

Men-at-Arms

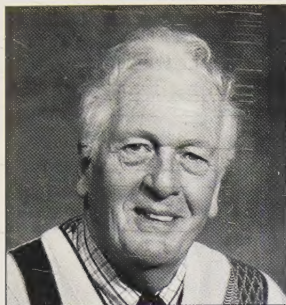
OSPREY
PUBLISHING

Indian Tribes of the New England Frontier



by John Johnson • Illustrated by Jonathan Smith

CONTENTS



MICHAEL JOHNSON has researched the material culture, demography and linguistic relationships of Native American people for more than 30 years. He has visited some 30 Native American communities and reservations, and he is associate editor to a number of specialist journals, and the author of scores of articles. He has previously written *Men-at-Arms 228: American Woodland Indians*, *Men-at-Arms 288: American Indians of the Southeast* and *Men-at-Arms 344: Tribes of the Sioux Nation*. He lives in the West Midlands, UK.



JONATHAN SMITH was born in London in 1959. He attended St Martin's School of Art and obtained a degree in fine art from Goldsmith's College of Art. His work has been exhibited in many galleries. He has had a life-long interest in Native Americans and has traveled extensively in the USA and Canada with peoples of many tribal nations. He currently lives and works in Cheltenham, UK.

INTRODUCTION	3
• Prehistory, and pre-contact cultures	
TRIBES & CONFEDERACIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND REGION	5
THE PEQUOT WAR, 1637	11
• Early contacts in Massachusetts and Connecticut	
• The massacre at Mystic	
• Aftermath: Mohegans and Pequots	
KING PHILIP'S WAR, 1675–76	13
• Early Wampanoag contacts	
• The war: Swansea, Deerfield, Bloody Brook, Great Swamp	
• Aftermath	
THE ABENAKI TRAIL LEADS NORTH	18
• King William's War: Hannah Dustin's story	
• Queen Anne's War: the Deerfield raid	
• Grey Lock's War	
• The French & Indian War: the St Francis raid	
THE MAHICAN AND DELAWARE TRAIL LEADS WEST	23
• The Mahican	
• The Delaware	
RELIGION AND CEREMONY	34
MATERIAL CULTURE	36
FAMOUS LEADERS	39
THE PLATES	43
INDEX	48



3 1240 00380 8727

APR -- 2007

Men-at-Arms • 428

Indian Tribes of the New England Frontier

DATE DUE

WITHDRAWN



Michael

th

Series editor

The Library Store #47-0106

WINNETKA-NORTHFIELD
PUBLIC LIBRARY DISTRICT
WINNETKA, IL
446-7220

First published in Great Britain in 2006 by Osprey Publishing
Midland House, West Way, Botley, Oxford OX2 0PH, UK
443 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016, USA

Email: info@ospreypublishing.com

© 2006 Osprey Publishing Ltd.

All rights reserved. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, electrical, chemical, mechanical, optical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner. Enquiries should be addressed to the Publishers.

ISBN 1 84176 937 1

Maps by John Richards

Page layouts by Alan Hamp

Index by Glyn Sutcliffe

Originated by The Electronic Page Company, Cwmbran, UK

Printed in China through World Print Ltd.

06 07 08 09 10 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library

FOR A CATALOG OF ALL BOOKS PUBLISHED BY
OSPREY MILITARY AND AVIATION PLEASE CONTACT:
North America:

Osprey Direct, 2427 Bond Street, University Park, IL 60466, USA

Email: info@ospreydirect.com

All other regions:

Osprey Direct, UK PO Box 140, Wellingborough, Northants, NN8 2FA, UK

Email: info@ospreydirect.co.uk

Buy online at www.ospreypublishing.com

Dedication

This book is dedicated to the memory of Dr Colin F. Taylor, a scholar and friend

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to Nicholas Smith of Brunswick, Maine, and to the following, who also gave of their time and expertise during the preparation of the text: Denise Atherton, UK; Ken Hamilton, Corinth, Maine; Hilary & Richard Hook, UK; Sarah Johnson, UK; Jennifer Lee, Plainfield, Massachusetts; Tim O'Sullivan, UK; and Troy Phillips, of Pittsfield, Massachusetts; and Aaron York, Quebec.

Artist's Note

Readers may care to note that the original paintings from which the color plates in this book were prepared are available for private sale. All reproduction copyright whatsoever is retained by the Publishers. All enquiries should be addressed to:

Jonathan Smith,

107 Ryeworth Road, Charlton Kings, Gloucestershire GL52 6LS, UK
or at www.nativeamericanimages.co.uk

The Publishers regret that they can enter into no correspondence upon this matter.

INDIAN TRIBES OF THE NEW ENGLAND FRONTIER

INTRODUCTION

MAN HAS EXISTED in the region we call New England for at least 12,000 years, although the details of his cultural history are still not well understood. However, we can classify long periods of prehistory by the shapes of tools found at archaeological sites.

Wooden spears were tipped with fluted points of flint for hunting mammoths during what we term the Paleo-Indian period, before 7,000 years ago, following the last Ice Age. Later a warmer and drier climate brought smaller game such as caribou, and oak, beech and pine began to flourish in the Early Archaic period, from 7,000 to 5,000 years ago. This saw the use of tanged projectile points, barbed harpoons, and the *atlatl* or spear-thrower. Increasing temperatures brought more varied forestation and game, while the caribou gradually retreated northwards. Newer peoples may have arrived from the Great Lakes region, heralding the Late Archaic period, from 5,000 years ago to around AD 300. They built dwellings of bark slabs; bone and antler tools were used for making skin clothing, and there was continued refinement and decoration.

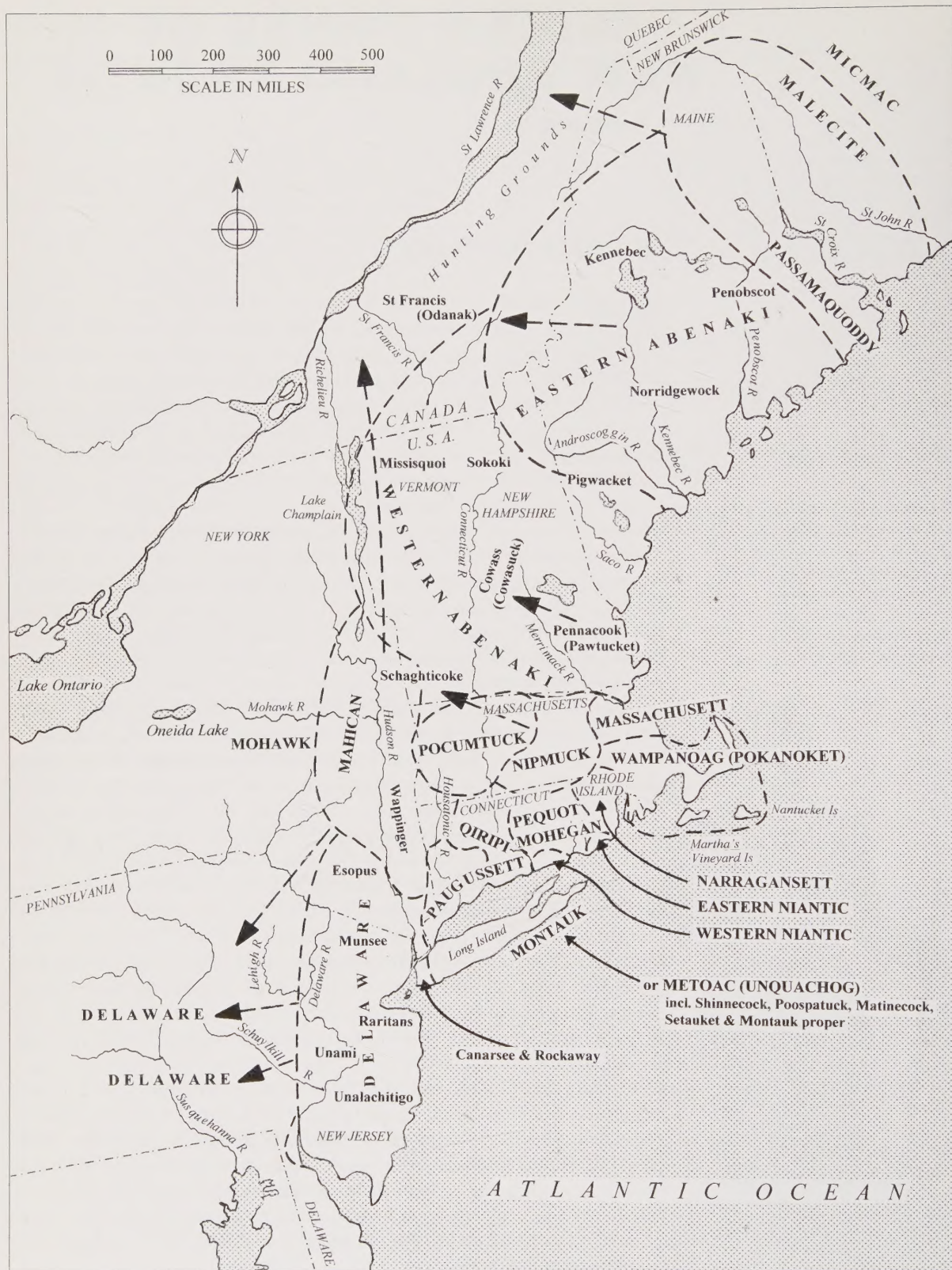
Towards the end of the Late Archaic, influences from the Ohio Valley cultures – Adena (800 BC–AD 100), and Hopewell (300 BC–AD 400) – were seen in stone hoes and clay pots, shell and copper beads, bone combs and fish hooks. These peoples were the Burial Mound Builders, who also began gardening wild edibles and later cultivating squash, beans and tobacco. The Mississippians (AD 700–1500) were Temple Mound Builders, who added the cultivation of corn (maize), pumpkins and gourds. The combined farming, hunting, fishing and gathering tradition of the Woodland period (AD 300–1600) offers evidence for localized cultural patterns which approximate the major river drainages. The New England region divides into two major cultural and geological zones: northern, extending from Canada as far south as Salem, Massachusetts, where birchbark was available for utensils and shelters; and southern, where corn agriculture had developed, with pottery and soapstone bowls.

In the south the Indians were usually arranged into loose confederacies, the effective unit being the local community of one or two small villages. Villages of perhaps 200 people were located near water, often raised above flood level. Such villages occupied the same site for up to ten years, until game or soil began to fail. Travel was by foot or canoe – either of the ancient dugout type, or made from sheets of bark on white cedar frames, as used in the northern areas by the Abenaki and Micmac.

In the southern area fields for corn were cleared with fire by the men, for women to plant in spring and harvest in late summer. Corn was

Governor John Francis, the last of the Passamaquoddy chiefs to be selected for life; he appears to be wearing a beaded sash with silver brooches. Drawing from the *Illustrated London News*, September 1863.







A modern Nipmuck reconstruction of a bark wetu or wigwam.

boiled, roasted, pounded or ground to a flour to make potage or cakes, and mixed with berries, meat and sugar maple sap to produce soups, hominy and succotash. Although farming was not as intensive as among the Iroquois it was an important supplement to hunting and fishing. Deer and bear provided food and clothing, but there were taboos against taking wolf, wildcat or rattlesnake for food. Bows and arrows tipped with quartz or flint were used for hunting and warfare.

Although they were scarcely “tribes” in the popular sense, groups of villages or loose confederacies had chiefs called “sachems”; authority passed from fathers to sons or even to wives – hence the use by the English settlers of the titles “king” or “queen”. Councils were made up of several sachems and minor chiefs or “sagamores”. Shamans were called “powwows” by the English, a corruption of “*pauwau*”, an Indian term for a priest or wizard.

This was the world disturbed by English settlement in the 16th century. While pre-contact Indian life in the eastern Algonkian area may have been relatively peaceful, archaeological evidence does suggest that scalping, torture, burning and cannibalism did take place. The explorer Verrazano (1524) reports that Narragansett warfare involved deceptions and quickly changing alliances. The white men’s fear of treachery often led to incidents of violence, which greatly intensified in parallel with European pressure for trade and settlement. Prisoners were often taken in warfare, and captured women and children were adopted; the need to maintain the numbers of Indian communities seems to have been a preoccupation.

TRIBES & CONFEDERACIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND REGION

North to South:

MICMAC (mic-mak), or **MI’KMAQ** (mig-maw) – “allies”. A people who originally occupied the whole of Maritime Canada, including Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and parts of Newfoundland and Maine. Contacted by Cabot in 1497, but subsequently strong allies of the French until 1759. A long association with French Canada saw an inevitable mixing of the races and loss of native traditions and customs. However, they are the only Algonkians of the Northeast who have retained their language in any numbers. Their original population was perhaps 5,000. Today about 10,000 are connected with about 30 reserves, and perhaps as many are scattered throughout eastern Canada. The largest bands are Eskasoni (Cape Breton), Shubenacadie (Nova Scotia), Burnt Church and Big Cove (New Brunswick); there is also a band in Maine.

MALECITE or **MALISEET** (male-set) – “lazy speakers”. A small tribe of originally perhaps 500 people, and probably once one with the

The reader should be aware that many variations occur in the spellings and classification of tribal groups and language families – e.g. Abnaki for Abenaki, Algonquian for Algonkian – found in scholarly, historical and anthropological reports. The native people themselves did not and in some cases still do not recognize the so-called “tribes” that are used as a convenient tool to describe Indian peoples in different locations. These groupings are a subject of continued debate and revision.



Sylvia Stanislaus, a Penobscot photographed in Maine at some date late in the 19th century, wearing large silver brooches and a wampum necklace and holding an ash-splint basket. (Courtesy Nicholas N. Smith)

Passamaquoddy of Maine, but divided by the international border after the British conquest of Canada in 1760. They lived mainly along the St John river in present New Brunswick. They were often in confederation with Micmac, Abenaki and Penobscot as "Wabanaki" or "Etchemin", but the latter is strictly an extinct language. Their descendants are still found in New Brunswick at Oromocto, Woodstock and Tobique, in Quebec at Viger, and in Maine near Houlton, and number 2,000 with a strong European admixture.

PASSAMAQUODDY (pasama-kwade) – "those of the place where the pollock are plentiful". A people of Passamaquoddy Bay and St Croix river, Maine, originally the same people as the Malecite but left south of the international border after the British victory over the French in 1760. Passamaquoddy and Penobscot under the influence of French clerics drove back and destroyed English settlements in Maine in 1689, 1690 and 1703. The English retaliated in 1723 and 1724 under Westbrook and in 1725 under Lovewell. Over 1,000 descendants remain, much mixed with white and other Indian ancestry, on two reservations near Princeton and Eastport, Maine.

ABENAKI (aba-naki) – "dawn land people" or "easterners". A people of central Maine in the valleys of the Androscoggin, Kennebec, Saco and

Penobscot rivers, in several subtribes and large villages including the Kennebec, Norridgewock, Penobscot and Wawenock (Pemaquid). Following King Philip's War, 1675–76, they were attacked and forced northwest by the English, withdrawing ultimately to the French missions in Canada – St Francis and Bécancour – from where they retaliated against the New England settlers in all the colonial conflicts of the 18th century. One subtribe remained in Maine, finally making peace with the English and retaining sites along the Penobscot river, principally at Old Town, Maine, where about 1,000 people of Penobscot ancestry remain. The exact relationship between these Abenaki and their Western relatives is a matter of debate.

WESTERN ABENAKI or **SOKOKI** – "people who separated". The Abenakis who inhabited the upper Connecticut river valley in Maine, New Hampshire, western Massachusetts and Vermont, and, after their expulsion from the borders of Massachusetts, the creeks and rivers draining into Lake Champlain. Their principal subgroups were the Squakheag, Pigwacket, Cowasuck and Missisquoi, who gradually withdrew to French Canada during the late 17th and 18th century. They were welcomed as refugees and allies by the French in the colonial wars on the New England frontier. During the French and Indian War, Wabanaki warriors (Abenaki, Micmac, Malecite and Passamaquoddy combined) fought with the French at Fort William Henry (1757), Ticonderoga (1758) and Oswego (1759), and also in the Ohio country. They settled at St Francis and Bécancour, Quebec, where descendants



**Malecite gathering at
Kingsclear, New Brunswick,
on Corpus Christi Day, 1887.
(Photograph George T. Taylor;
New Brunswick Provincial
Archives, Fredericton)**

remain, and also near Swanton, Vermont. However, the St Francis Indians are an amalgam of several New England tribal groups.

PENNACOOK or **PAWTUCKET** – “downhill”. These people lived along the Merrimack river at Concord, New Hampshire, and in adjacent Massachusetts and Maine. They were closely related to the Abenaki. Cruelly treated by the English following King Philip’s War, 1675–76, they joined their relatives and were absorbed by the St Francis Indians in Canada, although a few were said to have continued near Manchester in their old territory until recently. They probably numbered 2,000 before 1675.

POCOMTUC or **POCUMTUCK** – “narrow swift river”. A people of western Massachusetts, from Agawam in the south to Deerfield in the north. Another village called Agawam near Ipswich, Massachusetts, existed in the 17th century but was probably a Pennacook settlement. They may have been closely related to the Nipmuck, perhaps speaking one of a number of poorly recorded Algonkian languages but unassigned to a tribal group. They joined Philip in the general war of 1675–76, and were destroyed. The last we know of them before they disappeared from history is that they joined the multi-tribal St Francis Indians at Odanak in Canada. Their original numbers probably exceeded 1,000 people.

