

Spring 2023

Frozen Waters: Mohicans' Struggle For Identity Through Christian Leanings

Barak Zion Fellner-Dublin
Bard College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj_s2023

 Part of the [History of Religion Commons](#)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0 License](#).

Recommended Citation

Fellner-Dublin, Barak Zion, "Frozen Waters: Mohicans' Struggle For Identity Through Christian Leanings" (2023). *Senior Projects Spring 2023*. 103.

https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj_s2023/103

This Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Bard Undergraduate Senior Projects at Bard Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Senior Projects Spring 2023 by an authorized administrator of Bard Digital Commons. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@bard.edu.

Frozen Waters: Mohicans' struggle For Identity Through Christian Leanings

**Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of the Arts
Of Bard College**

by

Barak Fellner-Dublin

INTRODUCTION

Chief Aupaumut of the Stockbridge Mohicans traveled West to Pennsylvania in 1750 in an attempt to convert indigenous tribes to Christianity. He was the Mohican sachem, high chief, and at this point a Christian missionary believing the indigenous tribal system could be preserved and protected within Christianity. He would soon see that indigenous peoples' conversion to Christianity, did not guarantee peace. A Moravian mission wrote in their journal of the massacre of Christian Indians by colonists: "In the month of March, [1772], a most cruel murder of some Christian Indians, committed by wicked people, caused great sorrow to all the believing Indians, and made us very anxious, in respect to our safety, as the murderers were not punished. But God who, through his providence, had hitherto protected us, still preserved us, in the midst of our fears and dangers, and turned the hearts of our enemies towards us, so that, for a while, we enjoyed peace."¹ The tribe described here were known to be the Moravian Delaware Indians, and the attack demonstrates the struggle indigenous communities faced even when switching to the putatively safer and dominant Christian cultural identity.

This massacre originated with tensions between different groups, especially with American colonists believing that the Moravians were supporting the British secretly due to their practice of German language, and use of Mohawk language during missionary work. Many tribes (like the Delaware Indians) were known to have alliances and traded with British colonists. In the midst of the American revolution this was seen as a threat to the security of the American colonists. There was also the prejudiced belief of indigenous nations living an inferior life compared to the Euro-American societal norm.

¹ John Heckewelder, *Journal of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America, Vol. 1. (American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1820)*. 53.

In witness to the aftermath of this horrific event (and as a newly recruited Moravian missionary), Aupaumut had become anxious and was introduced to the dangers his converted followers still had to face despite their adapting into the Colonist's social structure and religion. The Christian conversion process had started to raise the stakes in preserving Mohican identity. As this paper will discuss, through his interactions and negotiations with Government officials, colonists, outside tribes and even within the Mohican community itself, Aupaumut found himself struggling to keep himself afloat between these different cultural systems. I will be arguing that the integration of Christian religion into Mohican customs introduced new intra-tribal conflict, divisions within the Mohican community, and this blend of these two cultural spheres led to tensions that persisted in the community.

HENDRICK AUPAUMUT

How could a Chief Sachem, the highest position in the pre-colonial Mohican structure, become highly criticized by his own tribe? Chief Hendrick Aupaumut was interested in blending Mohican customs with Christianity, and believed there was a way to balance the Mohican cultural norms with this European religion in order to protect his tribe and their way of life. Traveling the western territories of Pennsylvania and others, he talks of encountering Christian indigenous communities that “are Christians, but have not forgotten their own customs, though they have adopted the new religion. They have blended them together in such a matter, as not to interfere with each other, but to preserve both.”² Aupaumut became known as an intercultural broker, dreaming of a world where the American colonial government and the Mohican tribes are united under the same faith. Aupaumut challenged racial thinking of the time, to use a somewhat anachronistic phrase, and founded a new variation of Christianity, which scholars now call Christian republicanism³, which had encouraged Mohicans to participate in Mohican and Christian customs.

With Christian Republicanism, Aupaumut creatively merged Christian and Mohican traditions into a corporate framework. Historian Rachel Wheeler states that “Aupaumut's Christian-inflected vision extended the reach of native fictive kinship ties to forge fraternal bonds of mutual obligation between the citizens of a diverse American republic”⁴ Native fictive kinship was a practice in Mohican social custom, where people who are not biologically related are still

²Hendrick Aupaumut, *A Short Narration of My Last Journey to the Western Country*, 7.

³ Rachel Wheeler, *Hendrick Aupaumut: Christian-Mahican Prophet*, (*Journal of the Early Republic*, 2005). 189.

⁴ Alan Taylor, *Hendrick Aupaumut: Christian-Mahican Prophet*, (*Duke University Press, Durham, N.C., 1996*). 64.

treated like family members. Adoption practices, naming ceremonies and familial terms (aunt, brother, uncle) were used in a communal context. It is possible that Aupaumut used this traditional system to bridge Mohican tradition into the world of Christian brotherhood and sisterhood. Christian Brotherhood emphasizes that men should hold each other accountable in their faith, and Sisterhood emphasizes nurturing relationships between women. Spiritual community played a big role in Christianity, and Mohican tradition brought the term family amongst the community more literally. Mohicans were not tied under a spiritual leader like Jesus Christ was for Christianity, instead they were tied to each other and relied on one another for support and guidance in the spiritual.

Aupaumut was a cultural revitalizer who had promoted the protection of native lands as well as the prosperity of the Mohican community. Aupaumut embraced a dualistic reading of Christianity believing people to be either followers of the Great Spirit (God) or the Evil Spirit. Unlike many Euro-American missionaries, but in keeping with the basic Christian dogma of the soul as the seat of humanity, he did not categorize people according to their appearance or culture, only their behavior. This juxtaposed with the colonist's (also missionary perspective), as they had viewed indigenous tribes as an inferior religion, and must be brought under Christian teachings and Euro-American ruling. The Las Casas-Sepulveda dispute in 1550 brought up a debate amongst Spanish colonists on whether they can use force to convert Indigenous people to Christianity or treat them as free, and not exploit their labor in the Encomienda system. This longtime debate displays that the ideology of using Christianity in order to maintain dominance on an indigenous culture, existed before. Aupaumut had extreme trust for Christian culture, despite its major differences in communal structure when compared to ancient Mohican customs.

On the other hand, most colonists did not budge from their stereotypical view on the inferiority of the Mohican tribal culture.

Despite his longstanding efforts to support the Christian mission, Aupaumut would soon learn that regardless of his support for European and American culture, he still was marked as a traitor through the eyes of colonists. Professor and Historian, Michael Bellesiles discusses that “Aupaumut's position as a diplomat negotiating with British officials led some Patriots to view him as a traitor. Those who questioned his loyalty were willing to overlook the Mohican leader's lifelong efforts to gain recognition for his people's land rights and his determination to preserve Native cultural traditions in the face of colonial encroachment.”⁵ The American colonies were skeptical of individuals who had any relation with the British government. Aupaumut’s attempt to make peaceful negotiations with colonial forces resulted in distrust from both sides. By trying to be peaceful with everyone, he was a traitor to many. In fact, a lot of indigenous communities had to pick European colonies to side with; resulting in tension between indigenous communities that did not exist previously.

Aupaumut was also seen as a traitor within the Mohican community, as “his promotion of Christianity and his role as an intermediary between the Mohicans and the American government led some to view him as a sellout. To them, Aupaumut was no longer a representative of Mohican culture, but a pawn of white society.”⁶ There were a couple members that stood by his side but many of his own brethren, and family believed his relationship with the Stockbridge mission was a betrayal of traditional alliances and against the best interests of the Mohican tribe.⁷

⁵ Michael Bellesiles, *Hendrick Aupaumut: The Legacy of a Native Patriot*, (*William and Mary Quarterly*, 2009). 47.

⁶ *Ibid*, 62.

⁷ Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, (*Journal of American History*, 1996). 1242.

In Joanna Brooks' *Captain Hendrick Aupaumut: Dilemmas of an Intercultural Broker*, Brooks describes Aupaumut's mission as a tragedy, stating "The Americans distrusted Aupaumut because they fundamentally constructed him racially as an Indian, while many western natives distrusted Aupaumut because they defined him culturally as having become a Yankee." [good quote – place earlier? Summarizes his perceived dilemma.] Aupaumut eventually led his own missions, preaching his ideas of unity to other western nations. [place this earlier as well – this is the point and also why we have his comments on travels to the west.]

Some Historians and scholars such as Joanna Brooks, Patrick Frazier and Siobhan Hart believe Aupaumut had a political agenda acting in best interest of the Mohican community for his intercultural bonds between the federal government and the Mohicans, and had only expressed interest in converting to Christianity to "modify and exploit the American program of acculturation to serve a pan Indian agenda."⁸ They suggest that Aupaumut's so-called dream was a tactic to ally with the federal government and strengthen the Mohican community such as getting rights to land, and that "through his historical writings, his military service, and his advocacy for Native rights, Aupaumut helped to shape a Mohican world that persisted long after his death."⁹ This is true but at what cost? The cultural integrity of Mohican identity had become restructured into the legacy of Christian Missions, such as Jonathan Edwards and John Sergeant.

Today the Stockbridge- Munsee Mohican community are in the midst of reconfiguring Mohican identity; the ancient language, oral histories, and customs. The integration of Christianity into Mohican culture had led to the divergence of belief systems, and religions. It is also the reason

⁸ Alan Taylor, *Dilemmas of an Intercultural Broker: Captain Hendrick Aupaumut*, (Duke University, 1996). 451.

