summer residence. They come from all areas of the United States to spend vacation time "at home," and thus, some members of the grandparental generation may have a greatly expanded household during the summer, one younger family unit arriving as the other leaves. Families are large, six and seven children being common. Because some persons do not live on reservation a great deal of the time, but do maintain residence there, population estimates are difficult to make. My estimates of permanent population and permanent residence yield a mean

<sup>140</sup> *Constitution and By-Laws of the Stockbridge-Munsee Community of Wisconsin* (1938), p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup> *Corporate Charter of the Stockbridge Munsee Community of Wisconsin* (1938), pp. 1-2.

family size per residence of 5.6 persons. Since many old persons live alone, this figure confirms the family size suggested.

There are no preferential marriage patterns except that marriage with a close relative is frowned upon and gossiped about. There is increasing marriage, in the younger generation particularly, between Indians and Whites because most of the young people receive vocational training and find employment in cities. There has been and continues to be much intermarriage between Stockbridge-Munsees and other Indians, and where such marriage occurs among reservation Indians, the wife goes to live on the husband's reservation. Children of intermarriage, if they are of one-quarter Stockbridge-Munsee blood, may obtain tribal membership through either parent. The establishment of such membership is important in order for the child to be able to benefit from the educational and training programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Many enrolled Stockbridge and their families live off-reservation for two principal reasons. Some families continue to live in the township of Red Springs because there is a scarcity of existing housing on the reservation, and because they feel that building a home on FSA lands would be a risky financial venture. They prefer to own their lands outright. Additionally, because there is little possibility of employment in Shawano County, many families find employment and reside in urban areas of the Midwest, meanwhile maintaining their reservation ties.

The family is autonomous in decision making, except in so far as the advice of relatives is heeded, and women exercise considerable influence in family decisions. There are no non-familial organized groups or associations for the structuring of community social life. Most persons are church members, a few belonging to the Presbyterian Church in Red Springs, and most belonging to the on-reservation Lutheran Church. There are organized activities in the Presbyterian Church, but these are lacking in the Lutheran Congregation on the reservation. Such groups as a Ladies' Aid Society and an evening Bible group existed some years ago but are lacking today. There is, of course, much visiting between families on the reservation and the wedding dance and the funeral draw people together, but these are intermittently organized activities. Thus, we observe that there are no formal groups and associations which cross-cut and structurally integrate

the community. There is relatively little purely social interaction in visiting patterns between community members and residents of near-by Bowler.

Informally, the local tavern serves as a meeting place for social activities for Indian and White alike. While there is no drinking of the sort reported for other tribal groups, which paralyzes and destroys family life, the tavern plays an important social role in the lives of both men and women. In many respects, the tavern serves functions formerly served by men's and women's societies in many aboriginal groups. There persons may talk, plan, and joke. Of importance is the fact that in the tavern there is a good deal of social interaction with Whites for whom the tavern serves the same function.

The economic life of the Stockbridge-Munsee community is reasonably well integrated into the larger economic sphere of the United States. There are a number of older persons receiving relief and Social Security funds and money from like sources. There is little relief among those who are in good health and of employable age. There is neither extreme wealth nor extreme poverty in the community. While many families fall within the \$2,000-3,000 income range, which is within the range of poverty defined by the Economic Opportunity Act, the situation is mitigated somewhat by the fact that personal and real property is not taxed and that most families keep a vegetable garden which is of economic benefit throughout the year. Hunting and fishing supplement the diet also.

The most striking economic pattern in the community is its egalitarian quality. Great differences in wealth are absent and so also are the sharp class differences of urban communities. Accompanying this is a pattern of gift-giving and mutual aid within the extended family which tends to level any inequities of income among the members. The younger person who earns a better-than-average income in the city will, upon his return home, present large gifts, such as a refrigerator or a television, to his parents and siblings. In return, he may expect economic and other aid when in need. This pattern of mutual aid to family members does not encourage the accumulation of large amounts of money in savings or for capital investment. It does provide a measure of security since Indians are familiar with poverty and since many of them lack vocational skills which insure job security.

The Stockbridge-Munsee Community conducted a census for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1965 in an effort to establish eligibility for funds under the Economic Opportunity Act. Information on income, housing and employment presented below are taken from that census. A total of 113 household units were surveyed.

One-third of all household units report an annual income below \$1,500. Over half of these units are headed by persons over sixty-five years of age. Two-thirds of these households lack indoor plumbing installations and many need major repairs. Many households in this category are those of persons who are locally employed and suffer from seasonal unemployment.