NIPMUCK (nip-muck) – “freshwater fishing place”. A name to cover the Indians of central Massachusetts between Lancaster and Hatfield, and probably related to the Pocomtuc west of the Connecticut river. Mount Wachusett, an important Indian sacred place, lay within their domain. Some took part in, or sheltered warring Indians during King Philip’s War, after which few survived. Some descendants are still associated with lands near Grafton, Dudley and Webster, Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETT (masa-choosit) – “at the great hill”. These people occupied the country between Massachusetts Bay and the Concord and Charles rivers, and perhaps numbered 3,000 at a time before the Puritans gathered them into villages of “Praying Indians”, and before epidemics of smallpox and other diseases had reduced their numbers. By the time of the English settlement of Boston the native population of New England had already seriously declined. A few descendants from the villages of Natick and Punkapog survived until the 19th century.



Mercy Nonsuch, one of the last of the Niantic Indians among the Mohegans, photographed by Mark Harrington in 1912.

WAMPANOAG (wampa-noag) or **POKANOKIT** (paka-nakit) – possibly meaning “easterners”. A loose confederation of Indian groups of southeastern Massachusetts, including those on the coast below Marshfield, Cape Cod, Martha’s Vineyard Island and Nantucket Island. The major subgroups were the Nausets of Cape Cod, the Sakonnets and Pocassets bordering Rhode Island below Fall River. They were already known to Europeans before the arrival of the Pilgrims in 1620. Massasoit, their leading sachem, was friendly towards the settlers; but his son – called Philip by the whites – led a general uprising against the colonists in 1675, which ultimately almost destroyed his people. They originally numbered 3,500; their remnants settled in various locations in Bristol and Barnstable counties and Martha’s Vineyard, where mixed-blood descendants remain, particularly at Mashpee and Gay Head, where old Indian meeting houses remain as focal points. These are of mixed descent, without old Indian customs or their language, but have recently been revitalized by Pan-Indian influences.

NARRAGANSETT (nara-gansit) – possibly “people of the small point”. These people occupied the area now known as the state of Rhode Island and were closely related to the Niantics, ultimately merging with them after King Philip’s War. The Coweset, Pawtuxet and Block Island Indians were all very probably the same people. They were known to 16th century explorers such as Verrazano and later to the Dutch, and finally the English, to whom they were at first friendly after Roger Williams settled amongst them. However, their chief sachem Canonchet joined Philip in the war against the colonists in 1675. They lost huge numbers at the Great Swamp Fight near West Kingston, Rhode Island, when the English attacked their fortified village. A considerable number of descendants known as Narragansett, but including the Eastern Niantics, have continued to live in and around Charlestown and Kenyon, with an Indian burial ground, church and small reservation as a focus of continuing Indian identity, although they are very mixed racially.

NIANTIC (ni-antik) – possibly “at a point on an estuary”. The Niantic were divided into Eastern and Western divisions, probably by incursions of the Pequot; the Eastern Niantic lived on the east bank of the Pawcatuck river, Rhode Island, and the Western Niantic on the coast between New London and Old Lyme, Connecticut. These groups originally formed one tribe; their language and culture was probably one with the Narragansett, with whom the Eastern Niantic finally incorporated. The Western Niantic survived until the 19th century, the last of them intermarrying with the Mohegans in Connecticut. They maintained a pro-English position during King Philip’s War under their chief Ninigret, and after the capture of Canonchet he assumed control over the survivors of the combined Eastern Niantics and Narragansetts.

MOHEGAN (mo-hegan). Not to be confused with the Mahican or Mohican, qv. The Mohegans occupied a stretch of the Thames river in Connecticut, and were probably once one people with the Pequot until a schism due to enmity between rival chiefs, Sassacus the Pequot and Uncas the Mohegan. Uncas gave assistance to the English under Mason and Underhill when they destroyed the Pequot fort near Mystic, Connecticut in 1637. Although some of the Mohegans joined the Scaticook and Brotherton Indians in the 18th century, a number have remained in their old haunts down to the present time. Today there are

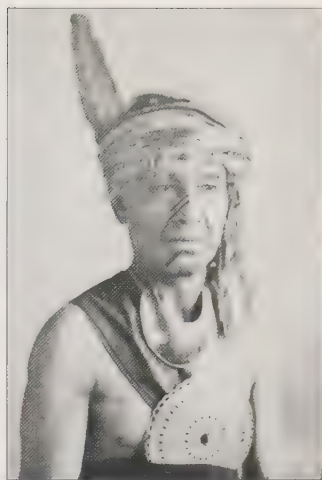
about 500 Mohegan descendants, of whom perhaps 50 live near Uncasville as the recently reactivated and federally recognized “Mohegan Tribe and Indian Reservation”, with a Mohegan church (built in 1831), tribal burial grounds at Fort Shantok Point, and a museum. Of the remainder, about 100 live around Norwich. A revived annual “Wigwam Festival” – a type of church harvest festival – contains elements of the old Green Corn Rite.

PEQUOT (pe-kwat) – “destroyers”. The Pequot seem to have formed one people with the Mohegans, perhaps originally numbering over 4,000. When first known to Dutch and English traders they had 15 villages in southeastern Connecticut. By 1633 the Dutch and English were both seeking trade with them. The English built Fort Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut river to protect the small group of English settlements. After the killing of some English traders, Endicott organized a punitive expedition, to which the Pequots responded by attacking Wethersfield. In May 1637 the English, with Mohegan and Narragansett help, destroyed the Pequot stronghold at Mystic River, massacring hundreds. By 1674 only 300 male Pequots had survived; they obtained two land grants near Ledyard, New London county – Mashantucket in 1667, and Lantern Hill or Paucatuck in 1683. A few families, often transient, have lived there ever since; in 1935 only 42 Pequots were reported, with nine living at Mashantucket. However, this figure has now risen to some 300; and since federal recognition in the 1980s the building of the Foxwoods casino has brought them immense wealth.

LOWER CONNECTICUT RIVER GROUPS or **QUIRIPI** A collective name to cover a number of small tribes of central Connecticut between the Connecticut and Housatonic rivers, once thought incorrectly to belong to a confederacy called Mattabesec or Wappinger. These groups were the Poduck near Windsor, Tunxis near Hartford, Wangunk near Wethersfield, and Quinnipiac near New Haven. Probably closely related and speaking a similar Algonkian dialect to the Paugussett tribes. They perhaps numbered 2,200 at the beginning of the 17th century, but diminished rapidly and sold their lands to settlers. A few people still claimed their ancestry in the 19th century.

LOWER HOUSATONIC RIVER GROUPS or **PAUGUSSETT** – “a swift current in the divided river”. A group of four small tribes formerly living along the Housatonic river in western Connecticut when first in contact with English settlers. They were probably related to the Quiripi or Quinnipiac group to the east. These groups were the true Paugussett near Derby, Pequannock near Trumbull, Potatuck near Woodbury, and Weantinock near Danbury, the latter sometimes reported as a Mahican group. Pressured into land sales and diminished in number by epidemics and intermarriage with whites, their remnants found a home during the 18th century at Schaghticoke or Scaticook, a small reservation at Bulls Bridge (not to be confused with a Mahican settlement of the same name in New York). A few other descendants have continued until the present time at Golden Hill, Bridgeport, and near Colchester, Connecticut. The Housatonic and Connecticut river groups are now thought to have spoken a dialect called Quiripi.

LOWER HUDSON RIVER GROUPS, WAPPING or **WAPPINGER** – “opossum”. Also called Highland Indians (Hudson Highlands), the Indians of the lower Hudson were close in language and culture to the



Siota A. Nonsuch, a Niantic Mohegan, photographed by W. Vivian Campbell in c.1900 wearing silver headband, gorget and pectoral brooch.

Mahican and Delaware with whom some of them are classed. The Wapping themselves lived near Poughkeepsie, New York, and the Wappinger group are sometimes extended to include groups above Manhattan. The total population of the whole group perhaps exceeded 3,000 before wars with the Dutch, and later pressure by the English to vacate their homeland. They ultimately joined the Stockbridge, Nanticoke and Delaware, and disappeared from history. A confederacy of these groups on the east bank of the lower Hudson and the Housatonic river groups, once proposed as the Wappinger or Matabesec Confederacy, is no longer considered probable.

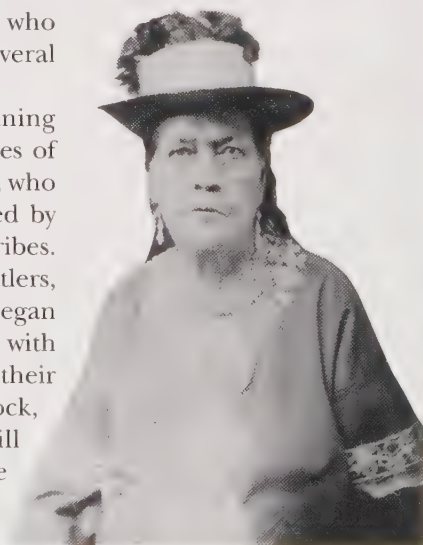
MAHICAN, MAHIKAN or MOHICAN (ma-hekan or mo-hekan) – probably a placename, and not “wolves” as once supposed. Not to be confused with the Mohegan, qv. The Mahican were the tribal group occupying the Hudson river valley from the Lake George area south to the Catskill Mountains and east to the Housatonic river. Some of their subgroups are regarded as Delaware or Wappinger, together sometimes termed “River Indians”. Their culture was similar to other interior Algonkian groups, with palisaded villages, bark longhouses and wigwams. They grew maize, hunted and fished, had canoes and wore skin clothing. Their first contact with Europeans came in 1609 when Henry Hudson sailed up the river which bears his name, and with the Dutch establishment of Fort Orange and Albany. They were drawn into the fur trade, dangerous conflicts with the Iroquois, and political alliances with other tribes and the English such as the “Covenant Chain”. After 1720 the Mahicans began to move west, except for those at Schaghticoke, New York (mixed with other groups), or Stockbridge, Massachusetts, who lingered in the east under Iroquois protection until the 1830s. They then moved to Wisconsin with the Oneida, and in 1854 obtained land from the Menomini near Bowler, where descendants, mixed with Munsee-Delawares, still remain to the number of about 600. A few who remained in the Hudson valley have descendants amongst several mixed groups there.

MONTAUK, METOAC (man-tok) or **UNQUACHOG** – meaning uncertain. A collective designation for the original 13 minor tribes of Long Island – all but those at the extreme western end of the island, who belong with the Delaware. They appear to have been undisturbed by King Philip’s War, but were subjected to attacks by the mainland tribes. They gradually decreased in numbers and were crowded out by settlers, some joining the Brotherton Indians in New York under the Mohegan minister Samson Occum. A few continued to live on Long Island, with land grants given as early as 1666, although later cheated out of their holdings. Much mixed with African-American blood, the Shinnecock, Poosapatuck, Montauk proper, Matinecock and Setauket still have descendants, but only the first two have reservations. The Shinnecock are the largest group with about 300 enrolled members, and hold Pan-Indian events each year.



Three Passamaquoddy Indians, with a Jesuit priest, c.1875. The two adult men wear silver headbands; the bandolier bag worn by the standing man appears to be Delaware or Shawnee.

Penobscot woman, 19th century. She wears a wampum collar, beaded arm bands, a silver hatband and large pectoral brooches. (Courtesy Nicholas N.Smith)





A young Penobscot, Francis Stanislaus, photographed in Maine, late 19th century. His traditional regalia includes a headdress, beaded collar, sash, leggings and moccasins – see Plate G. (Courtesy Nicholas N.Smith)

DELAWARE or **LENNI-LENAPE** (lani-lana-pe) – probably “original or real people”. The most important Algonkian coastal Indian nation, who once occupied the lower Hudson river valley (Esopus), the western end of Long Island (Rockaway and Canarsee), the whole of present New Jersey and Manhattan Island. The most important groups were the Minisinks (later called Munsee) on the Delaware river towards the Delaware Water Gap, and the Unami on both sides of the Delaware river in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In later years only the Munsee, Unami and Unalachtigo were reported, although the latter may not have been a true division. Probably first seen by Europeans in 1524 when Verrazano sheltered in New York harbour. The Dutch and Swedes settled in their domains in the early 17th century; they were quickly involved in the fur trade, and forced into alliances by the English who succeeded the Dutch in 1664. After the first Penn Treaty of 1682 the Delawares began a westward migration unparalleled in American history (see “The Mahican and Delaware Trail Leads West”, below). Their original numbers exceeded 12,000. Today their identifiable descendants in Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Kansas, Ontario and New Jersey number about 7,000, just under half of the total reported present day descendants.

Languages

All the Indian people of the northeast coastal region spoke languages of the Algonkian family, now classified into the Wabanaki, New England and Delaware Branches; the interrelationship between some of them is in doubt due to the loss of several languages and dialects following European contact. A number of tribes or subtribes integrated with other groups as populations dwindled, due to epidemic diseases brought by Europeans and losses during colonial conflicts, and most languages are now extinct. In 1990 the number of native speakers of Micmac was recorded as 5,000, and of Malecite-Passamaquoddy as 500; but of Eastern Abenaki (Penobscot) as just five, with a few partial speakers of Western Abenaki (Sokoki), Munsee and Unami.

THE PEQUOT WAR, 1637

Early contacts in Massachusetts and Connecticut

A Portuguese sailor named Gomez may have been the first white man to explore the coast from Nova Scotia to Rhode Island in 1525. Cartier explored the St Lawrence in 1534, and found Indians already trading with European ships. Malecite tradition tells of one chief who as a boy saw Cartier, and as an old man saw Champlain when he spent the winter of 1604–05 on an island in the St Croix river. Despite the boldness of England's Elizabethan sailor-explorers, not a single English colony existed in the New World in 1602, the Raleigh colony of Virginia having failed some years before. While the English and French began to work their way down the New England coast from the north, the Dutch were pushing from the west, having established their posts at Albany and New Amsterdam in 1614 and 1624 following Henry Hudson's exploration of 1609. Between 1602 and 1614 Gosnold, DeMonts, Pring, Champlain, Weymouth, Popham and Block all made landfalls; but the first English colony in the region was the Pilgrims' settlement at Plymouth in 1620.



Dorcas Honorable, a Wampanoag reported to be the last full-blood Indian from Nantucket Island; born in 1776, she died in 1855.

In 1622 the Massachusetts Bay Colony was also established. The Dutch quickly monopolized the Indian trade throughout the Long Island Sound area, and had established a trading post at present day Hartford, Connecticut. However, in 1633 the English also built a settlement at Windsor on the banks of the Connecticut river, so cutting off the Indian trade from the north for themselves. In 1635 and 1636 more pioneers arrived from the Massachusetts Colony, founding Wethersfield, a fort at Saybrook and later Springfield. Both the Dutch and Plymouth colonies felt aggrieved at the intrusion of the Massachusetts settlers, but they could not stem the power of these immigrants. Next to be settled was Rhode Island, by exiles fleeing from religious persecution to found the Providence Plantation under Roger Williams, who had established friendly relations with the Narragansetts by 1637.

The massacre at Mystic

At the time of the English settlement along the Connecticut river the Pequot were the dominant tribe on the coast between the Pawcatuck and Connecticut rivers, with perhaps a thousand warriors and two main fortified villages. In 1636 two traders, Stone and Oldham, were killed by either Niantics or Narragansetts, the latter at Block Island. This precipitated the Pequot War, since Oldham's killers fled to the Pequots because their own people, the Narragansetts, washed their hands of the act. John Endecott, commanding the South Regiment of Massachusetts Bay militia, organized a punitive expedition against the Pequot, and as a result the Pequots attacked Saybrook and later Wethersfield in April of 1637. Captain John Mason (who had been a soldier in the Low Countries) and Captain John Underhill joined forces at Saybrook and raised about 90 men; later they were joined by some 70 Mohegan warriors under Uncas, who was eager to gain English assistance against the Pequot leader Sassacus. These two sachems had led separate factions of a people who once had been one tribe, or at least in league.

The plan was to attack the Pequot by sailing to Narragansett Bay and attacking the Pequot stronghold at Mystic from the rear. Watching Mason's vessels sail past, the Pequot thought that the danger had faded. The colonial force attacked at about 1am in the morning. The Indian stockaded village was so crowded that when the attackers fired the wigwams the whole fort was soon in flames; what followed was butchery, with the attackers driving all who tried to escape back into the blazing fortress. Between 600 and 700 perished by fire and sword, and the Pequots' power was broken. Their remnants scattered in small bands that were hunted down, and many were sold into slavery in the West Indies. Sassacus fled to the Mohawks, who promptly killed him.¹

Aftermath: Mohegans and Pequots

In 1643, in order to spread his influence, Uncas sought to bring about a war between the English and the Narragansetts, who had suffered severe losses from smallpox and who blamed the English for its introduction. However, their sachem Miantonimo refused to be drawn into war with the colonists; instead he invaded Mohegan country, but was defeated and executed by the Mohegans.

¹ See MAA 372, *Colonial American Troops 1610-1774* (2)

The English policy of divide and conquer had destroyed the Indian control of shell *wampum* production, which had been used by Indians and colonists as acceptable money in view of the scarcity of coinage from Europe. Production by native people without fiscal stability was a destabilizing factor in the exchange culture of the rapidly growing fur trade. (The term “wampum” has been generically applied to a variety of drilled shell and later trade beads, but properly refers to the white and purple shell beads produced along the shore of Long Island Sound in particular.)