⁹ Siobhan M. Hart, *Hendrick Aupaumut and the Re-Making of the Mohican World*, (*The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2017). 75.

why present day Mohican religion is a sensitive topic amongst the community, as there is a juxtaposition of opinions on what customs a member of the Mohican community should practice. Modern day Historian, Alan Taylor suggests some truth to this: “The Americans thought that they were using Aupaumut to dissolve Indian independence; he believed that he was using them to secure Indian persistence”. Aupaumut struggled to play both sides: he was a traditionalist amongst the western nations and a faithful Christian for the American Government.

Many tribal nations, such as the Iroquois, ridiculed the Mohicans saying Mohicans had become puppets of the Colonists and had no liberties of their own. Ethnographer William Starna adds that the Iroquois would mock Mohicans calling them pale faces as they had reshaped into European clothing style and Christianity.¹⁰ This mockery shows how the Mohicans’ neighbors saw the Mohicans as outcasts of indigenous society and more as subservient to the European colonists. To the Iroquois the Mohican community was another extension of colonization.

Aupaumut had found some truth to the Western Nation’s critiques while on a trip to Ohio County; the American frontier militiamen that had slaughtered ninety six unarmed natives who were practicing Christian pacifism. This is when Aupaumut apparently realized no matter how integrated Christianity was in Mohican tradition, it did not guarantee peace between the natives and the settlers. Novelist and Historian Dee Brown details in, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee* on the stereotypical lens, indigenous people were examined in, “to the whites, the Indians were inferior beings who worshiped false gods, practiced idolatry, and indulged in polygamy. They were not worthy of the freedoms that whites enjoyed in their Christian society.”¹¹ Despite the

¹⁰ William A. Starna, *The Mohicans and their Iroquois Neighbors*, (*Ethnohistory*, 1984). 32.

¹¹ Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), 58.

lack of evidence on Moravians' support of the British, this rising suspicion led to the slaughter of many Native Americans by American frontier militiamen.

After his trip, Aupaumut appeared to lose hope in the success of a Christianized Mohican community. His diminishing hopes and rising suspicion were reported to Timothy Pickering, the United States Secretary of State by an American official, Kirkland; "...Since his tour to the westward last summer, he has greatly altered. He has become a lover of the intoxicating draught and duplicity begins to mark many steps of his conduct. He is not so friendly to the cause and character of the white people as formerly."¹² This quote presents the desire of many American officials to represent Mohicans as uncivilized, despite their efforts to align their traditions and even erase customs to have peace with the federal government. Aupaumut was not cutting ties with Christianity, he just could not disguise his mixed feelings about the American advancement.

Later activists and historians would see Aupaumut and fellow Mohicans attempt to create a common cross tribal Indian culture as the beginning of a problematic movement of 'Pan Indianism'. Although it was not technically a movement until the mid twentieth century, the Pan-Indianism agenda was to build unity among indigenous tribes and Americans. It influenced tribal members to cross the boundaries of their native identity and use collective action to address land treaties, political marginalization and unequal income and opportunity for indigenous tribes. However when advocating pan indianism, one must tread lightly, as in most cases it later causes disillusionment of unity as well as an erasure of unique indigenous identity. In *The Problem of Pan-Indianism*, Contemporary Historian Gerald Vizenor argues Pan Indianism has covered the social, political and economic divisions among Native American Tribes. Vizenor

¹² Kirkland Letter to Pickering.,1793.

sees Pan Indianism as a gateway for non-native communities to exploit indigenous communities for their own political or economic agendas. He writes “Pan-Indianism would seem to represent an additional form of assimilation, a kind of meta-colonialism that substitutes a derivative and compromised form of Indian identity for the diverse and resistant tribal traditions it supplants. Mohican identity, for example, would be in this case no longer acknowledged as unique, and would be diminished by its participation in a generalized and cultural homogenization.”¹³ What we see here is an indigenous identity paradox: The Mohicans’ attempts to unite with many north american tribes (as well as Americans) end up becoming part of a homogenized narrative on indigenous culture. From a critical perspective, the formula becomes; The [insert indigenous tribe] was suffering and traumatized by colonizers until [insert religion] arrived and after a few setbacks the integration brought prosperity and equal rights among Americans and [insert indigenous tribe]. Many times, the extension of the Mohicans’ identity becomes abstracted and tension rises within the group, as we see with Hendrick Aupaumut.

In trying to broker peace among his two worlds, Aupaumut had become pulled apart. Captain Aupaumut’s story of trying to balance two opposing sides (Christianity and among Northeastern Indigenous tribes) unveils the divergences within two or more religious and cultural spheres [each tribe also had its own interpretations]. To the degree of the colonists, Mohican tribes thought identity was based around culture and custom rather than focusing on gender or racial differences. Historian Susan Kalter explains that Mohicans used sweat lodges, [communal cleansing stations to purify the mind] despite the Mohicans description of the practice as a heathen or barbaric.¹⁴ This persistence to the inclusive communal structure hints on the

¹³ Gerald Vizenor, *The Problem of Pan Indianism*, (Wesleyan University Press, 1982). 73

¹⁴ Susan Kalter, *Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Contested Identity: Mohican-Munsee Peoples, 1830-1860*. (University of Massachusetts Press, 2019). 109.

Mohicans' belief in sharing traditions and customs to bring out a communal identity, and ultimately their survival. Wheeler adds that "Mohican identity was not fixed, but rather was a product of cultural experiences that were shaped by historical events and interactions with other groups over time"¹⁵ Mohicans were not fixated in biology as what forms identity.. Siobhan Hart briefs on the fluidity of the Mohicans' views on identity, Native people did not necessarily think about themselves as being biologically or racially distinct, but rather as members of groups defined by kinship, language, and culture."¹⁶ Mohicans believed in the inevitability of transformation and how identity is revealed through a commitment toward a set of traditions and customs, homeland, and a desire to evolve in the face of change.

Captain Aupaumut was open to new ideas which according to Hart, made him vulnerable to the colonial discourse that sought to assimilate Native peoples into a Christian-indigenous historical narrative, a dark fairytale that denied their unique cultural histories."¹⁷ Mohicans had believed in overriding categorization and were open-minded to outside perspectives on religion. As Siobhan states this inclusive mindset was the reason they had been exploited by European colonizers and had become assimilated into a Christian-indigenous historical narrative (a dark fairy tale) that became dominant over their unique cultural histories.

Most European colonizers saw identity as rooted in a version of biology [they are not yet scientific racists] and doubted the Mohicans would ever be fully integrated into what they saw as a 'civilized' structure. This is elaborated by Daniel Richter in *Constructing Identity in Colonial*

¹⁵ Rachel Wheeler, *Hendrick Aupaumut: Christian-Mahican Prophet*. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011). 191.

¹⁶ Siobhan Hart, *A World of Paper: Louis Riel, Hendrick Aupaumut, and the Zuni Origins Narrative*, (*The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2015). 52.

¹⁷ Siobhan M. Hart, *Hendrick Aupaumut and the Re-Making of the Mohican World*. (*The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2017). 78.

America: Mohicans, Africans, and the Anglo-American World; "By the mid-seventeenth century, Mohicans had become a kind of racial category in English minds, and the terms "Indian" and "Mohican"¹⁸ were interchangeable in the colonial vernacular.[interesting!] Even after the Mohicans had accepted Christian religion as their own, most colonizers still did not see them to be any different from other nations. They viewed all Native American identities under one category; communities that must revolve around their 'civilized ways'. Despite Hendrick Aupaumut's attempt to conserve Mohican customs while keeping tabs on American appreciation, he had not only failed to gain sympathy from European colonizers, but introduced new internal pressures within the Mohican community that were not present before.

¹⁸ Richter, Daniel. *Constructing Identity in Colonial America: Mohicans, Africans, and the Anglo-American World*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2009). 79.

1. WOMANHOOD FOREVER CHANGED

Conversion itself was only the opening act in the effect colonialism had on the Mohican community. After they had become baptized, members of the Mohican community had their entire livelihood transformed. One of the extreme transformations from this was the power of womanhood. Many Mohican women had a great deal of authority before contact with the colonialists. In households women were the ones to distribute the food among the family. In politics, women served as Sachems and clan matrons. In the community's religious life, many of them were prophets. In *Mohican Women and the Protestant Conversion in Seventeenth Century New England*, Jennifer Foray states that “women controlled access to land, both individually and as members of their matrilineal clans. As a result, they possessed a degree of economic independence that allowed them to provide for themselves and their children in the event of widowhood or divorce.”¹⁹ This displays the heavy influence and values Mohican women had on the tribe. Alas, Christianity dealt with gender roles almost inversely. Indeed, even divorce could only be initiated by men. This chapter will outline the importance women had in Mohican culture, how Christian conversion changed their gender dynamics, and the concern and suspicion this rose on the Mohican community internally and externally.[good]

Chief Konkapot, the head of the Stockbridge-Munsee community during the eighteenth century converted to Christianity. “ His reasons for this conversion vary from legitimizing authority over the Mohican community, establishing alliances among the colonists, or because of Christianity's promise of salvation, as well as a possibility of reconnecting with family members

¹⁹ Rachel Wheeler, *Mohican Women and the Protestant Conversion in Seventeenth Century New England*, (*Early American Studies*, 2011). 53.

in the afterlife. No matter his reason, this abrupt transition was controversial among some women in Konkapot's family. His daughter, Mary Konkapot had married John Metoxen, a member of the Mohicans who had converted to Christianity and became a Christian missionary. Although Metoxen is known to have established mixing Mohican cultural practices into Catholicism. A professor of religion and culture, Suzanne Crawford O'Brien notes "He [Metoxen] argued that Catholicism was not a foreign religion because it also valued community, humility, and service to others."²⁰ Metoxen had believed integrating Catholicism would better preserve Mohican tradition and cultural identity. Catholicism was more open to mixing other cultures, as opposed to the more strict structure of Protestantism practiced by the Puritans, who saw Mohicans as a threat, resulting in relocation and violence between the settlers and the native tribe. From Metoxen's view Catholicism offered the best of both cultural realms.