Nine per cent of Indian household units have an income between \$1,500 and \$2,000. Seventy per cent of these households are headed by persons over sixty-five, and the remainder by persons depending upon local employment. Most of these households lack indoor plumbing and are in poor repair.

Nineteen per cent of all household units have an income between \$2,000 and \$3,000. In all but a few of these households, the head of the household is under sixty-five years of age. Dependence upon local employment and the fact of seasonal unemployment characterizes this group. Few of these households have indoor plumbing.

In 38.3 per cent of the households income exceeds \$3,000. Virtually none of these suffer from unemployment. About half have local employment and half commute to work outside the area. About a dozen families have an income in excess of \$5,000.

The foregoing summary of the Stockbridge-Munsee census points up: the severe poverty among persons over sixty-five; the instability and low income nature of local employment; and the need for indoor plumbing facilities.

I have noted the absence of employment opportunities in Shawano County which necessitates urban employment for many men. In some instances the entire family may move to the city, while in others the family may remain on reservation, the male working in the city during the week and commuting home on the weekends. The men who follow this pattern hold industrial jobs and, while their income ranges around the \$6,000 mark, they also spend about \$1,000 annually for their maintenance in the city. Nonetheless, these families are fairly well off.

There are a few jobs available in Shawano businesses, such as service stations, the lumber yard, etc. A limited number of Stockbridge men are employed in the lumber mill at Neopit, operated by Menominee Enterprises. These men live on-reservation or in Shawano, and a few others live in cities in the area, such as Green Bay. These persons maintain an active interest in reservation life.

The Stockbridge-Munsees would like to operate a communal business in order to provide employment and economic security for members who have difficulty in finding permanent jobs. They have made two efforts in this direction, neither of which is presently adequate to provide the necessary employment. Under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Stockbridge and Munsee Community adopted a Forest Management Plan the aim of which is the development of the forest as an economic asset to the tribe. The most important factor in the establishment of this Plan was stated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs,

Only about 10 percent of the area can be considered potential farm land, so its highest use can be achieved by management as a forest unit. It follows that treatment of the whole area as a unit is the practical management possibility.<sup>143</sup>

This report describes the condition of the forest at the time of tribal reorganization in 1938.

As the land passed to the band following the Treaty of 1856, it was well covered with large merchantable hardwood and pine. Lands were allotted and small attempts were made at farming. By Act of Congress in 1906, fee patents were issued and all forest land was sold by the Indians. While in private ownership, the lands were completely cut over. The last cutting was done by Brooks and Ross Lumber Company, who pulled the last of their steel and completed logging in 1937.<sup>144</sup>

Because logging methods used in the operations on this land were crude and destructive of the forest, the plan provided a period of forest recovery during which no logging was permitted. The plan provides for limited and supervised logging, when feasible, so that the forest can be maintained as a tribal asset. Today, there are a few men who conduct limited logging operation under permit from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the

<sup>143</sup> Richard P. Wallace, "A Forest Management Plan for the Stockbridge Munsee Indian Reservation" (Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1962), p. 32.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

Community, and they derive their income from the sale of the timber. However, since most of the forest land is FSA land, and since the title to this land has not been received by the community, the stumpage fees from logging operations accrue to the United States Treasury, thus depriving the tribe of a very considerable income. Individual family units benefit in the right to cut for family use and for fuel but not for sale. Heating of homes is generally accomplished by wood furnace.

The second community effort toward economic development was the organization of the Stockbridge-Munsee Craft Shop in 1964. This project was developed in coordination with the University of Wisconsin Extension Division and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The aims of the craft project are the provision of supplementary employment for reservation Indians and the production and marketing of high quality craft objects in which the Indians may take pride. Funds for the project development and equipment were loaned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. An artist with the University of Wisconsin Extension Division worked with the Indian participants in the selection of types of craft items and the development of suitable designs. Training was provided by Extension Division personnel in jewelry making, in weaving, and in block-printing. Additional advice and aid in marketing was provided by members of the Governor's Commission on Human Rights.