Mohegan Hill near Montville and Uncasville on the west bank of the Thames river was the usual home of Uncas and his people after the English settlement of New London in 1646. He and his male descendants continued to govern the tribe until the 18th century, with a great-grandson visiting England in 1735. Although the tribe steadily diminished in numbers, some joining Indian groups further west, Mohegan men still joined the British Army as scouts until the American Revolution. In common with other remnant tribes of New England, they became Christians; one notable Mohegan, Samson Occum, a full-blood born in a wigwam on the banks of the Thames in 1723, became a minister after attending Rev Eleazer Wheelock’s school (1743–48) at Lebanon, Connecticut. Occum became known as the “Pious Mohegan”, and visited England and Scotland with Nathaniel Whitaker; he stayed in Britain for two and a half years, soliciting subscriptions to be used in promoting education at the Moor’s Indian Charity School, the forerunner of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire – one of America’s great educational institutions. The Mohegans, like other groups, faded into the general population, and in 1861 their unoccupied reservation lands were taken over by the state of Connecticut, with only a core of the tribe still living in their old domain.

After the massacre in 1637 the Pequots almost disappeared; however, since the 1980s federal recognition of their few descendants has brought them huge wealth (see “Tribes & Confederacies...” above).

KING PHILIP’S WAR, 1675–76

Early Wampanoag contacts

The Wampanoags were a confederacy of some 30 minor subtribes in what is now southeastern Massachusetts, eastern Rhode Island and offshore islands. The Norsemen may perhaps have explored their coast in around AD 1000; but Verrazano was the first explorer to record his impressions of the area, when in 1524 he sailed into Narragansett Bay and about 20 canoes came out to greet his ship. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold spent some time in the area trading with the Indians; he recorded that they had no clothing except skins about their loins and over their shoulders, and were anxious to trade and barter. One man had a copper plate hanging around his neck, while others had copper earrings, painted faces and feather headdresses. The following year Martin Pring spent almost two months in the area exploring for sassafras, which Europeans used as a medicine for many illnesses. In 1605 Samuel Champlain dropped anchor off Nauset Harbor; he reported crops of corn, beans, squash, pumpkin and tobacco, and wrote

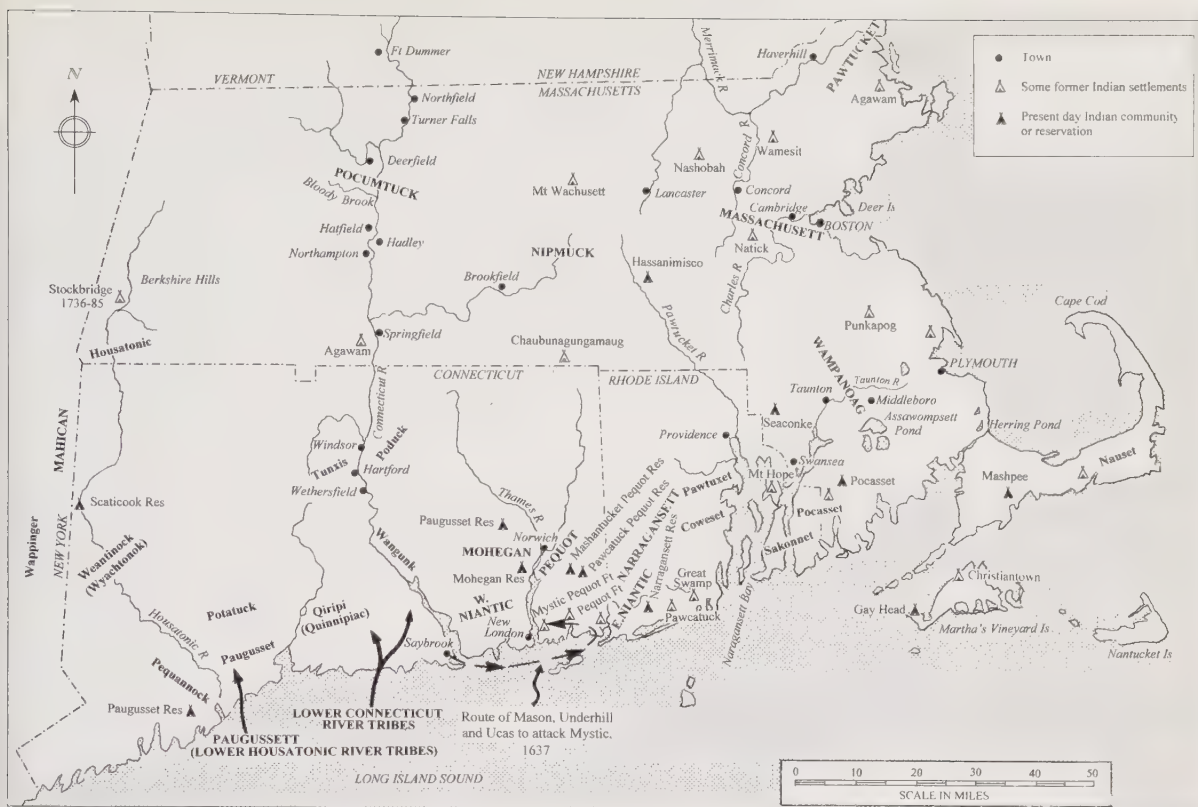
that the Indians were good fishermen. He described wigwams as circular in shape and covered with a thatch of grasses and corn husks.

In 1614 an Indian recorded in history as Squanto, probably a Wampanoag, was kidnapped by Thomas Hunt and taken to Spain and then to England, where he lived for two years before boarding a vessel with a mission to explore Newfoundland, from where he finally returned home in 1618 – only to find that his people had been almost wiped out in an epidemic the previous year. When the English arrived in 1620 the Pilgrims were amazed to be greeted in English by an Indian named Samoset, who explained that Squanto could speak English much better. Squanto later arrived in the party of the Great Sachem Massasoit, with whom Carver ceremoniously concluded a treaty in 1621. Squanto served the colonists as guide in their contacts with the Indians at Cummaquid, Nauset, Massachusetts and Narragansett bays. He died in 1622 near present-day Chatham.

The Great Sachem Massasoit was born in about 1580 and became the leader of the Wampanoag Confederacy in about 1607. His first visit to the Plymouth Plantation was in March 1621. Edward Winslow visited his village shortly afterwards, and again in 1623, when the chieftain was ill. When Massasoit recovered he was convinced that the English were his friends; he remained on friendly terms with the Pilgrims, and signed a further treaty together with his eldest son Wamsutta in 1639. In 1655 he sent Wamsutta and his brother Pometecom or Metacomet to Plymouth as an act of friendship, and they received the English names Alexander and Philip. Massasoit died in 1660 or 1661 and was buried near Mount Hope near present-day Bristol, Rhode Island. However, the peace between the Indians under Massasoit's control and the colonists had been uneasy, and the seeds of dissension were gradually sown.

Settlers were now regularly arriving from England and securing lands from local Indian groups, establishing new towns and villages and subsequently ordering the natives to move. Some Indians were no doubt enriched by trade with the whites, selling corn and furs in exchange for goods which made life easier than before. The Indians began to cultivate English vegetables and raise domestic farm animals. However, the Indians sold land for a fraction of its value; cheated and betrayed by the English law, they succumbed to the diseases brought by the white man. By 1660 the Indian population of New England was probably less than half what it had been in 1620, and a quarter of its size when the Europeans first discovered the New World.

After Massasoit's death he was succeeded by his sons, first by Wamsutta (Alexander) and later by Metacomet (Philip.) As early as 1662 the English heard that Alexander had been plotting with the Narragansetts, and an armed party under majors Winslow and Bradford was despatched to compel his attendance before the General Court of Plymouth. Alexander gave satisfactory explanations for his actions, but died of a fever after returning home – a death for which the Indians felt that the English were responsible. Philip now became chief sachem of the Wampanoags; summoned to Plymouth in his turn, he entered into a compact with the General Court binding him to peaceful and loyal conduct. However, the conditions of the Indians were becoming worse each year, as their best lands were exchanged,



sold or simply taken by English settlers, leaving the Indians trapped in small groups in a diminishing land base.

On June 5, 1667, the Court heard a rumour that Philip had expressed a readiness to combine with the French or the Dutch to recover all lands sold to the English; however, Philip again convinced the Court that the allegations were false and had probably originated from Ninigret, sachem of the Niantics. Four years later he appeared at Taunton, again raising suspicions that his warriors were taking up firearms traded by Dutch, French and English. In 1674 the rumours were inflamed after a "Praying Indian" named Sassamon, who could read and write English and had been a teacher at Nantick, reported that Philip and his men were arming. Sassamon was later murdered at Assawompsett Pond near Middleboro, and three Indians were arrested and subsequently executed for the crime.

The Pequot War, 1637; and King Philip's War, 1675-76

The war: Swansea, Deerfield, Bloody Brook, Great Swamp

Philip now began to prepare for war in earnest, attracting warriors from various places to his homeland in the wooded hills on the peninsulas of Narragansett Bay. On June 24, 1675 a party of Indians attacked the little town of Swansea on the north shore of Mount Hope Bay. Plymouth responded with a small but effective force of militia soldiers, which arrived on the Mount Hope peninsula on June 28 and forced the Indians to retire to the vicinity of present day Tiverton. Philip fled across the bay to hide in the swamps of Pocasset territory, later escaping and taking refuge among the Nipmucks. The colonial troops moved into the country of the Narragansetts, but their sachem Canonchet could not be

found. The militia returned to Plymouth with 160 Pocassetts who had surrendered; the entire group were sold into slavery in the West Indies by the Plymouth authorities, as were many others later.

In August 1675 the isolated little settlement of Brookfield, halfway between the villages around Boston and settlements along the Connecticut river, was abandoned. The river towns of Deerfield, Hatfield, Hadley and Springfield were separated from the Massachusetts colony by a stretch of wilderness, and were highly exposed to attacks. Deerfield was attacked and abandoned in September 1675; a body of 80 men from Northampton were sent back to the town in an attempt to salvage the harvest, but were ambushed by a war party on the banks of the river at a place still known as Bloody Brook. Western Massachusetts was now so dangerous that the Commissioners of the United Colonies – Massachusetts, Plymouth, Rhode Island and Connecticut – despatched an army of over 1,000 men to the Connecticut river valley in an attempt to clear the valley of hostile Indians; this was largely unsuccessful, and gave rise to considerable animosity between the various colonial forces.

During the winter of 1675–76 the Indians were nevertheless forced to retire to their villages by deep snows and bitter weather. Stung by their unsuccessful campaign in the Connecticut valley, the Massachusetts authorities turned instead on the so-called Praying Indians, interning 400 on Deer Island at Boston Harbor. Without food or possessions, many died; others fled and joined Philip or other hostile bands.

The Narragansetts were not at first involved in the war, but in November 1675 the colonists demanded that their leader Canonchet surrender two female sachems who had taken refuge in his territory. Canonchet refused, and the colonists sent a large expeditionary force into what is now Rhode Island, where the Narragansetts had a fortified village in the middle of the Great Swamp. In the attack that followed perhaps 1,000 Indians were killed, but Canonchet and Weetamoo, the widow of Philip's brother Alexander, escaped. This massacre was denounced by Capt Benjamin Church, a friend of the Indians; predictably, Canonchet now became a bitter and dangerous enemy of the colonists.

The colony's first contact with Weetamoo, a female Pocasset sachem, had been as long ago as 1659, when she complained to the Pilgrims that her husband Alexander had incorrectly sold land which really belonged to her. At the onset of the war Weetamoo became a determined foe of the English, allying herself to several other Indian leaders, and finally with a Narragansett chief named Quinnapen. He was one of the leaders of the attack on Lancaster in February 1676, when Mary Rowlandson was taken prisoner. Mary became a servant of Weetamoo during her captivity; she subsequently recalled her experiences, describing the chieftainess as bedecked with wampum and beads, wearing red stockings and with her face painted. While wandering in the Connecticut river valley with her captors Mary met King Philip and made a shirt for his son, and other clothes for his half-starved band. Finally, Mary was ransomed and reunited with her family in Boston.

When Quinnapen was killed at Newport, Rhode Island, in August 1676, Weetamoo fled to Niantic country, before returning to the vicinity of Swansea. Here her band was attacked by colonists; she drowned when she tried to escape by river, and when her body was washed ashore it was beheaded and the head was displayed on a pole at Taunton.

The other female sachem sheltered by the Narragansetts was Awashonks of the Sakonnets, whom Philip tried to enlist in his war with the English. However, she was friendly with Capt Benjamin Church, who agreed to put her band under the protection of the governor at Plymouth; but this agreement was not honored, and consequently she joined Philip and Canonchet, the Narragansett chief, at Mount Wachusett for a great gathering of the hostile Indians. As events turned against Philip, she again put herself under English protection. The date of her death is unknown, but her grave marker may still be seen at Little Compton, Rhode Island.

By spring 1676 the Indians were starving. The colonists knew the old Indian fishing grounds, driving them away and keeping them on the move so that they were unable to plant corn, beans and squash. When Canonchet, who had been living in western Massachusetts, returned to Narragansett country in hope of finding caches of stored food, he and his followers were discovered by a group of Connecticut soldiers accompanied by Mohegans and other local Indians, and were captured. Canonchet was taken to Stonington, Connecticut, and turned over to the Mohegans and Niantics, who killed him and sent his head to Hartford as a trophy.

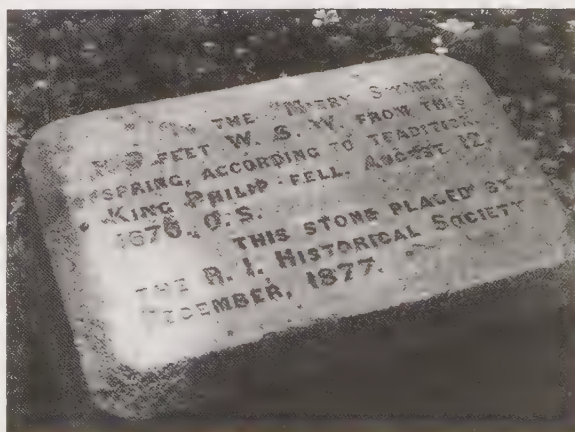
The death of Canonchet was the turning point for Indian resistance. Scores of white captives were released, and some Indians became informers. Combined colonial forces under William Turner undertook to recover the Connecticut valley, inflicting heavy losses on the Indians (although Turner himself was killed, at what is now Turner Falls). By mid June 1676 the area of western Massachusetts was considered safe, and by July only a handful of the most notorious hostile warriors remained at large – amongst them, Philip.

That month Capt Benjamin Church offered his services to the Plymouth authorities, who agreed to his recruitment of some of Awashonks' warriors for a combined force of white rangers and Indians. The war that had started in the Plymouth colony and then spread as far west as the Berkshire Hills was shrinking back to the original battleground. In late July news came that Philip himself had been seen near Taunton, and Church moved quickly, capturing Philip's wife and son. The sachem himself escaped and moved towards his home at Mount Hope, perhaps to rally his few remaining allies or to secure food before fleeing to a safer area. The colonial forces surrounded Philip's band, and two of Church's men – one white, the other a Sakonnet brave called John Aldeman – saw a warrior running through the forest. The Indian killed him with a single shot, and when they approached the body they found that it was Philip. Like Weetamoo and Canonchet, he was beheaded; and the parading of this grisly trophy through the streets of Plymouth on August 17 brought the tragic war to a close.²

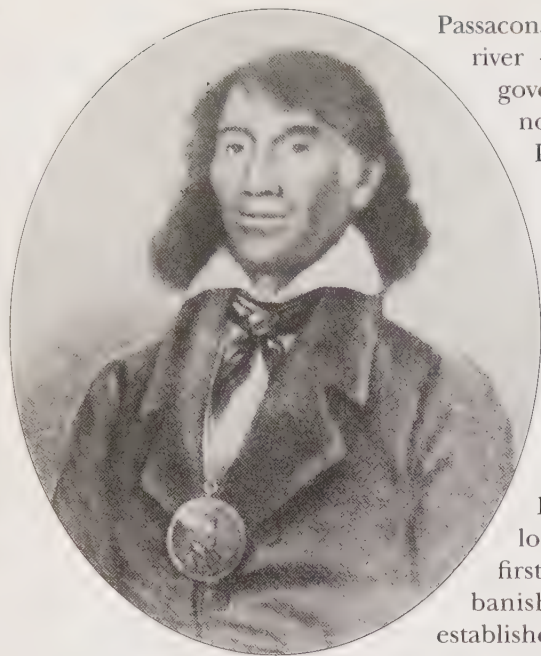
Aftermath

The effects of the war also engulfed the tribes of New Hampshire and Maine. Although

The King Philip Monument at Mount Hope, Bristol, RI. It is placed close to the spot where the Wampanoag sachem was killed on August 12, 1676 by a Sakonnet Indian of Church's band called John Aldeman. (Author's photograph)



² See MAA 372, *Colonial American Troops 1610–1774* (2)



Abram Quary or Quady, a Wampanoag descendant reported to be the last male with Indian blood from Nantucket Island, who died in 1854 at the age of 82 years.