Despite the positive spiritual guidance of Catholicism, the exertion of European societal norms still existed between the Catholic missionaries and the Mohicans. Metoxen wanted to have his children christianized rather than primarily staying within Mohican customs, and decided they should go to Missionary school. Strongly opposing this idea, Mary "forcibly took her children home, and they did not attend school."²¹ She did not want her children to be taken away from the tribe and their traditions and become educated in European values. Mary Konkapot had seen the negative effects Christianity had in her family and community and believed Christianity was simply a process of colonization that would destroy the Mohican identity. Professor Bonnie Lynn-Sherow mentions how Mary's conversion was gradual, as it had emphasized female

²⁰ Suzanne Crawford O'Brien, *Native American Catholics: A Spiritual Legacy*, (Crossroad Publishing Company, 2006). 164.

²¹ Shirley W. Dunn, *The Mohicans and Their Land, 1609-1730*, (Purple Mountain Press, 1994).

submissiveness and challenges to traditional Mohican identity.²² As the daughter of Chief Konkapot, she had a strong connection with Mohican values, and to see them become overridden by a foreign power and her family submitting to this new wave was shocking.

After Christianity was baked into Mohican identity, the value of masculinity surged. Mohican women had primary roles in the order, preparation and distribution of food, land, religion and politics. In the community they multitasked [change word] various roles, but after Christianity, came the adaptations of Euro-American life. Mohican men were expected to make land deals and “took on public roles in the church and mission activities, while women’s labor was devalued and their status in the community diminished.”²³ Christianity shaped through European-American life (especially in the 16th century) had become a beacon for male dominance in all public affairs.

Many will argue that Christianity is egalitarian, and the entire structure calls for both men and women to be considered equal. In the New Testament it is said that “the church is the Body of Christ, and in this Body, there is no distinction between Jew or Greek, slave or free, male or female.”²⁴ I am not arguing that Christian belief argues for male domination, but that the ideologies have become misinterpreted over time. This was not unusual in any of the monotheistic faiths. When Christianity was prescribed to the Mohicans, its formerly egalitarian messages had become tainted with misogynistic views. For example in the biblical text, there is the story of Mary and Martha being visited by Jesus and his disciples, which is said to highlight

²² Bonnie Lynn-Sherow, *Mohican Women and the Moravian Mission: Native American Women’s Activism in Early America*, (University of Massachusetts Press, 2013). 34.

²³ Wheeler, *Protestant Conversion in Seventeenth Century*, 66.

²⁴ *New Testament, Galatians*. 3:28, 50-100 AD.

how one should contemplate over action. In this story Mary sits at Jesus' feet, listening to him, while Martha busily prepares meals and cleans up. When Martha complains to Jesus that her sister is not helping her, he replies with "Mary has chosen what is better, and it will not be taken away from her."²⁵ This story could be shaped to devalue the contributions women make to religion, and as some historians argue; marginalize women who become part of Christianity. In *Half the Church: Recapturing God's Global Vision for Women*, Carolyn James states "the story of Mary and Martha has been used to reinforce the sacred-secular divide and to relegate women to a secondary role in God's kingdom."²⁶

The exclusion women soon faced in the Mohican community after Christianity was introduced, brought mixed response, and in turn tensions within the tribe. Even after their husbands had become baptized, Mohican women resisted Christian conversion to sustain the traditional roles they had in the economy. Foray introduces the case of Wequash Cook, a Mohican Sachem who kept her role, even after her husband and brother in law converted to Christianity and had discarded traditions in Mohican leadership. As part of Mohican custom, the position of a sachem was traditionally matrilineal, meaning the role had to be passed down through female family members. Therefore even as Mohicans abandoned the custom once converted into Christianity, there were still members of the community that believed the woman should stay as Sachem.

The traditional Mohican community was matrilineal for a couple reasons. One, the descent and family line was traced through the mother; meaning children were always introduced

²⁵ Luke 10:41-42

²⁶ Carolyn Custis James, *Half the Church: Recapturing God's Global Vision for Women*, (Zondervan, 2011). 125.

as members of their mother's clan. Mohicans believed that because women had made the child, they are the ones who are given the decision to choose where and how their child (their creation) will grow up. This custom gave way for unison among Mohican women. Secondly, as the Mohicans were an agricultural society, and the roles women had in growing crops and producing food brought immense appreciation for the woman's role in supplying the society's basic needs. The text *Encyclopedia of American Indian History* summarizes the high value Mohican tradition placed on womanhood; "Women were responsible for the transmittal of cultural; knowledge, including language, songs, and stories, to future generations, and they held significant power within the community."²⁷ Mohican women had a big influence on the future of a family and even controlled the crops and all other possessions from the household.²⁸ The polarization of the ideas of feminism introduced juxtaposing ideas on leadership within Mohican tribes, and a rising tide which eventually caused divergence in their communities. One example of this is Hendrick Aupaumut, wandering the East coast with his followers and becoming Sachem.

Hendrick Aupaumut and his converted Christian followers had been criticized by the Iroquois and other Northeastern natives for their authoritative structure that was now monopolized by the male. In 1791 by Grand River, Molly Brant, a Mohawk matron, exercised doubts on the success of Aupaumut and his Christian leanings. Brant had stated "here is another thing that looks much strange. If these Indians were upon good business, they would certainly follow the customs of all nations. They would have some women with them, but now they have none."²⁹ The preservation of native identity mixed with foreign cultures, Aupaumut had advocated for became a falsity once he had started adapting the Euro-American political

²⁷ Johansen, Bruce E., and Barry M. Pritzker. (*Encyclopedia of American Indian History. ABC-CLIO, 2016*). 54.

²⁸ Rayna Green, *Women in Native American Societies*, (University of London DPU Press, 1984). 49.

²⁹ Taylor, *The Dilemmas of an Intercultural Broker*, 446.

structure rather than just taking from Christianity's spiritual customs. There was a struggle of balance to unite these two different economies, as they each daunted the other's success. Native tribes had even told one another to not talk with the Yankees, as they were a danger to their culture. Joseph Brant had told Western Indians "not to talk or walk with these yankees"³⁰ Amongst the other Natives there was the belief of Mohicans being spies aiding American armies to victims [Native tribes]. This external pressure of indigenous tribes against the Christianized Mohicans gives a clear case study on the divisions Pan Indianism could cause rather than avoid. The male oriented public structure was foreign, even to outside nations.

Having women in a traveling party also "communicates peaceful intentions"³¹ with the traditional Iroquois and western villages which means that the role of women and men are definitely settled at that time and symbolic. Therefore Aupaumut's troop heightened distrust and fear among outside tribes. After all, Mohican women were heavily involved in the decision making process regarding the wealth of the tribe. They also had shaped important customs that automatically were erased if one became baptized. Bonnie McEwan in *Mohican Indian Women: Tradition and Transformation* discusses the importance of the Wampum, in Mohican culture. In Mohican society, women were the primary creators of these beads, and therefore exerted great influence over traditions.

McEwan states "its importance lay not only in its value as currency but also in its ability to symbolize kinship relationships, to record historical events, to communicate information, to mark agreements, and to serve as a mnemonic device for oral traditions."³² The wampum was created

³⁰ Taylor, *The Dilemmas of an Intercultural Broker*, 446.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Elizabeth Tooker, *Mohican Indian Women: Tradition and Transformation*, (University of Massachusetts Press, 1992). 84.

by Mohican women to make treaties, land agreements, funerals and marriages, and even were used as symbols of one's identity. Seeing that Wampums were used to record important events in religion, economy, or politics displays the great influence they had in Mohican custom. The bead patterns were a way to help speakers remember the promises and words that were spoken during ceremonies. Wampums also had monetary value and were often exchanged with American traders.

Religion was a form of guidance in the Mohican community. One of the important roles in the Mohican economy was the prophet, as they were usually asked to find ways the community can survive times of crisis. The prophet was usually a woman's role in Mohican society, and their teachings were consistently followed and valued. Christian missionaries believed the practice of Mohican prophets was witchcraft and acted against God. Mohican prophets believed that communication with spirits should be acknowledged if one does not want to have bad luck on the land. In Mohican lore, river and land sprites must be respected and talked to in order to have fertile land. While for Mohicans, interaction with nature was integral in their customs; Christian missions saw this as threatening to their teachings. Mohican prophets represented a direct communication to divinity, and interfered with the idea of priests and the Bible. If the Mohicans already had their own way of interacting with God and the holy spirits, there was no use to pray or confess. All of the prayers and healing methods were exercised under the role of the Mohican prophet. The celebration of the natural world was idolatry for the Christian missionaries. Christian religion was monotheistic, believing in one single God rather than a fleet of spirits and guardians. With monotheistic and polytheistic religions existing in the same community, many

members of the Mohican tribe began to turn away from traditional structure, resulting in heated debates within the community and even families as we will see later on.