The Craft Shop produces hand woven belts, ties and scarves; "tote" bags printed with turtles and characteristically local designs; hand printed draperies; and silver and wood jewelry. Men are employed in silverworking, and women block print and weave. All workers were trained after the commencement of the project. The work is part-time in nature. The men work occasional evenings. Weavers and block-printers may work the whole day, but they do not work every day, adjusting their schedules to market demands. Orders increased during the past summer and there is increasing demand for the crafts from gift shops associated with the skiing business in northern Wisconsin and Michigan. The project provides supplementary income at present, mostly for women who have children and are unable to work outside the home, and for older women.

Little farming is done in the community. There is one large farm, with over one hundred acres in crops, and operated successfully with mechanized

procedures. According to the Forest Management Plan, most of the land is not suitable for agriculture, being sandy, rocky, and, in some instances, swampy. Dairy farming is also limited primarily because processing equipment required by Wisconsin law is too costly. Household gardens are important in family economics, and seasonal employment in harvesting is valued for the supplementary cash and for the opportunity to purchase crops, such as potatoes, at reduced prices.

The Stockbridge and Munsee community is anxious for local employment opportunities, whether on reservation or in nearby communities. They give every evidence of being able to care for themselves when given the opportunity.

I have stated the structure of the seven-man Tribal Council which governs the community. The Council is responsible for the economic welfare of the community, having the power to promote and implement such community industries as the Forest Management Plan and the Craft Shop. The Council grants all logging permits for the former. The Council implements such programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs as it selects for community benefit. One such example is a stock loan pool, designed by the Bureau to encourage the development of herds, in which stock may be borrowed for long periods and herds developed by breeding.

In addition to the Council membership, non-Council members may be appointed to committees dealing with Forestry, Land Assignments, the Dairy Cow Pool, the Housing Authority, and Tribal Membership. The use of committees to accomplish community action is a strong force for community integration. Nonetheless, the meetings which the writer has observed, including one of the Tribal Council and two for other purposes, were not well attended. When queried about this, the comment was made by one person that meetings were well attended when things were going wrong, but that as long as affairs went well the community showed little interest in attending community meetings.

The office of President of the Council has been filled by one man, the current President, since the reorganization of the community with the exception of two terms (of two years each). He is very intelligent, poised, and able to present his point of view ably and coherently.

The role of Tribal Council President (Community President) is strengthened in its non-coercive, prestigious qualities because the majority

of communication between the Community and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and, indeed any other governmental agencies, is transmitted by the President. This status is critical in both internal and external affairs of the community. His authority, while not based upon economic power or social rank, is both subtle and real. He administers the internal affairs of the community, and serves as the link in external government communication.

Certainly much of the political action taken by the Stockbridge-Munsee Tribal Council is initiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Programs of community improvement such as the Forest Management Plan, the Housing Authority plans, and the Dairy Cow Pool require services and funds for which the community requires federal aid. Some political activity is tribally initiated however. The Stockbridge-Munsee community is represented on the Bartelme township board and on the Bowler school board. These arrangements were made by the community and the administrative units for more effective communication and participation in activities important to both.

Within the community, there is only one status which has coercive, that is law-enforcing, power, and this status, that of a Shawano County Deputy Sheriff, was created because of the lack of a policing unit in the community structure. Jurisdiction of authority is divided between Shawano County and the United States. There has been no on-reservation crime reported for many years in the writer's knowledge. For the most part, social control is exercised at the family and community level by means of censure and ridicule. On the reservation there seems to be little need for greater coercive power.

The most important contemporary political and social activity, initiated by and participated in, by most Wisconsin Indian communities, is pan-Indianism. The Stockbridge community provides leadership in all pan-Indian organizations, despite the small size of and lack of wealth in the community.

Participation in pan-Indianism is reflected primarily in the activities of the Council President, current occupant of the centralized leadership status. He is a Vice-President of the National Congress of American Indians, President of the Great Lakes Intertribal Council, current Chairman of the Eau Claire Indian Leadership Conference, and a member of the Governor's Con-

mission on Human Rights (concerned with Wisconsin Indians).

The National Congress of American Indians represents all American Indians at the national level, its purpose being to distribute information concerning the problems of American Indians and to lobby in Congress in relation to those legislative issues which concern American Indians.

At the regional level, the Great Lakes Intertribal Council is a recent development, an organization representing the Indians of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota which was founded in 1961. Originally, a loosely integrated organization in its structure, the Great Lakes Intertribal Council has in recent months assumed leadership and responsibility for the development of Community Action Programs under the sponsorship of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Despite factionalism relating to the organization of the Wisconsin development projects, the leadership and responsibility has shifted from White to Indian organizations. Stockbridge leadership has been important.