Passaconaway – chief of the Pennacooks on the lower Merrimack river – had sworn allegiance to the Massachusetts colonial government in 1644, his son Wannalancet withdrew his people northward during King Philip's War to avoid involvement. Despite this precaution, a colonial raiding party burnt a Pennacook village and 200 were captured by Waldron in 1676, and as a result remnants fled to Schaghticoke on the Hudson and moved ultimately to Canada. However, the coastal Abenakis – whose chief seat was near Pemaquid – forced the English to abandon the area; they signed a treaty with the English in 1678, and retained their lands until the Rasles War of 1724.

John Eliot, a minister at Roxbury, Massachusetts and formerly a student at Cambridge University in England, began the conversion of Indians to the Christian faith in 1646. He had for some time been studying one of the local languages with the help of a young Indian servant. At first the number of converts were few, and they were often banished by their own people. A small settlement was established at Concord, and in 1650 a town called Natick was built about 18 miles west of Boston. Under Eliot's direction a number of such groups were founded on Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket islands, called "Praying Indians"; but the converts were almost entirely among those Indians who were most dependent upon the English settlers. The Mayhew family also acquired the knowledge of a native tongue and was said to have had 280 converts to Christianity on Martha's Vineyard. By 1687 at least six "churches" and 18 villages of Praying Indians were reported; and by 1695 some 3,000 adult Indian converts were on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket islands, where there were several native preachers. The Indian groups who survived the war gathered into Christian "assemblies", the Massachusetts at Natick and Punkapog (Stroughton); the Wampanoags at Fall River, Herring Pond, Yarmouth, Dartmouth, Mashpee and Gay Head, and Christiantown on Martha's Vineyard island. By the 20th century only those at Mashpee and Gay Head survived in any numbers. The Narragansett survivors have continued on their old lands near Charlestown, Rhode Island, and a handful of Nipmucks remained in Massachusetts at Grafton and Dudley; but the Pocumtucks combined with the Abenakis, and disappeared forever.

THE ABENAKI TRAIL LEADS NORTH

The year 1689 saw the beginnings of a series of wars between Great Britain and France. The deposing of James II and his replacement by William of Orange and his wife Mary as King and Queen of England was one cause of the War of the Grand Alliance (1689–97). This great European conflict had its distant echo in the New World; both England and France enlisted Indian tribes as auxiliaries, to make attacks on each other's colonial frontier settlements, and a raid by one side was certain to be answered with a reprisal. Called by the colonists "King William's War", this was the first of four great wars. It was

Others were ransomed or returned home during intervals of peace. Three well-known episodes from these years will illustrate the nature of frontier and Indian warfare.

King William's War: Hannah Dustin's story

A famous story of the first of these conflicts concerns Hannah Dustin of Haverhill, Massachusetts. Her family lived in a frontier settlement on the edge of the New England colony. On March 15, 1697 the settlement was attacked by Indians who had trekked south from their base in French Canada, and the Dustin house was the first that they approached. Hannah had just given birth and was in the main blockhouse being nursed by a neighbor, a young girl named Mary Neff; her husband Thomas Dustin was either chopping wood or working at his brick kiln. Thomas managed to save their other seven children by escaping, keeping himself between the Indians and his children by the dexterous use of his gun. A running fight raged for a mile or so until they were able to reach a neighbor's garrison house, at which point the Indians gave up the fight.

Hannah was not so lucky. The Indians killed her newborn child, and took Hannah and Mary Neff back towards Canada to be adopted by Indian families, as was the custom. For a number of days the party journeyed northwest until they reached an island called Contoocook, situated at the junction of the Merrimack and Contoocook rivers about six miles north of present day Concord, New Hampshire. This was the home of one of the captors and his family – a small Indian village consisting of two men, three women and seven children together with a 14-year-old English boy named Samuel Leonardson, who had been captured during a previous raid on Worcester. While in this camp Hannah learnt from Leonardson the techniques of killing adversaries with a tomahawk blow to the head, and how to take a scalp. One night while the unsuspecting warriors were sleeping, Hannah, Leonardson, and Mary killed ten of the Indians; only one old woman and a young boy

escaped. They also scalped several, and wrapped their grisly trophies in a cloth. The three then made the perilous journey home, to be reunited with their families, and to become legends on the frontier. The heroine of Haverhill and her husband, Mary Neff and Samuel Leonardson journeyed to Boston on April 21 to relate their stories, and were rewarded from public funds. The tomahawk used to kill the Indians, the cloth in which they packed the gory scalps, and other relics are still in the collection of the Haverhill Historical Society.

Reconstruction of the "Indian House" at Deerfield, MA, owned by Capt John Sheldon when the village was attacked by the French and Indians in February 1704. The house door has become a symbol of the pioneer spirit; it was salvaged when the original house was demolished in 1847, and since the 1880s it has been displayed in Deerfield's Memorial Hall museum. Still visible are the cuts and gashes made by the attackers' hatchets, and the hole through which they fired to finally subdue the defenders. (Author's photograph)



Queen Anne's War: the Deerfield raid

An episode of the fighting at the beginning of the 18th century was the French and Indian raid on the outpost village of Deerfield on the Connecticut river in Massachusetts. Founded in 1669, this settlement was devastated twice, the first time in 1675, and later in February 1704. That month some 50 French Canadians and 200 Abenakis and Cagh Nawaga-Iroquois, led by Hertel de Rouville, came down from Canada via Lake Champlain and the Green Mountains to the Connecticut river. Two miles from the village they halted, discarded their snowshoes (because the snow had formed a strong crust), and waited for the opportune moment. They attacked at first light on the morning of February 29; taking the villagers by surprise, they killed between 45 and 50 people, carried off 109 captives, and left the settlement smoldering behind them.

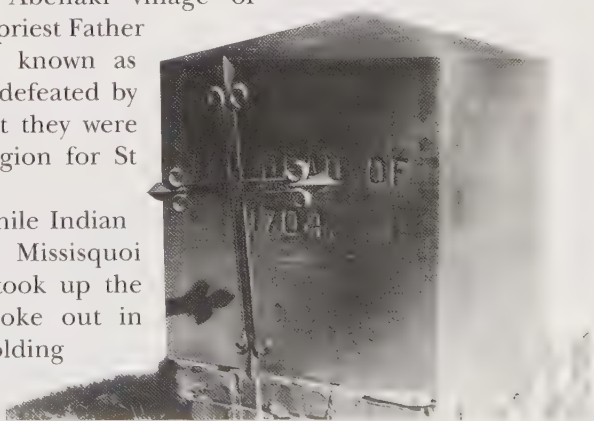
Hardly half of the captives ever reached Canada, as many died on the dreadful march through the frozen forests. One noted captive was the Rev John Williams, whose wife Eunice died on the journey. Later Williams was exchanged for French prisoners; but his daughter – also Eunice – aged seven at the time, was adopted by the Cagh Nawagas. She grew up among them and became the wife of an Indian by whom she had several children; she refused to return to live in New England, although she did visit friends and relatives.

* * *

After Queen Anne's War the Treaty of Utrecht (1715) brought peace between France and England in Europe, but did not resolve their rivalry in North America. The British settlements continued to expand north along the Merrimack and Connecticut river valleys. For a time the Abenakis held conferences with Massachusetts colony, until Governor Shute declared war on them in 1722. There followed a period of five years of warfare variously known as Dummer's War or Rasles' War, or more properly Grey Lock's War. Grey Lock seems to have been born a Pocumtuck and was probably a refugee from King Philip's War – which saw a great dispersal of New England Indians to the north and west, first to Schaghticoke, then Missisquoi and St Francis. He became leader of the Missisquoi Abenakis, making raids on the northern English settlements. Lieutenant Governor Dummer of Massachusetts secured the northern frontier by building a fort north of Northfield which bore his name, but Grey Lock continued to raid. In 1724 the colonists destroyed the eastern Abenaki village of Norridgewock and killed the influential French priest Father Rasles; and the following year the Abenakis known as Pigwackets and the Pennacooks were so badly defeated by Capt John Lovewell's expedition in Maine that they were forced to leave the upper Merrimack river region for St Francis, or to move towards Lake Champlain.

By 1727 the war gradually died down; but while Indian fortresses fell to the colonists, Grey Lock's Missisquoi remained defiant and undefeated; they later took up the hatchet again in the general war which broke out in 1744. However, this was little more than a holding action to slow the tide of white settlement in Abenaki lands.

The mass grave of 47 people killed in the French and Indian raid from Canada on Deerfield, MA, on the morning of February 29, 1704. Of the 109 captives taken, barely half ever reached Canada. Several later returned home; but some female children married into Indian families and never returned – their descendants are in Canada still. (Author's photograph).





Major Rogers and Captain Jacob, a Stockbridge Mahican scout – from a reconstruction painting by the late Ron Embleton now at Fort Ticonderoga, NY. At least two full companies of Stockbridges formed part of the Ranger force. The British commander in 1759, Gen Amherst, was no admirer of irregulars, but recognized their usefulness; it was he who promoted Rogers to major in charge of nine Ranger companies, and sent him on the raid to St Francis. The reconstruction of Rogers is after the only known 18th century image of a Ranger officer, a mezzotint published in London by Thomas Hart in October 1776. (Courtesy Mrs Elizabeth Embleton & Fort Ticonderoga Museum)

The French & Indian War: the St Francis raid

This war turned decisively in Britain's favor in September 1759, with Gen James Wolfe's posthumous victory at Quebec, but campaigning continued for another year. Immediately following the Quebec operation, Gen Jeffrey Amherst decided to crush the base of Indian attacks on the New England frontier by a long-range raid on the Abenaki village of St Francis (present day Odanak, Quebec). Famously, he entrusted the mission to the American 'Ranger' company led by Maj Robert Rogers. There were by that date about a dozen of these locally recruited companies attached to British forces for scouting and irregular warfare, and Rogers was the most experienced and senior of their officers.⁴ Rogers led some 200 Rangers, Iroquois and Stockbridge Indians (Mahicans from Stockbridge, Massachusetts) northwards from Crown Point at the foot of Lake Champlain; eluding French vessels on the lake, they traveled via Missisquoi Bay and proceeded to the St Francis river. On October 6, 1759 – the 22nd day after leaving Crown Point – they attacked St Francis at dawn, and killed some 200 Indians; the number, and the proportion who were actually warriors, is disputed by Indian sources. They also took 20 prisoners, freed five English captives, and counted 600 scalps hanging on poles in the village. The Rangers burnt the church, houses and Indian lodges, and by 7am the attack was over. Rogers'

hidden boats and supplies had been discovered, however, and he was obliged to return overland by way of Lake Memphremagog and the Connecticut river to Fort No.4. He lost 60 men during a 230-mile odyssey through Vermont, to attacks by pursuing Indians and French and to starvation and exhaustion in the empty woods. Although this raid was probably a good deal less significant than 20th century fiction would have us believe, nevertheless it is undeniable that the St Francis Abenakis were never again a threat to the New England frontier.

Today the St Francis community is still an Indian reserve with about 200 people resident, but others are working in Canada's eastern towns and cities. Despite a huge admixture of white ancestry, and loss of their language, they are still Abenakis ("Easterners"). The Catholic church destroyed by Rogers has been rebuilt twice since 1759, and a memorial plaque commemorating Rogers' raid reads: *"This area is planted as a living memorial to the Saint Francis Indians, men, women and children who died in Rogers' Raid October 6, 1759"*. Ironically, during the 19th and early 20th centuries Abenaki families often visited country villages in New England, selling their baskets and model canoes in areas which they had terrorized 150 years before.

4 See MAA 383, *Colonial American Troops 1610-1774* (3); and Warrior 85, *The American Colonial Ranger – The Northern Colonies 1724-64*

THE MAHICAN & DELAWARE TRAIL LEADS WEST

The Mahican

The Mahican (or Mohican, to the English and in popular writings), lived on both sides of the Hudson river, from where the Mohawk river joins the Hudson, south to the Catskill Mountains. By the end of the 17th century, weakened by European diseases and colonial wars, the remnants of the Mahican combined with their neighboring tribes, who were closely related, into a confederacy. These smaller groups were the Housatonok, Weantinock or Wyachtonok (sometimes given as a Paugussett group), and the Wapping. In 1676 a number settled at Schaghticoke near the junction of the Hoosic and Hudson rivers; joined by some New England Indians, they later moved to Canada. In 1736 another group, basically Mahican, settled at Stockbridge, Massachusetts and thenceforth became known as Stockbridge Indians.

Their name derives from "Muhheakunnuk", a placename on the tidal stretch of the Hudson. Their language was closest to the Munsee Delaware, but showed resemblances to the dialects of the New England remnants who joined them after King Philip's War of 1675-76. Their total population at the end of the 16th century, including other related "River Indian" groups but excluding the coastal Munsee-speaking groups, was perhaps 4,500; but by 1700 it had fallen to little more than 500.

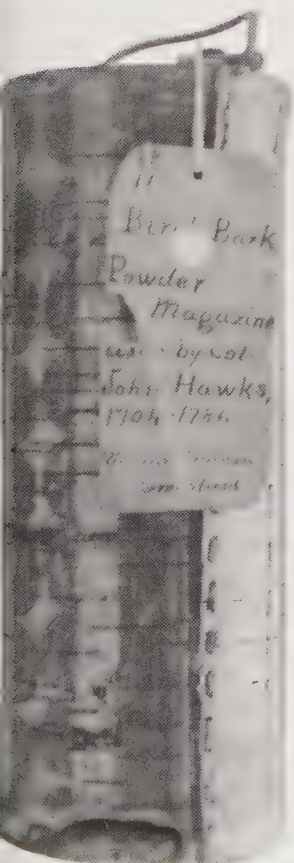
Their contacts with Europeans began following Hudson's visit in 1609 and the establishment by the Dutch of Fort Orange, which soon drew them into the fur trade and into competition with the Mohawks. During the 1630s they were swept by smallpox and other epidemics, and later came into conflicts with the lower Hudson river groups and the Dutch. In 1664 the Dutch colony fell to the English, who concluded a series of conferences with the Mahican, lower Hudson river groups and the Iroquois, forcing an alliance known as the Covenant Chain. During the 18th century Indian presence in the Hudson valley gradually lessened, the Mahicans merging into those at Schaghticoke and Stockbridge or joining their relatives the Delawares at the Moravian missions in Pennsylvania. Men from Stockbridge served the British in the French and Indian War, but the Americans during the Revolution.

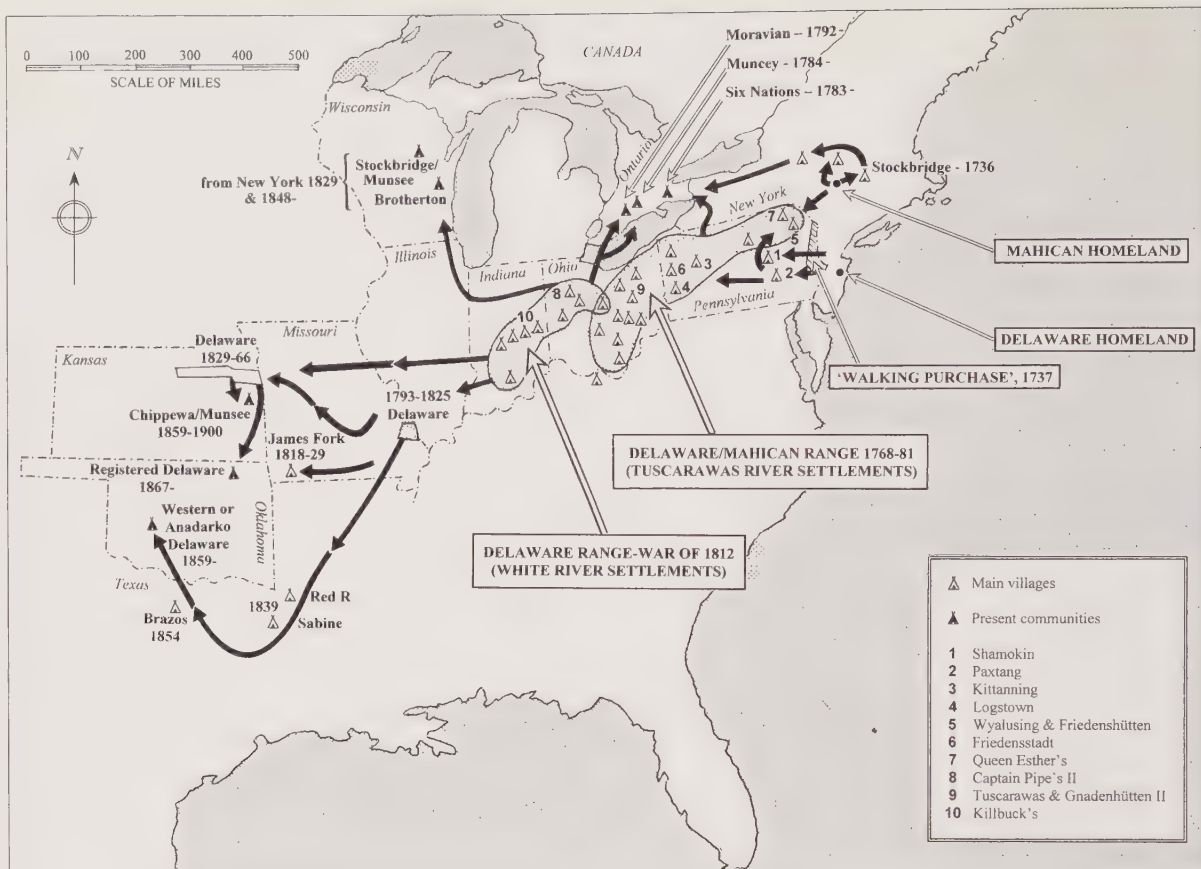
In Pennsylvania the Mahicans joined the Delawares at Friedenshütten (Wyalusing) and Gnadenhütten (Leighton), and others joined the Nanticoke under Iroquois protection at Otsingino, New York. In 1772 a number moved to the Moravian missions on the Tuscarawas river in eastern Ohio, where they were massacred by American militia; the survivors moved on to the Sandusky river. Moving yet further west, they joined and merged with the Munsee Delawares in Wisconsin, Kansas and Oklahoma, or moved to the Thames River and Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada. While descendants remain in all these locations, they are without their old tribal language and traditions and have merged with Delawares.