Not every Mohican woman resisted Christianity. Some decided to become baptized once their husbands and children became baptized. They ditched the traditional gender system and joined missions to become interpreters and mediators, opening up new opportunities and exercising new beliefs in Mohican custom. After being taught the sufferings of Christ, Mohican women emphasized his eternal suffering as part of their process in birthing and bloodlines. They saw Christ as a figure who would communicate and unite new generations. They had also seen similarities between Christ and the Great Spirit, allowing them to mix Christian elements into traditional spirituality. Evan T. Pritchard states that Mohican women mostly valued the Christian messages on love, forgiveness, and eternal life. Christianity had given some of them hope for a stronger future where the powerful spirit of Jesus aided them in challenges they consistently faced.

Christian conversion of some Mohicans had also exposed all Mohican women to new dangers. Indigenous women were often the targets of Christian conversion and by their view, they were easier to convert and shape, despite their hugely influential role in the Mohican economy. Oftentimes converting one member of a family, eventually led to the rest converting soon after. There was friction within households. For example a Mohican man (Abraham) had a wife Sarah who was baptized at Shekomeko by Rauch. To escape tension, Abraham converted to the faith stated the new Christian faith "had deliver'd me & many of my Friends"³³ Despite this belief Abraham's faith to Christianity waxed and waned and with that had family conflicts. Familial

³³ Shurley Dunn, *The Continuance- An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*; (New York State Museum Bulletin, 2004). 92.

order had become disrupted by Christianity, whether it was for good reasons or not, but one thing for sure is the Moravian missionaries had strategic devices to influence the Mohicans. They were aware that if a chief was converted, that would be a way to break into a family oriented village. “If a man made a change, his wife and younger children usually soon followed.”³⁴ Family had been a key element of the Mohican belief system. Family was how the community thrived and were known to put up strong resistance toward colonists. The community was tight knit and everyone followed the same faith and customs.

In *The Mohican Way: A Conversation with Mohican Elders*, Chief Jake Swamp states “if somebody had a problem or a decision to make, they would gather the family together and they would sit down and they would talk about it. And whatever they decided, that’s what they did.”³⁵ There was no banter or wavering confusion between clans or family members, there was quick problem solving and there were no questions in terms of who has the most power. Chief Swamp notes on the recognition of power for Mohicans saying “It wasn’t a patriarchal society. It wasn’t that the man was the head of the household. The woman had a lot of responsibility in the household and the man had a lot of responsibility outside the household, but they worked together.”³⁶ There was coexistence between parents and children, and once Christian life had taken over, the Euro-American norm of a patriarchy replaced this balanced gender structure with skepticism and splitting between families.

³⁴ Dunn, *Algonquian Seminar*, 52.

³⁵ Kent Nerburn and Chief Jake Swamp, *The Mohican Way: A Conversation with Mohican Elders*, (World Wisdom Books, 2004).

³⁶ Ibid.

Alternative traditions to spiritual guidance were foreign, especially for the Mohican elders.

Tschoop, a Mohican in Schekemeko who converted after listening to Rauch's preachings states in a letter that "My own father and mother, and other near relations, have shown a great deal of malice against me, and have said that they will kill me, if they can come at me."³⁷ The intensity of this belief that his own parents would kill him for converting demonstrates the extremity of the consequences for Mohicans who had chosen to convert to Christianity around 1745. Despite the intense threats Tschopp had received, there are clear reasons why the elders resisted conversion. Tschoop's mother in law was a keeper of a leather talisman (shaped as a man), and as the oldest person she must continue to pass the figure down the family tree. In her mind the family's future depended on the talisman and the tradition must not be broken for the sake of their safety from spirits. According to Christianity there is only one God, and idolatry (praying to an object or thing other than God) is forbidden. This critique posed a challenge to the peace and tranquility the Mohicans had been living through pre-colonialism. What Mohicans believed kept them safe was threatened through the conversion process.

Some missionaries had even gone through traumatic strategies to get women to convert. In *Women, Christianity, and Colonialism in Native American History*, Jennifer Graber states in regards to Mohican households "women and children were often targeted for conversion, and Christian missionaries frequently separated them from men during the process. This was especially true in cases where men were resistant to conversion or were seen as political threats to the Christian mission."³⁸ This scenario shows some truth to Mary Konkapot's nightmare:; To many colonizers, Christian conversion was a tool to maintain control over the Mohicans and

³⁷ Jonathan Edwards, *The Life of the Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians*, (1749). 228

³⁸ Jennifer Graber, *Women, Christianity, and Colonialism in Native American History*, (Oxford University Press, 2018). 177.

other indigenous nations. If there was any sign of resistance to their Euro-American structural norm, they shut it down. It is important to note that this does not mean Christianity was a tool of propaganda. Rather, Christianity was one way colonists could easily exploit trading resources and befriend natives without having to go through violent circumstances. The conversion process also allowed colonial authorities to have more control on the Mohican peoples. “By converting Mohicans to Christianity, they hoped to reshape their worldview and make them more pliable to colonial rule.”³⁹ [*I don’t doubt it but this is a blanket statement by a later historian, probably many Moravians hoped to save their souls] The Moravians were open to a few Mohican traditions integrated into their system but they viewed the initial structure and idea of the Mohican as ‘savage’ or primitive.

Tension within Mohican communities and families was not the only intra-communal issue. There was a competition between various Christian missions. The biggest example of this were the Moravians, going against the Calvinists. Both of them competed over being the influence over Mohican communities. Moravians and Calvinist were both Protestant denominations but had disagreements on the importance of the self. Moravians were deeply rooted in the concept of individualism and Calvinists believed in the spiritual authority of God. Each of these missions fought over exerting Christian faith within Mohican communities. All of these different branches of Christianity added to the complexity of Mohican identity. More missions in a community meant “ a cacophony of voices, each offering different promises and pressures, each demanding adherence to different cultural norms and religious beliefs. The Mohicans responded by adapting, compromising, and fragmenting.”⁴⁰ The war for influence Christian missions had fought for, led

³⁹ Evan T. Pritchard, *Mohicans on the Hudson: The Native American Experience*, (Power Press, 2005). 57.

⁴⁰ James H. Merrell. *Mohicans and Missionaries in Colonial America: The Mission of the Moravian Church*, (Cornell University Press, 1999). 156.

to more division among the Mohican peoples. Many families were under pressure to choose through a catalog of different missionary groups and teachings.

Most of the time, Moravian missionaries were more understanding in the conversion of Mohican natives. However they sometimes tended on the assertive side to enforce rules for the Mohican community to follow and eventually complete their conversion to Christianity. One of the less subtle of these laws was that Outsiders of the community had to be married in order to stay. The Moravians believed that unattached men or women were not helpful to community and unison. A missionary David Zeisberger states in his diary, "I had to tell the single men in no uncertain terms that they had to start thinking about getting married, since it was not good for them to live alone and they could easily fall into sin. It is also not good for the congregation, since unattached men tend to be lazy and not participate in the community."⁴¹ In other words the Moravians believed when an individual is alone, he could end up immoral and go against the morality of the conservative community they wanted to bring up. Marriage for the Moravians guaranteed a more stable environment to promote Christian values on the Mohicans.

Christian faiths tended to have different ways in restructuring indigenous communities. The Moravian Church, founded in 1457 in the present day Czech Republic, brought emphasis to personal faith rather than communal. The common sentiment expressed through Moravian belief is "We have come into the world for this purpose: to serve one another and to show love and kindness to all. To this end we must walk humbly before our God, practice self-discipline and simplicity, and work hard to spread the Gospel to all who will hear it.". Protestantism is another branch of Christianity that leaned more toward predestination, meaning God had already decided

⁴¹ David Zeisberger, *Diary*, May 15, (1774)

which souls would be saved and which were damned. This was the reason for Puritans living more disciplined and harsh toward their converts. Catholicism is another branch of Christianity, the major difference being its recognition of the pope as a spiritual leader. Most Christian branches do not have a spiritual leader and have no ‘main’ mediator for their communications with God. Ethnohistorian Andreas Gösele explains the Moravians felt the teachings needed improvement and had inconsistencies and errors within Indian practice of their culture. In ancient Mohican custom, the was the role of the prophet who was basically God’s translator. This interfered with many Moravian missions, and to keep challenges away from their system in Mohican communities, Moravians began to remove emphasis and reliance on Mohicans communicating through Prophets (most often who were women).

Although Moravians were more considerate of Mohican culture, their primary directive of spreading their influence was valued more highly than the genuine understanding of Mohican culture. One missionary, John Heckwelder says in a journal entry of 1761, that the Mohicans were “ a people most degenerated, and savage beyond conception”⁴² Heckwelder’s negative and stereotypical views of the Mohican natives evolved overtime, warming up and respecting their beliefs as they became more integrated with Christian culture. He writes after a few years living with the Mohican people; “From my long acquaintance with the Mohican tribe, I can confidently assert that they were a mild, peaceable, and hospitable people, much attached to their own customs and manners, and happy in the enjoyment of them.”⁴³ Heckwelder eventually worked as an advocate for indigenous rights, trying to fix the strained relationships between the Moravian Church and the Mohican community. He had seen the harm Moravian missionaries

⁴² John Heckwelder, *Journal Entry*, (1761).