The Eau Claire Indian Leadership Conference presents a three-day program of panel discussions, open to Indians and all interested persons. It is held in early summer each year and is sponsored by various interested persons and associations, particularly religious associations. Additional resources are provided in personnel and funds by the State Department of Public Welfare, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Wisconsin State University at Eau Claire which provides meeting and housing facilities. The stated goals of the Conference concern the development of leadership capacities among Indian young people, the young people who participate in the panel discussions being college students for the most part. The most recent conference, attended by the newly-appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs, dealt with the directions in which future Indian participation in American life must take. Great diversity of opinion concerning the content of that portion of Indian culture which ought to be retained was the keynote of the program. Participants included members of the Medicine Lodge, the Native American Church, and sociology-trained college students. Each speaker received the respectful attention of the audience and audience discussion was lively. There was, however, no concluding statement of opinion as to the direction which the participants preferred continuing Indian acculturation to take. The con-

ference may well serve as a forum for the expression of a wide range of opinion, including a good deal of conflicting opinion, the open expression of opinion being a mechanism for the prevention of factional differences along generation-degree of acculturation lines. If this hypothesis proves valid, then the use of a forum for the prevention of factionalism is a new adaptation making for pan-Indian unity.

The Governor's Commission on Human Rights is a state agency, the members of which are appointed by the Governor of Wisconsin, concerned with the protection of civil and human rights of the various ethnic-cultural and occupational groups which structure state society. The Stockbridge Community leader represents Wisconsin's Indians.

Stockbridge orientations concerning the place of the Indian in modern society are "progressive." The Indian may preserve many of his values but he cannot maintain aboriginal culture; the Indian must prepare himself to take part in the modern world. That portion of Indian heritage which can be preserved is best preserved on the reservation, which constitutes a symbolic Indian homeland.

There are no significant factions in the community today. There are grumblings and complaints but these have not become the point of view of a faction. There is evidence that at the time of reorganization there was a struggle for leadership. The dissenters are today enrolled community members who are not active in tribal affairs.

Thus, the historical patterns of strongly centralized leadership and the management of factionalism so that its destructive potentialities are minimized emerge as significant in the contemporary community. By means of effective leadership, the Stockbridge-Munsees maintain important roles in the conduct of Indian Affairs at the state and national levels despite their small numbers and lack of community wealth. There is no historical or current evidence that leadership involved coercion, but rather there is evidence that leadership was oriented toward the preservation of the community and its "assimilated Indian" ideology. Leadership continues to be oriented to the future and to be cognizant of the relationship of the community to the nation.

## VI. CONCLUSIONS

The adaptive changes of the Stockbridge-Munsee community have been a response to the

dominant White culture by the development of a community rationalized in ideological terms as an "assimilated Indian" community and structured by centralized leadership statuses. These statuses have responsibility in the internal affairs of the community and in external affairs with White authorities and pan-Indian organizations.

The Stockbridge-Munsee community developed a program of action associated with their ideology of "assimilated Indian," a program of cultural brokerage between Indians and Whites. The brokerage program has been a source of power and prestige in Indian affairs, a power that has not been commensurate with the size of the community.

The persistence of a self-defined "Indian community" which is so highly acculturated as to verge upon assimilation may be explained by the functions served simultaneously by the maintenance of the community and its particular identity.

The manifest function of maintaining an Indian community is the perpetuation of what the members see as "Indian values." These values are expressed as man's obligation to refrain from disrupting the harmony of nature; man's obligation to share money and goods with members of his family and community; the undesirability of material success as a criterion of the good life, the "Indian life."

The economic and social security provided by the existence of a reservation and "federal" status relationships is a manifest function of maintaining an Indian community. Reservation status provides an exclusive territory with housing, funds for community projects, kin-linked mutual aid and reciprocal obligations, and federal educational and vocational advantages. The reservation community thus provides a social integration of interwoven primary groups as well as a refuge in times of hardship and in old age. Identity as an American Indian is prestigious on the national level, as opposed to possible alternative ethnic identifications. The community has a prestigious political role in pan-Indian movements.

The Stockbridge Mission community, as a result of serious depopulation and social disintegration consequent to the early contact period, was organized for the purposes of acculturation by the Mission. Members of the community were Mahicans and a few other remnant Algonquians in the early period. A community structure, with centralized leadership, a distinctive ideology (the self-image at that time of "Christian Indian"),



and an external policy of cultural brokerage began to emerge as a mechanism of adaptation to the dominant White culture. Both internal and external accountability were attributes of the leadership status.