The Delaware

The Delaware are one of the most famous of native American peoples, originally occupying the extreme lower Hudson valley, Manhattan

Birchbark container, identified as a powder magazine but almost certainly of Indian make, which was used by Col John Hawks (1704-86) of Deerfield during King George's War in the 1740s. (Gift of William Guinan, courtesy Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield; author's photograph)





The roads west: Mahican and Delaware movements, c.1660 to present day.

Island, the extreme western end of Long Island, the whole of New Jersey and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Delaware. They had evolved into a large number of loosely connected villages and sub-tribes with no political structure; they referred to themselves as Lenape, "original or real people". The name Delaware derives from an English governor of Virginia, Lord de la Warr, who never actually set foot in the land of the people who have ever since carried his name. There were at least three Delaware dialects: the northern or Munsee dialect, and two Unami dialects of central and southern New Jersey. The major groups from the mass of minor tribal and placenames were the Esopus, "small river", a Munsee-speaking group on the west bank of the Hudson in New York; the Hackensack, "place of sharp ground" on the lower Hudson; the Manhattan, "place that is in an island"; the Rockaway and Canarsee of Long Island; and the Minisinks or Munsees, "mountain people", who lived in the upper Delaware basin and the Poconos Mountains. The Unamis, "down-river people", lived on the lower Delaware and its tributaries, and the Unalachitigos, "people near the ocean", in southern New Jersey. Later these three became identified from their leading clans, Munsee the Wolf, Unami the Turtle and Unalachitigo the Turkey. In time the latter group disappeared.

Their lands were invaded by the Dutch who founded New Amsterdam in 1624, and by Swedish colonists in 1638. The Dutch were chiefly interested in trade, but the Swedes were mostly settlers, who were the first

(continued on page 33)

PREHISTORIC PEOPLES 1: Paleo-Indian man 2: Early Archaic man 3: Early Archaic woman
4: Late Archaic shelter 5: Late Archaic man 6: Woodland Period girl 7: Late Woodland wigwam





CENTRAL NEW ENGLAND CHIEFS
1: Ninigret 2: "King Philip" – Metacombet
3: Stockbridge chief 4: Mohegan chief



17th/18th CENTURY WARRIORS 1: Abenaki 2: Abenaki 3: Deerfield raid 4: Stockbridge-Mahican scout 5: The Indian House, Deerfield



SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND, 17th/EARLY 18th CENTURIES

1: Delaware warrior, 1682 2: Delaware sachem, 1682 3: Mahican sachem Etow Oh Koam; London, 1710 4: Delaware sachem Lapowinsa, 1737

DELAWARE, 19th & 20th CENTURIES

1: Delaware man, Ontario 2: Delaware man, Indian Territory 3 & 4: Oklahoma Delaware woman 5: Oklahoma Delaware woman 6: Oklahoma Delaware Big House





MALECITE & MICMAC, 19th CENTURY

1: Malecite hunter 2: Micmac woman 3: Micmac chief
4: Birchbark wigwags 5: Birchbark canoe



PENOBSCOT & PASSAMAQUODDY,
19th CENTURY

- 1: Penobscot man
- 2: Penobscot woman
- 3: Passamaquoddy man
- 4: Penobscot woman & child
- 5: Cradle board



CONTEMPORARY DANCERS' REGALIA,
c.2004

1: Wampanoag man

2: Micmac man

3: Stockbridge-Munsee woman

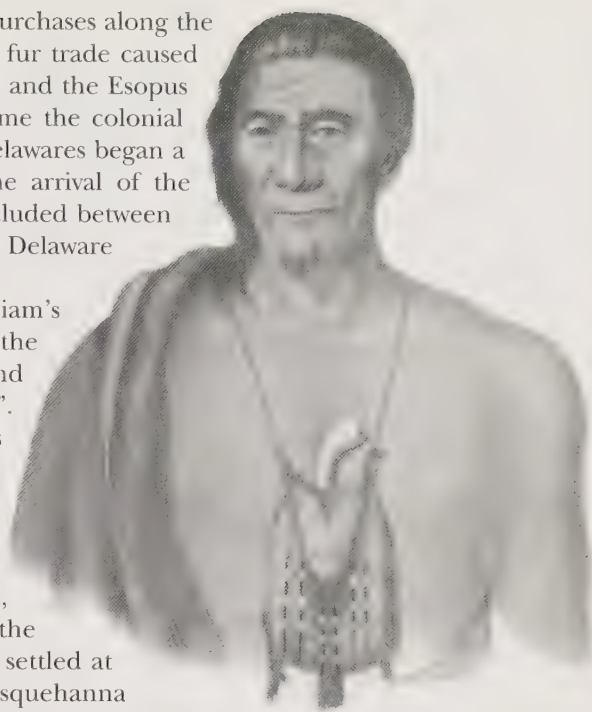
4: National Museum of the American Indian

to approach the Delaware lineage-leaders for land purchases along the Delaware river. Fierce international rivalry over the fur trade caused the Dutch and Indian wars of 1643–45 and of 1655, and the Esopus War of 1663. In September 1664 the English became the colonial power in the region, and from then onwards the Delawares began a movement of withdrawal. This was initiated by the arrival of the Quakers under William Penn, and the treaties concluded between 1682 and 1736 which saw their lands on the lower Delaware and Susquehanna rivers transferred to the colonists.

In August 1737, Pennsylvania settlers led by William's sons agreed the so-called "Walking Purchase" with the Delawares, by which the Indians would cede land "as far as a man can walk in one day and a half". However, the colonists employed runners, thus cheating the Delawares of additional land from the Delaware Water Gap to the mouth of Lackawaxen Creek; the whole of southeastern Pennsylvania and much of New Jersey was now in the hands of the colonists. The Delawares appealed to the Iroquois, their "uncles", who ordered them to move to the Wyoming valley in 1742. Some bands were already settled at Paxtang (1709) and Shamokin (1718) on the Susquehanna river, and movement to the Wyoming valley region accelerated after the Walking Purchase. The relocation of the Delawares to the Susquehanna and Wyoming valleys and also to western Pennsylvania actually benefited the Iroquois, by closing the "Southern Door" to whites, at least for a period.

However, another fraudulent land sale at Albany in 1754, this time by individual Iroquois chiefs acting without authority, saw the Susquehanna Company of Connecticut acquire the Wyoming valley in Pennsylvania. During the French and Indian War (1754–63) the Delawares, now within reach of the French and independent of the Iroquois, turned against Pennsylvania; they had not forgotten the Walking Purchase or the Wyoming sale, and the Iroquois were unable to control them. While some Susquehanna Delaware were now under the influence of the Moravian missionaries, the Delawares and Shawnees from the Kittanning region on the Allegheny river under Captain Jacobs and Shingas, plus Teedyuscung's Susquehanna Delawares, ravaged the Pennsylvania settlements. The Iroquois, after a campaign of diplomatic pressure, finally brought Teedyuscung to heel by the signing of a peace treaty at Easton in 1758. In April 1763, Teedyuscung was killed and his village at Wyoming, Pennsylvania was burnt by settlers from Connecticut and Iroquois in their pay. The Delawares then abandoned the area.

Western Delawares also took part in Pontiac's War (1763) and the Revolutionary War, but by now they were withdrawing further west, first to Beaver Creek, then to the Tuscarawas and Muskingum rivers in eastern Ohio. During the American Revolution chiefs White Eyes, Killbuck and Newcomer of the Turtle division of the Delawares were pro-American, while Captain Pipe and Custaloga of the Wolf division were pro-British. The Turkey division moved west to the White river in Indiana to avoid involvement. At the end of the 18th century there were Delaware villages at Cape Girardeau near the junction of the Ohio and



The Delaware sachem Tishcohan, in an engraving from the portrait painted c.1735 by the Swedish artist Hesselius; note the clay pipe sticking out of the tobacco bag around his neck. This, and the companion portrait of Lapowinsa (see page 44), are the only known images of early 18th century Delawares. Both chiefs apparently signed the infamous Walking Purchase treaty of 1737, by which the good Quakers of Philadelphia swindled the Delawares out of their lands. (McKenney & Hall – see bibliography)



Bandolier bag, with extraordinary fields of multicolored beadwork on the strap (red cloth) and bag (black cloth). The bag is reported to have belonged to the Christian Delaware leader in Oklahoma, Chief Journeycake. (Roberta Campbell Lawson Collection, courtesy Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma)

Mississippi rivers in Spanish Missouri territory, and bands along the White river in Indiana who finally made peace with the Americans at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795.

A few Delawares who had remained in New Jersey, known as Brothertons, joined with some New England Indians who had moved to lands given by the Iroquois in New York during Samson Occom's time, and ultimately moved to Wisconsin in the 1830s. A number of Moravian Delawares and Mahicans from the Ohio villages eventually settled on the Thames river, Ontario. Other Munsee Delawares also moved there, and some accompanied the Iroquois to the Grand river, Ontario, at the close of the American Revolution. A few also moved to Wisconsin with the Stockbridge in the 1830s. By that date a band affiliated with some Shawnee moved to Texas, and via the Sabine and Brazos rivers found their way ultimately to Anadarko, Oklahoma, in 1867. However, the largest Delaware group from Missouri had gathered by 1835 on a reservation in Kansas, from where they moved to Indian Territory, Oklahoma, in 1867, finally incorporating with the Cherokee; their descendants live around Bartlesville. The Delawares in the west mastered Plains Indian life and skills, becoming expert horsemen and buffalo hunters, ranging from Texas to the upper Missouri. Some believed

them better military auxiliaries than the Pawnee and Cheyenne; others became mountain trappers and married into several western tribes.

A few are said to have remained in the east; the so-called Ramapos and others in New Jersey and New York may have their ancestry. Of the 16,000 reported present-day descendants, perhaps half were identifiably Delaware although of mixed tribal and racial descent. The Unami dialect has gone; in Canada the Munsee dialect has been revived and retained by a handful of people.

RELIGION & CEREMONY

Delaware beliefs recognized that all things have spirit or *mana*, not only mankind but air, animals, trees, plants and even rocks; even some stars were living beings, the Big Dipper or Plough of European star-lore being called "Bear". There were three groups of supernatural beings: the Great Spirit, Creator or Great *Manito* above the earth, with 11 other lesser spirits or manitos below the earth, and certain other spirit forces on earth. Christian missionaries in the 18th century reported the Great Spirit as a well-developed concept, the preserver of the highest heaven, with the 11 subordinate spirits, each with a heaven of its own, being his attendants to execute his behests. They reported these secondary spirits as Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water, House, Corn, and the four cardinal

points – East, West, North and South. Later, when the Delawares finally settled in Oklahoma, Fire, Water and House seem to have been replaced by two Thunders and the Mask Being.

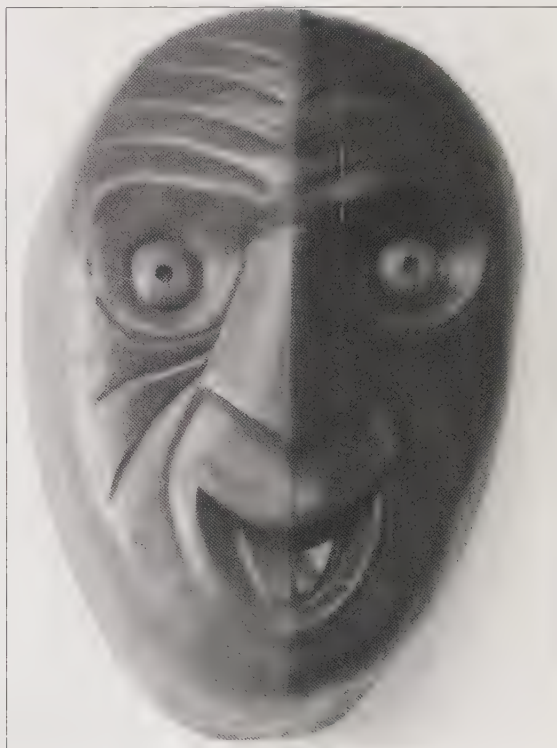
The so-called Big House Ceremony, which lasted 12 days, was the principal annual ritual, to give thanks to the Great Spirit in his highest or Twelfth Heaven and to his principal agents below, and also to remind devout Delawares that the spirits were the reality. This ritual carried several important and probably ancient symbols: the concepts of a large ceremonial dwelling to represent the universe, its earth the floor, the roof the sky and walls the four cardinal points, the centre post or World Tree symbolizing the spirit path from sky to earth. The social grouping of clans (Turtle, Turkey and Wolf) was represented inside the building; and carved wooden masks adorned the 12 side and main centre posts of the Big House structure, representing spirit beings called *mesingw* who made sure the animals of the forest were healthy and would provide enough meat for the celebrants to feed their families. Twelve was the sacred Delaware number; a Delaware community had 12 “selected men” who took part in religious rites and held civil authority, and the soul took 12 years to reach the Twelfth Heaven after death. The last Big House Ceremony took place in 1924.

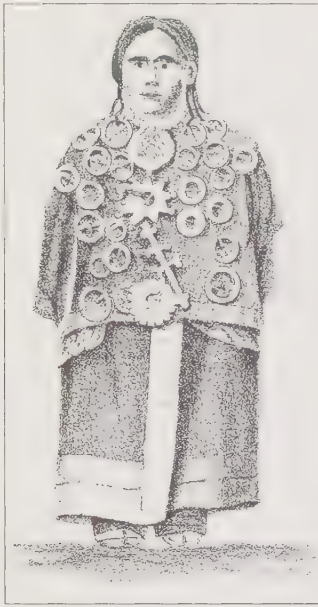
After their arrival in Oklahoma some Delawares adopted the Peyote religion, which uses the mild narcotic *lophophora williamii* as a holy sacrament in night-long rituals in canvas tipis or church houses. A part-Delaware man, John Wilson, is credited with establishing one of the two versions of Peyotism about 1900. This Big Moon form (which describes the altar shape) is still used today in Oklahoma. Peyote is derived from part Christian and part native beliefs and had its origins in Mexico. Known today as the Native American Church, it has many adherents throughout North America.

Missionaries mention the Delaware great flood myth, which relates that some human survivors took refuge on a turtle’s back; hence the turtle represents the earth in their mythology, the creature’s shell markings and colour often being used as male face paintings in Big House ceremonials.

We know relatively little about the religious concepts of the **southern New England tribes**, but again there seems to have been a belief in a Creator or *Kytan*. Their world was saturated with spirit forces such as heavenly bodies, the seasons, cardinal directions, corn, fire, weather, and natural phenomena such as earthquakes and comets. Shamans called “powwows” were believed to be able to direct these spirits for good or ill. In southern New England corn was a staple food and had a significant place in the spiritual life of the people. A small amount of *yokeag* (journey or “johnny” cake) – dried corn kernels, parched and pulverized – would sustain a traveller or warrior on the trail for many hours. All foods were the gift of the Creator, and thanks were returned in the Green Corn Festival in

Delaware *mesingw* or spirit mask made by Jim Watkins of the Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma (Anadarko band). Walnut, with face painted half red and half black in traditional style. (Donald A.Drefke Collection, McAllen, Texas; photograph Terri Drefke)





Delawares and other Algonkian peoples used accurately costumed dolls as health guardian figurines – usually female figures, but sometimes male. If considered successful in prevention of illness such dolls would be displayed at the annual dances held in their honor. Although the tribal origin and function of the doll in this photograph is unknown, it displays many of the characteristics of such ritual figurines. (Author's collection)

late August. Mohegan descendants in Connecticut held such a festival as late as 1938, and it has recently been revived.

The **Wabanaki groups**, including the Micmac, were for the most part too far north for corn production, and lived in a climatically harsh environment where food supplies were uncertain. They too acknowledged a Supreme Creator, whom they identified with the sun. They also sought help from the moon, wife of the sun and mother to all mankind. These northern tribes also recognized a giant culture hero called Gluskap by the Micmac, who had been responsible for many of the geographical features of the land and was also their protector. He was a creator and made the world safe, but was not worshipped as a religious figure. The spiritual world contained many forces – air, night, water – requiring respect and offerings of tobacco. Fear of Swamp Woman was instilled in children to prevent them wandering into the woods and getting lost. Other supernatural forces existed, such as stone people and miniature people who lived in mountain caves. Some people also possessed special powers, some for good and others for evil, which could be manifest in great physical strength, predicting the future and the control of ghosts. The religion of these northern people, even when first described, was already influenced by Catholicism and European ideas of witchcraft in the 17th century.