⁴³ John Heckwelder, *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*, (1819).

were causing Mohican households, especially with imposing European cultural values on the community. In result bringing enforced abandonment of traditions and spiritual practices.

For Mohican women, the coercion was usually more subtle, and through forced acts of kindness. In 1761, Zeisberger wrote on how he and other Moravian missionaries were successful in persuading Mohican women to convert to Christianity: “We spoke at length with them [the Mohican women], but they refused to believe or to join us. They said, 'We are satisfied with what our fathers and grandfathers believed; we don't want to learn anything new.' We pleaded with them, we entreated them, we gave them gifts, but they would not be persuaded. Finally, we began to weep and to sing hymns, and we prayed with them for a long time, until at last they began to weep also. Then they said, 'We don't know what to do; we are afraid to believe, but we are also afraid not to believe.' At last, we succeeded in convincing them, and they joined us.”⁴⁴

At first the Mohican women strongly supported the idea of family lines and ancestry, and did not want to disrespect their elders, but the Moravians did not let go. Instead they ‘pleaded’ for the women to convert, and used gift giving to present “kindness”.

These acts of kindness were not out of genuine care but in concern of reshaping the Mohican community to what the Moravian Church sees as enlightenment. During the conversion process, most missionaries did not acknowledge the Mohican women’s confusion on converting beliefs, and simply begged them with gifts and favors. Rather what could be seen as voluntary, in reality the Christian conversion process for Mohican women and their households was emotionally manipulative, and brought tension between families. It had also presented limits to their spiritual guidance, Mohican custom had never acknowledged pre-conversion. It has to be asked, what

⁴⁴ David Zeisberger, *Journal entry*, (1761).

other said 'voluntary' Christian conversions were truly voluntary, and did not involve the stubborn acts of goodwill the Moravians imposed on the Mohican women. There seems to be a double sided coin on the Moravians' righteous acts toward the Mohican community. There was no violence involved, but the missionary tactics converting Mohican women and their families caused unwanted confusion of native identity and customs.

2. THE HORRORS OF EDUCATION

Education amongst all Mohican youth was one of the advantages Mohicans had when converted to Christianity: Their children now had an easy, guaranteed way to access different opportunities. In the 1700s, education within Christian missions was exclusive to the male. Sarah Purcell brings up that even though Moravians acknowledged the salvation of Mohicans was dependent on the education of their children, they excluded girls from their missionary teachings (another example of missionaries' mistreatment of Mohican women). However Jonathan Edwards who was a missionary for the tribe now known as the Stockbridge-Munsee Community, believed in giving equal opportunity to the Mohican youth. He states that "Every person has a natural right to have such opportunities for education as shall be sufficient to qualify him for any office, station, business or employment, and which shall not involve a breach of the public peace, or of morality; much more, therefore, to qualify him to be useful in a station that is of so much importance to human society as the ministry of the gospel."⁴⁵ The reasoning for this action was not to advocate for the Mohican women's equal rights. Rather, Edwards saw inclusive missionary education as a tool to spread Christian faith and use it to spiritually guide Mohicans into conversion more effectively. Whether it leaned toward inclusive or exclusive education, Christian missionaries were an assimilation tactic that discouraged traditional practices and beliefs. This chapter explores how the Moravian mission education system caused disruptions within the Mohican community and why it was an extension of colonialism and oppression upon the Mohican tribes

⁴⁵ Jonathan Edwards, *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*, 1746.

Initially a scholar looking into indigenous history would think Christian missions providing education for Mohican peoples is entirely beneficial and demonstrates the advantages Mohicans had gotten while converting to Christianity. One critic goes as far as to say that “the teachers helped these Mohicans to new, positive beliefs; finding new spiritual connections brought the Mohican world view closer to that of their English neighbors, although at the cost of an ancient lifestyle...As many moved away from the rivers and hills of their homeland, they took new abilities and Christian beliefs with them, while retaining their Mohican identity.”⁴⁶ Although a lot of Mohicans were able to identify some of their customs with Christianity, the missions themselves did not center their education around inclusivity, instead it was more tolerance. As long as the Mohican tradition did not conflict with Christian belief they did not oppose it.

No matter what, Christian missions had the primary directive on spreading the faith to as many communities as possible. For Jonathan Edwards this meant it is better advancement to include everyone in Moravian education. Talking on the importance of missionary education for Mohican youth, Edwards says “The devil has a great advantage against you, and he will make his advantage of it and will take hold of you as you are, with all your sins about you, as a lion seizes his prey.”⁴⁷ Here Edwards uses spirituality to manipulate Mohican parents, to send their children to Moravian education institutions. He uses their values on the well-being of their children and gives them one option to save them from apparent doom: To baptize their children and teach them the ways of the Moravian Church. Edwards says in a letter to Sir William Pepperrell that he hopes the Stockbridge education will “bring them off from their barbarism and brutality, to a relish for those things, which belong to civilization and refinement.”⁴⁸ This critique on the

⁴⁶ Dunn, *Algonquian Seminar*, 86.

⁴⁷ Jonathan Edwards, *Sovereignty and Salvation of God, 18th Century*.

⁴⁸ Jonathan Edwards. *letter to Sir William Pepperrell*, 1751.

Mohican economy sheds light on Edwards' true intentions. He was culturally biased and his education approach was based in cultural superiority. Edwards was ignorant toward Mohicans cultural values, and was one of the contributors for the disintegration of Mohican identity. Lisa Brooks critiques Edwards legacy as an erasure of Mohican history. How his Euro-American education incorporated Mohicans "into the body politic of the United States as an assimilated people."⁴⁹ Edwards promoted the English language over Mohican language, and had strongly encouraged the community to adapt into a European colonial societal structure. He observes that "it is necessary that they should know the English language, and be incorporated into the English government and customs, and under English laws; that they may be under the care and government of English magistrates and officers, and be taught to live under the influence of English society and manners." Underneath the promise of a good afterlife and protection from God, the desire for Mohican nations to reconfigure into English societal norms was major for most if not all missionaries.

The biggest values Edwards' had in his missionary teachings were individualism and the nuclear family, which substituted over the Mohicans' traditional relations and commune life. The ideology behind the nuclear family, believes the ideal family unit consists of a couple and their children living separate from other relatives. This characterization of independent family members and self-reliance undermines the Mohicans idea of clans and kinship structures, where an entire clan helps each other out (especially intergenerational). The clan mother is one of the important features to the communal living of the Mohicans. The role the clan mother has is in decision making and governance, and made sure the community's spiritual and physical needs were satisfied. Overall, the structure of clans in the Mohican economy was important to their

⁴⁹ Lisa Brooks, *Between Two Worlds: The Legacy of Jonathan Edwards*, (Yale University Press, 2014). 94.

social organization. It served to be a mutual aid, collection of resources, sustained social relationships, and brought balance to the needs of individual members as well as the needs of a larger group.⁵⁰ The clanship structure had brought self efficiency but also recognized the importance of synchrony and unison. The ideology of the nuclear family rejected the clans' communal methods and promoted self reliance exclusively. Once the ideas of nuclear family were integrated with Mohican culture, the clan system fell apart and with it further separation among tribes and even families.

Intergenerational living had also played a vital role in Mohican oral history. The cultural knowledge and customs were passed down from generation to generation. This is the start of an ugly phase of Indian schooling in North America. With the Moravian emphasis on self efficiency and individual responsibilities, future generations of Mohicans' were educated within the English cultural norm, and soon the tribe began to forget their old traditions. Missionary education had also led to a loss in native Mohican speakers and cultural history. The superintendent of Indian trade, Thomas McKenney brings up that the ancient language of Mohicans "is fast fading away, ere long, will be entirely forgotten. In its place, the English language is fast becoming predominant."⁵¹ The identity of the Mohicans were merging with the historical narratives and legacies of christian missions, like Jonathan Edwards.

The Mohicans' fast cultural transformation was witnessed by Mary Jemison, a captive by the French and Shawnee tribe who interacted with the Mohicans: "they are fast changing, and assimilating to those of their civilized neighbors. In their ancient state, they were simple,

⁵⁰ Robert E. Grumet. *The Culture and Social Organization of the Mohicans, 1765-1775*, (University of Nebraska Press, 1988). 103.

⁵¹ Thomas McKenney, James Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, (D. Rice and Co, 1837). 83.

credulous, and improvident, but hospitable and friendly to strangers.”⁵²[good quote – implies the changes are mainly bad] The divisions between Christian missionaries, and warfare among the European colonies brought pressure among indigenous tribes (Mohicans) to take sides. Jemison notes the ‘civilized neighbors’ but before in their ‘ancient state’ Mohicans were more hospitable and friendly. Warfare and competition among settlers and missionaries introduced boundaries between tribes. Once the Mohicans’ solidarity was diluted, and various Christian missions were implemented, the cultural integrity began to disintegrate, and the future generations would soon see Christianity as the most prominent livelihood.

The story of a Mohican girl named Catherine details how Moravians assimilate Christianity into the Mohican youth. Catherine was taken in by a Moravian missionary and was encouraged to adapt to European custom, highly discouraged from speaking in her Mohican language and even had to adapt to the clothing style of Euro-Americans.⁵³ Many Mohican youth like Catherine went through the same process of becoming more used to the English and European way of life than their own indigenous culture. In the end the Moravian Church had taught Mohican children to reject their own traditions and elders’ teachings. This led to many family troubles as challenges were made by the younger Mohican generation to their parents and elders’ beliefs.