Many of the characteristics of this early community indicate a high level of acculturation and the abandonment of aboriginal cultural patterns that in some cases had been breaking down in the immediate post-contact period.

The fur trade necessitated many cultural adaptations on the part of its participants. The Mahicans secured their pelts by trapping, rather than by an intensification of aboriginal raiding activities as among the Iroquois. The trapping and trading of pelts did not require extended family cooperation, and it fostered an increasingly important male economic role which augmented the adaptive utility of the conjugal family. I have inferred that a shift from consanguineal to conjugal family organization occurred as the need for large cooperating family units declined and that this was accompanied by a decrease in importance of the matriclan, economically, socially, and politically. Other factors contributing to this shift in structural organization were the demographic losses suffered by the tribe during the period of Iroquois expansion and aggression, and the European system of landownership and of administrative districting.

The data available from the records of the Stockbridge Mission in Massachusetts, covering a period from 1734 to 1749, corroborate these inferences about structural change. I do not rule out the possibility that older residence patterns and family structure persisted in some instances, but conjugal family structure and neolocal residence seem to have been modal that early.

Data from this period further corroborate our inferences concerning the changing roles of males in subsistence and in the family. The adoption of the patronymic system of naming is verified by the records though such usage was not yet universal. Changing male roles are further suggested in Mission records by the introduction and use of the plough and other European tools in agriculture. Males may already have been participating in what had been a feminine occupation, although they continued to hunt also. It is known that male farming by Stockbridgers was a source of scorn on the part of the Oneidas two generations later.

The platting of the township of Stockbridge represented a change from aboriginal land-tenure

usage. Specific allotments were assigned for family residence and farming. Such land-tenure patterns reinforce the conclusion that the conjugal family, rather than the clan, was the significant economic unit, if, indeed, the clan was operative at all.

The nature of political organization in the township of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, indicates that the matriclans were no longer operative in village organization. Village organization was of a European pattern and the Indians were represented by two Town selectmen, the remaining officers being British residents.

By the time of Captain Konkapot, a centralized authority status was emerging with roles effective for internal decision-making and important externally for accommodation to the larger culture. Because the supertribal organization lacked coercive power and utilized only disapproval as a behavioral sanction, Captain Konkapot dared to participate in the organization of the Mission community without gaining approval from the remaining elements of the tribe. By whatever means, he was able to organize opinion within his community for the acceptance of the Mission.

There is evidence of some factional opinion during this period in the opposition of Lieutenant Umpachane to the Reverend John Sergeant. The divisive opinion did not disrupt community integrity. There is evidence that no element in the community was opposed to continuing acculturation.

The political patterns described were reinforced by many other factors. Mission education was significant in promoting such adaptations as the acquisition of the English language and the ability to read. An interest in education as a cultural focus has persisted throughout Stockbridge-Munsee history. The nature of the contact between Indian and White members of the community and the adoption of White agricultural techniques were significant aspects of social and economic adaptations.

Mission records from New Stockbridge, New York, the records of the Society in Scotland and reports prepared for the War Department permit the reconstruction of further adaptive changes, pertinent to this paper, which occurred between 1796 and 1820. Most significant during this period was the continued development of the centralized leadership status which functioned to maintain community solidarity and community ideology as well as to provide for accommodation to the

dominant socio-cultural system. This status persists to the present. In external relations, the leader is expected to give expression to the structural solidarity and self-perception of the Stockbridge community in roles associated with intercultural brokerage between White and Indian societies.

Hendrick Aupaumut attempted to dissuade various Indians from participating in Tecumseh's efforts at organizing the Western Indians to forcefully resist White expansion. After the defeat of Tecumseh, Aupaumut conceived of the Stockbridge role in Indian affairs as one of promoting "civilization" among the Western Indians. Encouraged by Whites such as Morse who presumably had humanistic motivations, he urged a westward removal of New York Indians in order to effect their civilization away from the more corrupting influences of White culture. Land-company pressure on the War Department was a powerful influence in determining governmental policy of Indian removal west of the Mississippi.

Aupaumut also occupied the leadership status of sachem which was the most important status in the regulation of internal affairs. There is no evidence that he possessed coercive power within the community, but he managed to maintain community integrity despite some factional division over land use. Doubtless some of his ability to control the internal affairs of the community derived from prestige established through his care of relations with the federal government and with other Indian tribes.