MATERIAL CULTURE & DRESS

The Wabanaki groups were sheltered by small circular dome or tipi-shaped birchbark wigwams, so light that the covers could be transported from old to new village sites. In southern New England similar wigwams were often larger and covered with cat-tail reed mats. The earth floors were covered with spruce boughs topped with animal skins. Usually these dwellings sheltered a single family, but in summer several families might share a long, open-ended structure.

The northern tribes were expert makers of birchbark canoes which could be used for river, lake or even coastal travel. They were used at sea to hunt seals and porpoises and on rivers to catch fish and fowl. The Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki had distinctive canoe profiles. On land toboggans and sleds were used – the Micmac word *taba'gan* has been incorporated into English. Square-toed snowshoes made with thongs of moose or caribou hide allowed travel over snow. From birchbark all manner of containers were cut, folded and sewn, some of them watertight; the same material provided moose calls, torches and even shrouds. From plant material, women created textiles; other materials used included basswork, cedar, reeds, cat-tail reeds, nettles, Indian hemp and sweetgrass. They excelled in working stone, bone and wood for utensils, baby carriers, bowls, spoons, war clubs and shields.

The southern New England coastal tribes lived where corn agriculture was possible, in small villages where they tended their crops, fished and hunted. Mahican and Delaware lands were a mixture of spruce, oak, maple and birch woodland, where game included deer, moose, elk, bear, otter and turkey. Their culture was somewhat intermediate between the Iroquois and the coastal Algonkians; the Mohawks in particular exerted considerable influence on the Mahican,

who used similar bark-covered longhouses and shared some elements of the Iroquois clan system. Villages were sometimes located on hilltops, consisting of about a dozen dwellings each providing shelter for perhaps three families, with chiefs' houses decorated with painting or carving. Each village had a population of about 200 people, who moved the site perhaps every eight to 12 years. Villages were surrounded by gardens providing maize, beans and squash tended by the women. Herring and shad were taken from the rivers in dugout canoes or at fish weirs.

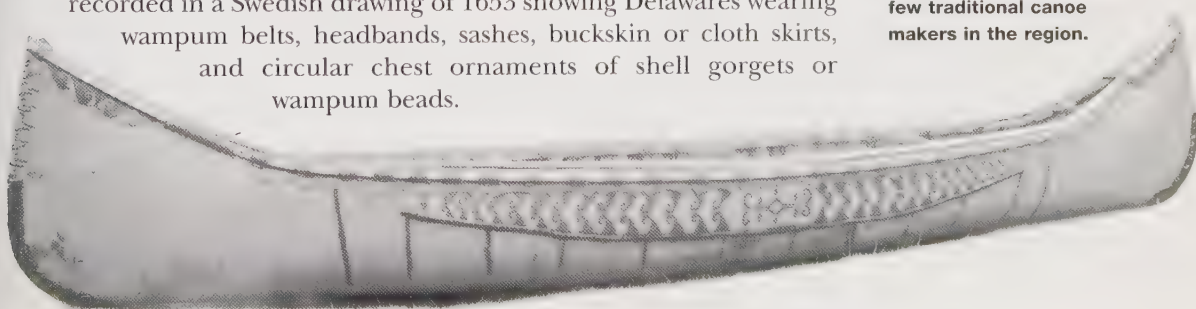


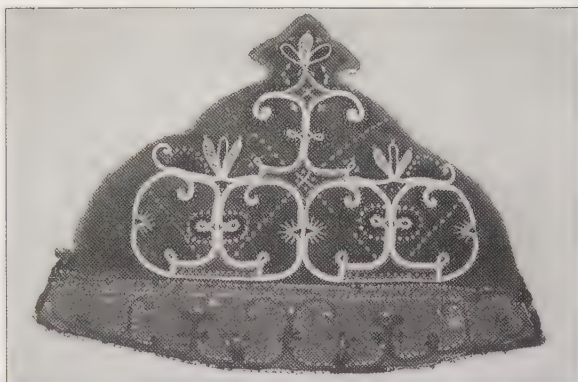
Cat-tail reeds cover the sapling frames of these southern New England type 17th century wigwams, reconstructed at the American Indian Archaeological Institute, Washington, CT. (Author's photograph)

Among the Maritime peoples, exemplified by the Micmac and Malecite, there is a tradition of a one-piece skin male shirt or tunic and a woman's dress of moose or caribou big enough to encircle a human body. More recently they have used an open-fronted skin or cloth coat in European style as their traditional male dress. Bear, walrus, seal and other animal skins were also used for clothing, decorated with figures of animals and magical protective designs in paint, porcupine quills, moosehair and later trade beads, often in the ritual colours of red, white, black and yellow.

There are almost no surviving examples of clothing from the 17th century, and what we know has to be interpolated from records and later dress and artefacts. By the early 17th century Europeans exploring the New England coast already found the Indians in possession of European materials, probably traded by Indian middlemen from fishing vessels. However, the basic male summer clothing for the whole region was a skin breechclout, belt, and moosehide or deerskin moccasins, with both sexes wearing their hair long and loose or coiled on top. In winter, robes of fur – often beaver – were worn with fur caps and hoods. We only have a few clues to the aboriginal dress of southern New England; an early painting of the Eastern Niantic chief Ninigret, from c.1637 but possibly later, shows him wearing a wampum shell headband and necklace and moccasins, with a cloth breechclout and robe. Similar dress was recorded in a Swedish drawing of 1653 showing Delawares wearing wampum belts, headbands, sashes, buckskin or cloth skirts, and circular chest ornaments of shell gorgets or wampum beads.

The eastern Maritime Indians were expert makers of light, strong, and versatile birchbark canoes, with tribal variations recognized by the outline profile and the sheer of the gunwales. Dependent on long-range travel by inland waterways, the white fur traders immediately recognized their value, and European tools – axes, knives, awls and chisels – greatly facilitated the making of canoes. The art had all but died out in the eastern Algonkian area by 1900; but it has been revived today by the craftsman Aaron York – the first Abenaki in 80 years to continue his ancestors' craft, and one of the very few traditional canoe makers in the region.





Micmac beaded tea cosy, c.1850. The delicate beadwork displays the Algonkian double-curve motif, which is known as far west as the Canadian Plains. It is probably a genuinely aboriginal design, since it is found worked in a variety of mediums on items pre-dating the 19th century souvenirs made for sale to whites. (Photograph Ian West)

Moccasins made in the 20th century by an Oklahoma Delaware traditionalist, Nora Thompson Dean. This example shows clearly the central seam running down the instep in the old Woodland form. The ribbonwork on the cuffs is dark blue with red edges, yellow lozenges and white beads; the instep beadwork is pale blue flanked with red, edged with yellow loops. (Author's photograph, courtesy University of Kansas)



By the 19th century men wore open-fronted coats, cloth collars and hoods, with cloth leggings and sashes. Women wore cloth leggings and blouses, and both sexes sometimes wore skirts, usually decorated with beadwork in white lace-like border designs or floral patterns. Geometric designs were produced on surfaces in moosehair or quillwork; the Micmac are famous for their birchbark objects covered with porcupine quillwork in a technique which was probably originally learned indirectly from the French nuns of Quebec in the 17th century.

Weapons for hunting and warfare were the bow and arrow, knife and spear, plus war clubs made from the root crown of a hardwood. A useful tool adapted from traded metal blades were called "crooked knives".

Warriors and hunters had already adopted the white man's guns, knives and iron tomahawks during the 17th century; their equipment also included a blanket, extra moccasins, a bullet bag and powder horn. Warriors recounted their deeds in public rituals which involved striking a post – a form of ceremonial shared with most eastern tribes. During the Delawares' time in the West they adopted certain Plains warrior traits, including use of the coup stick, and are said to have administered warrior medicine to white soldiers while serving as scouts.

* * *

Later, when desperate communities had been ravaged by illness and driven out of their traditional homes, craftwork was often restricted to objects which could be sold to whites; they partly supported themselves by the sale of such items as baskets, brooms, model canoes and bowls. The Scaticook and Mohegan of Connecticut, the St Francis Abenaki of Quebec and the Penobscot and Passamaquoddy of Maine made fine ash woodsplint baskets.

The Micmac, Malecite, Penobscot and Passamaquoddy excelled in fine beadwork during the 19th century, often displaying their characteristic double-curve motif, with stars, loops, plant and life forms, zigzag borders on women's hoods, moccasins, coats, chief-capes and purses made for sale. Beadwork examples have survived from the Mohegan of Connecticut and Montauk of Long Island. Maritime Indians also etched animal and double-curve designs on to canoes and bark vessels. Silver and metalwork in the form of brooches, armbands and gorgets were popular amongst the southern New England tribes and maritime groups. They were also amongst the earliest Native American people to develop ribbonwork, by cutting and folding differently colored silk strips into decorative bands for women's skirts and men's leggings.

The ceremonial dress of the Oklahoma Delaware men and women was influenced by other tribes during their epic 200-year westwards journey, particularly by the Shawnee, and later



Two Malecite or Penobscot purses, c.1870. The beadwork designs are typical of the Maritime Algonkians of the second half of the 19th century; apart from items made for sale to whites at a period of great want among many communities, the Wabanaki peoples were particularly known for decorating their own clothing with fine beadwork. Despite the probable European origin of true floral designs, they were by now so old in Indian tradition that protective symbolism was perhaps present. (Frank Bergevin Collection)

by their neighbors in Oklahoma – such Prairie tribes as the Osage, Ponca and Quapaw. Here men wore porcupine- and deer-hair head roaches, sometimes fur turbans, shirts of European materials, cloth or buckskin leggings with either ribbonwork or bead-work, and buckskin moccasins of the eastern center-seam construction with ankle

cuffs. Women wore trade cloth or calico blouses decorated with German silver buttons and brooches, and skirts and leggings adorned with wide bands of ribbonwork. A number of beaded shoulder pouches worn by men, slung diagonally across the chest, survive in museums; they are beaded in a distinctive style, perhaps of Shawnee influence. Delaware women sometimes wore a hair ornament shaped like a vertical bow, usually of broadcloth and decorated with silk ribbons and German silver buttons.

These ceremonial clothes were discarded as the old ceremonials fell into disuse by the early 20th century; however, the Oklahoma Delaware now sponsor a pan-Indian powwow at Copan each year in which dancers wear ceremonial clothing which reflects some aspects of traditional dress. By the early 20th century almost all Northeastern Algonkian culture and ceremonial had been forgotten, but today there is a renewed interest.

SOME FAMOUS LEADERS

GABE ATWIN or **AQUIN** A Malecite from New Brunswick, Canada, born at Kingsclear in about 1811. His family was displaced by the expanding settlers' hunger for land. He later founded the St Mary's Reserve just up-river from Fredericton. His traditional training made him a popular guide among British soldiers stationed in Fredericton, who greatly enjoyed caribou-hunting expeditions with him. In 1860 the Prince of Wales was visiting Fredericton; when he noticed a canoe coming down river he hailed it, asking for a ride. Despite the protests of his entourage from Government House, the prince was soon out on the river in a canoe with Gabe at the helm. Gabe was a Canadian delegate to the International Fisheries Exhibition in London, with his wigwam and birch canoe. On weekends he met many former officers whom he had known in Fredericton, and taught them and their ladies to canoe in St James's Park. At home he faced the last days of his traditional life and attempted to imitate the new life surrounding him. He died on October 2, 1901 in Devon, New Brunswick.

BASHABA Head chief of many coastal Maine villages, from Portland, Maine, to St John River, New Brunswick. First recorded by David Ingraham (1568), Gorges (1602) and Champlain (1604), he was killed in a skirmish with Micmacs.

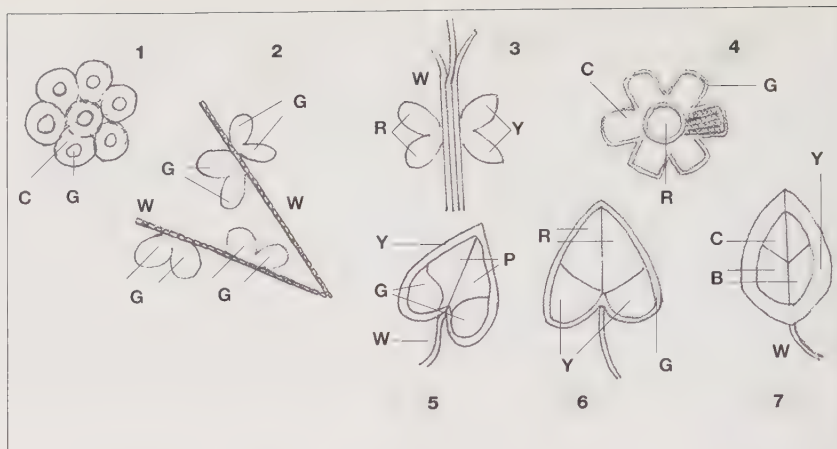
19th century Wabanaki beadwork designs – i.e. Micmac, Malecite, Passamaquoddy & Penobscot.

Colors: W = white, G = green, B = blue, P = pink, R = red, C = clear, Y = yellow.

Motifs: 1 = tight circles,

2 & 3 = small buds or “ears”,

4 = six- or eight-lobed petals with squared ends; 5, 6 & 7 = late 19th century floral designs.



CANONCHET (See above, “King Philip’s War”.) A sachem of the Narragansett, also called Nanuntenoo. He escaped from the Great Swamp Fight of December 1675, thereafter fighting the colonists. Captured by the English, he was handed over to the Mohegans and Niantics, who killed him.

CAPTAIN PIPE A Munsee Delaware sachem, captured while plotting to attack Fort Pitt in 1763 during Pontiac’s War. Later he led pro-British Delawares against the Americans during the Revolution. After the battle of Upper Sandusky in 1782 he allowed the torture of Col Crawford, who had been implicated in the killing of Pipe’s brother. After the war he maintained friendly relations with the new United States.

JOSEPH-LOUIS GILL The white chief of the St Francis Abenaki, son of two white captives. During the American Revolution he vacillated between supporting the British – now in control of Canada, with a presence at the village – and the Americans, seeking to assure his people’s safety in the event of an American invasion of Canada.

KILLBUCK Succeeding White Eyes in 1778 as chief of the Delawares on the Muskingum river, Ohio, he led the pro-American party during the Revolution. After the war he resigned his chieftainship to live with the Moravian missionaries, and died in 1811.

KONKAPOT A leader of the Housatonok Indians, a subgroup of the Mahican, in their dealings with colonial authorities in the 1730s and 1740s; the latter bestowed on him the title of Captain. He agreed in 1735 to the establishment of a mission at Stockbridge, western Massachusetts, where his people were thereafter known as “Stockbridge Indians”. They assisted the British as scouts and irregulars during the French and Indian War, but sided with the Americans during the Revolution. Only ever numbering a few hundred, they were a combination of Mahican, Housatonok, Weantinock, Wapping and Tunxis. After 1783 they moved to New York, and after 1829 to Wisconsin.

LAPACHPETON Chief of a village of the Unami Delaware north of present day Allentown, Pennsylvania. He was a friend of the colonists, and in 1732 signed away Indian lands between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers to Pennsylvania. On the death of Sassoonon he declined the appointment as head Delaware chief. In 1757–58 at the Easton conferences he urged peace with Pennsylvania. His later years were spent at his village on the North Branch of the Susquehanna. The

Delaware chiefs Nutimus, Tishcohan, Lapowinsa or Lappawinsoe, and perhaps Lapachpeton signed the "Walking Purchase" of August 1737, by which the Delawares were cheated out of land between the Neshamony and Delaware rivers by John and Thomas Penn.

MIANTONOMO Great Sachem of the Narragansetts, who helped the English against the Pequots in 1637, but was also suspected of plotting against the colonists on several occasions. During a war with Mohegans in 1643, he was taken prisoner and sentenced by the Court of Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston to be handed over to Uncas of the Mohegans, whose brother killed him.

NINIGRET A Niantic sachem, a relative of Miantonomo. He was a long-time rival of Uncas, and was also drawn into conflicts with the Long Island tribes. Although his visit to the Dutch on Manhattan in 1659 aroused the suspicion of the English, he remained neutral during King Philip's War, after which he succeeded Canonchet as chief of the combined Niantics and Narragansetts in Rhode Island. Sometimes called "an old crafty sachem", he consistently opposed Christianity, telling the missionary Mayhew to "go make the English good first".

PASSACONAWAY Born in the early 17th century, he ruled the Pennacook and Pigwacket, from the Merrimack to the Piscataqua. While still a young man he earned a great reputation as the most powerful shaman among his people: it was said that he could cause a green leaf to grow in winter, trees to dance, and water to burn. The colonial authorities were afraid of him, and in 1642 soldiers were sent to capture him. He went willingly; his guns and bows were taken away from him, but after a night's imprisonment he was released. Later the exploit was repeated when he was living with his son Wannalancet, who escaped without harm although fired upon; but his oldest son Nanamocomuck was captured and ill-treated, and never forgave the colonists. Passaconaway would not talk with the authorities until his son and daughter were released, which was done. In his death speech he warned that his people might not like what the English did, but from his experience in trying to prevent them from further settling, they would prevail – it was no use making war against them.

SASSACUS Chief of the Pequots at the time of Mason's attack on their fort at Mystic in 1637, he was absent at their western fort and escaped, abandoning his tribe with some 20 other men. They apparently journeyed to the Mohawks, who killed them, returning some of their scalps to the colonists at Hartford.