The Moravian church had even separated children from their families and put them in mission schools. John Heckewelder admits in one of his letters, “We take children of heathen parents to our schools, and instruct them in reading, writing, and arithmetic, as well as in the knowledge of the Christian religion. By this means, we hope to bring them up in the fear of God, and to rescue

⁵² James E. Seaver. *Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison*, (American Tract Society 1824). 47.

⁵³ Jon F. Sensbach. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*, (University of North Carolina Press, 1998). 72.

them from their heathenish customs and practices.”⁵⁴ This destruction of culture is awful and presents truth underneath missionary’s claims on spiritually aiding the Mohican community. Most Moravians believed that without Christianity, Mohicans were in complete anarchy. Heckewelder had no respect in the letter for the initial Mohican structure, and even as he claimed to have been living harmoniously with the Mohicans, he still associated negative traits to Mohican custom and therefore did not care for what happened to their religion. As long as they had a stronghold on the younger Mohican generation they were satisfied. It meant they had a grasp on the future, further making Christian faith the biggest influence for Mohican societies.

One missionary, Eleazar Wheelock recognizes the harm missionary education had caused for the Mohican community: “I have sometimes thought that our endeavors to teach the Indians to read and write, and to lead them to a knowledge of the principles of Christianity, have, through the management and misconduct of some who have had the care of them, done more hurt than good; and that they have rather been trained up to a contempt of both, than to a love and esteem for either.”⁵⁵ Rather than feeling passionate about Christian teachings, many Mohicans felt it was a survival strategy. They feared the disintegration of their futures and believed converting was a way to make peace with settlers and have stronger spiritual guidance. Present-day Historian Michael Oberg says, “Christian education was central to survival in a world rapidly being transformed by European conquest and settlement.”⁵⁶ Did the Mohicans have no choice but to conform with European policy to avoid violence? Some may have felt voluntarily drawn into Christianity but it might have been due to the Christian missions’ constant preachings about the stronger spiritual guidance Christianity has over their own traditions. As stated earlier,

⁵⁴ John Heckewelder. *Diary*, 1790.

⁵⁵ Eleazar Wheelock, *Memoir of a Missionary to the Indians of New York*, (Cornell University Press, 1995). 212

⁵⁶ Michael Leroy Oberg, *Native America: A History*, (John Wiley and Sons, 2017). 119

Moravians had corrected Mohican customs as they saw it as inconsistent with the Mohican belief system itself. What really happened was that missionaries found cultural similarities in Mohican custom to their religion and formatted those points in accordance to their own. I would like to note two concepts that fall into both Christianity and ancient Mohican customs; good death and the last rites.

The concept of ‘good death’ also known as ‘happy hunting ground’ refers to the Mohicans’ belief in the afterlife where they could join their ancestors and continue to hunt and be at peace. Richter states “To leave a positive reputation among the living was important to the Mohicans, as it would be to all Iroquian peoples. A good reputation could only be earned by leading a productive life...A good death was one in which the dying individual maintained self-control, made important final pronouncements, and left behind a solid legacy of accomplishment and rectitude.”⁵⁷ Mohicans had high value for a place in the afterlife, because they valued their legacy, and what they left behind. Their ideas of afterlife guaranteed peace for all who died, and what mattered was how they left the material world behind. When Christian missions introduced their idea of the afterlife, the idea of the afterlife became more threatening to Mohicans.

The concept of torture, and sinners going to hell with Satan was a frightening concept, but the idea of heaven and living with God was very similar to their idea of Good Death. Through missionary education, the concept of good death was flipped into a question: will you have a good or bad death? Heaven or Hell? The Christian system of reward and punishment was alarming to the Mohicans and had them questioning their ideas of the afterlife. Christian

⁵⁷ Daniel K. Richter, *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America, (1600-1800)*, (Penn State University Press, 1987). 56.

missions had said if Mohicans did not follow their god, they would suffer eternal pain. Not wanting to take the chance at damnation, Mohicans converted to Christianity and began to follow the teachings of the missionaries. Shirley Dunn discusses how this confusion and fear of Christianity's afterlife led to Mohicans incorporating Christian beliefs as their own but also struggled to maintain their traditional beliefs in accordance with the new Christian teachings.⁵⁸ The Mohicans' openness to Christian teachings is reflected in Daniel Wheeler's journal; "The Mohican tribe was one of the most interesting of the Indian nations. They were of a friendly disposition towards the whites, and when the gospel was preached to them, many became convinced of its truth and embraced it."⁵⁹ For Christianity, the Gospel talks of salvation and eternal life through faith in Christ. It states that Christ died for humanity's sins and that whoever believes him is guaranteed to go to heaven. The Gospel also emphasizes love and charity to thy neighbor while Mohicans value communal mourning.

The concept of Good death often had people offering gifts to the dying person to show loyalty and respect. In Christian culture, there was a last rites ritual that involved a priest offering prayers for the dying person and getting the Eucharist. Eucharist is a sacrament involving the eating and drinking bread and wine, representing the body and blood of Christ. Christians believed this was a way to connect with God, by consuming the symbolism of their lord and savior. Although Mohicans believed in many spirits and guardians of nature, there was one spirit they believed whose presence was in their entire existence; the Great Spirit, also known as Manitou. Similarly with Christ, if the Mohicans were loyal and respectful to Manitou they would prosper and be at peace in their afterlife.

⁵⁸ Dunn, *The Mohicans and Their Land*, 123.

⁵⁹ Daniel Wheeler, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of a Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, (1774)*.
91

Ceremonies that involved praying to Manitou were vision quests and healing ceremonies, which was believed by Mohicans to gain personal power and be guided on important decisions.

Seeing vision quests as a challenge to their beliefs as it involved praying to another God for a prosperous afterlife, leading missionaries to decide to discourage prayers to Manitou. The Christian God is believed to be involved in the people's lives and gives aid, comfort and support to those who may need it. Manitou is also an entity believed to be present in all things, but it is not a force that goes into personal lives, rather it is simply present in nature, animating everything but not preferring one life over another. The role of both of these entities is similar, and because of that one had to replace the other if Mohicans were going to integrate Christianity to their traditions. As spiritual guidance was very present in Mohican customs, divergence on the belief of God shows one possible heated topic that resulted in tension between Mohican families.

Trauma from the Christian mission schools (which were usually boarding schools) had long lasting effects on the Mohican youth that attended. This was not only present in the 18th and 19th century but for the very recent 20th century. A Mohican elder, Simeon Wright details his personal experience in Christian mission schools; "I know what it was like to be forced to speak a language I didn't understand, to be punished for being a child, to have my identity and self-esteem stripped from me. The hurt and humiliation that was forced upon us in those schools, the trauma that we experienced, has left an indelible mark on our people."⁶⁰ These effects of the trauma experienced in Christian mission schools demonstrates its effect on diluting Mohican identity. It had enforced foreign ideology to a young generation that was developing slowly but

⁶⁰ Madeleine Landau Tobias and Janja Lalich, *Captive Hearts, Captive Minds: Freedom and Recovery from Cults and Abusive Relationships*, (Hunter House Publishers, 1994). 186.

surely. Many Christian mission schools resulted in Mohicans' humiliation of one's identity. Wright says it left an indelible mark on the Mohican peoples, and the effects of that traumatic experience had never truly worn off. This presents all the more reason to how integrating Christianity into Mohican culture had almost erased their heritage and identity. In the case of Christian missions the erasure of Mohican custom and religion was enforced rather than discouraged.

Another Mohican Elder and historian, Patrick Frazier furthers the existence of trauma of Mohicans in Christian mission schools; "Many of us carry the scars of our experiences in those schools. We struggle with depression, anxiety, and other mental health issues. We also struggle with addiction and other forms of self-destructive behavior, as we try to cope with the pain that we have carried for so long." The Christian mission schools not only resulted in the erasure of Mohican identity but also led to some questioning their existence. This severe experience accounted for by Frazier presents the consequences of Christian missionary education. To Mohican parents, many Christian missionaries guaranteed their children would be worthy to go to the afterlife if they were educated in these boarding schools. Yet by the time they were finished the Mohican youth were left questioning their self worth. This broadens out the Christian mission's impact on Mohican identity to self-erasure. The case of self erasure and the 'voluntary' adaptation to Christianity was present in many cases, from getting gifts and consistently preached to, or being said there may not be a slot in the afterlife for everyone; Christian missions had used methods to emotionally shape the Mohicans to believe in their faith. Here we see the violent approach on educating the Mohican community. They went after the future generations to ultimately get a handle on the Mohican economy. Frazier mentions "By

converting young people to Christianity, missionaries hoped to gain control over their land and resources as they became the next generation of tribal leaders and decision-makers.”⁶¹ If missionaries were successful in converting the youth, elders would have no choice but to follow. When targeting the children, missionaries found it easier to put Christian values, as they were still developing their beliefs.