It is also significant that the establishment of federal government responsibility in the direction of Indian affairs reinforced the development of a centralized Stockbridge leadership status. Such a status served government interest and placed both external and internal accountability within one authority status. Such a status in external-internal relations expedited government dealings with the community, particularly during the nineteenth-century period of treaties and cessions directed toward Indian removal west of the Mississippi.

During the nineteenth century, settlement was effected in Wisconsin after a series of treaties and negotiations, primarily with the Menominees. The granting of citizenship to the Stockbridge-Munsees and to the Brothertons in 1843 was but one aspect of federal policy designed to extinguish Indian claims east of the Mississippi River. This precipitated a dispute among the Stockbridge-Munsees,

one portion of which elected to maintain federal status.

The fact remains that within a hundred years of the founding of the Stockbridge Mission, even those who articulated a desire to maintain a "tribal" identity, the Indian Party adherents, were not concerned with revivals of aboriginal culture. They sought to maintain their "assimilated Indian" self-image and the Stockbridge community itself, in resisting total assimilation as "citizens." The Indian Party adopted a Constitution, patterned after the Constitution of the United States, which provided for elective officers and for the structuring of coercive power in the status of Sheriff and in a three-man Court.

Because of the ability of Stockbridge-Munsee leaders to manipulate political authority, the community was able to maintain "tribal" organization during the period of allotment, that is from 1910 until their reorganization in 1937-1938 under the Indian Reorganization Act.

One significant aspect of the contemporary Stockbridge-Munsee community is the lack of elements of formal political structure other than the Tribal Council and the committees it appoints. Such a situation exists partially in response to the nature of the relationship of the community to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Possibilities for community action are largely determined by the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the necessity for government financial aid in the implementation of community action programs limits the range of community initiative.

When Indians seek to initiate independent policy and action, they utilize the various pan-Indian organizations. The Stockbridge-Munsees have played an important role in the activities of the Great Lakes Inter-tribal Council, the Eau Claire Indian Leadership Conference, and the National Congress of American Indians. These activities are essentially carried out by the President of the Tribal Council, although other community leaders participate.

Thus, a community of remnant Algonquians, composed mostly of Mahicans and Munsees, emerged in response to the changed economic and political patterns imposed by the fur trade, Indian depopulation and tribal disintegration, and by the expansion of White patterns of land tenure, settlement, and political control. The emerging community was structured by a self-image of "Christian" (now "assimilated") Indian, by conjugal families, and by centralized leadership, responsible

to the community and to British missionary and subsequent civil authorities. During the Mission period a policy of cultural brokerage, consistent with the community ideology, emerged as a mechanism for accommodation to White culture and for participation in Indian affairs.

During the nineteenth-century period of factionalism, this self-image and with it the distinctive definition and survival of the community were at stake. It was not that either faction expressed a desire to return to aboriginal conditions through a nativistic movement. The Indian Party strove to maintain the community and its ideology while the Citizen's Party was prepared to embark, albeit inconsistently, on a course of total assimilation and consequent community disintegration.

The Stockbridge-Munsee community structure and accompanying ideology persist to the present, and the community represents today one of the few surviving eastern Algonquian communities. In the mid-twentieth century, the policy of cultural brokerage has led the community to participate with an intensity disproportionate for its numbers, in pan-Indian affairs, activities from which the community and its leadership derive considerable prestige.

## VII. PROBLEMS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In the course of this study, a number of problems arose which are suitable areas for future research. Although they stem from the present study, these problems fall outside its limits, and are suggested as problems for fruitful and needed research.

### 1. THE NATURE OF GROUP IDENTITY

While there is no doubt that the Stockbridge-Munsees constitute a distinct community entity, questions remain regarding the nature and basic elements of their identity. The Stockbridge-Munsees refer to themselves as "assimilated" (that is, *acculturated*) Indians, and study of the contemporary community readily documents that there is, indeed, considerable acculturation. However, while members of the community perceive themselves as Indians, it is difficult to define and measure just what is characteristically Indian in the community.

Ordinarily, a minority group maintains a distinctive identity when it is an "island" within a larger dominant society through one or more of various means: (a) speaking a separate language;

(b) adhering to a distinct religion; (c) following distinctive traditions in dress, behavior, occupation, etc.; (d) maintaining a distinctive social organization; (e) being committed to a distinctive ideology; or (f) possessing visible physical characteristics which set them off from the majority population.