TAMANEND Chief sachem of the Delawares at the time of the Quaker Penn colony; tradition claims that he concluded a treaty with William Penn under the Shackamaxon Elm in Philadelphia in 1682, and again in 1683. Although little is known of him with certainty, he was a man of great fame with many admirers.

A painting made at Eastport, Maine, in 1817 of Denny Sockabasin, daughter of the Passamaquoddy chief Francis Joseph Neptune, wearing a hood and silver brooches and earrings. "Neptune" was the name of several hereditary Passamaquoddy chiefs from the early 1600s on. The first known chief was probably named after a French warship on which he served. Peter Paul Neptune signed the Treaty of 1725 as head chief. Francis Joseph Neptune was a guide during the surveying of the border between the US and Canada, and signed the treaty for land in 1796. The family has descendants today.



TANTAQUIDGEON A Mohegan captain under Uncas, he is reported to have captured Miantonimo in 1643. During the 20th century his descendants Harold and Gladys Tantaquidgeon ran a small museum founded by their father on their old tribal lands near Montville, Connecticut.

TEEDYUSCUNG A Delaware chief at the Forks of the Delaware at the junction of the Lehigh and Delaware rivers. He protested the Walking Purchase of 1737, and later joined the Moravians at Gnadenhütten (Leighton) and Wyoming. During the French and Indian War his warriors harried the Pennsylvanian settlements, but he finally made peace after the conferences at Easton in 1757 and 1758.

UNCAS A Mohegan chief who married the daughter of Sassacus, chief of the Pequot (qv); his rivalry with his father-in-law is said to have finally divided the nation into the Mohegan and Pequot. Making a strategic alliance with the colonists, he made war against the Narragansett and the Massachusetts Indians during King Philip's War. He died in about 1682, but his male descendants remained leaders of the Mohegan community until the early 19th century; today some Mohegans still claim his ancestry. A monument erected to Uncas in Norwich, Connecticut, was visited by "Buffalo Bill" Cody and a hundred mounted Sioux in July 1907.

The name was immortalized by James Fenimore Cooper in his novel *Last of the Mohicans*; but this is set much later than the lifetime of the historical Uncas, during the French and Indian War, and the title confuses the Mohican (Mahican) of the Hudson valley with the Mohegan/Pequot of the Thames river in Connecticut.

WANNALANCET Chief of the Pennacook Indians on the Merrimack river, New Hampshire. A son of Passaconaway, he maintained his father's friendship with the colonists until Waldron's treacherous aggression at the close of King Philip's War in 1676.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Basser, Ted J., *Riding on the Frontier's Crest: Mahican Indian Culture and Culture Change* (National Museums of Canada, Ottawa, 1974)
- Braver, Catherine Coleman (ed), *Many Trails: Indians of the Lower Hudson Valley* (Katonah Gallery, Katonah, NY, 1983)
- Callaway, Colin G., *The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800* (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1990)
- Drake, Samuel Adams, *The Making of New England 1580-1643* (Charles Shribner's Sons, NY, 1888)
- Frazier, Patrick, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge* (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln & London, 1991)
- McKenney, Thomas L., & James Hall (ed F.W.Hodge), *The Indian Tribes of North America*, Vol 1 (John Grant, Edinburgh, 1933)
- Rich, Louise Dickinson, *King Philip's War, 1675-76* (Franklin Watts Inc, NY, 1972)
- Speck, Frank G., "Symbolism in Penobscot Art", *Anthropological Papers* Vol XXIX (American Museum of Natural History, NY, 1927)
- Sturtevant, William C., & Bruce G.Trigger (eds), *Handbook of North American Indians, Northeast Vol 15* (Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC, 1978)
- Vuilleumier, Marion, *Indians on Olde Cape Cod* (Reynolds-DeWalt Printing, New Bedford, MA, 1970)
- Weinstein-Farson, Laurie, *The Wampanoag* (Chelsea House, NY & PA, 1989)

OPPOSITE **Etow Oh Koam**, "King of the River Nation", painted by Jan Verelst in London, 1710 - see Plate D3. This Mahican chief, also known as Nicholas, was sent to London in 1709 with three Mohawk chiefs to meet Queen Anne. He wears a cloak, a quillwork belt and moccasins, and holds a ball-headed war club. A turtle shown behind his right leg perhaps represents the totem of his clan; the Mahicans may have adopted a clan system from the neighbouring Mohawks.

THE PLATES

A: PREHISTORIC PEOPLES

A1: Palaeo-Indian man, c.10 000–5000 BC

The Palaeolithic people hunted huge animals such as woolly mammoth with wooden spears tipped with fluted points of flint, perhaps imported from the Hudson Valley. This hunter wears a racoonskin robe.

A2: Early Archaic man, c.5000–3000 BC

Techniques improved with the development of tanged spear points and the spear-throwing device with weights, which gave the hunter greater accuracy and range for hunting the deer, moose and bear supported by the warmer climate and forests of elm, beech, hickory, chestnut and oak. Barbed harpoons also appear for hunting fish and coastal prey.

A3: Early Archaic woman, c.3000 BC

Refinement of tools such as bone or antler scrapers allowed the dressing of deer and moose hides for clothing – skirts, and probably robes fastened over one shoulder and sewn with bone needles. She is painted with red ochre.

A4: Late Archaic shelter, c.3000 BC–AD 300

During this period Indians built circular bark slab shelters with cone-shaped roofs, probably to house several families. The use of soapstone bowls, mortars and spoons transformed food preparation.

A5: Late Archaic man, c.3000 BC–AD 300

Hunters now had the bow, of ash, oak, witchhazel and hickory, 5–6ft in length, and arrows with small triangular

quartz and flint points. Refined tools allowed the decoration of stone and bone objects. Towards the end of this period influences from the Adena and Hopewell cultures included the use of stone bowls, spoons and clay pots (left foreground), and the husbandry of wild edible foods.

A6: Woodland Period girl, c.AD 300–1600

This young woman wears a buckskin dress and moccasins and holds a kernel of flint maize (Indian corn). In eastern North America its arrival from the south post-dated many plant cultivations, and triggered a decline in indigenous cultivated plants such as pumpkins and squash. First gardeners in the Midwest by the late Adena people, c.100 BC, maize arrived in the southern New England area before AD 700 – as did pottery impressed with cord and textile patterns (right foreground).

A7: Late Woodland wigwam, c.AD 1500

Where birch- and elmbark sheets are large enough to provide coverings for wigwams or *wetus* several different shapes evolved, e.g. dome, cone and lean-to forms. However, from approximately central Massachusetts southward birchbark was no longer available in sufficiently large sheets, so cat-tail reeds were used for covering the framework of saplings for lodges and wigwams.

B: CENTRAL NEW ENGLAND CHIEFS

B1: Ninigret, c.1647

Chief sachem of the Niantics, whose appearance was described by contemporary chroniclers while in Boston in 1647 during a meeting with the English governor. Our figure shows the young leader wearing a wampum headband, earrings, necklace with shell gorget, buckskin leggings, moccasins, and a buckskin robe over his shoulder, and holding an English trade matchlock musket.

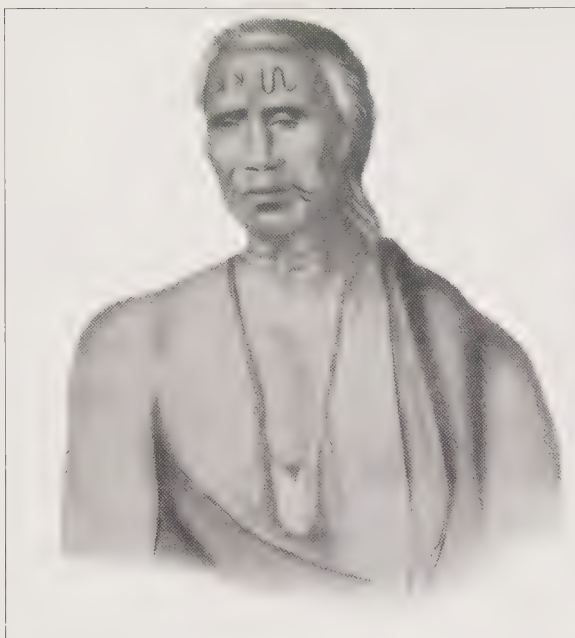
B2: “King Philip” or Metacomet, c.1675

There are no known true images of Philip; a popular engraving from the 18th century was concocted from paintings of Mohawk chiefs in London in 1710. However, a number of objects have been tentatively associated with him, including a club, a bowl and a sash, which survive in museums and date from his time or shortly after. Central New England Indians wore little in summer; men had deerskin robes fastened over a shoulder, sashes and belts decorated with wampum and moosehair. In winter bearskin robes were used. By the time of Philip’s war against the colonists in 1675, European trade goods, clothes and blankets were in use.

B3: Stockbridge chief, c.1852

This figure represents the Wisconsin Stockbridge sachem John W. Quinney (1797–1855), born at New Stockbridge, NY. The tribe is so called from the town in Massachusetts where some Mahican had been missionized in the 1730s. Under the influential Quinney family, the Stockbridges moved from Massachusetts to New York in the 1780s and to Wisconsin in the 1830s, to lands provided by the Menomini and finally to their present reservation in 1856. He wears an interesting beaded and painted elkskin coat, which was obtained by the Milwaukee Public Museum from Phoebe Ann Quinney, his daughter-in-law, and later exchanged with the Museum of the American Indian. Curiously, the same coat was drawn by Frank Mayer in his sketch of a Metis in Minnesota in 1851, and it is unlikely that the coat is of Stockbridge make. It does indicate the wide use of native regalia even when





The Delaware sachem Lapowinsa, in an engraving from the portrait by the Swedish artist Hesselius – see Plate D4. The chief has birds and snakes tattooed on his forehead and cheeks. The skin bag slung around his neck is for tobacco. (McKenney & Hall – see bibliography)

specific tribal dress had fallen into disuse. An almost identical coat is in the Wharnclyffe Collection at the City of Sheffield Museum, UK.

B4: Mohegan chief, c.1915

The small Mohegan enclave in Connecticut continued to emphasize their background with festivals and gatherings at their church and the site of Uncas' Fort at Shantok Point until the early 20th century. Particularly prominent in these events were the families of Fielding, Fowler, Cooper and Tanaquidgeon; Fidelia Fielding, the last speaker of the Mohegan-Pequot language, died in 1908. This man wears a feather crown, and a beaded cape, bandolier, skirt, belt and arm and leg bands.

C: 17th/18th CENTURY WARRIORS

C1: Abenaki, 1689

Following the 1675–76 war in New England the English attempted to expel all Indians from within range of their settlements – thus reinforcing those Indians already under French influence, and leading to four major periods of frontier warfare between the 1680s and 1750s. During the so-called King William's War (1689–97) and Queen Anne's War (1702–13) the combined Abenaki, Passamaquoddy and Micmac, known as the Wabanaki Confederacy, attacked English settlements along the Maine coast southwards from Pemaquid to Haverhill, Massachusetts. This warrior displays a mixture of native and (despite the red coat) French items and accouterments, including a plug bayonet for his flintlock musket; an example recovered from an Indian at about the time of the Bloody Brook fight in 1675 is now in the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Hall Museum, Deerfield, MA.

C2: Abenaki; Deerfield raid, 1704

One of the 250 Frenchmen and Indians led by de Rouville on his winter raid in February 1704 during Queen Anne's War. They traveled down Lake Champlain, along the Winooski river, across the Green Mountains to the Connecticut river, and left a cache of supplies for their retreat near present-day Brattleboro. They only discarded their snowshoes for the last two miles of their approach to the settlement, which they attacked before dawn on February 29, killing nearly 50 men, women and children and taking twice as many captives back towards Canada (though many did not survive the journey).

C3: Warrior of the French and Indian War, 1755

During the French and Indian War (1755–60) Canadian Indians were again active on the New England frontier. Our figure holds a trade metal pipe-tomahawk, new at this time, and a "prisoner tie" decorated with moosehair.

C4: Stockbridge-Mahican scout, 1776

In 1736 a mission was established at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, for a small group of Housatonok Mahican under Konkapot, joined later by Hudson River Mahican, Wapping, Tunxis and others to form a settlement of a few hundred. The group moved to New Stockbridge, NY, after 1783, and to Wisconsin after 1833. During the French and Indian War their warriors, called Stockbridges, were scouts for the British, and many served with the Ranger companies; but in the American Revolutionary War they gave valuable service to the Americans. Despite his white man's clothes and musket, note that this scout still carries a slung bow and quiver.

C5: The Indian House, Deerfield

One house in Deerfield, owned at the time of the 1704 raid by Capt John Sheldon, was taken only when the Indians chopped a hole through the oak door with their hatchets and began to shoot those inside. The Sheldon house was demolished in 1847, but has been replaced by a reconstruction; the original door, bearing marks of the battle, survives in Deerfield's Memorial Hall Museum.

D: SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND, 17th/EARLY 18th CENTURIES

D1: Delaware warrior, 1682

The Delawares' homeland was the whole of present day New Jersey and parts of Pennsylvania, New York and Long Island. In 1682 they entered into the first of a number of treaties with the Quakers under William Penn. This warrior holds a shell bead wampum belt woven with designs representing an Indian and a European (with hat, and considerably fatter) with clasped hands; such belts were woven to commemorate events such as treaties. The headdress shown is speculative, made from a wolf's cranium sewn to a piece of hide with hair fringes. The object was apparently collected at the Swedish colony on the Delaware river in about 1640, and survives in a collection in Uppland near Stockholm. The use of such headdress probably confirms the concept of an animal as a symbol of spiritual force and an aid for hunting.

D2: Delaware sachem, 1682

He holds a ball-headed warclub, as usually carved from one piece of wood, often the knot of a tree. Several early clubs have survived, and a number reputed to be Delaware have strange lizard-like creatures carved on the back of the ball and inlaid with shell wampum. The figure represents another



Oklahoma Delaware moccasins, c.1880. The buckskin construction, with a central top seam (covered here by beadwork) and ankle cuff, is a basic ancient Woodland form, but the beadwork and ribbonwork probably developed after the Delawares' arrival in the Midwest. The colors vary widely: for example, the cuff of the left hand example shows green ribbonwork on red, edged with large white beads. The beaded vamp is in concentric multicolored areas of (from outside inwards) pink edged with white, dark blue, yellow, and scarlet. (Photograph Dave Sager, courtesy Bata Shoe Museum, Toronto)

participant in the Penn Treaty of 1682; he holds a wampum belt representing four tribes or nations involved – perhaps the three principal Delaware subtribes, and the English. Wampum was small cylindrical purple and white shell beads, centrally drilled, assembled on strings as a medium of exchange or religious obligation, and to make decorative and ceremonial items. White wampum was sliced from the narrow inner pillars of marine whelks, and purple wampum from hard-shell clams or *quahog*. An inland-coastal exchange network has been confirmed from archaeological sites which date from AD 200 to 1510. Wampum was traded north to the Iroquois who, like the Algonkians, wove the beads into commemorative belts.

D3: Mahican sachem Etow Oh Koam; London, 1710

In 1710, Etow Oh Koam or “Nicholas” joined three Iroquois chiefs on a visit to London, where his image was recorded by the artist Jan Verelst. Note the facial tattoos; tattooing and body painting were ubiquitous throughout the Woodlands region, where the body was exposed during much of the year. The party appealed to the English to send a force against French Canada and to provide missionaries. Nicholas later had descendants amongst the Stockbridges.

D4: Delaware sachem Lapowinsa, 1737

One of two signatories to the notorious Walking Purchase treaty of that year, by which the Delaware were cheated out of extensive territories on the west side of the Delaware river by the Quakers under the leadership of William Penn's sons. Both sachems, Lapowinsa and Tishcohan, had been painted in 1735 by the Swedish artist Hesselius; these are the only extant portraits of Delawares of the early 18th century. Our image shows Lapowinsa holding a wampum treaty belt and wearing a trade blanket, with a skin tobacco bag around his neck.

E: DELAWARE, 19th & 20th CENTURIES

E1: Delaware man, Ontario, c.1850

This man wears a full length buckskin coat of Euro-American cut but decorated in beaded double-curve motifs. Over his shoulder is slung a beaded “bandolier bag”, of a type usually associated with the Iroquois amongst whom some

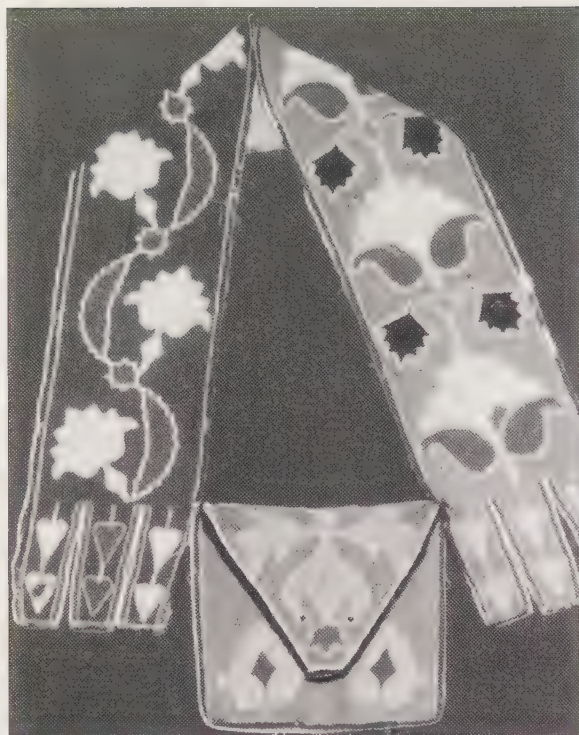
Delawares settled on Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, in 1783. Indian bandolier bags appear to have been copied originally from 18th century European military ammunition pouches. His cloth cape and leggings are decorated in white “rainbow” beaded designs. He holds a *mesingw* mask as used in Big House rituals; however, this annual fall ceremony had died out amongst the largely Christian Canadian Delawares by the mid 19th century (although it survived in Oklahoma until 1924). In 1907 the ethnologist Mark Harrington collected a number of traditional Munsee Delaware items from Canada, most of which had been retained as heirlooms and curiosities.