Many Mohican parents did fear cultural assimilation and loss of traditional lifestyle as the Christian missions persisted in their children getting Christianized. “Many Indians resisted and resented mission education. Parents kept their children home to avoid mission schools, even though nonattendance was punishable by law.”⁶² Here it seems the initial ‘choice’ Mohicans had to send their children to missionary school had a definitive right and wrong answer in the settlers’ eyes. This transformed once Christian missions got funding from the American Federal government. This connection to the American government led to a very big overlap between the Christian missions and government-run schools. Many government run schools were actually run by religious Christian groups, only in these boarding schools, the main goal was to assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-American culture. One such instance of this can be seen in the General Allotment Act of 1887, “the Secretary of the Interior may, in his discretion, order a readjustment of the boundaries of the reservations, or the sale of unallotted lands in said reservations, and may cause such Indians as may be settled thereon to be removed therefrom to such other reservations as he may deem advisable.”⁶³ There is an authorization for the Secretary of the Interior to keep food, clothing and other necessities from Mohican (and other indigenous

⁶¹ Patrick Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, (University of Nebraska, 1992). 1242.

⁶² Frazier, *The Mohicans of Stockbridge*, p. 86

⁶³ Dawes Act, *Section 10*, (1887).

families) who resisted sending their children to boarding schools. The Mohican identity was becoming invaded and erased with these new laws and ideas.

Mohican Parents were anxious about their children becoming taught a foreign belief system, and it also posed challenges for their traditional customs and lifestyle. Anthropologist, Jack Campisi states “The Mohicans' agricultural and hunting traditions and subsistence economy made it difficult for them to adapt to the structured daily routine of boarding schools.”⁶⁴ The Mohican youth were a big part of hunting and agriculture; their parents passing the mantle of responsibility to them. If they went to these missionary schools, there was risk in the abandonment of these practices. There was also concern on “losing their cultural identity and the possibility of physical, emotional, and sexual abuse of their children in the schools.”⁶⁵ This concern was raised by Mohican children returning from Christian mission schools and telling stories about their abuse. The spiritual guidance the Christian missions had offered Mohicans had instead broken spirits, and intended to dilute and breakdown the Mohicans' cultural identity, substituting it for Christian Enlightenment.

⁶⁴ Jack Campisi, *Education and Assimilation among the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans*, (University of Nebraska, 2001). 104

⁶⁵ Ibid.

3. IN PUBLIC VIEWING

In the present day, the effects Christianity had on Mohican culture and identity can be seen through many publications, exhibits and historical artifacts. Although there is the consistent attempt of the Stockbridge Munsee-Mohican community to resurrect their ancient culture, such as teaching the Mohican language, spreading ceremonial traditions and agricultural practices, and getting land acknowledgements, there is often the confusion of historical ownership between the Mohican community and descendants of Christianity. We see the Mohicans' struggle to hold their historical narrative as their own through the robbery of The Stockbridge Bible.

The Stockbridge Tribal Bible, was a translation of the Bible in the Mohican language, and was a gift from Francis Ayscough, the chaplain to the Prince of Wales. Ayscough was intrigued by the Mohicans' Christian transformation, and in 1745, he gifted them a two volume bible and communion set. He inscribed in the first volume that the bible "is to remain in the use of the successors of those Indians, from generation to Generation; as a testimony of the said Doctor's Great Regard for the Salvation of their souls."⁶⁶ This gift was to the Mohican community to help them in their spiritual development under John Sergeant, who Ayscough refers to as Dr Sergeant. This gold lettered bible was a gesture of goodwill to the Mohicans. Present day anthropologist Kevin McBride offers insight on why this bible was important to Mohicans; "Regardless of their content, books and other reading matter possessed intrinsic value in Native society, and they were frequently accorded special treatment."⁶⁷ The bible set was also used at the Prince of Wales' coronation which presents it as a sacred religious treasure. This

⁶⁶ Rose Miron, *Fighting For the Tribal Bible: Mohican Politics of Self Representation in Public History*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2018). 95.

⁶⁷ Kevin McBride, *Bundles, Bears, and Bibles: Interpreting Seventeenth Century Native 'Texts'*, (University of Massachusetts Press, 1999). 102.

further the case on Mohicans' inclusive nature, and shows why this artifact was highly valued in their culture. It was a symbol for peace and alliance amongst settlers and natives.

From then on, the tribal bible followed wherever the Mohicans settled. Tribal member, Elaine M. Jacobi states that the Bible and communion set was "preserved, and always placed on the altar wherever they [the Mohicans] settled in a new home and a new church."⁶⁸ Starting in the early twentieth century there were several non-native museums and churches that asked if they could obtain this religious artifact from the Mohicans, but were turned down even after offering several thousand dollars.⁶⁹ Jamison Quinney, the tribal leader at the time, was responsible for these artifacts and wanted to keep the Bible in the tribe. However their attempts at preserving their history and religion were broken when someone stole the Bible around 1929, when Quinney passed away and left the Bible and Communion set to his wife, Ella Quinney at their home inside the Mohican reservation in Wisconsin.

The thief of the tribal Bible and communion set, was Reverend Frederick G. Westfall, a Christian missionary, and the leader of the John Sergeant Memorial Church, which was nearby the Wisconsin reservation. This theft sets an example of cultural imperialism on Mohican identity. History had repeated itself, with another attempt at the erasure of Mohican religious practices. Beforehand Christianity integrated itself and erased a lot of ancient Mohican traditions, and now the identity the Mohicans reformed to, is being invaded by a Christian mission. This circumstance is ironic, considering that John Sergeant worked to enlighten the Mohicans with

⁶⁸ Elaine M. Jacobi, *Our Great Spirit, Mohican Creator: 'Putahmowus,'* "Reflections on the Waters That Are Never Still," (2015): 46.

⁶⁹ Miron, *Fighting For Tribal Bible*. 96.

Christianity, and now one of his missions is trying to take that back. Here we can see John Sergeant's legacy had become ingrained in Mohican history.

The primary reason for Reverend Westfall's robbery was that he believed the Mohicans were unfit to carry such a valued treasure. Westfall saw his Christian congregation as the most logical and safest place for the Bible and communion set. Years after his theft Westfall had thought of his theft as a rescue and how it wasn't supposed to be in the hands of Native Americans, claiming "the document was a forgery and that its rightful place was in a museum where it could be appreciated for its historical significance."⁷⁰ There is an example of the long term effects of a syncretic culture. The historical recognition becomes a debate. What deserves to be whose? Who has the right to keep a valuable item of this shared heritage? In the specific example of the Tribal Bible, the Mohicans were explicitly gifted and therefore deserved to have the bible. Westfall's presumption on their unfit to carry their valued cultural heritage presents the continuous cycle of non-natives viewing Mohican culture as subservient to Christianity.

Westfall also thought the Mohicans revered the bible as something to worship and were not using it as a device for Christian faith. Believing his reasons to be righteous, and his congregation's deserving of the Bible; Reverend Westfall illegally broke into the Quinney's house one night, while Ella Quinney was away, and stole the Bible and communion set. Soon after Westfall responded to a letter interested about the Mohicans, and their tribal bible. He lied saying the Mohicans did have the Bible and communion set and that he placed it in a bank vault, thirty miles from the Mohican reservation. Soon after he was approached by Mabel Choate, curating a museum in Stockbridge. Choate was interested in acquiring historical items in relation to the Mohicans and John Sergeant. Westfall aided Choate in retrieving Mohicans items for her

⁷⁰Scott Stafford, *Theft of Mohican Bible still a sore spot*, (The Berkshire Eagle, 2015). 3.

museum. Westfall had also worked with Ruth Gaines, employed in the Museum of American Indian in New York City, who went to Wisconsin to see what other artifacts the Mohicans would sell. Some of these artifacts would end up in the Mission House museum in Stockbridge, and the Museum of the American Indian. Reverend Westfall placed himself as the representative of the Mohican tribe in Wisconsin, and apparently in some sources, the congregation was mostly non-Indian.

What had given Westfall the right to enact this disrespectful nature toward the Mohican community? It's apparent his interpretation to Christian teachings was different from the Mohicans in Wisconsin. Westfall had seen Mohicans as part of John Sergeant's faith but failed to recognize the branching that could have occurred all these years after. Branching away from ancient custom and integrating their structure into Christian values, the Mohicans had become part of Christianity's divided structure. Evangelists, Protestants, Moravians, all of them believe in the same God but have different ways in showing respect through ceremonies, prayers and traditions. Throughout history and into the present day, Christianity's multiple faiths led to its broadening culture of sectarianism. These divisions ultimately bring heated debates on interpretations on scripture, and create tension within individual communities.

English historian, Diarmaid MacCulloch says "Christianity has experienced, throughout its long history, more divisions, sects, and internal conflicts than any other world religion, partly because it has always sought to make sense of its sacred texts and its traditions in relation to changing circumstances and evolving societies."⁷¹ These divisions and sectors would set division amongst the Mohican community. Families sided with different faiths and led to splits in the community. Today there is no more religious coherence in the Mohican community, and each

⁷¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*. (Penguin Books, 2009). 13.

individual could have different sets of values and beliefs. One cannot define Mohican community under one religion, because it has become a complex network of syncretic religious practice that has become unique to every individual and community.