The Stockbridge-Munsee Community differs from other rural Wisconsin communities in two respects. The Stockbridge community is an Indian reservation community, structured in large measure by its federal status relations. As a consequence of its reservation status, it differs physically from surrounding communities in its lack of service facilities and in its dispersed pattern of residence. The Stockbridge themselves feel that their community is distinguished from surrounding communities by virtue of their distinctive ideology which emphasizes mutual aid within the family and the community, greater respect for the natural world in preservation of natural resources, and the perpetuation of their Indian heritage as a value system associated with the soil, symbolically their reservation.

The ideological elements of Stockbridge self-perception or identity are not confined to Indian communities, but are found in the larger White society in some measure, as well as in other distinctive ethnic communities. Other elements contributing to separate group identity are elusive because in language, religion, behavior, social organization, and physical appearance, the Stockbridge are not widely divergent from their neighbors.

It appears that the basic element of group identity is ideological in nature and, yet, the limits of ideological differentiation need to be distinguished. A comparative study of the nature and basis for group identity among the Stockbridge, Menominees, and Oneidas should cast light on this perplexing problem since some of the foregoing comments might be made concerning each of these Indian communities.

### 2. HOW UNIQUE IS THE STOCKBRIDGE PATTERN OF ADAPTATION?

This thesis postulates patterns of adaptation among the Stockbridge-Munsees which persist in time. These patterns involve (a) the establishment of a community-wide, or centralized leader status with internal authority and external accountability, and (b) the development of the role of cultural broker or mediator between the dom-

inant society and Indian groups. As far as we know, the Stockbridge-Munsee adaptation is unique among North American Indians. Nevertheless, there is a need for comparative studies of adaptation among other Indian aggregates to determine the conditions under which various patterns of adaptation have been utilized.

In particular, comparative analyses of adaptations of the Iroquois, Cherokee, Delawares, Shawnees and Mahicans are needed. At the time of contact, these societies had comparable subsistence-technology adaptations. They were exposed to somewhat similar influences and pressures from Europeans and at roughly the same periods. There were variations in other aspects of their social organizations that would appear to offer profitable areas for comparison in adaptation.

### 3. THE ROLE OF PROTESTANT MISSIONS IN INDIAN ACCULTURATION

There is a need for a study of the roles played by the various Protestant Missions in the acculturation of the Indians of the eastern United States. We know that the Presbyterian Church formed the Stockbridge community and maintained a continuing interest in it. Various other Protestant groups—Quakers and Moravians, and perhaps others—were concerned with the conversion and “civilization” of the eastern Indian. These Missions also attempted higher education of Indians, specifically for teaching of other Indians and for the ministry. The Wheelock School, now known as Dartmouth College, and the proposed Indian school which became Hamilton College at Hamilton, New York, are examples of the result of this Protestant interest. It is probable that materials for this research would be found in the libraries of Yale, Dartmouth, and Williams colleges.

A second area of research, dependent on the results of the foregoing, is a comparative analysis of the roles of the Protestant Missions in the eastern United States with the French Jesuits in Canada and the Spanish Catholic Missions, of various orders, of Middle and South America. The respective goals, methods and acculturative results require analysis.

### 4. PRE-CONTACT SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Efforts were made by this author to secure adequate material for the reconstruction of aboriginal Mahican social organization for this thesis. Li-

brary research, necessarily limited to materials available in Wisconsin, produced little firm information. Matrilineal organization was likely in pre-contact times, although the functions of the clans in social structure are unknown. It would be useful to learn more of the social organization of the early contact period through library research in other areas. I suggest that materials useful in further clarifying the evolution of Mahican social organization may be found in the Library of the American Philosophical Society, the New York State Library, and Dutch archives in Holland.

### 5. AMERICAN LAND POLICY AND STOCKBRIDGE REMOVAL TO NEW YORK

The Stockbridge Indians removed to New York State shortly after the American Revolution. We know that this period was one of unrest among the farmers of western Massachusetts, the unrest centering on high land taxes and land policy. We know also that Shay's Rebellion occurred in 1786–1787 and that western Massachusetts farmers were involved. These two events—the removal of the Stockbridge and the popular unrest—may be related but I have been unable to establish the relationship. An interest in ethno-history and American history might be integrated in examining how the events and processes occurring in the Indian group are related to the events and processes occurring at the same time in American society.

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