E2: Delaware man, Indian Territory, c.1880

The Delawares' main group arrived in Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) from Kansas in 1867. He wears a fur headband, loop-necklace, brass studded vest (waistcoat) over a cloth shirt, and buckskin leggings. The typical Delaware bandolier bag has characteristic bilateral symmetrical beaded designs – a style shared with the Shawnee. Although a rare type, these have been collected from diverse locations including Texas, Indiana (Miami) and Connecticut (Mohegan), and appear in photographs of other eastern Indians, worn perhaps as an ethnic badge. The beadwork is probably a form developed as a result of the Delawares' long association with many different tribal groups during their westward migration, including the Prairie tribes during their stay in Kansas, and ultimately neighboring tribes in Indian Territory.

E3 & E4: Oklahoma Delaware women, c.1915

Jennie Bobb “Black Walnut Tree” (E3) and her daughter Nellie Longhat (E4) wear full dress, typified by the profusion of brooches, beaded necklaces, narrow-patterned ribbon-appliqué work, and moccasins with beaded insteps and cuffs. English and French silver pieces such as gorgets, brooches, and even Masonic badges were traded to northeastern Indians during the 17th and 18th centuries, and native craftsmen copied these in producing their own silverwork. Eastern Indians brought west with them a light pierced style of metalwork using German silver – an alloy of copper, nickel and zinc which was well adapted for brooches, earrings, headbands, combs and finger rings; note E4's German silver headband.



Bandolier bag, probably Delaware, mid 19th century – see Plate E. Constructed of Euro-American cloth, it is decorated with symmetrical beaded designs probably developed after the Delawares' move to the Midwest and consequent contact with other tribes, particularly the Shawnee. (Photograph F.Dennis Lessard)

E5: Oklahoma Delaware woman, c.1970

She wears a head bow, trailer and cloth blouse with German silver brooches, a skirt with ribbonwork, leggings and moccasins. The Delaware are thought to have brought to Oklahoma the unusual head bow decoration worn here, possibly of Pennsylvanian Dutch influence; the cloth trailer is decorated with German silver brooches. This headdress style was passed on to neighboring Caddos.

E6: Oklahoma Delaware Big House ceremonial grounds, c.1912

The Oklahoma Delaware brought with them from the east the Big House ritual (see above, "Religion and Ceremony"), held in a wooden structure. In the tented camp grounds a butchered deer carcass was displayed on a pole in front of the Big House – the men's contribution to the ceremony performed in promotion and thanks for abundant game and harvests. A mortar and pestle were also used during the 12-day ceremonial, to pound corn into hominy, close to a platform laden with unshelled cobs.

F: MALECITE & MICMAC, 19th CENTURY

F1: Malecite hunter, c.1880

The Malecite (Maliseet) were considered a single tribe with the Passamaquoddy until the end of the French and Indian War in 1760 and the subsequent peace treaty of 1763, when they were left on the Canadian side of the border. They had

been part of the Wabanaki Confederacy, one of several tribes encouraged by the French to attack English settlements along the coast of what is now Maine. By the 19th century a long period of white contact had seen the adoption of white man's clothing for everyday use; but our figure wears a beaded cloth cap and collar, often considered a mark of rank for tribal or confederacy meetings.

F2: Micmac woman, c.1840

During the post-contact period native clothing had given way to materials obtained in trade with whites. Cloth replaced leather (buckskin and fur robes) and beads had largely replaced porcupine quills, painting and moosehair for decoration. This woman wears a hood with double-curve beaded designs, a buckskin bag with floral beaded patterns, a skirt with ribbon appliqué, and moccasins. Recently there has been renewed interest in recreating 19th century dress.

F3: Micmac chief, c.1825

The chief wears an eared headdress, which various writers have considered a reference to either a dog's or an owl's head. His coat is based on European military style, with beadwork decoration at the cuffs and shoulders, and double-curve motifs around the edges. His cloth leggings are similarly decorated with a series of repeating, symmetrical, inward-facing recurves. Such designs, executed in thread-sewn beadwork on red and dark blue trade cloth in the 19th century, have also been found scraped on wood and bone, etched on bark, and worked on various objects in paint, quills and moosehair, so they are probably aboriginal. Double-curve motifs have been variously interpreted as representing caribou, canoes, and – in the case of the Wabanaki groups – political divisions, chieftainship and councils. True floral designs are thought to have been introduced by French missions along the St Lawrence early in the 17th century. The Micmac are famous for their birchbark boxes and other items heavily covered with porcupine quills, using a push-through technique.

F4: Birchbark wigwams

Wigwams of the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki were of various shapes – domed, conical, oval or gabled. The frames of poles or branches were bound with cedarbark fibre and covered with overlapping strips of birchbark. In winter Micmac bands were widely scattered hunting moose, caribou and bear; in spring they moved to camping sites along the rivers and coast for herring, sturgeon and salmon, as well as geese. Wigwams were ideally suited for this two-phased annual cycle, and were still being used as temporary dwellings in the late 19th century; however, among the southern New England remnants they had disappeared by about 1800.

F5: Birchbark canoe

Bark canoes formed over a light wooden frame were among the most highly developed manually propelled forms of watercraft, and were known throughout the northern part of North America including the lands occupied by the Micmac, Malecite and Abenaki. Early European explorers were impressed by their speed, load-carrying capacity, and the number of men who could be carried in large canoes; in 1535 Cartier saw 17 men in two canoes. Paper birch was the preferred material, obtained in early summer, with white cedar, black spruce and maple for the sheathing, gunwales, thwarts and paddles; spruce root provided the stitching material and spruce gum the sealant.

G: PENOBSCOT & PASSAMAQUODDY, 19th CENTURY

G1: Penobscot man, c.1850

He wears a ceremonial hunter's cap with ears, perhaps a reference to the spiritual help required for successful hunting. The collar is made of red trade cloth decorated with borders of white beadwork and areas of double-curve beadwork; such collars were usually a mark of high rank. The buckskin coat is of European cut, opening down the front. Once considered part of the Eastern Abenaki group, the Penobscot are now an independent tribal group in Maine.

G2: Penobscot woman, c.1865

Modeled on a well-known personality of the period, Mary Balasse Nicola (also known as "Molly Molasses"), she wears a hood decorated with ribbonwork and a huge circular silver brooch, and holds an ash-splint basket. During the 18th and 19th centuries people from several eastern Indian groups traveled great distances to sell craftwork, particularly splint-work baskets. Some baskets with wide splints were painted or stamped with various designs, and combinations of splints with sweetgrass or non-native cord became popular.

G3: Passamaquoddy man, c.1865

His coat collar and belt are of cloth decorated with beadwork in double-curve and floral motifs; realistic floral patterns were probably introduced from France during the 17th century. Upright headdresses with turkey or other feathers were known to many surviving Indian groups in the Northeast during the 19th century. Some authorities believe them to be an influence from the western Indians, while the construction argues that the form may have been endemic.

G4: Penobscot woman and child, c.1860

She wears a peaked hood, with the curved lower edge which distinguishes those made by Penobscots and Malecites from the straight-edged Micmac type. Her cloth leggings are decorated with cut-and-fold ribbonwork, a craft which may have originated among the eastern Algonkians during the late 18th century. Her small beaded cloth purse is of a type made during the 19th century and widely sold to white people at fairs and tourist locations. Buckskin moccasins from the whole Woodlands area probably originated in the single-piece type with a central seam extending down the instep to the toe; however, during the 19th century moccasins from central and northern New England had a large U-shaped instep vamp, usually beaded on cloth sewn to the moccasin with heavy crimping, and a cloth cuff.

G5: Cradle board, c.1850

This wooden cradle board, with a protective bow in front, is heavily carved and pierced on the back and sides.

H: CONTEMPORARY DANCERS' REGALIA, c.2004

H1: Wampanoag man

Today the Wampanoags, who were in contact with the Plymouth Colony in 1620, have over 2,000 descendants in several separate groups in Massachusetts, among them the Gay Heads, Mashpees, and recently organized Seaconkes. This Seaconke dancer wears a Pan-Indian regalia and holds his group's tribal flag.

H2: Micmac man

The Micmacs are principally located in Nova Scotia, Canada, but have a band in Maine, and have intermarried



Penobscot or Malecite woman's hood, c.1850 – see Plate G. Penobscot hoods differed from Micmac hoods in having a curved rather than a squared bottom edge. The hood is made from dark cloth and decorated with exquisite multicolored beadwork. (Formerly author's collection)

with southern New England Indians for centuries. This dancer has created his regalia with beadwork which reflects Micmac work of the 19th century, combined with modern Pan-Indian elements such as the feather bustle, eagle-claw baton and porcupine-hair headdress known across the US and Canada. Some Micmacs are the only northeastern Indians to have retained their own language today.

H3: Stockbridge-Munsee woman

The Stockbridge Indians of Wisconsin are descendants of Mahicans and a few Munsee Delawares – see under B3. This lady dancer of the Mohheconnuck (Moheconk) reservation wears Pan-Indian dress and her tribal princess sash, and holds a fringed shawl.

H4: The National Museum of the American Indian

In 1989 the US Congress passed into law an act to create the National Museum of the American Indian – the 15th museum of the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian acquired the magnificent Heye Foundation collection from New York, containing nearly one million artifacts gleaned from every region between the Arctic and Tierra del Fuego. A prestigious new building to house the collection opened on the Mall in Washington DC in September 2004.

INDEX

Figures in **bold** refer to illustrations.

Abenaki tribe 6
 conflicts 18–22
 Adena culture 3
 Alexander (Wamsutta) 14
 Aquin 39
 archaeological evidence 3–4
 archaic peoples **A2**(25), **A3**(25),
A5(25), 43
 archaic period 3
 archaic shelter **A4**(25), 43

 bandolier bags **34**, 46
 Bashaba 39
 beadwork designs **40**
 burial mound builders 3

 canoes **37**
 Canonchet 40
 chiefs 5, **B**(26), 43–4
 Connecticut River groups, lower 9
 culture and dress 36–9

 dancers **H**(32), 47
 Deerfield raid and grave 21, **21**
 Delaware tribe 11, 23–4, **E**(29), 33–4,
 45–6
 culture and dress 36–9
 religion 34–6
 dolls **36**
 dress 36–9
 Dustin, Hannah 20
 Dutch colonization 11, 12

 English colonization 5, 6, 11
 Etow Oh Koam **43**

 farming 3, 5
 food 3, 5
 Francis, Governor John 3
 French and Indian War 19, 22
 French colonization 5, 6, 11

 Gabe Atwin 39
 Gill, Joseph-Louis 40

 Honorable, Dorcas **12**
 hood **47**
 Hopewell culture 3
 Housatonic River groups, lower 9

Hudson River Groups, lower 9–10

Indian House, Deerfield **20**

Jacob, Capt **22**

Killbuck 40

King Philip Monument **17**

King Philip's War 13–18, **15**

King William's War 18, 20

Konkapot 40

languages 11

Lapachpeton 40–1

Lapowinsa **44**

Lenni-Lenape tribe *see* Delaware tribe

Mahican tribe 10, 23

Malecite tribe 5–6, **7**, **F**(30), 46

Massachusetts tribe 7

Massasoit 14

Metacomet (Philip) 14–17

Metoac tribe 10

Miantonomo 41

Micmac tribe 5, **F**(30), 36, 46

Mississippians 3

moccasins **38**, **45**

Mohegan tribe 8–9, 12–13

Mohican tribe 10, 23

Montauk tribe 10

Narragansett tribe 5, 8

New England Frontier **19**

Niantic tribe 8

Ninigret 41

Nipmuck tribe 7

Nonsuch, Mercy **8**

Nonsuch, Siota A. **9**

paleo-Indian man **A1**(25), 43

paleo-Indian period 3

Passaconaway 41

Passamaquoddy tribe 6, **10**, **G**(31), 47

Paugussett tribe 9

Pawtucket tribe 7

Pennacook tribe 7

Penobscot tribe **G**(31), 47

woman of **10**

Pequot tribe 9, 12–13

Pequot War 11–13, **15**

Philip (Metacomet) 14–17

Pipe, Capt 40

Pocomtuc tribe 7

Pokanokit tribe 8

powder magazine of birchbark **23**

prehistoric peoples **A**(25), 43

purses **39**

Quarry, Abram **18**

Queen Anne's War 19, 21

Quiripi-tribe 9

religion 34–6

Rogers, Maj Robert 22, **22**

St. Francis raid 22

Saquanto 14

Sassacus 41

shelters **A4**(25), 43

see also wigwams

Sockabasin, Denny **41**

Sokoki tribe *see* Abenaki tribe

spirit mask (mesingw) **35**

Stanislaus, Francis **11**

Stanislaus, Sylvia **6**

Tamanend 41

Tantaquidgeon 42

tea cosy **38**

Teedyuscung 42

temple mound builders 3

Tishcohan **33**

tribes

locations **4**

movements **24**

organization of 3, 5

warfare between 5

Uncas 42

Unquachog tribe 10

Utrecht, Treaty of 21

Wampanoag tribe 8, 13–14

Wamsutta (Alexander) 14

Wannalancet 42

Wapping tribe 9–10

warriors, 17th/18th century **C**(27),

D(28), 44–5

wigwams **5**, **A7**, **37**, 43

see also shelters

woodland period 3

girl of **A6**(25), 43

Related Titles

ISBN	SERIES	No.	TITLE
0 85045 608 8	Men-at-Arms	163	The American Plains Indians
0 85045 738 6	Men-at-Arms	186	The Apaches
0 85045 999 0	Men-at-Arms	228	American Woodland Indians
1 85532 566 7	Men-at-Arms	288	American Indians of the Southeast
1 85532 878 X	Men-at-Arms	344	Tribes of the Sioux Nation
1 84176 324 1	Men-at-Arms	366	Colonial American Troops 1610–1774 (1)
1 84176 325 X	Men-at-Arms	372	Colonial American Troops 1610–1774 (2)
1 84176 483 3	Men-at-Arms	383	Colonial American Troops 1610–1774 (3)
1 84176 490 6	Men-at-Arms	395	Tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy
1 84176 666 6	Men-at-Arms	408	Warriors at the Little Bighorn 1876
1 84176 741 7	Men-at-Arms	418	American Indians of the Pacific Northwest
1 84176 587 2	Warrior	75	Comanche 1800–74
1 84176 649 6	Warrior	85	American Colonial Ranger
1 84176 714 X	Fortress	27	French Fortresses in North America 1535–1763
1 84176 456 6	Essential Histories	44	The French-Indian War 1754–1760

Visit the Osprey website

- Information about forthcoming titles
- Author information
- Read extracts and see sample pages
- Sign up for our free newsletter
- Competitions and prizes



www.ospreypublishing.com

To order any of these titles, or for more information on Osprey Publishing, contact:

Osprey Direct (North America) Toll free: 1-866-620-6941 Fax: 1-800-659-2436 E-mail: info@ospreydirect.com

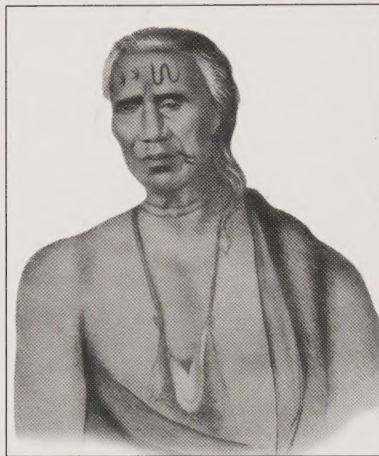
Osprey Direct (UK) Tel: +44 (0)1933 443863 Fax: +44 (0)1933 443849 E-mail: info@ospreydirect.co.uk

www.ospreypublishing.com

The uniforms, equipment, history and organization of the world's military forces, past and present



Full color artwork



Early portraits



Photographs



Unrivaled detail

Indian Tribes of the New England Frontier

This book offers a detailed introduction to the tribes of the New England region – the first Native American peoples affected by contact with the French and English colonists. By 1700 several tribes had already been virtually destroyed, and many others were soon reduced and driven from their lands by disease, war, or treachery. The tribes were also drawn into the savage frontier wars between the French and the British. The final defeat of French Canada and the subsequent unchecked expansion of the British colonies resulted in the virtual extinction of the region's Indian culture, which is only now being revived by small descendant communities.

US \$15.95 / \$22.95 CAN

ISBN 1-84176-937-1



9 781841 769370

OSPREY
PUBLISHING

www.ospreypublishing.com



P6-AKX-592