Reverend Westfall's theft of the tribal Bible sets an example of how divided Christian faiths have become, and how this has impacted the Mohican tribal identity and their grasp on their historical narrative. Through a series of letters between Westfall and the museum curators we find Mohican being identified with an outside entity, who had no part in their traditions or beliefs but still held semblance to historians as a figure of cultural importance. Choate had written to Westfall, "The Bibles show every evidence of care and protection through all these years."⁷² The tribal Bible was one of the few symbols showcasing the Mohicans' dedication to the Christian narrative that has now become part of their history. In adapting Christianity, there were more reasons developed by museum curators and historians studying indigenous culture, saying important artifacts actually don't belong to the Mohican community. Gaines says in a letter that "Mr Westfall told me that the Indians would believe anything he told them and do as he told them. If so, he can tell them that we aim to be the living point of contact between the histories of our people; that we are in a sense the logical guardians of your Indian treasures."⁷³ It is clear here that Gaines, Westfall and Choate believed the Mohicans were becoming nonexistent and that it was up to them [Non-Native Curators] to maintain their history and be the mediators between Mohican communities and non-natives in public, particularly in historical spaces. This mindset reflects a lot of what people think of when they see a museum dedicated to Mohican culture; this is in the past. To the outside perspective, Mohican culture has no relevance to the

⁷² Mabel Choate, *Letter to Frederick Westfall*. 1930

⁷³ Ruth Gaines, *Letter to Mabel Choate*, 20 January 1930, folder 42, box 1, Mabel Choate Papers, ARC.

present, their identities are in the past. In many museums, various Native American exhibitions do not talk about present day lifestyle. In fact, the furthest most exhibits present native american history is the 19th century when European settlers and Christian Missions began to interact with indigenous groups. There is usually no mention of the Stockbridge mission and its descendants acting to preserve and rehabilitate ancient Mohican culture.

The Stockbridge-Munsee Mohican tribe originated in the mid 16th century, where the Mohican community had become displaced from their original homeland in what is present day New York, and moved to the region now known as Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The town was founded by John Sergeant and with Christianization came the Stockbridge community. Today the Stockbridge Mohican nation is a federally recognized tribe that is involved with many Western enterprises, such as retail, hospitality, gaming. They also work as activists, preserving Mohican language, customs and culture for future generations. They are working to maintain the present existence of Mohican identity, and were the ones that had worked for thirty one years to get the tribal bible from the Mission house museum board, who believed Mohicans' identity had dissolved and they had the right to ownership. After the return of the Bible, Miron took a tour of the mission house, where the tour guide pointed to where the bible was displayed saying, "This is where we used to keep two Bibles and a Communion Set that were given to the Indians as a gift. But a few years ago the Stockbridge Indians asked for them back. We just couldn't say no to such a sweet request."⁷⁴ This fabrication and simplification of the long legal process the Stockbridge community had to deal with is congruent with various outside sources taking on the written history of the Mohicans.

⁷⁴ Miron, Fighting For Tribal Bible, 109

that has been thought to have faded in many outside sources, authorships and publications. One popular novel highlighting this mindset of the Mohicans' extinction from society is *The Last of The Mohicans*, by James Fennimore Cooper. The novel ends with "their convictions had become merged in superstitions, their opinions blended in the simplicity of their government, and their minds had lost their energy, in the habits of subjection and dependence... The habits, even the existence of the Indian, are now subjects of antiquarian research. The people are starting to forget that such a race ever existed." The Mohican identity has become considered to have disappeared for non-natives, but this is clearly not the case as this paper has shown.

In the present day, the Mohican historical narrative has been shadowed by historians such as Choate and the Mission House Museum, who believe they are in charge of the maintenance of the Mohicans' cultural artifacts. Although there is truth to the erasure and dilution of Mohican identity through Christianity, the Stockbridge tribe in the present day is actively getting recognition for the Mohican tribe, as seen most recently with Bard's Rethinking place to get land acknowledgement on its campus. This is one of the steps to the preservation of Mohican culture and history. Through its Christian integration, the Mohican community had become a divided people, practicing different faiths, and controversy around what customs are in accordance with Mohican identity. When studying Mohican religion, historians must proceed with caution to not simplify a community now made of different faiths integrated with Mohican customs.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aupaumut, Hendrick. "A Short Narration of My Last Journey to the Western Country." In *A Son of the Forest and Other Writings*, edited by Peter S. Du Ponceau, 1-20. New York: AMS Press, 1970.

The Bible. Luke 10:41-42.

Bellesiles, Michael. "Hendrick Aupaumut: The Legacy of a Native Patriot." *William and Mary Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (2009): 35-50.

Brown, Dee. *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Campisi, Jack. *Education and Assimilation among the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001.

Choate, Mabel. Letter to Frederick Westfall. 1930. Folder 42, Box 1. Mabel Choate Papers. Archives and Special Collections.

Dawes Act, Section 10, 24 Stat. 388 (1887).

Dunn, Shirley W. *The Continuance - An Algonquian Peoples Seminar*. New York State Museum Bulletin, 2004.

Dunn, Shirley W. *The Mohicans and Their Land, 1609-1730*. Purple Mountain Press, 1994.

Edwards, Jonathan. *The Life of the Rev. David Brainerd, Missionary to the Indians*. 1749.

Edwards, Jonathan. *A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections*. 1746.

Edwards, Jonathan. "Letter to Sir William Pepperrell." 1751.

Frazier, Patrick. "The Mohicans of Stockbridge." *Journal of American History* 83, no. 4 (1996).

Gaines, Ruth. Letter to Mabel Choate. 20 January 1930. Folder 42, Box 1. Mabel Choate Papers. Archives and Special Collections, Williams College, Williamstown, MA.

Graber, Jennifer. *Women, Christianity, and Colonialism in Native American History*. Oxford University Press, 2018.

Green, Rayna. *Women in Native American Societies*. University of London DPU Press, 1984.

Grumet, Robert E. *The Culture and Social Organization of the Mohicans, 1765-1775*. University of Nebraska Press, 1988.

Hart, Siobhan M. "Hendrick Aupaumut and the Re-Making of the Mohican World." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 74, no. 1 (2017): 57-90.

Hart, Siobhan M. "A World of Paper: Louis Riel, Hendrick Aupaumut, and the Zuni Origins Narrative." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (2015): 51-76.

Heckewelder, John. *Journal of the Moravian Mission among the Indians of North America, Vol. 1*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1820.

Heckewelder, John. *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States*. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1819.

James, Carolyn Custis. *Half the Church: Recapturing God's Global Vision for Women*. Zondervan, 2011.

Jacobi, Elaine M. "Our Great Spirit, Mohican Creator, 'Putahmowus.'" *Reflections on the Waters That Are Never Still*, 46. 2015.

Johansen, Bruce E., and Barry M. Pritzker. *Encyclopedia of American Indian History*. ABC-CLIO, 2016.

Kalter, Susan. *Nineteenth-Century Narratives of Contested Identity: Mohican-Munsee Peoples, 1830-1860*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2019.

Lynn-Sherow, Bonnie. *Mohican Women and the Moravian Mission: Native American Women's Activism in Early America*. University of Massachusetts Press, 2013.

MacCulloch, Diarmaid. *Christianity: The First Three Thousand Years*. Penguin Books, 2009.

McBride, Kevin. *Bundles, Bears, and Bibles: Interpreting Seventeenth Century Native 'Texts'*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

McKenney, Thomas and James Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*. D. Rice and Co, 1837.

Merrell, James H. *Mohicans and Missionaries in Colonial America: The Mission of the Moravian Church*. Cornell University Press, 1999.

Nerburn, Kent, and Chief Jake Swamp. *The Mohican Way: A Conversation with Mohican Elders*. World Wisdom Books, 2004.

Miron, Rose. *Fighting For the Tribal Bible: Mohican Politics of Self Representation in Public History*. University of Minnesota Press, 2018.

New Testament. Galatians 3:28. 50-100 AD.

Oberg, Michael Leroy. *Native America: A History*. John Wiley and Sons, 2017.

O'Brien, Suzanne Crawford. *Native American Catholics: A Spiritual Legacy*.

Pritchard, Evan T. *Mohicans on the Hudson: The Native American Experience*. Power Press, 2005.

Richter, Daniel K. *Beyond the Covenant Chain: The Iroquois and Their Neighbors in Indian North America (1600-1800)*. Penn State University Press, 1987.

Richter, Daniel. 2009. *Constructing Identity in Colonial America: Mohicans, Africans, and the Anglo-American World*. University of North Carolina Press.

Seaver, James E. *Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison*. American Tract Society, 1824.

Sensbach, Jon F. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*. University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Stafford, Scott. "Theft of the Mohican Bible is still a sore spot." *The Berkshire Eagle*, 2015.

Starna, William A. "The Mohicans and their Iroquois Neighbors." *Ethnohistory* 31, no. 1 (1984): 21-43.

Tobias, Madeleine Landau, and Janja Lalich. *Captive Hearts, Captive Minds: Freedom and Recovery from Cults and Abusive Relationships*. Hunter House Publishers, 1994.

Tooker, Elizabeth. *Mohican Indian Women: Tradition and Transformation*. University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Vizenor, Gerald. *The Problem of Pan Indianism*. Wesleyan University Press, 1982.

Wheeler, Daniel, *A Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of a Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ*, 1774.

Wheeler, Rachel. "Hendrick Aupaumut: Christian-Mahican Prophet." *Journal of the Early Republic* 25, no. 2 (2005): 187-220.

Wheeler, Rachel. "Mohican Women and the Protestant Conversion in Seventeenth Century New England." *Early American Studies* 9, no. 1 (2011): 35-59.

Wheelock, Eleazar. *Memoir of a Missionary to the Indians of New York*. Cornell University Press, 1995

Zeisberger, David. "Diary, May 15, 1774."